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CONGRESSIONAL

BY ROOSEVELT'S SUBALTERNS.

On January 7, Mrs. Minor Morris, a lady who claimed that her husband, an officer in the army, had been injustly treated and his case hung up indefinitely, sought an interview with the President. The lady was violently handled at the Executive office by the menials there in attendance; under their treatment, the lady fainted and was carried out "like a sack of salt," as an eye witness puts it, one of the porters holding her up by the heels, and she was literally thrown into a cab and taken to the House of Detention. The President's Assistant Secretary Barnes gave out a statement of the occurrence which the lady contradicted at all important points. His statement was to the effect that she had acted boisterously and had to be ejected forcibly. Mrs. Morris' statement is confirmed by impartial eye itnesses. The day after the disgraceful occurrence, Representative Morris Sheppard of Texas, introduced in the House a Resolution to investigate "the recent violent expulsion of an American mother from the White House." The Committee on Rules pigeon-holed the Resolution, whereupon on January 10, the House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Philippine tariff bill, Mr. Sheppard took the floor, despite Republican attempts to rule him off, and declared that the subject of Mrs. Morris' maltreatment was germane to the bill under consideration. He said in part:

a Chinese wall around the White House as well as around the United States Mrs. Morris' ejectment was ordered and the indication of force overcame her sensitive temperament and naturally frightened her almost into hysteria Then ensued an unequal struggle beween this helpless and unoffending wo-man and powerful guards, in which she was barbarously handled. They dragged her across the muddy pavements, her clothing torn, her body bruised, to a patrol wagon, the usual conveyance of thugs and murderers, and hurried her to the house of detention under an imputation of insanity, which was found be so absurd that she was immediate-

"These unwarrantable and unnecessary brutalities demand investigation and erit censure. As for myself, the mempermit me to rest until I had given exression to my indignation. Unless Congress takes some action we will soon witness in a free republic a condition where citizens cannot approach the of bodily harm from arbitrary subor-In the name of American woand American motherhood I tors out of one ear-and she was then test against this outrageous action. is a distinct lewering of the stand-ds of American manhood. It is a vio-It is a distinct lowering of the standbase of American civilization, American liberty, and American progress—the reverence of woman. Without this irnment is an empty pageantry and the flag a lie. The lady should have been permitted to remain. She would doubtless have left of her own volition if the situation had been politicly and properly explained. The e of an American mother honors lace, although it be the aud of the President of the United es. (Applause). Sir, it is imposwords to measure the sacrednes otherhood. It is the sweetest note in the great anthem the ages chant to ercy is reflected in a mother's smiles, er's tears, a mother prayers, a

A mother's love, If there be one thing pure, Where all else besides is sullied That can endere When all things else have passed away,

If there be aught Surpassing human deed, or word, or It is a mother's love.

until the tired hands that sup ted the cares of infancy and min to the developing years have yes grown dim and weary with the

THE MRS. MINOR MORRIS OUTRAGE, endless days and nights that seemed eternal have closed in pallid death do we begin to grasp the depth and tenderness of this mother love.

> "If Congress, composed of American fathers, husbands, brothers, permits this incident to go unrebuked it will add a passive and cowardly approval of this violation of the most sacred principle of the American life. (Applause). The reverence of woman is the supreme mark of civilization. The ultimate destiny of the Republic is in her control, the whispers of the mother become the thunders of the law. In all the channels of human activity, in all the records of human martyrdom, self-sacrifice, and valor her example is unapproached by man. We need but mention the loyalty of Artemisia to the memory of Mausolus, the devotion of Margaret Roper to Sir Thomas More, the affection of Eleanor for Edward, the heroism of Lucy Hutchinson in the castle of Newark, the daring of Catherine Herman at the siege of Ostend, the fortitude of Lady Russell, the elequence of Cornelia, and constancy of Madame Lavergne. The discovery of the American continent on which have been wrought out the elemental problems of representative government, of practical science, and of every form of progress, the very existence of the American Republic, is due primarily to a woman."

> Even more foreibly and direct was the well merited attack upon the President and his men by Senator Tiffman in the Senate on January 17. He said:

"I will only illustrate as the saddest example, the most pitiful that has ever come to my knowledge of anything asseobject to this tariff which erects ciated with the name of a President. the recent out--e upon Mrs. Morris. You are all i with the newspaper stories as my were allowed to be published by the proprietors. I know of one instance in which the story, straightforward, unvarnished, was not pub-lished because of a feeling that the paper would be boycotted, as one paper has been boycotted, and by Executive order its representative denied access even to the Executive Departments. I waited. I have waited a week or more prayerfully hoping that for the honor of this country and for the honor of its President he would take some action looking to a recognition of the fact that there was a feeling of outrage and of anger in the bosoms of American men worthy of the name and of all American women that this gentlewoman, this lady of re finement and education and of culture, because of some little trangression of the ironclad rules which now obtain, this woman sitting there quietly, trying to get access to the President for the presentation of a plea or explanation. was seized by order of the President's secretary or assistant secretary, dragged rudely across the pavement and the lawn, thrust into a cab, her clothes torn off her-I understand the earring was

> "You recall other facts in regard to him, that in the very recent past-the newspapers, the poor, pitiful liars, as men call them, have sent them broadcast-he has written a letter of some sort of sympathy and other things to Fitzsimmons, the prize fighter; that he is known to glory in his physique; that he has had experts in the art of boxing and jiu jitsu at the White House, and has not felt too dignified to make an on, and all that kind of thing, leading the strenuous life of which he is the ex-

"We can recall that this letter to Fitzons took place just about the time that Mrs. Morris was treated so brutally. I waited hopefully, earnestly desiring to see him do something for his own fame, for his own credit, for his own character as a gentlemen, in this Morris in cident; and it was only after he showed a besotted indifference to public opin as expressed in the newspapers that I felt called on and willing to bring forward a true statement of the facts, and to let the country, if it wants to, go to the bottom through you or whatever instrumentality can be set in currences as they happened, and not the garbled statements, not the misstate-ments, not the falsehoods of Mr.

On the 18th Senator Tillman introduced his resolution for the appointment (Continued on page six.)

UNITY CONFERENCE

MINUTES OF THE SECOND MEET-ING AS ADOPTED.

Third New Jersey Meeting, Held Sunday, January 21st, Authorizes the Follow ing for Publication by the Socialist

Minutes of the Second Meeting of Conference Between Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party, Held at Socialist Party Headquarters, Newark, N. J., Sunday, December

Officers of the Conference in Their Places.

31, 1905.

Roll Call: SOCIALIST PARTY: Essex County-Killingbeck, Green

James. Hudson County-Headley, Reilly, Wilson.

Passaic County-Glany, Gregory, Haech. Union County-Bickercod, Cassens,

Valker. SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY: Essex County-Mattick, Quinlan,

Hudson County-Eck, Gallo, Hos-County-Frueh, Romary,

Smithers. Union County-B. Burgholz, Fallath, McGarry.

Minutes of the first meeting, held De ember 17, were read, adopted, and, by unanimous vote of the conference, ordered sent to the Socialist press for pub-

Eck, S. L. P .- Offered the following plan as a guide to intelligent discussion which was adopted:

On Trade Union Attitude.

First-The possibility of the true poitical proletarian movement, i. e., the political Socialist movement remaining neutral of trade unionism.

Second-The usefulness of the Amercan Federation of Labor to the true proletarian movement, i. e., the Socialist

Third-The usefulness of the Industrial Workers of the World to the true proletarian movement, i. e., the Socialist

Reilly, S. P .- There can be no Socialst neutrality on the economic question. As Socialists we know the defects of pure and simple unionism. Comrade Debs stated a truth, when he said that to suit the capitalists, there could not be too many such unions. Industrial class conscious unionism is certainly far superior. The question for us is what

Glanz, S. P .- The general impression is that the Socialist party is supposed to be neutral on the economic question, but tion at the 1904 National Convention, which proves it is not neutral.

Reilly, S. P .- Yes, and its phrase ology is practically an endorsement of the A. F. of L. Our sentiment is said to be neutral, but that resolution was really a slap at the A. L. U.

Glanz, S. P .- Well, the resolution called upon the party members to join he unions of their trades. I contend did not call for us to support the A. F. of L. alone, but all unions, A. L. U. as well as A. F. of L.

Eck, S. L. P .- Is not that a contradiction? The A. F. of L. favors and promotes capitalism, the A. L. U. was against capitalism. How could you

favor both? Walker, S. P .- The Socialist party is ot neutral to economic organizations of labor. To be neutral means to knife somebody in the back. Twenty-three years' experience in A. F. of L. has aught me that a craft union looks out for itself alone and doesn't give a tinker's damn for the rest of the working class. The Socialist Party cannot stand for that kind of thing and still be weapon of the working class. The Socialist Labor Party does not wish neutrality, they get in, and work also, on the economic field. It means trouble, and decreasing membership, per-haps. The S. T. & L. A. was a mistake, we are here to learn from the mistakes, and remedy them. Only the future can tell as to the I. W. W. I had oked forward with hope to the Chi-

eago Convention but from reading the proceedings and the speeches my hopes were blasted; but even yet this organ ization may succeed. No country so much needs a bona fide, class conscious organization of labor. If the I. W. W. proceeds rightly using the strike as a last resort and educating the workers how to vote, there should be but one political party of Socialism. Two Socialist parties make the movement a laughing stock to the capitalists. The S. P. and the S. L. P. praetically occupy the same position at present since the advent of a form of unionism that is free from a political party.

Quinlan, S. L. P .- Is not the Socialist party trade union resolution merely a recommendation to the members and therefore without force?

Voice on S. P. side-"Yes, that is all. Gallo, S. L. P .- A Socialist political to economic movements. The Socialist party itself, on the speaker's banners. says to the workers: "Join the union of your craft, join the party of your class." Evolution forced the S. T. & L. A .- the class conscious, economic organization of labor. It was not a mistake. It organized with 25,000 men and to-day we have the I. W. W. with 100,ooo men, organized on class conscious lines. If it was a mistake, it was the kind of mistake that helps. Neutrality is nonsense. The S. P. stood by the miners in the coal strike, was that neutrality? It failed though to tell them that they were organized on wrong lines. The class struggle is being pretty well understood to-day. We have got to organize the workers as a class. The ballot alone is not sufficient. Witness the Hearst affair as proof.

Killingbeck, S. P .- I believe that po litical success, without economic backing, is possible. I don't say it is best but I do say it is possible. Eighty per cent. of the workers are not organized. There is a big field for us without touching the trade union movement. A comrade says that the I. W. W. is a result of S. T. & L. A. teachings, I want to say that Debs' Woodstock experience had just as much to do with it. The I. W. W. has been organized because of the lesson of the mistakes of the organization that preceded it, and undoubtedly along true Socialist lines. There is not a member of the Socialist party but believes that the I. W. W. has the true form of organization While, however, we may favor it as individuals, we should not as a party. There are millions outside of the unions who also need to be saved from capitalsm. Comrade De Leon says we can build up a purely political movement, but that the day of its victory would be will not have to go to the hospital for the day of its defeat, unless it had eco- a while, unless it be from over indulnomic backing. Now I hold that it is utterly impossible for a body of men like the S. P. to talk without incufcating economics in the working class. If the S. P. progresses along its present road the economic end will take care of it-We are told 100,000 men are in the I. W. W., there are twice 100,000 in the delegation and meet there another the A. F. of L. who believe in the same "sick" individual, in the personage of thing, Industrial Unionism. It is our duty as individuals to do what we can but we should take no chances of wrecking our splendid political movement by indorsing an economic organization that absolutely refuses to indorse us.

Headly, S. P. (Chairman)-Neutralty means standing idly by taking no interest one way or another. The S. P. is willing to assist in organizing the working class to its best interests. Neutrality is impossible, it really ought to be cut out of the discussion. Eck, S. L. P .- In Germany, at Social-

this same question comes up. There the Socialist political movement dominates the economic, and because the unions are organized on Socialist lines the government is trying to organize craft unions and divide the workers. The 'Wall Street Journal" has well said that A. F. of L. unionism is the greatest obstacle to Socialism in the United States. Comrade Killingbeck says 200,000 men in the A. F. of L. believe in Industrial Unionism, what of that? In the Germany army are millions who believe in Socialism, but that does not stamp that Hurley can now go back to the mining army as Socialist. Craft autonomous mionism kills the class instinct, therefore the A. F. of L. cannot be of us. The I. W. W. is organized on class lines, it is controlled by acknowledged Socialists. The W. F. of M. is its backbone, and they have fought better battles, and more successfully, than, any other union in the country. The S. P. says don't interfere as between these,

(Continued on page 3.)

PITTSBURG CONVENTION

OF THE MINE WORKERS A CON-VENTION OF THE PITTSBURG COAL CO.

Dodds, Whom It Elected to Political Office by Means of Bribery, Elected District Secretary-Hurley, "Borer from Within" Bored Out-the "Illness of

(Special Correspondence.)

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 17 .- The week ending January 13 was a very remarkable week for pure and simpledom, i. e., the Gompers' form of unionism. Once more the representatives or tools of the Pittsmovement cannot be neutral with regard burg Coal Company met. The writer having attended a convention of the United Mine Workers of the Pittsburg district in the year 1897, thought he would attend this one, and be able to see quite a number of old faces. When August Gillhaus and myself wended our way towards the famous Morehead Hall, to see the operators slaughtered (sic), ners. the first thing that met our eyes was a sign on the outside of the saloon close to the hall: "Welcome, United Mine Workers." These saloon and hotel keepers are very generous towards the miners' delegates. The reason for this will appear later on.

We (Gillhaus and I) attended the morning session of the 11th inst. The fakirs were so busy attending to the Pittsburg Coal Company's interests that we were lost in the great throng. Organizer McKay was doing a stunt for the operators who check off the dues for the 'union," by showing the necessity for keeping the miners of the Irwin field in line for them. He felt greatly relieved when Delegate O'Neil came to the rescue with a motion to refer the matter to the national convention. He evidently wanted the lightweights to see what the heavyweights would do with the matter: "John Michell," so says the capitalist press, "is the hero of the hour."

I was very anxious to see Pat Dolan as I have seen and heard it often announced that the strenuous life of the labor leader ages him very rapidly. I discovered that the "noted" leader (sic) of the Pittsburg district, was a very sick man; so we (Gillhaus and I) decided to locate him, which we did. We found him on the eve of Friday, the 12th inst., in Matt Wise's saloon, with several other delegates. We observed Dolan closely, and we concluded that, judging from the way he ate and drank that night, he

Some of the workingmen here claim it is well known whenever a delegate will not go the way of the righteous, "knockout drops" are administered to him, and he is put down and out. When old Pat has to go to Indianapolis he will lead John Mitchell

The delegates we met in the saloon were a little shy of us. One how very frankly stated that we, the I. W W. men, knew they were fakirs. He openly admitted he was a fakir, but he sked: "What is a man going to do?"

There was quite a good deal of gerrymandering in the convention as to who was to get the position of District Secretary. Wm. Dodds, the present incumbent, was a candidate for the office. The readers of The People will easily recall Dodds. He is the same Dodds whom the Pittsburg Coal Company helped to elect ist Congress after Socialist Congress. to the position of Clerk of Courts of Allegheny County, by sending two barges of coal into one of the wards of the city wherewith to purchase votes for him. As this fact alone indicates, Dodds is valuable Pittsburg Coal Company man. They wanted him retained for the office of District Secretary; and retained he

But a fight came up in the convention A young man by the name of Hurley, a "borer from within," who has a whole lot to learn, found himself and his followers swept off the man-bored outside tipple again and ask himself if he thinks the Pittsburg Coal Company is going to allow him and his followers to be it representatives, when the Dodds, Mc-Kays, Bellinghams and Pat Dolans have been so loyal to its interests?

No doubt Dodds was very angry when the delegates voted to go to the Indianapolis convention over the Wabash, instead of the Pennsy system, as the bosses

(Continued on page six.)

MONSTER DEMONSTRATION

NEW YORK PROLETARIAT FILL GRAND CENTRAL PALAC TO COM-MEMORATE "RED SUNDAY" AND AID RUSSIAN BRETHREN.

Speakers Address Enthusiastic Mass Meeting in Six Languages-Chopin's Puneral Dirge Beautifully Played in Tribute to Russian Dead-Clear Cut Resolutions Adopted-Large Collection Backs Assurances of Sympathy With Substan-

meetings and demonstrations called by the International Socialist Bureau, at Brussels, to commemorate "Red Sunday" and render moral and financial aid to the Russian revolutionists in their noble fight for the very rights won for us by the Revolutionary fathers, was held last Monday night at the Grand Central Palace, under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Russian Revolutionary Socialist Party, and other progressive organizations of the city. Addresses were made in five languages besides English, and were all received with hearty and long-continued applause. The hall was filled, and decorated with crimson ban-

Hardly had Basky, the second speaker begun his address, when the Russian Revolutionary Party, carrying banners and transparencies, and headed by a band playing the Marseillaise, marched into the hall. The audience rose to its feet with one accord, and cheer after cheer rent the air for the American branch.of the party which is the back-bone of the fight now making the monarchs of the world tremble on their thrones.

The meeting was called to order by Lazerus Abelson, organizer of Section New York, which was the prime mover in the arranging of the dmonstration. Abelson presented J. J. Kinneally as the chairman, and Chas, H. Chase as the secretary of the demonstration.

The I. W. W. band then played Chopin's beautiful Funeral March, the audience standing throughout in tribute to the martyred Russians whose memory is still nerving their comrades to the struggle. During the rendition many of the men and women present were moved to tears. When the strains of the Marseillaise rese triumphantly over the dying notes of the Funeral March, the inrang again and again with the applause of the multitude. Chairman Kinneally then introduced

the first speaker, James Hunter.

Hunter drew a thrilling historical parallel between the Boston Massacre of March 3, 1770, and the St. Petersburg massacre, of January 22, 1905. "No revolution is successful," he said, "till baptized in blood. The Russian revolution has received its blood baptism, and can not but go en to its successful outcome. This is a great time we are living in and great deeds are called for from all. Let us hold up the hands of our Russian brethren, in the great deeds they are now doing for human liberty.

"The argument has been made against Socialism that if it is established in America the powers of Europe will march in and smash it up. The working class of the world, by their chain of procivilized world to-night, are showing the rulers of the world that, should any such march on a Socialist Republic be planned, they will find themselves powerless before an organized revolt of their own proletariat."

L. Basky, spoke next, in Hungarian He was followed by Boris Reinstein of Buffalo, who delivered a Russian speech which called forth enthusiastic demonstrations on the part of the audience.

Upon the conclusion of Reinstein's speech, Chairman Kinneally made an impassioned appeal for funds to aid the Russian revolutionists, which resulted in a collection amounting to \$252.49. This was increased by \$30.20 collected at the doors at the close of the meeting.

Secretary Chase now read the follow ing resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS:

Whereas, One year ago to-day, our brothers and sisters of the working class of St. Petersburg were mercilessly shot down while peacefully petitioning Nicholas II. Czar of all the Russians, for the redress of their grievances, and for the ecognition of the elemental rights of man; in consequence of which massacre this date, January 22nd, will go down in proletarian history as the "Bloody Sun-

Whereas, Undaunted by this treacherous attack, and undaunted by the implied threat that so would all workingnen be dealt with who dared uphold the rights of their class and carry out their istoric mission, the Russian workers

One of the international chain of mass | have maintained a year-long struggle for their liberties, recognizing that they can only secure their rights and the wealth they produce by the complete overthrow of Czarism, and the establishment of the Socialist Republic; and

Whereas, In the course of their struggle they have been ruthlessly slaughtered by the thousand, and the streets of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Riga, and the other cities of the empire have been made to run red with the blood of murdered men, women and children, and

Whereas, In spite of this mass destruction, visited on them by their feudal and religious overlord, Nicholas, our Russian brethren have put up a magnificent fight, thrice enforcing general strikes which tied up the capitalist and governmental industries of their oppressors, acting under the inspiration of International Revolutionary Socialism, and conscious of the vital services they are rendering, not only their own numbers, but the working class of the world, in the worldwide struggle for emancipation; and

Whereas, the capitalist government of Russia is now bankrupt, and is endeavoring, by extortion and expropriation to raise funds to conceal its financial malfeasances, and to save itself from speedy and impending dissolution, so that it is now Czarism which is in actual revolt against the will of the people; and

Whereas, Our Russian brethren have set a noble example to the workingmen of the world, by casting to the winds all religious, racial, and political differences, and presenting a united front to the brutal forces of despotism; and Whereas, Our vailiant brothers of Russia are in dire want of food and clothing against the rigors of the northern winter, and are in great need of the munitions of war, successfully to oppose and defeat the mailed mercenaries of enthroned tyranny; be it therefore

Resolved, That we the working class of Greater New York, the motropolis of the Western Hemisphere, in mass meeting assembled, at the Grand Central Palace, on this 22nd day of January, 1906, under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, and other progressive labor organizations of this city, heartily extend the hand of sympathy and admiration to our brothers across the Atlantic in their noble, valorous, and undaunted stand against Czarism, realizing that the injury of one proletarian is the injury of all, and that their fight is indeed our fight; and be it further

Resolved, That we, each and all, do donate from the starvation wages our own Czars and oppressors have doled out to us, such sums and amounts as we are able to spare, and dedicate the same as an international offering of proletarian brotherhood, to the w the Russian Empire, to assist them in carrying this their mighty struggle to a successful issue, namely the dethronement and complete abelition of that system of absolutism and irresponsible monarchy under which they have too long labored and died to clear the path for the Socialist Republic ;and be it further

Resolved, That we appeal to the working people of America to recognize, before a Bloody Sunday be enacted un har American soil,

First: That there is, and co harmony between propertiless workers and capitalist shirkers and plunderers;

Second: That the Republican-Democratic government of the United States represents only the interests of the usurping capitalist class, and that it also is ready to drown in the blood of the working class any and every attempt of that class to assert its rights, as the events of the strikes of Homestead, Buf. falo, Coeur D'Alene, Hazelton, Colorado, Chicago, Brooklyn, Tennessee, etc., amply prove;

Third: That the freedom of the working class of America and of the world can only be attained by the abolition of the capitalist class, and this abolition can be brought about in America only by the united action of the working class, organized under the banner of Socialism in a class-conscious political party, backed by a class-conscious, revolutionary Union.

The resolutions were adopted by (Continued on page 6.)

The Clash for Light

The letter, which is the subject of this article, is a double sign of the times. It manifests the earnest seeking for light, and it manifests the proper spirit of inquiry. The letter was written to John Hossack, S. L. P. of New Jersey, by W. B. Killingbeck, S. P. of the same State. With the consent of the writer, the letter is published herein and commented upon.

d commented upon.

62 William St., Orange, N. J.
January 7, 1906.
Dear Comrade Hossack:
Copy of THE PEOPLE received,
which I presume came from you.
I want to thank you for same.
I read very carefully your article "Theory and Practice," and
fully agree with you that the most
brilliant and eloquent theoriats
might preach until doomsday the
beauties of the co-operative commonwealth, but, without economic
evolution, would be doomed to fallure. Owen, Bellamy and others
demonstrated that very clearly.
In this we are all agreed, Without

In this we are all agreed. Without the material evolution of capitalism, Sobialism remains a vague aspiration Right here, however, it is well to keep in mind certain facts, without which the principle, though correct in itself, becomes self-destructive. The hint, that may be quite enough for one man, may pass unperceived by another; the crack over the head that this other may need to be aroused, and that alone will rouse him, may have upon a third the effect of anapping the springs of his energy and crushing him altogether. Without any material foundation furnished by capitalism, there is no groundwork for the structure of Socialist thought. Obviously such a foundation was needed and was used by Marx. But equally obvious is the fact that the "hint", which sufficed to enlighten a Marx, passed unperceived of most other people, and that othing short of downright "cracks over the head" are arousing others. It is at this stage that the principle under consideration may become self-destructive, if given too sweeping an interpretation. How many and harder "cracks over the head" is it supposed capitalism must still deal to the people before the now militant Socialists will consider that enough facts have been evolved upon which to proceed aggregately? The Socialist Labor Party holds that all the necessary material facts ("cracks over the head") have been evolved by capitalism, not as regards capitalism proper merely, but as regards all the buttresses italism, craft Unionism among the ot; that the time has come for aggressive ruction and construction; and that ill to wait for some more "evolution" thing short of inviting such further cracks over the head" as may crush the people and put off progress indefinitely. This will appear more clearly from a detailed consideration of Killingbeck's views. He proceeds:

It seems to me that our com-rades of the S. L. P. are putting up a bogleman which they dub a "pure and simple political Social-ist." and then proceed to knock him down. I have as yet not found the member of the P. who denied the necessity of an economic movement for the emancipation of the working class:

And yet such S. P. men are thick as black-birds in the spring. Only last week, on the 11th of this month, the Daily People contained a correspondence from Massachusetts, signed by M. Ruther, making mention of a number of such S. P. men. Ruther reported a meeting cialists of the S. L. P. and the S. P. at Chicopee, held on January 7 at Fairview Turn Hall, and called by the Chicopee'S. P. local to consider the position that a Socialist should take tothat meeting, no less a personage than Wrenn of Springfield, the S. P. candilate for Governor in 1901, said "he had no faith in the economic movement and held it was only a side issue"; Ruther also quoted other S. P. members at the meeting as declaring that "it was a waste of energy to bother with economic issues". Language like this is not rare in the S. P. camp, nor has its note failed to be heard in New Jersey itself. On the afternoon of the 31st of last December, at an open meeting held in Newark Harry Carless of the S. P. said in substance: "Anyway there are but 20 per sent, of the workers organized. They are in the trades in which a measure of skill still remains. The development of machinery will eliminate that skill, and eventually unionism will die out". The large organization of common laborers employed in the subway works of this city, and the powerful strike that they conducted two years ago, together with numerous instances of kindred nature, will occur to all in refutation of the theory that "No skill, no Union". But, apart from that, as irrelevant to the subject now under consideration, what do such views denote but the denial of "the necessity of an economic movement for the emancipation of the working class"? ely Wrenn and Carless, to mention none other, are not bogeymen.

The secret of Killingbeck's blindness in failing to see this particular species in the S. P. is, however, made clear in of Socialism, is to utter such a contrathe immediately following sentence- diction as can only confuse, not enlight and valuable is the secret. He says:

for years our efforts have been di-rected towards the pure and simple labor organizations, trying to show them the error of their ways;

sue. The fact is that the S. P. has not been showing pure and simpledom the error of its ways.

Has the S. P. ever tried to show and simpledom the error of high initiation fees intended to keep the masses of a trade, or at least the surplus hands, outside of the pale of the Union, thereby challenging their fellow wageslaves to scab it upon them, or die!

Has it ever tried to show them the error of restriction of the number of apprentices and the near-sighted ignobleness, and ignoble near-sightedness of such a course?

Has it ever tried to show them the futility and dsgracefulness of a system o corganization under which machinists remain at work in a shop where the moders are on strike, where compositors remain at work on a newspaper against which the newsboys are on strike, where the bituminous branch of a miners' Union remains at work when the anthracite branch is on strike?—in short has the S. P. ever tried to bring home to the pure and simple Unions that the cause of the failure of strikes, that the strike breakers, in fact, are, not the unorcanized scabs, but the organized craftwhich by their conduct afford the employer time to fetch the hungry unemployed from the four quarters of the

No need to extend the long catalogue of the errors of the pure and simplers' ways. Not only has the S. P. not tried to point out any of these, it has condoned them, aye, it has officially applauded them. At the Indianapolis S. P. convention of 1901, the Trades Union resolution there adopted praised the conduct of the craft Unions as "a nobly waging of the class struggle", and at the Chicago convention of 1904 the Ott Resolution-which aimed at condemning the fraternal relations existing between the A. F. of L. and the Civic Federation, relations that correctly reflect the carlcature-of-capitalism essence of craft Unionism-were swept aside, and in their lieu was adopted a resolution affecting a non-committal posture on the field of

craft Unions no error whatever of their ways? The "error of their ways", which Killingbeck has in mind as the "error of their ways" shown to them, and as subsequent passages in his letter bring out clearly, is that "they should vote as they strike". This, to put it bluntly, in the frank spirit invited by the letter, is not to SHOW an error, but to AGGRAVATE

To tell craft Unions that they should vote as they strike is to concede that they are striking right; to concede that they are striking right is to concede that their form of organization and the aim thereof are sound. It is to cultivate the delusion that the craft Unions are organized against the Capitalist Class, whereas, in fact, they are organized against the bulk of the Working Class itself, and against one another. The fact will be made more clear in the course of this article when considering several other passages of the letter. Suffice it here to point out that "the error of the ways" of craft Unionism lies in its structure. Craft Unionism may declaim about the "Solidarity of Labor," it practices the disruption of Labor. The "immediate needs" to which it attends are not the immediate needs to which an army attends on the march to the storming of the hostile fortress, they are measures that lead away from the fortress, and that gradually disable the army for conquest. Ignorant of the goal and mission of Unionism-the "taking and holding" the productive powers of the Nation and thus administering the industrial Government of the Socialist Reppubliccraft Unionism builds its structure in such wise that it is not, as it should be, the embryo of the constituencies of the future Republic of Labor, and can not possibly develop into such. Thus constructed craft Unionism becomes a handmaid of capitalism. These are "the errors of the ways" of pure and simple organizations. The wrongful voting is but one of the several and inevitable external manifestations of the inherent defect. The "Labor Party" of Australia, the "Labor Repr sentation Committee" of England, both of them the political reflexes of craft Unionism, vote as they strike-they strike as the "peers" of the Capitalist Class, as "brothers" who, due to the perverseness of human nature, occasion ally fall out with "brothers," and they vote accordingly to establish "harmonious relations between Capital and Labor." For a Socialist to tell the craft Union to vote as it strikes, meaning thereby to vote a revolutionary ticket

Not a line has ever proceeded from the | Editors of the Socialist or Social Democratic party press pointing out the actual, the fundamental "error of the ways" of craft Unionism; not a scrap of literature has issued from that party's headquarters placing the finger u these errors. On the contrary. Itself constructed upon the principle of "neutrality" with regard to Unions, and upon the consequent error that ignores the determining mission of the economic organization in effecting the Social Revolution, the Socialist party has not been in condition to show the pure and simple organizations the "error of their ways." Itself was, and, as a body, continues to be at sea on the Burning Question of

Killingbeck proceeds:

but at the same time we realize that those organizations are part of our class, misguided as they are, and they are fighting the capital-ist with what they consider the best weapon at their disposal. Of course we know their arms are ob-solete, and furthermore a large per-centage of their membership, real-ize that fact, and are doing their utmost to show their fellow ulon-ists the foily of their ways; but it ize that fact, and are doing their utmost to show their fellow unionists the folly of their ways; but it seems to me that you fail to make clear how, by organizing rival unions, and thus splitting into fragments the only available force against the capitalist class, on the economic field, we should be enabled to persuade them to adopt more sane methods.

to refute the opinion that craft Union ism, or the A. F. of L., is "the only available force against the Capitalist Class on the economic field," than the indisputable fact referred to by Eugene V. Debs in the following passage from his article in this month's "Industrial Worker." He says: "The capitalist press of the land, with substantial unanimity, approves and supports the American Federation of Labor-and condemns and opposes the Industrial Workers," a little further on putting it strongly, yet not too strong, e refers to "The American Federation of Labor, greeted with the 'God bless you' and the Industrial Workers, spurned with the 'God damn you'-of the capitalist press" Nor is the love and affection of the capitalist class for the A. F. of L., emphasized by its hostility for the I. W. W., as exemplified by the language of the capitalist press, ungrounded. This point leserves probing. Craft Unionism ruptures the Working

Class; it keeps the Working-Class divided between the "organized" and the "unorganized," with the majority unorganized, and it further re-subdivides the organized themselves into warring crafts. Why, the very slogan of "The Closed Shop!" set up by the A. F. of L., is proof of the split-up state that craft Unionism has the Working Class in, and wishes to perpetuate. In whose face is the shop to be "closed"? In the face of the capitalist? Certainly not. It is to be closed in the face of other workingmen-of workingmen whom the crafts refuse to organ ize and otherwise bar out to keep the jobs to themselves, and of other organized crafts against whom contracts have been entered into with the employer. No workingman is anxious to work for low wages, long hours or improper conditions. Gladly would the majority of workingmen be within the Union and thus present a united front to the exploiter. They are not allowed. By whom? By the A. F. of L. or craft Unions. Why? Because if all were in the organization, the organization would be compelled to share with the unemployed the 'earnings of the employed, either by direct assessment or by some system of "shifts." A nearsighted and narrow-minded policy, fostered by longheaded capitalist intrigue, leads the craft Unions to adopt the stupidly selfish course of seeking to "trustify" the jobs for themselves. The course is stupidly selfish because, in the long run, the craft Unionists are worse off than if they had adopted the more enlightened course,the longheaded capitalist, however, triumphs: the narrow-minded policy on the part of the craft Unions, of attempting to "trustify" the jobs for themselves, serves the purpose not only of keeping the workers divided, but of keeping them bitterly at war with one another-a

capitalist desideratum. Craft Unionism does not require to be split from the outside-it is split into ostile fragments by itself.

Craft Unionism is not "the only avail ble force against the capitalist class on the economic field"-it is no force whatever against capitalism; it is a prop of capitalism. Why, if not, should the A. F. of L. have the "God bless you" of the capitalist press?

The I. W. W. is not a rival Labor Or ganization. It is the only economic Laor Organization in the land-there is one other for it to "rival."

unhappy truths that Marx condemns as worse than barren. They are so worded that they turn awry the logic of events and thereby lead to false conclusions. No doubt, he who has not brains enough to vote for his own emancipation "certainly won't strike for liberty". But to say that, and to stop there, is to imply that right voting is the cause, right striking the result. That, indeed, is the implication throughout this letter. Such a concept is strangely out of place in a Socialist's mouth.

The broad difference between the So-

cialist and the non-Socialist is that the

non-Socialist imagines ideas produce material conditions, while the Socialist knows that it is material conditions that economic organization is the material condition. Yo doubt he who votes wrong will also be found to strike wrong. The reason of his wrong voting is his wrong striking. The material fact of wrong economic organization will reflect itself in the idea of wrong political action. The material fact concerning the structure of organization for immediate material existence, the Union, reflects itself in the idea to reach the more distant consummation, political triumph. The structure of craft Unionism, the organization for immediate material existence, cuts up the working class into warring fragments. Disunited in the immediate struggle for life, each trained to pursue his immediate material ends along the bourgeois plane of the wheel-barrow racing system, the angle of vision of each turned to a different objective, impossible, under such conditions, is the result of Working Class united revolutionary political action. As well expect the sun rays, that are scattered by the prism, to unite in one focus, as to imagine possible the focussing into united revolutionary political action the workers who are scattered by the prism of craft Unionism. It is not because the workers in America vote wrongly that they do not strike right, it is because they do not strike right that they are voting wrong. Socialist science, that established the material foundation for ideas, places this conclusion upon as solid ground as natural science places the conclusion regarding the effect of the prism upon the sun rays.

Grounded upon the material facts and the reasoning that flows therefrom, the S. L. P. rejects the idea that the work ers' revolutionary political unity is possible before they are planted upon the material fact of economic unity. The S. E. P., consequently, strives for the Socialist political unity of the Working Class via the only route by which the thing is possible—the economic unity,

Industrial Unionism. There is no result but it reacts back upon its cause and gives the cause new stimulus. So with the sound political and the sound economic movement. The cause of sound economic organization re sults in sound political action: the re sult then reacts back upon its cause thus acting and reacting upon each other, both the economic and the political movements are invigorated. This play of action and reaction may at times. confuse the observer. He may be misled thereby to impute pre-eminent causal force to what is in fact but result, and vice versa. Thus he may slip intothe error of imputing causal force to sound political action, when, in fact, it but result and v sound economic organization a result. when, in fact, it is cause. The confu sion is fatal. Sooner or later, often soon er than later, the error is discovered by its bitter fruit. There is no protection against the error except firmly to hold to the Marxian fundamental principle as to the relation in which ideas stand to material facts.

to me it is inconceivable that when the time arrives that we have a majority of the working class suffi-ciently intelligent to vote for the ownership of the means of produc-tion that they will be unable to find means and ways of making ef-fective that demand.

So is such a thing inconceivable to the S. L. P. man also-and for the reas ons just set forth in full. The day the Working Class shall be sufficiently intelligent to carry the polls for the abolition of wage slavery, that day they will be fully able to find the means and ways for making effective their political triumph. And they will not have to look for such ways and means before they find them; they will not have to cudgel their brains to gather such ways and means-THEY WILL BE IN POS-SESSION OF THEM. The very fact of their political triumph will be the evidence of their having ready at hand the needed ways and means-possession of the Nation's machinery of production, the organized capacity to take over and immediately administer the Nation's Government, that is, its productive pow-

No Industrial Organization to encom

Very true. But this is one of those and means, no political triumph. Hence when the political triumph of Labor comes, the "ways and means" must have

I know that men in the mass are moved by their immediate necessities, and it looks far more utopian to me to expect that, for instance, the "Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers" would go out on strike in favor of the tratkmen, than it would be for those same men to vote for the same object, knowing that in doing so they would help themselves equally.

If it is Utopian to expect that a Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers man would go out on strike in support of a trackman-if it is Utopian to expect the locomotive engineer could be made to realize that, if the trackman is beaten to-day, he himself will be beaten the produce ideas. Political action is the idea, | next day and have his wages immediate ly reduced below his immediate necessities-if to expect such a thing is Utopian, then doubly Utopian must be the expectation of ever seeing the workingman spurn the cash bribe of the capitalist for his vote, or to disregard the capitalist's threat of shutting down in case the party which he opposes wins-if that is Utopian, then, doubly Utopian must be the expectation that the workingman will remain cold to the demands upon his immediate necessities, and yet warm up in favor of the remoter advantage to come from "voting right."

The fact that "men in masses are moved by their immediate necessities" is a monumental signpost that points to the Socialist the route he must strikethe building of the sound economic or, ganization that will safeguard the im mediate necessities of the Working Class and that, as such, will be reflected in sound ballot, and will keep in readiness the might to enforce, if need be, the fiat of that ballot.

As Bebel says the mass strike can only become effective when the workers are sufficiently educated and organized to realize its polit-ical significance;

Bebel is too busy a man to waste his time shouting the obvious. It is not like him to waste his time even in asserting that the education of the work ers must precede intelligent action on their part-whether political, economic or otherwise. We all know that, and knowing it, however much S. L. P. and S. P. men may differ, both endeavor to educate the workers. Accordingly, the citing of Bebel at this point can be accounted for only upon the theory that Killingbeck missed the trend and connection of Bebel's speech, pronounced at last year's national convention of the German Social Democracy.

That speech of Bebel's, as he pronounced it, has no bearing upon the question now on the tapis in this country. At last year's German Trades Union convention, held at Cologne, and immediately preceding the convention of the party, a resolution on strikes was adopted, the extreme conservatism of which is accounted for upon the theory that the Unionists meant thereby to make a demonstration against Anarchy. The resolution overreached itself. It was so excessive a repudiation of the idea of the general strike that Bebel assailed it at the party convention. The purpose of that speech began and ended with the endeavor to show that despicable would that workingman be who, even if his political rights were trespassed upon by the Capitalist Class, would tamely submit, instead of rising in revelt. There was no question of the economic strike the Socialist had better leave the buc- ever broke up the crust of an ignorant for economic redress. The only question was with regard to the strike, not as a weapon of revolution, but as a weapon of resistance for political ends. In so far as any analogy can be drawn between Bebel's speech and the purposes of the I. W. W., the speech gives cold comfort to the pure and simple political Socialists. Bebel recognized the importance of Unionism: he admitted the eventual necessity of physical force; above all, he looked to the economic organization when the necessity should arise.

val unlons," and thus in their eyes virtually

If this reasoning means any thing it means: first, that the Working Class of the land is organized in the craft Unions, secondly that the craft Unions are a "happy family." Both views are mistaken.

As to the first, it has partly been disposed of in a previous answer. Even admitting the wildest pipe dreams of Gompers, and the obviously padded figures that local "labor leaders" in search for political pap are in the habit of trotting before the politicians as the membership of their Unions, even then ing Class is unorganized. This is no secret known to this office alone. We know of pure and simple political Socialists they argue from it in support of their

John Mitchell Exposed

ROBERT RANDELL

The President of the United Mine Workers' Union, John Mitchell, is a labor leader widely known, a leader who has been almost idolized by many workingmen be-lieving him to be the foremost defender of labor's cause and we would it were true. But far from being the true guardian of labor's interests, Mitchell has betrayed armies of strikers to disastrous defeat. In these addresses, Randell, a member of the United Mine Work-ers, lays bare Mitchell's autocratic and traitorous conct in the Colorado-Utah strike of 1903-4, and also his a valuable lesson in the methods of the lieutenants of capital as labor leaders. The "Two Pages from Roman History," read by the light of this expose, will be better comprehended,

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Barely 20 per cent of the Working Class one: "The Rev. So and So lectured to are organized," thus runs their reasoning, "therefore, the Union Question is a vanishing one." The conclusion is false: just because only a trifling minority of the workers are organized the Union Question is all the more urgent. Nevertheless, the premises are correct. The overwhelming majority of the workers are unorganized. It can not be otherwise under the rule of craft Unionism. Pure and simpledom seeks to squeeze the hogshead measure of the Labor Movement into the pint measure of craft Unionism. There are within a radius of twenty-five miles of the City Hall of New York more unorganized workingmen than Gompers ever claimed membership for his Civic Federation annex-the A. F. of L. Surely the way to reach the workers can not be by ignoring the many and considering only the trifling

As to the second view, the danger of being called "scabs" by the craft Unions, that is a danger before which, of all men, the Socialist should be the last to recoil. For one thing, the Socialist knows that there is no more poisonous rattlesnake than "threatened private intrests." If hard names are to be run away from, a case throw away any weapon which caneer Capitalist Class alone. For another, if any one epithet is more common than any other in the camp of craft Unionism, as an epithet bandied among themselves, it is "scab." There is not a craft Union in existence that has not at some time or other yelled "scab!" at another. The recent A. F. of L Convention was luminous upon that. Hard words break no bones; even if they did they should have no terror for the Socialist. His mission is to spread light and clear the way for light by cutting through the thick underbrush and tangle of accumulated superstitions. The only way to seize the nettle is to seize it with a firm, resolute hand, and tear it upwith all the gentleness that is possible, and all the severity that may be needed. The next passage will help to illustrate the point:

To-day we have entrance to a large and increasing number of their unions—for instance, I spoke to a machinists' union last night, and met with a very cordial reception; but by taking a partisan stand in their factional quarrels, we immediately raise such a wall of prejudice that it becomes almost impossible to surmount it.

Somewhere in Prof. Ely's works he tells of an experience that he made one evening lecturing in a Boston Beacon street salon to a select gathering of the overwhelming majority of the Work- laties and gentlemen. After the lecture, which was received coldly, he approached a prepossessing young lady, seated at a table. The conversation turned upon who are well aware of the fact. Aye, the subject of the lecture. The only comment that the young lady made, as pass the possession of the needed ways pure and simple political dectrine ash asped her tea, was the significant lingbeck is animated by the same spirit.

us last time; but he made us feel so comfortable"-!

Of what practical benefit to the Cause of the Emancipation of the Working Class is "entrance to a large and increasing number of Unions" if the Socialist makes the craft Unionists "feel

Useless harshness is wrong. No Socialist will resort to it. But Truth and Facts are stinging weapons with which the Socialist may not compromise, and which it is his bounden duty to wield regardless of the incidental pain that they may cause. For that the Socialist has the maxim of no less wise and benevolent an educator than Wendell Philips. When rated for the "violence" of the language of the Abolitionists towards chattle slavery, he said:

"We have facts for those who think, arguments for those who reason: but he who cannot be reasoned out of his prejudices must be laughed out of them; he who cannot be argued out of his selfisliness must be shamed out of it by the mirror of his hateful self held up relentlessly before his eyes. * * Prove to me that harsh rebuke, indignant denunciation, scathing sarcasm, and pitiless ridicule are wholly and always unjustif ble; else we dare not in so desperate prejudice, roused a slumbering conscience, shamed a proud sinner, or changed, in any way the conduct of a human

Picjudice is never to be overcome by making it feel comfortable.

I have written this with no controversial intent, but simply to dis-cuss the matter in a spirit of comradeship, and find the light, if possible, and I trust it will be ac-cepted in the same spirit. I remain, yours for the revolution, W. B. KILLINGBECK

The S. L. P. hails the spirit in which Killingbeck of the S. P. has broached with Hossack of the S. L. P. this Burning Question of Trades Unionism, which, here in America, has naturally developed into the Burning Question of Socialist Unity; above all, the S. L. P. hails the New Fra that has burst upon the Socialist - Movement of the land-the New Era that rolls back into the past and discards the methods of personal vilification, with which alone and uniformally the privately owned press of the Socialist or Social Democratic party has sought and still seeks to becloud the issue, and thereby avoid dispassionate discussion. All hail to this New Era! The Socialist has no hobby: he has only a Great Cause to serve. Let the facts be drawn up; let the opposing reasoning clash. Blows, dealt for Truth, are dealt in good faith; the blows received by the truth-seeker leave no smart behind. No greater favor can be done to the S. L. P. than, if it errs in aught, to have its error laid bare. No doubt Kil-

Open Letter to the Louisville Federation of Labor

John Stephens Cor. Sec'y., 2571 Rawan St., City.

Centlemen:-Your communication of Dec. 1, enclosing copies of certain resolutions adopted by your Federation at its meeting of Nov. 28th, and requesting us erse said resolutions and mail copies to each of the members of the legislature in this district and to Governor Beekham at Frankfort, was duly received and has been carefully considered and we herewith submit for your serious consideration our reply.

From your whereases and resolutions we quote the following:
"Whereas, The present system of th

employment of the convicts in the penal institutions of the State of Kentucky, under the existing Contract System, is highly injurious and prejudicial to the interests of free labor, and materially affects the prosperity of the manufac turers and employes of this state engaged in the production of similar arti-

"Whereas, The State of Kentucky is only receiving for the labor of its co. victs on an average of forty cents per day for each convict so employed under said system.

"Whereas, The various articles so produced when completed, can be placed on the market at a lower price than the same can be produced and sold when made by free labor for the manufacturers of this state, resulting in unfair and injurious competition with free la-bor and the manufacturing interests of this state,

"Therefore, Be it resolved, that we are nalterably opposed to the further conee of the system now in use in this state regulating the employment of conviet labor, and are in favor of the enactment of suitable laws by the legisla ture, which will remove injurious cense-quences new attending the use of the

"Therefore, Be it resolved, that

or this District to use their best and unceasing efforts for the enactment by laws for the purpose of removing the n now existing between conviet labor and the free labor of this state, and the entire abolition of the

Therefore, Be it further reselved,

this district to their respective addres-ses, a properly authenticated copy of this resolution, and that likewise a copy hereof he sent to the Governor of

At the beginning we desire to call umbers of the legislature "elected" um this district, whom you new proas to, were strongly supported in recent campaign by our local labor landers, and especially by the New Ers, as "Great Priends of Labor."

And, if these gentlemen, the said es of election were obtained for through the rape of the ballet by emocratic machine, were the "great is of labor" your local labor leadsimed they were, why should it us and petitions to them now? Have ey so soon forgetten what "great ends" they are of labor?

en, complain because the s out the wards of the State, concontractors at an average of 40 cents & day per convict.

n not, and does not your Amer-ederation of Labor held that the ges system is fixed, permanent, unand selling of wage-laborers in trket, like the buying and selling of other commodities, must go on fer ever? Are not the prices of wage-lab like the prices of other commodi-determined largely by the increase inution of the number of wage es in the market?

If laborers must remain forever a modity, as is taught by your A. F. of L. philosophy, to be bought and sold like corn or cattle, or weel or wheat n the market, WHY SHOULD YOU medity, consi laborers" under your everlasting rages system, subject to the same laws the prices of other com les, suffers from the operation of thes unchangeable laws of this sam schangeable system, which you gentle

If you, of the A. F. of L., disciple

capitalist system, why should YOU squeal when it hurts you?

Or is it not barely possible that your local labor leaders are simply getting up and passing these resolutions and petitions to the legislature for the supposed good effect this sort of campaignng will have upon the rank and file in leading them to believe the said "local labor leaders" are fighting their battles so that they may be able to keep them selves well to the front in labor circles and hence in a position to attract the attention of politicians, who have capitalist boodle to distribute, when politicul campaigns are on?

Again, if, as your American Federa tion of Labor professes, the interests of employers and employes are the same; if their interests must flourish together or suffer in common, as you indirectly assert in your enclosed "whereases and resolutions" in which you claim that convict labor "materially affects the prosperity of the manufacturers and emloyes of this state" and that such convict labor "results in unfair and injurius competition with free labor and the manufacturing "interests"; if all this be true, why should your Federation go to the trouble and expense of sending these resolutions and petitions to the legisla-

We are decidedly of opinion that the manufacturers of Kentucky will not neglect their own interests; that their representatives in the legislature will guard their interests faithfully and n guarding the interests of the manufacturers, are they not at the same time guarding the interests of their employes, if, as your A. F. of L. holds, the interests of employers and of employes are

Does not your American Federation of Labor advise against the workers going into politics as a class on the ground the workers have no separate and distinct class interests of their own for for a fair day's work." On our banner the advancement and securing of which their action as a class is required?

Why, then, seek endorsement of you petitions by your craft-divided hosts of organized "free laborers" as laborers, if labor has no separate interests of its

Why not lay your petitions before all the various classes and professions, em-players as well as employes, politicians and preachers, business men and lawyers, landlords and bankers, if there are distinct classess in society with antagonistic interests?

Again, did not you gentlemen, also support Governor Beckham and the present State administration in their campaign for the offices they now hold? And were they not all of them, "great friends of laber" in that campaign?

Why, then, should YOU deem it nec esseray to petition them now? Is it possible that the Governor also has forgot ten so soon what a "great friend of la-

But you complain because Governo Beckham sells his commodity, Democratic and Republican convicts, at 40 cents a day per convict. Why should You complain? Is not your A. F. of L. laborer "free"? What more could your laborer ask than freedom? Cannot your "free laborer' hold his commodity at any price he pleases, sell it when he Why should he care so long as he is a "free", that is to say, he is in the state of "freedem" your American Federation of Laber holds he is forever to occupy whether he seems to enjoy it or

According to your theory, if the laborer, being "free," does not wish to accept the price offered for his commodity he may refuse to sell. The price your "free sr" refuses to sell himself for Governor Beckham, your "great friend of abor," decides to accept for his commodity consisting of convicts, poor Democratic and Republican cevicts. And has not he the right to do it? Has not Governor Beckham, your "great friend" as much right to sell his commodity as you have to sell yours? Would you attempt to restrict the right of your "great friend", Governor Beckham, to do he pleases with his commodity, sell it when he pleases and for as much, or as

No, gentlemen, we of the Industrial Workers of the World cannot endorse we do not agree with on that the wages system is fixed, per-

We do not believe that the wage work ng class steadily increasing in number of dependence upon the capitalist class steadily decreasing in numbers for an

portunity to gain their daily bread. Neither do we agree with you that the diticians to whom you wish copies of your resolutions sent are "great friends of labor" or evyn small friends of labor or that they are any friends of labor at

all. They are enemies of labor. And we decline to stoop to the deception of sending petitions to our political

If your "whereases and therefore be it resolveds" were of any value and you wished to utilize them in the interest of labor, why didn't you carry a string of them to Judge Gregory and persuade him who was also, when a candidate for office a "great friend of labor," to render his decision in favor of the black-listed sewing girls when they had their suit for damages against the Ox Breeches Manufacturing in his court?

We are fully persuaded that your "whereases, resolutions and petitions" will not be worth to the cause of labor as much as the paper on which they are

We would like to remind you in this connection that the petition carried to President Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill by a delegation of mine workers asking m to interpose his executive power in behalf of the Western miners who were being deported from their homes in Colorado, without trial or conviction, in violation of thir constitutional rights, did not induce the President to interfere in behalf of the deported minrs.

No, gentlemen, we cannot endorse you servile attitude of begging for political favors at the hands of our political enemies. Neither can we endorse your A F of L contention that the interests of capitalists and laborers are identical. We repudiate that statement as an American, Civic Federationized Lie uttered parrotlike, not by labor's friends but by labor's enemies, not for the enlightenment and encouragement of labor but to mystify the minds of the workers. and render the fakirs' task of betraying them so much the easier.

And we hold that among labor's enemies the worst are those among its lead ers who for personal gain betray the trust reposed in them by a too confiding rank and file. We hold that the fruits of labor should belong to those who have produced them. The Industrial Workers of the World repudiates the cowardly A. F. of L. motto of "a fair day's pay is inscribed the declaration: "To labor the full product of its toil." We are for the emancipation of our class from the fetters of wage slavery and the rearing of the workers' republic.

No, gentlemen, we cannot go with you as petitioners, like Lazarus, to beg for crumbs at our master's tables. We are decidedly against your A. F. of L. policy of misleading labor into the shambles of capitalist party politics.

Laws in the interest of the exploited class, the wage working class, are sorely needed: but it is a crime against the workers to lead them to believe that they can get the laws they need by voting either of the capitalist party tickets, by sending petitions to capitalist party politicians in the halls of legislation at Frankfort of anywhere else.

The remedy for the wrongs and outrages under which labor toils and suffers lies not in voting for political servants of the capitalist class who style themselves and have their "labor lieutenants" style them "great friends of labor" in political campaigns, nor in carrying "whereases, resolutions and petitions" to them after they are elected

own right, and in its own might redress its own wrongs. The working class can right its own wrongs whenever it has the intelligence and the will to do it Labor must bounce the fakirs and false leaders in its ranks, learn to stand upon "free laborer", what price Gov. Beck- its own feet, study its own interests as a class, must unwaveringly stand by them,

Labor as a class must be industrially organized; and whenever necessary strike as a class, and vote together as a class. And until the workers of the world unite on both the economic and political fields and "take and hold that which they produce by their labor" they cannot be free, all the labor fakirs in the world and capitalist politicians styling themselves "friends of labor" to the contrary notwithstanding.

Very truly yours, Mixed Local No. 73, Industrial Workers of the World. Louisville, Ky., Jan. 3, 1986.

ANDREAS DEFENCE FUND.

David J. Moran, Pawtucket, R. I. Lindgren, Brooklyn, N. Y	.50
Geo. Ott, New York	.50
C. Singer, Pittsburg, Pa	.50
John Masoner	5.00
Total Previously acknowledged	\$ 9.75 \$67.24
Total	\$76.99

Walter Goss, 701 Bristow Street, Treasurer Illinois S. E. C., S. L. P. Belleville, Illinois,

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party and publishes nothing but sound Socialist literature.

UNITY CONFERENCE

third clause.

(Continued from page 1.)

our one enemy, the other our friendit says aid both. Eck then said S. P. men had been

frightened by the mention of De Leon's name, as children were frigtened by bugaboos. He would not quote him, but would quote one whom they favored, Kautsky. Eck then read from "Neu Zeit" ut

terances of K. Kautsky in support of his argument. Eck claimed it would be easier to take away our votes, than to take away arms from European workmen. So long as we pin our faith to the ballot alone, capitalists will let it slowly grow to tickle us.

Wilson, S. P .- I would like to ask be fore taking the floor: Does S. L. P. delegation think that object of conference will be lost unless indorsement of I. W. W. is agreed upon?

S. L. P .- A voice: No. Frueh, S. L. P .- The S. L. P. has not officially indorsed the L. W. W.

Glanz, S. P .- One S. L. P. man says the S. T. & L. A. started with 25,000 men, at the Chicago Convention it had fourteen delegates, representing 1,400 nembers, now he says they have 100,000. Who does he mean by we?

Gallo, S. L. P .- The I. W. W. Headly, S. P .- It is understood that we are to favor Industrial Unionism instead of craft unionism?

Frueh, S. L. P .- The point is this, th W. W. gets S. L. P. support because of its Socialist principles, while the or ganizations we oppose stand for the present system, which system both the S. P. and the S. L. P. want to over-

Hossack, S. L. P.-It seems to me that the first clause of the topic for discussion has really been disposed of. From what our S. P. comrades have said I believe that they understand that Socialists cannot remain neutral with regard to economic organizations of labor. I think we should now proceed to consider the second clause.

Killingbeck, S. P .- I offer this resoluion: "Resolved: That it is the sense of this conference that a political organization of the working class should at all times be interested in furthering the welfare of the workers, and that i is not possible for a true political movement to remain neutral of the economic movement.

Seconded Walker, S. P .- It should be incorporated there, that as Socialists we recognize at all times the necessity of standing by the working class in economic struggles.

Frueh, S. L. P .- I favor changing the wording to read a progressive organization cannot ignore the economic move-

Hossack, S. L. P .- After the word progressive, add political. Walker, S. P .- Give us something

nore tangible Here there followed a number of sugrestions as to how the resolution should

e worded

what we are doing. We have three ele- compelled to do this. Craft unionism is ments in the S. P. I. W. W., A. F. of L, and those who hold that economic know opens the door to Socialist teachorganization is not necessary for establishment of Socialism. place ourselves in such a position that therefore, logically recognize and welthose who join the Socialist movement

will understand that position, and that

we are in favor of industrial economic

are enemies of the working class. Gallo, S. L. P .- I offer as a substitute for the whole the following: Resolved, That the Socialist political movement of the working class cannot remain neutral to the organized effort of the work-

ditions on class conscious, revolutionary lines. Seconded. James, S. P.-It is well known that the S. P. side is weak as compared to the S. L. P., and I move that Comrade Carless be allowed to speak for us. Not seconded, and strongly objected to by

The question was then called for on Sympathizer, Belleville \$ 1.00 Wm. Andreas, Belleville 1.50 twelve for, S. P., ten for, two against, or twenty-two to two.

Killingbeck, S. P.

The discussion then proceeded to the second clause of the motion, defining the order of the topics for discussion. Walker, S. P .- Lay it on the table:

Killingbeck, S. P .- Offered the following: Resolved, That it be the sense of this conference that the A. F. of L., as organized at present, is detrimental to the interests of the working class. Seconded. Frueh, S. L. P .- I would amend: We

are opposed to the principles of the A. F. of L. form of organization. Romary, S. L. P .- I would amend to

read that the A. F. of L. form of organization and its principles are an obstacle to working class emancipation.

The vote on this motion, as amended by Romary, was unanimously in favor. The discussion then proceeded to the

Green, S. P .- It is my opinion that the S. P. should now go on record as indorsing the I. W. W. in opposition to the A. F. of L. We all believe in the new organization.

Quinlan, S. L. P .- The I. W. W. is O. K.; so was the S. T. & L. A. The A. F. of L. is in politics now. In New York it advises union men to vote for legislators favoring the eight hour law. These same men will also vote for the very judges who will declare the law, if it goes through, unconstitutional. The kind of organization we favor should be plainly stated.

Killingbeck, S. P.-I would offer this resolution: Resolved, That it be the sense of this conference that the organization of the working class on the economic field should be along the lines of industrial unionism, and that we recommend to all members of the Socialist parties to help build up a class-conscious labor organization. Seconded by Green. Walker, S. P .- Craft organization has

never yet been a friend of the working class. I remember when we had the Hunger Parade here, that the unions met to consider the conditions that confronted us and what did we find? We found Democratic heelers in the unions trying to have resolutions passe thanking the Democratic party for its kindness to the workers, and Republican heelers in the same union boosting resolutions thanking the Republican party for free soup. The Socialists put the whole thing on the bum by voting against all the resolutions. I recollect that the blue stone cutters dropped out of the thing because their union didn't pay them \$3 per day for the time they were attending meetings with the avowed purpose of getting something for starving working people. We can go forward to Socialism if opposed by craft unionism Wilson, S. P .- I am pleased with the

progress made. Neutrality means com-

romise, negation, and ends in impo-We are evolving from morass of sentimentality on to the hard battle-ground of the Socialist revolution, and this is progress. I take it that the Socialist, scientific Socialist position, in its philosophy is a positive one And it is this positiveness that makes militant Socialists of us . Having in mind the battle-ground, constructive Socialism, you must have the class-conscious co-operation of the working class. Without it, your political program may go up in the air. In the past we have frittered away too much time with organizations that would not be classconscious. Industrial Unionism implies the defeat, the downfall of craft organization. It means fight, the same as it did with the S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P. But we cannot be passive. The fight opens the way for Socialist thought to dominate. If there was any hope in Glanz, S. P.-We must know just craft unionism Socialism would not be hopeless; while industrial unionism we ing, and provides a vast field for our We want to agitation to become busy in. We must come the I. W. W. as an organization as allies and fellow-builders of the Workingmen's Republic. This is the organization. We are opposed to all most important move we can take here. selves from the policy of laissez faire and sentimentality to militant, revolutionary Socialism. As I said, I am glad we have gotten along so far, and I hope something practical will be presented to

ing class to better their economic con-Reilly, S. P.-Some Socialists speak as if Samuel Gompers is the A. F. of L. One great evil as exemplified in the A. F. of L. is the lack of spirit of the rank and file. If the Socialist spirit existed in the organization, a Gompers, no, nor a hundred Gompers, could not stop refused to join the A. F. of L. because the motion by Gallo, which was ac-cepted in place of the previous one, and Theoretically I can see it is the craft At this poin the vote on its adoption was S. L. P., conflicts, the closed shop, the high dues, etc. that kill the class spirit, and leaves little time for anything but discussion of petty interests. The I. W. W. with its uniformity, its easy transfer, is superior, and it does away with the necessity of boring from within. If the S. P. and S. L. P. unite nationally, perhaps some S. P. men will break. Some will split. I don't favor any compromise that would bring unity without a can we decide what is best to do.

rally together and unite the forces of

Glanz, S. P .- In regard to indorsing the I. W. W., while I favor its principles, I am opposed to indorsing it. Who can say if a year from to-day the It might be that the officers would be Republicans or Democrats. What would is opposed to the Republican, Demobecome of such indorsement then?

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THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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148 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

A voice, S. L. P. side-Our support | ganized for the overthrow of the preswould be quickly withdrawn. The import- ent system. Having declared for that ant thing is that the organization is-to-day it is a Socialist organization. We who based upon the principles of the class are Socialists should be in the vanguard

Gallo, S. L. P .- I hope that fear of a split will not deter the members of the Socialist party from putting themselves time. on record in favor of the truth, and I would amend the resolution under discussion to read: Resolved, That this conference places itself on record as favoring the organization of the working class upon the lines of the class struggle as laid down by the I. W. W. and we call upon all militant Socialists to allay themselves with the I. W. W. Seconded by Eck. The mover of the amendment, and the seconder, accepted it, and yet I have known of a union that an amendment to the amendment, cutting out all the words that follow the

> At this point the hour of adjourn ment was near and some on the S. P. side were anxious to vote or to prolong the session until a vote could be

Frueh, S. L. P .- No vote should be taken until each matter is thoroughly thrashed out. I am willing to come here three or four times, if necessary to clear up one point. We seem to be of one mind upon the proposition, but the proposition may not be entirely split. Only in a full and free discussion clear upon all of our minds. The S. L. P. has not, as yet, indorsed the I. W. W, and we certainly won't ask you to do what we have not done ourselves. We should be absolutely clear upon what we do. The important thing is I. W. W. will be officered by Socialists? that you support a class-conscious, revolutionary organization. The I. W. W. cratic-the capitalist system. It is or-

Walker, S. P .- Upholds Frueh's idea of being sure of what we do at this

Killingbeck, S. P .- If we adopt the amendment it means disaster. Our party will split. It will not be a slight split but a break up of that entire Socialist organization. I would appeal to the progressive trades unions which are to-day considering the S. P. throughout the land I would not antagonize even the A. F. of L. and this is the only basis upon which we can ever agree. We believe in democracy in such things, and we fight for the goal. If we tie ourselves to that resolution it means a big-

ger fight. The hands of the clock showed the hour of five, the time to adjourn the session.

Glanz, S. P .- Wanted the session to sit till midnight if necessary as it was to our interest to settle the matter there and then. He was satisfied it could be

Various motions to extend time were voted down on recommendation of Frueh that we stick to the rules.

The conference then adjourned to meet January 21, to then take up the proceedings where they were left off. The conference adjourned with the

feeling on both sides that the two dele-

gations had soberly and seriously labored to reach solid ground for the unity of the Socialist forces. JAMES M. REILLY.

Secretary for S. P. JOHN HOSSACK,

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED

n 1888 2,068	l
n 1888	l
n 189221,157	ł
п 189636,564	
n 190034,191	
n 190434,172	ł

One ship drives east, another west, With the self-same winds that blow: Tis the set of the sails And not the gales Which tell us the way they go. -ANONYMOUS. In "Technical World Magazine" for Feb-

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

THATY.

On Jan. 17 occurred the bi-centenary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. Papers eulogistic of his greatness are the order of the day. One editor says of Franklin in a prefatory note: "He remains more than Washington or Patrick Henry, or even Lincoln or Grant, the typical American." Considering the standards of greatness prevalent, this is high praise, indeed. But it is worthy the man. Franklin, scientist, inventor, philosopher and statesman, was a many and great minded man. He was versatile without being superficial; active without being strenuous; a genius without being an ego-maniac. Born amid Puritanical surroundings, he personified the most liberal culture of the world of his time. Karl Marx, in one of those nous and profound foot-notes to "Capital" (P. 620), for which he is justly renowned, names Franklin as one of the great men who originally studied political economy, in contrast to the "reverend scribblers," like Malthus, who followed them. Says Marx: "Originally, political economy was studied by philosophers like Hobbes, Locke, Hume; business men and statesmen, like Thomas Moore, Temple, Sully, De Witt, North, Law, Vanderlint, Cantillon, Franklin; and especially, and with the greatest success, by medical men like Petty, Barbon, Mandeville, Quesnav." To have one's name mentioned among such names by a man like Karl Marx, is a tribute to greatness of the highest

And Marx, in another of his admirable foot notes, on the discussion of the nature of value (P. 19), pens these very complimentary words: "The celebrated Franklin, one of the first economists, after Wm. Petty, who saw through the mature of value, says: "Trade in general being nothing else but the exchange of labour for labour, the value of all things is . . . most justly measured by labour.' (The works of B. Franklin, &c., edited by Sparks, Boston, 1836. Vol. II., p. 267)." This penetrating contribution the foremost "typical American" to the basic economic doctrines of Socialism will, perhaps, jar those who otherwise

But it is not alone as an economist that Franklin ranks among the great, and is so recognized by the greatest ng them,-it is as a sociologist as well. Lewis Morgan, the great Americal writer, discussing the property career of civilized nations (P. "Ancient Society."), declares that The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of the owners. The erests of society are paramount fo individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past." Franklin anticipated Morgan by a century, when he declared "Private property is a creature of society, and is subject to the calls of that society whenever its necessities shall require it, even to its last farthing; its contributions, therefore, to the public exigences are . . . the return of an obligation previously received, or the payment of a just debt." This radical munistic exaltation of the social welfare-of human life-above property, will add to the jar the reverential worshippers of Franklin will perhaps receive from his contributions to the basic economic doctrines of Socialism.

Whether it does or not, the economic and seciological contributions of Frank-lin to the world's progress, will add to his stature and raise him above the bour geoisie he so well served.

All honor to Benjamin Franklin, genius of his age, and, like all senjue, in rance of it! -

THE BRITISH ELECTIONS.

Sufficient facts are now in concerning this week's British elections to form an approximate estimate of what has happened. It is now clear that what happened is not what the first returns, sensational in appearance and still more sensationally reported, seemed to portend. Duly weighed, the overturn in Parliament is not a "triumph for free trade," still less is it "the quietus of protection." least of all is it "a revolution of Labor." What happened is the downfall with disgrace of the ex-Premier Balfour, the emphatic condemnation of nervelessness in policy and lack of con-

viction in matters of principle. England has long been a free trade country in substance. Among the British free traders Joseph Chamberlain had been a conspicuous figure. With the close of the Boer War Chamberlain, then in the Conservative Balfour Cabinet, changed his views. Chamberlain is a capitalist with the keen instincts of one. Altered conditions in the capitalist world led him to the conclusion that the safety of the Empire of the British capitalists demanded an alteration in their tariff policy. He devised a plan of differential tariffs in favor of the Empire and its dependencies, with, if necessary, exclusive tariffs against the outer world. The merits or demerits of the Chamberlain plan need not here be considered. The conglomeration of negations, known as the Liberal party, took up the gauntlet to the cry of "Free Trade!" Balfour's weakness became apparent from that moment on. He had no views upon the burning question thus thrown up. The sails of his Cabinet ship flapped, the ship was rudderless. The Liberal outcry chopped up the political seas, the Bal-four Cabinet resigned, and a new election

It was under these circumstances that the election took place. Real tests of the issue centered around Balfour and Chamberlain. Balfour, the vacillator, lost his seat, together with Manchester; Chamberlain, the man of convictions and a well-defined purpose, kept his seat with an increased majority and carried the rest of Birmingham with him. The significant circumstance that both Birmingham and Manchester are workingmen centers disposes of the theory that English Labor expressed itself for either free trade or protection. The circumstance furthermore throws light on what has been termed the "Revolution of Labor." as expressed by the "Labor vote.

The term "Labor Vote" is extended to comprise a variety of heterogeneous elements. At one extreme, nearest approaching Socialism, stands Kier Hardie with his Independent Labor Party, From Keir Hardie and his party, the "Labor Vote" runs down through the gamut of Will Thorne, whose caliber may be best gauged by the circumstance of his enoying the questionable distinction of having been the candidate of the Countess of Warwick, better known to fame or ill-fame as the "Babbling Brook," and whose hysterically sensational cam-paigning pulled him through, down to the Labor Representation Committee, a "harmony between Capital and Labor" political expression of a "harmony between Capital and Labor" aggregation of craft Unions, which furnished the largest contingent of votes and will hold the largest contingent of "Labor Representatives" in the Parliament. 'With this review of the general lay of the land the figures will be better understood, also will be understood the tone of alarm that already comes from the British Liberal camp, so close upon the

the misgivings of "revolution." So far, 430 members of Parliament have been elected. Of these, 96 only are conservatives. That would leave, so far, an apparent anti-conservative majority not less than 334 strong. The majority is, however, by no means "Liberal" or free trade. In the first place there are 70 Irish Nationalists; these are everything but reliable allies; they will plump their votes against the Liberals any mo ment that their special interests dictate. The anti-conservative majority is, accordingly, reduced to 264. This majority is made up of Liberals, 224, and "Labor ites," 40, altogether 264. That these Laborites may not stick solidly to the Liberals is theoretically obvious; the theory is confirmed by the rumors that now begin to be heard to the effect that so far as consideration of the tariff is concerned, Labor rather favors than rejects the policy Mr. Chamberlain has put before the country." Reduced to the last analysis, the Liberal party has, so far, only a clear majority of 18.

The overturn at the polls in Great Britain is complete and crushing to Balfourism. As to the tariff issue, the fight on Chamberlainism is not ended, it is just begun. As to the "Labor Uprising" its caliber may be gauged by the caliber of its numerically strongest exponent the Labor Representation Committee, ogether with the appearance of John Burns in the Cabinet—the modern Plebs Leader, promoted by the modern patriciate to the undeing of the modern plebs masses, the Working Class.

POBEDONOSTSEFFISM.

The world is indeed one city, and the usuring class one breed. The "Cosmopolitan" for February has an article from the pen of Constantine Petrovitch Pobedonostseff, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, on "The Delusions of Democracy." The article was written in Russia and probably in Russian; it might as well have been written in English, right here in New York. It is cast in substantially the same mold in which the capitalist arguments against Socialism are cast. The cardinal lines of

the two are identical. The Procurator of the Holy Synod decries the idea that "democratic institutions are a universally applicable panacea."-This tune has been heard before Every time the finger is placed upon a concrete wrong and the remedy therefor is pointed out, the Usurper vilifies the remedy by pronouncing it a "panacea." If the wrong of the plunder levied upon Labor by the capitalist is shown and proven, and it is proven and shown that the remedy for the evil is the social ownership of the machinery of production the private ownership of which enables the capitalist to confiscate Labor's product, immediately the Usumper sets up the cross between a screech and a wild guffaw: "There is no panacea for the ills of this world: Socialism will not cure the whooping cough, and rivalry between lovers will still lead to jealousy, and often to tragedies." The Procurator of the Holy Synod

brushes aside the demands of the Russian people for the abolition of autocracy with the sapient observation that happiness can not be insured "at a noment's notice."-- That tune also has a familiar ring. Every time the finger is placed upon some concrete outrage and its stoppage is demanded, the Usurper gives an impatient shrug of the shoulder "evolution, not revolution; let's go slowly and sanely." If the outrages committed by capitalist autocracy are pointed out, if, for instance, it is pointed out that capitalism will and does sacrifice the limb and life of the workingman, tear up his family, destroy his initiative, crush out his individuality and reduce him to an automaton, and the call is made for the stoppage of the despotism, immediately the Usurper flies out of patience and argues that "happiness can not be insured at a moment's no-

The Procurator of the Holy Synod oilfly indicates that the enjoyment of dom is a fruit enjoyable by all who are fit for it, and that all who are so fitted prove their fitness by raising "the pedestal of their own" and "work out their destiny unaided." It needs no effort of the imagination to perceive that the Procurator of the Holy Syned is all the while pointing at himself as an illustration.- Is that argument, together with the illustrating, an unknown sound or sign in America? Every time the finger is placed upon the fact that economic freedom is an impossibility for the masses under capitalism, immediately the Usurper points to some Jay Gould, some Carnegie, now they are pointing to Marshall Field-to some man with longer fangs and sharper beak-and say: Thus can all raise their own pedestal, and work out their own freedom." Pobedonostseffism is international like

Capitalism.

ELSASS-THE PHILIPPINES. The action of Thiers, in ceding Elsasscorraine to Germany in the treaty of peace between France and Germany in 1871, was used by the Socialists as one of many instances illustrative of the shouts of victory, and so very close upon fact that the capitalist's "country" is pocket, and the capitalist's "patriotism" is but leve for his own private purse, at the expense, if necessary, of the much gleried-about "fatherland." In Elsass-Lorraine, Elsass especially, large and thriving weaving establishments had sprung up. These competed heavily with the weaving establishments of the north of France in the region of Lille. Both being inside of France no tariff legislation could come to the aid of the one against the other. The Lille concerns cut the throats of the Elsass concerns, the Elsass concerns did the same for the Lille concerns. Thiers was one of the leading stockholders in Lille. The competition of the Elsass mills with those of Lille reduced the dividends of what may be termed the Thiers syndicate. The Franco-Prussian war broke out. When peace was to be signed, Thiers, the then virtual head of France and leading figure in the peace negotiations, readily acceded to the German demand for the territory of Elsass. The scene in the French parliament, when Thiers announced "the humiliation of 'la France'" through the cession of territory (Elsass-Lorraine) was described by the knaves in the secret and the believing dupes as "pathetic." The "venerable Thiers" broke down "sobbing and tears running down his cheeks." The Socialists laughed. They pronounced the tears "crocodile tears"; they explained Thiers' "breaking down" as an evidence of overpowering joy at the thought that thenceforth

Lille: Elsass, thenceforth a foreign country, would have to pay duties frontier. The Socialist explanation of the comedy was lenounced as an evidence of "Socialist baseness," as an evidence of "the Socialist's incapacity to appreciate the lofty sentiments of patriotism," etc., etc.-Stick a pin there.

About twenty-five years later, soon

after the beginning of the Spanish-Amer-

ican war, the Republican jingo protec-

tionists rose to the lofty heights of our

"Manifest Destiny." The Philippine Islands had been placed into our hands by decree of Providence." Ours was the duty to protect the Filipinos against the vultures of the other nations, that, but for our ownership of he islands, would swoop down upon and devour those people. We were to civilize them." Give them their independence? Never! That would be "to betray the trust God had imposed upon us," it would be to "trail the country's name and Old Glory in the mire." Let traitors think of such a thing -patriots never! Such was the language held then; such in even higher pitch was the language subsequently held, when we took possession and start ed in to civilize the Filipino. Suddenly crack is heard in the tune. The Payne Philippine tariff bill being introduced in Congress, the jingos split. About 100 Republicans seede from their party caucus. The Payne tariff bill proposes an immediate reduction of the tariff in favor of Philippine products, and absolute free trade with the islands after April 11 1909. This is more than the patriotism of several intrests, the beet sugar and tobacco interests at their head, could stand. They fought the bill, and, finding they could not kill it, resort to the method that the patriot Thiers blazoned the way for. In order to protect the mills of Lille from the competition of the Elsass mills. Thiers gladly turned Elsass into a foreign country. Now, in order to protect the beet sugar, tobacco and other interests of the United States the one-time Republican jingos-the men who considered our ownership of the Philippine Islands a sacred trust, and who declared the perpetuity of the union of the islands with the United States to be inseparable from the honor of Old Glory-these men now threaten to join the Democrats and give immediate independence to 'the islands! Rather disnember our "Manifest Destiny" if dismemberment is necessary to clap a heavy tariff on Philippine goods; rather rip up Old Glory if the rent is required to keep up high prices.

The capitalist has no country but his ocket, no God but the Dollar, no principle but how to make money. The 'loftiness" of his aspirations consists in false pretence. He will "expand" the country, or dismember it, just according as expansion or dismemberment may

ALL ROUND CRAFTY.

The struggle between the Typothetae and the Typogrpahical Union, now going on in this city, is bringing out facts by the day that should cause the composi tors to pause-along with them, the rest of the workingmen, the organized few and the unorganized many.

One of these facts is the circular issued by John A. Hill, president of the Hill Publishing Company and prominent member of the Typothetae. Mr. Hill's circular is addressed to his former employes, now on strike, and also to the men and women who took, or may take, the strikers' places. Nicholas of Russia would give much if he were gifted with half the fiber of Hill. There is an ideal Tearic ring in Hill's r speaks the master "by the grace of God." "Thus I will" says Hill, at least he says as much; "it is for you to obey; if you do, well and good, and I shall be pleased to be your Providence; if you den't anathema!" Now, who is John A. Hill? What schooling did he have? John A. Hill is still an honorary member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the schooling through which the gentleman was strained has been the pure and simple or craft Union.

The other fact is furnished by Mr. Isaac Marcusson, also of the Typothetae. Speaking for his organization, and arguing that its victory is assured the gentleman said: "We now have trained men traveling in the West and recruiting expert printers who will be shipped to New

The Typographical Union now at wa with the Typothetae must feel very much in the plight of Aesop's eagle, when it saw itself wounded by an arrow feathered with a feather plucked from its own pinions. Craft Unionism is the mold in which "Big Six" is cast. Craft Unionism is a caricature of capitalism. Craft Unionism trains its membership in the belief that Labor can deal with Capital as Capital deals, with the buyer of its goods. Craft Unionism fosters the bourgeois spirit of everyone for himself the devil take the hindmost. Craft Unionism ruptures the Working Class into autonomous organizations. Craft Union-

tivates the notion with the capitalist methods of false pretense: as capitalism cloaks its misdeeds with the pretense of purity, sanctity and "the people," so does craft Unionism cloak its wrongfulness with the pretense of lofty aims and the false allegation that it represents the Working Class. Expert printers, kept out of the Union in the West, gathering to take the strikers' places in New York fetched hither by railroad craft Unions, and an honorable member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers superintending the job for the Typothetae-such is the all round "crafty" spectacle presented by the clapperclaw in the book and job trade in this city.

JUST GIVE'M ROPE.

The State of Alabama, that is, the Democratic-Capitalist interests of the State of Alabama, glories in the possession of a Representative in Congress by the name of Oscar W. Underwood, As most Southern office-holders, Mr. Underwood is a florid orator: as all capitalist politicians, the gentleman dotes upon the workingman with a dotefulness that knows no bounds. These two qualities combined-oratory and devotion to the Working Class-produced, through the windpipe and mouth of the said Underwood, a remarkable oration at a re-

cent sitting of Congress. The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the resolution for the distribution of the President's message, Mr. Underwood tackled the subject of immigration. Mr. Underwood tore and fumed against the "pauper labor of Europe" in general. The flood of immigration, during the previous four or five generations, he declared in well-rounded periods, had built up the country. But former immigration and present immigration he pronounced to be as different as black is from white. Former immigrations, thus ran his argument, raised the American standard. present immigration tore it down-by the Almighty, the thing had to stop! Of course, the orator must not be expected to speil his rhetorical flights by the acquisition of the knowledge that would interfere with the freedom of his imagination. Mr. Underwood did not suppress, we feel certain, he simply is ignorant of the fact that the "fleed of immigration" into this country soon after the American capitalist class freed itself from the feudal trammels of the British Crown, did not raise, but actually lowered the "American standard."

What was the "American standard" at

the time of the Independence? It was the

standard of individual well-being. With

natural opportunities unbounded and the

tools of production simple, individual well-being was assured. However poor the American youth started, if he was at all industrious he eventually reached a competence, set up his plain yet independent home, and reared a family around him. The apprentice and serving maid of yesterday became the independent householder of to-mrrow. That was the "standard". It was the standard of incipient capitalism. But cap., or but a latent aspiration awaiting its oplines that are in it. The prospect, actual not imaginary, of the apprentice and subaltern becoming himself a master, interefers with the development of the capitalist. The workingman must be shut out from all actual prespect of deliverance, however useful it be to hold out to him the lure of imaginary deliverance. In short, for its development, capitalism needs the proletariat. America did not originally supply the demand. The supply was imported. It consisted in the floods of European proletarians—a mass of hu-manity that started so handicapped in a new country that but few of them could help themselves to the natural opportunities, and meet of whom remained helpless. Capitalism then bounded forward,"and the "American standard", so called, tumbled down. In dragging down the standard not only the handi capped European proletafiat remained down, down also tumbled the former American in rafts. Only those who were favored by special luck or cursed with stronger beaks and talons held their own and soared upward into the fullfledged capitalist. That much for the "American standard" Of course Mr. Underwood is too much of an orator to know anything about such historic development. And thus he seared from flight of rhetoric to flight of rhetoric praising-in the name of the workingman, be it remembered,—the former im migrations, and cursing-in the interest of American labor, be it rememberedthe present immigration. But, in the midst of his towering flight the Underwood owl was by another owl mouse at, and brought down. Another Representative, Joseph

Goulden of New York, whose special capitalist interests happen to call for more and more immigrants, and who, know ing well the soul of his fellow capitalist političians, took no stock in Mr. Underwood's protestations that he was fired only by love and affection for the workingman, fired a succession of neat bolts the woven goods of Elsass could no long. ism fosters the capitalist myth that suc-er competer with the manufactures of cess is the roward efethrift, and it culs bolts were a series of question; these this respect.

wormed out of our pro-Labor crator the admission that "the great agitation among the farmers of the South is TO CUT DOWN THE AMOUNT OF ACRE-AGE" and thereby "TO KEEP UP THE PRICE OF COTTON", and this consummation Mr. Underwood declared could not be reached if American-standard lowering immigration were to be allowed to come in: such immigration, he contended, "WOULD ONLY INCREASE THE AMOUNT OF THE CROP"! In other words an increase of wealth is a calamity! it would lower the price of the crops of the farmer! it was for the farmer that Underwood rhetorized-the devil take the workingman, for all that he and his set care.

Just give the "friends of Labor" rope They will invariably hang themselvesand one another.

Brooklyn-Christian Brooklyn-is very

much wrought up. The Rev. Dr. Charles T. Baylis and the Bushwick Avenue Congregational Church have parted company. And thereby hangs a tale. The Rev. Dr., according to newspaper reports, tried to give a practical rendering to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man within his church. He admitted to his congregation, on a footing of equality with all its members, a lo of circus-tent converts who possessed abundant spiritual, but very little material, wealth. A howl thereupon smote the religious atmosphere. The majority of the members objected: vigorously and successfully objected they. The Rev. Dr. retorted with equal vigor and what he lacked in success he made up in the picturesqueness of his language. Says he: "That congregation" (observe the deep vibrant sympathy expressed in this loving phrase), "is the aristocracy of poverty, something much snobbier than the aristocracy of wealth. They are middle class and poor people, but the way they examine the financial standing of a candidate for membership is enough to sicken one. I've had a committee hold up a list of candidates and ask how much money the persons could bring into the church. Now that's bad; its worse; for, for brutal candor, and absence of refined. spirituals tact, it's revolting. But what is the Christian church here for, if not to buttress up and advance the material interests of its members? And how can it perform its duties properly if a lot of old Testament doctrines containing a smattering of communism are to be permitted to sway its destinies? Rockefeller will certainly not give-money. tainted, or other wise, to such a church; nor will the middle class attach themselves to, it on the same principle that they, join a lodge, give a "blow-out," or put a new front in their stores, that is, in order to gain more prestige and business; nor will the poor-the deluded poor with aspirations of becoming middle classers and Rockefellers-seek to bask in the sunshine of such an institution. A Christian church run on a basis suggestive of true communism is a menace to capitalism, no matter whether the latter is wholly or partially developed, italism, once started, develops along the portunity to burst forth. The mistake is the Rev. Dr. Baylis'. He should, in true, orthodox style, have organized a branch of his church somewhere, called it a "mission" and placed his circus-tent converts therein. His congregation could then look down on the latter with the air of patrons; "the brotherhood of man" would then have been proclaimed in true capitalist-Christian style, and society would have been saved once more As it is, there's hell to pay in Brooklyn -Christian Brooklyn.

> "Printers .. Ink" for Jan. 17. contains a long special article by Jas. H. Collins, entitled "The Week Before Christmas". The article is "a compilation of department stere advertising in New York Oity, Brookin and the suburbs". The article concludes thusly: "When it is realized that, in a single busy week, the daily and Sunday papers of Greater New York received 1,890 columns of advertising from 23 department stores, or 265 newspaper pages, it is easy to see how great is the temptation to appoint queer agents, and grant underground commissions, and move heaven and earth to get some of the enermous business that this means in a year." It is easy not only to see how great this tempta tion is, but also how great is the temptation to say nothing unfavorable of the bad labor conditions in these department stores, for fear of losing "the enormous business that this means in a year". Mr Collins might have added this observation also. Perhaps, as an advertising writer he felt constrained to confine himself to that side of the subject exclusively; leaving to the bona-fide organs of labor the task of making it clear, which is herewith cheerfully done. The freedom of the press is a humbug when ad vertising patronage is concerned.

> Do the men who claim that the work ing class is prosperous, reckon in the large number of deaths and accidents reported from Pittsburg and elsewhere? The working class is certainly rich, in



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONA-THAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN-There was Socialist Labor Party meeting the other day that should damn you Socialists forever in the eyes of the workers of this country. UNCLE SAM-Did it fire bombs?

B. J.-No; it favored the importation of pauper labor. U. S .- You are mistaken; what it did

was denounce the anti-immigration howl. B. J.-What is the difference? U. S .- A good deal. This anti-immi-

gration howl is a fraud on the people. B. J .- Do you call it a fraud on the people to relieve the labor market?

U.S.-That would not be a fraud: but to make believe one wants to relieve the labor market, and in that way gain the confidence of those in whose interest it is that the labor market be relieved, and armed with their confidence acquire power to overstock the labor market still more -that is the fraud.

B. J.-In what way is anti-immigra tion all that? U. S.-The labor market is overstock

ed to the compositors: did immigration do that? B. J .- No; typesetting machines did it.

U. S .- The labor market is overstocked to the cigarmakers; did immigration do that? B. J.-No; the numerous machines did

U. S.-The labor market is overstock-

ed to the weavers; did immigration do that? B. J.-Why, no; the steam and auto-

matic looms did it:

U. S .- And so we may go through the whole string of the nation's industries. Machinery, born in this country, overstocks the labor market much more by displacement than immigration does. Now, anti-immigration laws cannot, in the very nature of the thing, be enforced, and their violation is hard to detect; on the other hand, the injury done to labor by privately owned machinery could be remedied by the popular ownership of it. When a pickpocket wants to rifle your right side pocket he tips your hat on the left; he thereby throws you off your guard on the right and has free play. These anti-immigration howls are of that nature. In the first place, it sounds plausible to impute the hardships of labor solely to immigration; in the second place, the way to save all the good there is in the machine, and at the same time prevent its ravages among the workers, is not so clear. It is, there fore, the veriest imitation of the pickpocket's trick to beat the alarm against immigration. By doing that even if immigration were wholly stopped capitalist exploitation would continue unabated through the displacement of labor by the machine. The capitalist would have with a question that amounts to nothing, and would thereby draw their attention away from the real issue. Don't you see

B. J .-- But doesn't immigration do some harm? Won't you take a half loaf rather than nothing?

U. S .- I would take a quarter of a loaf rather than nothing; but I refuse to accept two lumps of stone as large as a loaf each, and called loaves for a loaf of bread. Who are the people who bring in the immigration? Is it the work-

B. J .- No; the capitalists.

U. S .- That being so, just think how they try to fool you with a stone that they call "half a loaf!" These very capitalists who want the immigrants are to be the ones to keep them 'out! They want the whole loaf of genuine bread that consists in your ballot, and they promise to give you a law which, according to yourself, it is in their interest not to enforce! You are a fool and they know it, and that's why they keep on with their tricks to trick you out of your ballot.

B. J. (looks crestfallen)

U. S .- Not the foreign laborer is the enemy you should guard against; that enemy is the capitalist class. The workers of all lands are your brothers. Vote the capitalist class down and out.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialis Labor Party and publishes nothing but sound Socialist literature.

CORRESPONDENCE #~25~#

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

ALL PROPERTY OF THE PERSON OF

ACTIVITY.

To the Daily and Weekly People :-At the last business meeting of Section Vancouver, S. L. P., British Columbia. I was instructed to order 500 copies of the Weekly People containing E. V. Debs' New York I. W. W. speech; also 100 copies of the pamphlet by De Leon, "The Preamble of the I. W. W." We think literature is one of the best means of introducing the I. W. W.

We are holding outdoor meetings when weather permits. We are also creating a fund to aid the social revolution in Russia, and collected \$8.00 in one evening. The comrades realize the necessity of assisting others when in need. We may need help sometime ourselves, for all of us, if we don't die a premature death, expect to be in the revolution here.

We are, in addition to the above, holding Sunday evening educational meetings. Last Sunday we again took up "Value, Price and Profit," and compared it with the theories expounded by E. T. Kingley in his paper, the "Clarion". These theories are the theories of Citizen Weston, and are, of course, as false.

I take this opportunity of thanking the comrades for sending me the Daily People I advertised for, I am fairly flooded with copies of that issue.

Bert Surges Yours in unity. Vancouver, B. C., January 5.

THE WAY TO DO IT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:-Having been elected agent for The People by Section Bridgeport, I intend to stir up all the subscribers, old and new, who have the interest of the working class at heart. Each reader will be asked to get one subscriber, which will not be hard for them to do, and I shall make it clear that it is a duty for them to do it. Our comrades should make it a point to get acquainted with all readers and enlist them for as much work as possible. E. Prvor.

ON THE LIMIT OF DISCUSSION.

Bridgeport, Conn., January 11.

To the Daily and Weekly People:-Since I have not heretofore availed myself of the privilege of your correspondence column, may I not now ask space for a word which seems timely? The rights of minorities and the tyranny of majorities has ever been a favorite theme with the Socialist. Indeed, we are so in the habit of standing alone, battling for our precious opinions, that it seems never to have occurred to us that perhaps there might be a "limit" to the rights of the former. This luminous thought was suggested by a perusal of Corregan's "Warning," which was published on Friday last.

While I doubt not the comrade's ear nestices, his integrity or fitness, I seriously question the expediency or justice of giving publicity to all of his doubts and fears concerning the future of the I. W. W. at this time. If a definite program is offered or a single constructive suggestion made by all means give them the widest publicity, but if our time and energy is to be spent in academic discussion or calamity howling I submit that the columns of the Weekly People is hardly the forum for mental gymnastics of this kind Nor does it seem to me that this position is an intolerant one, a due respect having already been shown for opinions strangely out of accord with those of the vast majority of the party membership. To continue the publication of similar articles would seem to infringe on the rights of the majority. (Never having been a member of any union, I ought to be considered im partial.)

Mr Editor, the I. W. W. train has already started, is gaining in velocity daily, if there are broken bridges, dangerous grades, etc., ahead, hadn't we not better spend our time making necessary repairs and improvements, and not dissipate our energy sending up sky-rockets or exploding torpedoes?

Frank E. Coddington. Brooklyn, January 14.

THE MILWUAKEE CIGAR MAK-ERS' LOCAL

To the Daily and Weekly People;-For the benefit of The People readers I wish to explain a few points concerning the cigar makers whom I recently ored in this city. I have learned, to disgust, and our assailant's shame that the pure and simplers, as well as some of our own unthinking members, are raising a cry that the employes orgarized in the I. W. W. cigar makers' local here are not enjoying condi-tions as the use of our track requires or, with more than the usual pleasure that stand they have taken in regard to ap-

ONE SECTION'S MANY-SIDED in other words, are not receiving adequate compensation.

It should be obvious to all who are not afflicted with an adamant brain, that it takes some time to adjust a machine before it is in running order, and before the adjustment takes place the basis must be right and if that is wrong all other work is wasted energy. Consequently I can safely say that the Cigar Makers Local 210, of the I. W. W., has started from correct premises and all other adjustments will follow along the same lines, conditions and compensations as well.

I can see the snake of racial prejudice wending its way through this treacherous howl. There are a number of Jews who have become members of this organization and locally speaking I have been called to task for accepting their applications. Well the objections are simple to comment upon; for, according to our constitution and principles there is room enough in our organization for all, regardless of race, color or creed.

A committee of five met last Sunday, January 7, and decided upon a rate that will be submitted to the local this Thursday evening, January 11, for action; then to the G. E. B. for ratification. After this has been accomplished and agreed to by the employer, then I want to know what will be the next objection raised by the unsophisticated ignoramuses?

Fraternally. R. T. Sims. Milwaukee, Wis., January 11.

GROWTH IN CINCINNATI,

To the Daily and Weekly People:-Although the membership of Section Cincinnati was always clear on the principles of Socialism, it was very much handicapped by the lack of numbers. Any revolutionary organization which unfurls its banner in this city, the city which has so aptly been termed the very "Hell of Capitalism," has great odds to fight against, but when that organization is small, it requires unceasing toil and the greatest enthusiasm to hold out. Like the "Old Guard" our Section did not, surrender, and it is a great satisfaction to be able to report now that our staunch comrades have been reinforced by about fifty men in the last year and a half.

We began the new year by opening up spacious headquarters at 1339 Walnut street. Experience taught us that nothing facilitates the work of agitation as much as permanent headquarters. Altogether the outlook for the coming year is promising, and with the election of the following officers for the ensuing term we hope for great success in spreading the principles of Socialism among our fellow workers:

Organizer, Max Eisenberg; financial secretary, Fred Steinbach; recording secretary, Katie Eisenberg; agent for The People, Robert Thuman; Socialistische Arbeiter Zeiting, Fred Steinbach; Der Arbeiter agent, Paul Paulsen; grievance committee, Wm. Henke, A. Reueberg, A. Voliver; trustees, Fred Steinbach, Paul Paulsen, Max Eisenberg; auditors, Anton Ortuer and Wm. Henke.

Fraternally, Press Committee. Cincinnati, O., January 16.

THE PENNSY'S "MESSAGE OF THANKS."

To the Daily and Weekly People:-Enclosed find "a message of thanks" that was posted, along with some tyrannical orders, from the big boss, in the Altoona shop of the Pennsylvania Railroad sys-It seems as though the wage slaves need lots of thanks for their faithfulness to the P. R. R., as that will feed them until the next suspension of work, which is most due. They were all expecting a ten per cent. increase on the first of the year. They got it where the wage slaves who depend on capitalist generosity generally get it-where the chicken got the axe-in the neck.

One of the Wage Slaves. Altoona, Pa., January 17.

(Enclosure.) Altoona, Pa., Jan. 2, 1906. Mr. -

·Foreman. Dear Sir :-

The copy of message given below from the General Manager was received in this office late on the afternoon of December

I desire to express to the officers and employes, my appreciation of their loyalty and energy, as through their earnest and faithful services we have been able to complete one of the most successful years in our history. You can

I desire to extend to you and your families my best wishes for a very happy and prosperous new year.' Yours truly.

"ORGANIZING" THE WORKING

CLASS.

W. F. Eberle. General Foreman. Please post this on your bulletin board.

To the Daily and Weekly People :-If I remember rightly it was Benjamin Hanford who stated recently that the American Federation of Labor is slowly but surely organizing the working class upon the economic field-or something to that effect, in other words. The enclosed clipping from "Men's Wear" of January 10, 1906, goes a great way towards confirming the veracity of his statement.

But aside from the injury inflicted upon the straw hat makers, these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class have the arrogance to even insult their own membership by setting aside their decision upon the preposterous claim that they "were not well enough acquainted with the matter in all its bearings at the time the vote was taken." And vet there are some who believe in "boring from within," and, furthermore, have the impudence to call themselves Socialists. Long live the Industrial Workers of

the World! Hats off to those who have striven to bring it into existence.

A. Orange. New York, January 14.

[Enclosure.]

THE STRAW HATTERS' UNION. The question of admitting the Straw Hatters' Union to membership in the United Hatters of North America has not yet been /decided, for although a referendum resulted in two-thirds of the U. H. of N. A. indicating their willingness to admit the straw hatters, the officers o fthe U. H. of N. A hold that the members were not well enough acquainted with the matter in all its bearings at the time the vote was taken, and have postponed final action until another vote can be had, and this can hardly be before another year.

NEW AND OLD TRADES UNION-ISM CONTRASTED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:-Having read with much interest the various communications and editorials, in both the Weekly People and the official organs of the A. F. of L., the latter standing for the dividing craft system, and the former (the I. W. W.) for its abolition, I feel it my duty (and I must say it is not a painful duty) as a member of the I. Vi. W. to express my opinion upon the present controversy between the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. and the situation as it now stands.

In the outset I wish to state that the position taken by the I. W. W. is commended by all true and loyal union men, wherever they may reside, and in whatever Industrial Department they may have cast their lot; the position assumed by the (A. F. of L.) practice of craft unions and a certain element of leaders, "grafters," are without parallel in the history of labor organizations; yea, even in the annals of the history of our great republic.

Ever since creation's natal dawn, ever since the morning stars first sang together, liberty has been the watchword of every creature of Adam's fallen race. Liberty, how precious to the heart of every true American! For liberty our forefathers fell at Bunker Hill, Monmouth and Yorktown, in the War of 1812 confirmed the freedom of their inand in 1846 marched across the burning sands of Mexico and planted the Star Spangled banner on the castles of the city of Montesumas. Ask the emigrant, fresh from the Emerald Isle. or the Russian serf, fleeing from the galling yoke of monarchical government, why he has left the green field and sunlit hills of his native country, and he answers that he may enjoy free speech, free

thought and free action. It is bad at any job to get a swelled head, so come down off your perch and think you are only one member of the great army of workingmen, and not the whole of it, come let us reason one with another, so that when our life's work is ended we can lie down in peace and our spirit go to God, who gave it, and it may be said the world has been made the better for our having lived in it.

Yours in the revolution, L. J. Trujillo. Salt Lake City, Utah, January 14.

WHAT THE PRINTERS PRO-POSED AND WHAT IS BEING DONE.

To the Daily and Weekly People: In regard to a communication which was recently published in The People, and which I heartily endorse, I would like to state, as a member of No. 6 (Typographical Union No. 6) that the members are as yet unable to get any information in regard to the situation in the strike. The officers have been

pealing to other organizations for as- other part of which is to be "investisistance as they had laid claim to the gated" in Panama and so on ad infinitum fact that No. 6 could win the strike alone. At the meeting of the Methodist Conference, held to-day, they appealed to the clergymen of that denomination to affect a settlement with their printing concern. Now, it seems, that the clergymen, having delegates seated at the C. F. U. meeting last 'Sunday, would not have to resort to such means because if these clergymen were "union men," a settlement could have been effected long before this, as the concern is owned and run by ministers.

There has been much comment in regard to that famous forty-eight hour agreement, as the official battle cry of the I. T. U. for the past year has been: "We propose to sell to the employer eight hours out of twenty-four and we will do with the remaining sixteen as we please," but in New York it should read: "We will let the employer do as he pleases, as now he can work us as long as he likes."

Hoping you will give this correspondence space, I remain,

Another Member of "Big Six." New York, January 10.

AS TO THE I: W. W.

To the Daily and Weekly People:-The Chicago convention met in response to a revolutionary call, it adopted a revolutionary program, it placed the labor movement on higher ground, consequently the view presented was clear and it was impossible that a pure and simple union could have been the result as Comrade Corregan fears,

The "no affiliation" clause was proper and in its place. I was one of those opposed to the clause prior to the convention. But in the light of the convention I could see no reason to oppose it. I could only have made myself ridiculous. We said to the convention: the S. L. P. is the shadow, the reflex of the true working class economic movement. We did what we could. We showed the I. W. W. the model and we were ready to show up the bogus if occasion had demanded it.

There can be no question now as to which shall dominate the labor movement, the political wing or the economic The functions of each are clearly outlined. The economic body must take up and develop the administrative function of government. The political body must seize the political function and relegate it to the dead past.

We shall have use for the administrative function of government as long as Socialism shall endure. We have only use for the political function in the final act of the capitalist state; the changing of private property to social property believe that all who can properly join the I. W. W. should do so, keeping a weather eye on the politicians who may try to deflect its course.

Theo. Bernine. Indianapolis, Ind., January 15.

CLASSES-ECONOMIC AND CRIM-INAL. (Copy.)

Dayton, O., Jan. 17, 1906. Editor Dayton Daily News, Dayton, Ohio,

Dear Sir:-

Some time since I took occasion to reply to your editorial statement that there were no classes in this country. Of course, I understood at the time that you meant hereditary classes, that is, a ruling or master class that dated its economic power to rob the working or slave class back to an ancestry of robp barons of the feudal times: was merely begging the question on your part. So far as its effects on the working or slave class is concerned, the length of the pedigree of the class that is on its back cuts no figure whatever. That our own capitalist class possesses the economic power through its ownership of the government and of the means of production, that is, the land and the tools, to rob the producing or slave class and that it exercises that power to the limit, you would not have the hardihood to deny for a minute to anyone capable of adding two and two together and thereby ascertaining that they made four. who had the facts before him.

That the capitalist class is a cold blooded criminal class, you have only to read the news column of the Dayton Daily News to find out. The petty crimes committed by members of the working class are always inspired by necessity or by passion, while the colossal rimes of the capitalist class, not merely members of it, but of the whole class, from Rockefeller down to the nastiest shyster attorney at the Dayton Bar, are inspired by the lust for gain and power and debauchery.

As the editor of the Dayton Daily News, which, in common with all papers of its class, is engaged in the delectable task of moulding public opinion in favor of its masters, the capitalist class, the McCalls, the Depews, the whole maloderous outfit, part of which was recently "investigated" in New York, and another part of which is being "investigated" in Missouri, and still an-

and ad nauseum to such an extent ever that the Dayton Daily News even wants to "investigate" our own little dirty capitalist politicians occasionally, you will doubtless be pleased to read the speech of Eugene V. Debs delivered lately before the revolutionists of New York city upon the subject of classes in the United States and the disposition that we are preparing to make of them. Yours for the revolution.

Walter Smith I take pleasure in handing you herewith Mr. Debs' speech in full.

J. J. MURPHY. To the Daily and Weekly People:

. J. Murphy, a member of the Socialist Labor Party ,died on January 15, at the residence of G. Popper, 446 West One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street, of hemorrhage. Murphy was born in New York City, May 6, 1865. He began his life of wage slavery in a printing establishment when fourteen years of age. He continued at this occupation until ten years ago, when his health, which was never too good, having inherited an enfeebled constitution from hsi father, a painter, compelled a change. He left the chapel master for a railroad one, becoming first a conductor, later a transfer agent. But alas one master was as merciless as the other: for, where he had expected to improve his physical condition it became worse; so much so, that for the past five years he had not been able to average more than eight months' work a year. Long hours of exposure in the most inclement weather only tended to still further enfeeble his already delicate constitution.

It was Saturday, January 8, however, that brought on the climax; Murphy being compelled to work from three p. m., on that date, until two a. m., the next, and begin again at six a. m. Sunday. The weather, being very bad, told on him to such an extent that, although working on through sheer will power until the following Thursday, he was compelled to succumb that day, the hemorrhage attacking him then. As already noted he struggled on, however, until last Tuesday, when he expired.

The death of Comrade J. J. Murphy recalls one of the purest and noblest of characters. His lack of selfishness was most striking. He was ever ready, despite his own great needs, to help with his mite any person in distress, especially one in sympathy with our cause, which was dear to him. His was one of those natures whom, Emerson says, work in the dark and succor those that never knew them. Scorning praise and compliments for his generous acts, he went his way unperturbed.

Owing to his physical feebleness, how ever, Murphy was not able to take an active part in advancing the cause he loved so well; but the rigidity of his moral conduct, coupled with his keen perception of the class struggle in all its phases, and his living up to it, made him a most valuable man to our cause.

In his last hours he discussed the pros pects of success for the proletarian revolution of Russia, and was very much comforted by the assurances of victory. The social revolution has lost a good man in the death of J. J. Murphy.

J. Plamondon New York, January 16.

SECTION OFFICERS.

Section Milwaukee in general session elected the following officers for the ensuing term of six months: Organizer, Herman Loewe; treasurer, J. Vierthaler; English press agent, R. T. Sims: German press agent, R. Babnick and E. Benhat; librarian, H. Baier; trustees, E. Wegner, J. Vierthaler, and M. Temmer; auditing committee, A. Schnabel, Sr., Charles Kler, J. Dobrodenka; literary agent, A. Schnabel, Ir.

We are lined up for the fray. I shall endeavor to give an account of myself in the way of getting new and renewed subscribers for the Daily and Weekly People.

> Fraternally submitted, R. T. Sims.

II.

At the regular meeting held on January 10, 1906, Section Hartford, S. L. P., elected its officers as follows: Organizer, Aug. A. Rein; recording secretary, Frank Knoteck; treasurer of Section, Fred Fellermann; financial secretary, Kumpitsch; sergeant-at-arms, James Williams; English literary agent, . Newhouse; German literary agent, Joe Rossmeisl.

HELP THIS ALONG.

Data is wanted on corporation evidences of bribery, collusion, evasion of taxes, stealings, etc. Newspaper clippings especially desirable. Kindly send such information to F. J. Boyle, Mailing Division, Beston P. O., Mass.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS

all other immigration is the following:

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

If the U. S. were to-day a Socialist is. In that event neither would the Chinese come to America, nor would the U. S. care to exclude them. The question would have solved itself.

To-day, however, the land being under capitalism, all immigration tends to still more overstock the labor-market and thereby lower the standard of living. The S. L. P., accordingly would prefer to see no immigration.

At the same time, an anti-immigration attitude does, to-day, more harm than good. Such an attitude cannot be struck without lining up with the capitalist policy of keeping the races divided and it cannot be pursued without assistance from the capitalist Government Fatal steps, both of them, to the Working Class. The capitalist wants immigrants. To ask the capitalist to keep he immigrant out is an absurd position for Labor to take.

On the question of immigration together with its kindred question of racial purity, etc., the attitude of the S. L. P. is persistant fight against capitalism. That overthrown, the rest is done.

J. W., MT. CARMEL, ILL.-Turn not yourself into food for capitalist cannon. The total insurance graft for all time has not been one-fifth of the graft of the protected industries. And the graft of both combined is like a drop in the ocean of the graft of the capitalist class upon the working class. The last alone concerns the worker. R. L. T., HOLYOKE, MASS .- The

workingman has now little enough to live on. Not even the consumption of that is enough to keep him in good health. To reduce that little still more through life insurance is to buy a dram of mental comfort for the future with pound of present trouble.

W. V., NEW YORK-Gompers stated editorially in his "Federationist" that Wall Street money supported The People. The stupidity of the lie does not cleanse it of its blackguardism.

D. P. W., TRENTON, N. J.-It would be an interesting list, but we have no time to keep the record closely. The latest instance of the malfeasances that result from the private ownership of the press is that the Volkszeitung Corporation allowed its "Worker's" mailing list to be used for the circulation of the scurrilous and exploded A. F. of L. capmakers' circular against the I. W. W .-What are you going to do about it?

T. B., NORTH ADAMS, MASS.-How you talk! Diplomacy! If by diolomacy is meant double-facedness. then diplomacy is wrong. But that is not necessarily diplomacy. Every sane man uses diplomacy every day. If you are on the fifth story of a house and want to go on the street, you don't take the direct route and jump down out of the window. You go out on the hall, down the winding stairs, and reach the street that way. Diplomacy, proper, means the steering of one's course by the facts.

T. E., DALLAS, TEX .- The mill will never grind again with the water that "depositors," and that one and the same has passed. No danger. The Kangaroo depositor may make as many deposits as diffications of the Socialist Labor Party will turn no further wheels, M. F., ALLEGHENY, PA.-Be care-

ful not to be duped. When the capitalist says he makes only one per cent. any statistical sources from wihch to on his capital, he means his capitaliza-"Capital" means the money tion. actually invested; "capitalization" is fictitious capital, generally watered stock. The more his capitalization is inflated the smaller does his profit appear to be. If he invested \$10,000 and makes ten per cent., his profit would be \$1,000. If he watered his stock to \$20,000 then he thought of an intrigue lying at its botwould say his \$1,000 profit is only five tom deprives the logic of events of its per cent; if he watered his stock to beauty, and any one, who so imagines, \$100,000 then he would say his \$1,000 of the instruction that the development profit is only one per cent. These gen- imparts. tlemen have more twists and turns than the hunted fox. They can never be taken at their word.

J. G. D., SCHENECTADY, N. Y. The man who will refuse to read Mary's works because Hearst's "American Almanac" ranks Marx among the "pioneers of Anarchy"-such a man will have to be churned over again. Such a man would be silly enough to refuse to eat beefsteak if some one were to tell him the beefsteak was a rampant croco-

J. R., LAKE CHARLES, LA.-The 'essential difference between the S. L. P. and the S. P. is that the S. P. imagines methods in securing franchises, including that Socialist political triumph can be encompassed without the proper economic organization; the S. L. P. holds the contrary view. An immediate result of these opposing views is that the S. P. claims neutrality on the Union Question

J. L. F., IMPERIAL, CAL.—The at-, and practically upholds the A. F. of L. titude of the S. L. P. upon Chinese and craft Unions, while the S. L. P. disowns neutrality, and upholds the I. W. W. A further difference, closely akin to Republic, China would not be what she this, is that the S. P. press is the private property of incorporators, who run it for profit and irresponsible to the party, while the S. L. P. press is owned and operated by the Party itself.

B. S., VANCOUVER, B. C.-First-The list of the S. L. P. press, in English and in foreign languages is published periodically in these columns.

Second-Communicate with I. W. W. headquarters, 148 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill., for Spanish literature.

F. T. J., CHICAGO, ILL.-In point of EDUCATION? The S. L. P. press imparts that, the Hearst press imparts none. In point of RAISING HELL and plowing up the field generally? The Hearst press is far ahead of the S. L. P. press. In point of political SUCCESS? Hearst is no more successful than the S. L. P. A miss is as good as a mile. F. O'M., COLUMBUS, O .- The Peo-

ple has received quite a number of loans from a large number of S. L. P. men. This indebtedness does not take The People out of the Party ownership and control. No doubt some of these S. L. P. creditors may some day "become crooks and seek to dictate the paper's policy under the threat to demand their money." No doubt. That is not a danger peculiar to party ownership of the press. Private ownership is equally exposed to such a contingency. In the instance of Party-ownership, however, the whole Party, knowing that its press is its own, will rush to the rescue of its paper, which means, of itself; and being n possession, it has the facility, or inside track to do so. This very thing happened in 1902. Such a collection of crooks and would-be bosses sought to capture The People or smash it, if they failed. They failed in both respects. The demand, pressure and law suits for moneys loaned and otherwise alleged to be due them was used as the weapon of attack-just as you suppose might happen. The Party rushed to the rescue. The assault was parried off until the funds were raised from the Party itself. The loans, etc., which the rule or ruin plotters demanded back, were paid to them, and the S. L. P. retained its owna grand manifestation of that heroism that only democracy and organization. in this instance. Party-ownership of its press, is capable of rising to. In the instance of privately owned papers, such intrigues, if successful, would only pass the paper from one private domination to another; if unsuccessful, would leave the paper in the original private handsprivate ownership, which means press despotism, in either case,

F. S., CINCINNATI, O.-First-The universal label of the I. W. W. is of use even now, before any industry is fully organized. When an industry is fully organized, the universal label continues of use as a protection to that industry itself against capitalist chicanery, and as information to those outside of the industry. For the rest, see the article:

'The Clash for Light."

U. S. W., BROOKLYN, N. Y .- The fact that "deposits" is not the same as there are savings hanks in the country was alluded to quite clearly in the article "Prosperity and Savings Banks," We are not aware, however, that there are ascertain the number of "depositors" themselves. If you know of any, should be glad to be informed.

S. L. D., ST. LOUIS, MO .- The S. L. P. would shrivel up and die with grief if any intrigue could by any possibility have brought about the present situation in the Socialist Movement. The mere

M. L., CHICAGO, ILL.-Make clear to us how a beefsteak can become raw meat again by the process of putting out the fire that cooked it, and you will have made clear to us how the "freeing of the land" will now undo the work of private ownership in natural opportunities, i. e., the production of CAPITAL. and thus free the proletariat of the handicap of proletarianism.

O. E., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. Read "The Two Pages from Roman History" (only the first of the two is concerned in the criticism) over again by the light of the two following facts, mentioned in that first of the "Two Pages."

Second-The slavery complication did not become acute until towards the end of the period of the struggle of the

(Continued on page six.)

S. L. P. OF CANADA. National Secretary, 361 Richmond st., London, Ont. NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.) Notice-For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held at 2-6 Nev Reade street, Jan. 19, '06, with E. C. Schmidt in the chair. Members present: Eck, Schwenck, Hyman, Moren, Jacob-Schmidt, Anderson, Coddington, Walsh, Wolf, Teichlauf, Crawford and Olson. Absent: Katz and Fisher.

This being the first session of the new sub-committee appointed by the N. E. C. on January 7, the following elections were held: Recording Secretary, Christian Wolf: Treasurer, Max Hyman Committee on Party Press and Literature, T. Walsh, C. J. Wolf and A. Moren The election of the Committee on Agi

ation and Organization was laid over until the next meeting on February 2 ne financial report showed receipts, \$449.00; expenditures, \$419.10.

Reading of minutes dispensed with cretary notified to see former Secretary about minutes of previous meeting New members admitted: Schmidt Schwenck, Wolf, Coddington and Hy-

Correspondence: St. Louis, Mo., W. W. Cox, I. W. W. getting foothold in spite of opposition. Prospects bright for future. Suggestion of an Emergency Organizer. It was decided to have ch r printed and sent to Sections of West and have them report ereon. Pertamouth, Va. From Do funro, I. /W. W.'s good work, six candi lates initiated last meeting and twenty two applications received ; also have a ate on with A. F. of L. He also ends in Resolutions for publication Pittsburg, Pa, From Organizer Philip Veal, stating things are moving along and a bright future in sight. Two mass etings had been arranged, one under tuanices of the I. W. W. and one S. L. P. in Old City Hall. Machinists of Braddock were organized by Gilhaus and Markley and a mixed local of the I. W. W. also in view. Gilhaus leaves for Virinia and the South after Jan. 22, '06 rom Minnesota State Executive Com littee with reference to member of N C. Request further time which was expects hig demonstration for Bloody Sunday. Street parades and the largest pall in the city has been procured for mass meeting. The S. L. P. and S. P. are running the affair together. Section Los Angeles, Cal., remits reports of S. E. C. on State agitation fund and General fund also circular on Pacific Coast freuit fund. Reports on Williams' good ork. Paterson, N. J., J. Riether, Orranizer, asks for information about lange branches and formation of a Gen-

State Committee of Pennsylvania desirng information as to who pays the exs of tour of Gilhaus and Veal. Secion Seattle, Wash., S. Brearcliff, Infortion regarding securing an Organizer or the Northwest. E. St. Louis, Ill., J. ing, things look bright for Party and three S. P. men have joined the ruiting local of the I. W. W. Lynn, Mass., P. Gallagher, asking for information regarding Sections and State Executive Committees. Passaic Co., N. J., ask with S. L. P. and S. P. speakers. Redesperate one. charter, orig

The following Sections report elections of officers: Hoboken, N. J.; Tacoma Wash.; Bridgtport, Conn.; Essex Coun-ty. N. J.; Chlesgo, Ill.; Hamilton, O.; Cleveland, O.; Onondaga County, N. Y.; Hartford, Conn.; Union County, N. J.; New Bedford, Mass.; St. Paul. Minn., and Syricuse, N. Y.

Christian J. Wolf, Rec. Secy.

NEW JERSEY S. E. C.

Regular meeting held January 14th mbers present except Hartung.

Louis Basky of Palisades Park admited to membership at large by transfer m Hungarian Branch of Section New

Committee to tabulate vote on member of N. E. C., reported very light rote polled, and no vote vote reported by tion North Hudson. The result was

neh 40, Butterworth 19. Officers of the committee were structed to have reports to convention eady for next meeting, and Secretary eted to send out credentials for

elegates elected to State convention. Correspondence bureau reported or work done, and stated cash on hand Janmry 1st, was \$1.36. Sent lists of names Weekly People subs about to expire Lists turned over to Sections to look fter renewals.

The appeal of Jules Magnette against action of Section Essex County in exselling him was heard. Magnette ob-

The comrade was not present. Magnette also objected against Eck, claiming Eck was prejudiced against him. Objection not allowed as Eck was not a party to the proceedings in Section Essex County.

Hokanson and Bateman were present as a committee to represent the Section with Quinlan and Mattick as witnesses Magnette had called Rapp as witness.

Magnette was expelled for conduct unecoming a member of the Party and for contempt of Section's Grievance Committee in not appearing before the same Magnette leclared he had been only too willing to meet the Grievance Committee

After going into the matters at issue the S. E. C. found that the Grievance Committee had held six meetings: Sept 29, Oct. 11, 13, 22, 27, and Nov. 1. At these Magnette was either, as he claimed unprepared to go on, absent, or he did not send excuse until the committee had met. To the S. E C. this conduct of Magnette was deemed rather a desire to hamper the Grievance Committee, than a willingness to meet it.

The S. E. C. decided that on this coun alone it could not sustain the appeal of Magnette. The committee did not take into account the charge of slandering a Section-charges completely refuted by that Section; nor the fact that his own Section minute book shows, that by action of the Section, it was noted in the minutes that Magnette in Section meeting had called a comrade, to say the least, improper names. These two counts covered the charge of conduct unbecom ing a member.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COM-MITTEE.

Meeting held in Section Boston's headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, on Wedsday, January 10. Frank Bohmback in the chair. Lombard absent. Minutes of previous meeting were accepted as

Communications: From Section Bos ton, forwarding campaign funds and returning lists. From Henry Kuhn, National Secretary, receipts for settled accounts

Auditing committee reported on financial report for quarter ending December 31, 1905: Income, \$628.63; Expenditures 8567.68; Balance on hand January 1, 1906, \$60.95. Secretary instructed to send itemized reports to the Sections and members at large.

Adjournment followed. . Meeting January 10th.

Delegates to the General Committee of 1996 called to order by the secretary. Frank Bohmback elected temporary chairman. Comrades Heutinbrink and Gallagher elected as credential committee reported on the credentials of J. J. Corcoran, F. Bohmbach, F. Houtinbrink for Section Boston; A. Mortensen for Section Somerville; T. P. Gallagher for Section Lynn: and A Reimer as Treasurer. Temporary chairman elected for the ensuing term.

.Rules adopted that governed 1905 committee with the election of the following committees: agitation and press, Houtinbrink, Corcoran and Sweeney; auditors. Bohmback, Mortensen and Corcoran; Grievance, Reimer, Gallagher and Bohm-

Communications: From Sections Wor. cester and Lawrence, ordering due stamps. From John Kenny of Section Lawrence, requesting a speaker for Jan. 22nd, stating that the S. L. P., the S. P., the German and Jewish benevolent societies and German Socialist Glub are all working together for the purpose of holdcomply with.

Voted to meet on the second and fourth Wednesdays in the month. Adjournment followed.

John Sweeney, Secretary. 55 Temple street, Boston

GENERAL AGITATION FUND. During the week ending with Saturday January 20, the following contributions were received to the above fund: Adolph Anderson, Port

Angeles, Wash.\$ D. T. Heimlich, Jacksonville, III. Jacksonville, Ili.-Fred Renz, 25c.; L. P. Hoffman, 25c. ..

August Gillhaus, commission on "People" subs for De-sale of literature

Philip Veal, donation Paul Sabsch, Bridgewater, Mass. John Donohne, New York ... Theo. Stimer, Stonington,

Conn. K. Georgewitch, Schenectady, J. E. Farrell, North Boy, Ont. Max Heyman, New York Jacob Schwenk, Jersey City, N.

I.

Total for the week\$ Previously acknowledged .. \$2,187.48 Grand total \$2,203.23 in Eureka in November I visited several Henry Kuhn, National Secretary. d of these "organized" lumber camps,

OPULENT CALIFORNIA showing up the A. F. of L. and presenting the claims of the I. W. W. I en-

A GOLDEN STATE FOR CAPITAL ISTS, BUT NOT FOR PROLE-TARIAT.

"Advancement" Closed to the Latter There as Elsewhere-Big Capitalist Concerns Control Land-"High Wages" an Illusion-How Some of Them

(Special Correspondence.)

Stockton, Cal., Jan. 13 .- It is now two months and a half since I arrived in California for an agitation tour in the interests of the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World. In that time I have covered the principal cities and towns of the northern half of the state and have gathered some facts and impressions regarding the situation in this section of the West

Industrially, California is comparativey undeveloped. In area more than three times as large as New York this state has about one-fifth the population of the Empire State. Nearly one-third of the people of California live in the towns and cities bordering on San Francisco bay. One needs to travel but a few miles toward the interior from San Francisco to note the comparative scarcity of population. Untold mineral and agricultural resources remain unexloited in California.

Nevertheless, all avenues to "advancenent" are closed to the proletariat here as elsewhere. Prices of habitable land range from \$30 to \$500 and more per acre, while practically all of the great imber and mining claims are now in the possession of stock companies composed of big capitalists. At Eureka I was informed that a quarter section of red wood timber is valued at from \$40,-000 up. Thus the hapless proletarian here as elsewhere is reduced to the neessity of selling his only possession (his labor power) in a greatly overstocked labor market.

Wages are sometimes thought to be comparatively high here in the West. But when cost of living and duration of employment are considered, the illusion of high wages quickly vanishes.

Of all denominations of laborers California, the agricultural worker is the worst exploited. His hours are lengest from twelve to sixteen-and his average wages do not exceed \$30 and board per month for a total working season of six months in the year. Conditions are also bad among loggers and saw mill workers. The former work twelve hours, averaging \$2.50 a day during a season of about eight months. Mill men nowhere work less than ten hours and get about \$2 a day. Unskilled railroad workers are also badly exploited. In the Southern Pacific shops at Sacramento, where more than 2,000 men are employed, the average wages of "helpers" do not exceed \$1.75 per day. Japanese to a great extent are superceding whites in construction work and on the section, and are getting from \$1.00 to \$1.25 per day. I have not yet had an opportunity to investigate conditions among miners and smeltermen. A wage slave out of a job in California (and there are several thousand such right at present) is certainly "up against it." Long distances between industrial establishments and the necessity to keep moving in order to avoid the vagrancy laws make the case of the man out of work a

workers' comfort (?) at cheap boarding houses, where fifteen cent meals and tencent beds may be obtained. I have noticed that several of the worst of these shacks in different cities bear the suggestive sign: "Workingmen's Home" ! The enormous number of lodging houses in the West suggests the tendency of capitalism towards "race suicide." Scores of private residences also show the familiar sign: "Furnished Rooms." In pioneer days such superabundance of "places to eat" and "places to sleep." might be explained by the exigencies of the times, but pioneer days are practically over in California. It is now raw-boned capitalism that separates the sexes and develops "he towns" in the West, which have their well known counterparts in the "she towns" of New England.

Outside of San Francisco, I have seen little evidence of vitality among pure and simple unions. With few exceptions the "job trusts" are in a state of collapse with no immediate or remote prospect of revival. There is a good field for the I. W. W. among the lumber workers of the Pacific coast and Rocky Mountain States. Nearly one hundred 2.70 thousand men are employed in that in-2.00 dustry and only a small percentage are organized. In Humboldt county this state, an A. F. of L. Woodsmen and Sawmill Workers' Union claims to have recently organized 1,200 of the 6,700 lumber workers in that locality. While

countered little opposition, and the woodsmen were not slow in expressing their interest for Industrial Unionism. and supplying themselves with the literature I had to offer them. Persistent agi tation among these lumber workers should result in the near future in a strong organization of the I. W. W.

In San Francisco the pure and

simplers are so elated over their recent victory in the mayoralty election, which resulted in a triumph for Mayor Schmitz and the entire Union Labor ticket, that a movement is now on foot to make a state party out of that concern. W. R. Hearst also is promoting his Public Ownership party in California. Progress toward political unity of the S. L. P. and S. P. on the basis of the I. W. W. is noticeable here in California also. Everywhere the opportunity has afforded itself. I have lent whatever aid I could to the process. Speaking before locals of the S. P. in Eureka, San Francisco, San Jose, and Vallejo, I found in each instance a majority of the rank and file of that party enthusiastic for the I. W. W. While in Oakland, December 17, a local of the I. W. W. was organized with seventy-five members, a majority of whom are S. P. men. Some few of the "leading lights" in the Oakland local of the S. P. are strongly opposed to Industrial Unionism: but their influence is waning with the rank and file. At Sacramento, January 10, I organized a local' of the I. W. W. with twenty-three members, nearly all of them connected with the Socialist party. The Hearst "Public Ownership" movement on the one hand and the pure and simple Union Labor party on the other, make all the more imperative a united political party in California, finding its basis in the revolutionary, economic organization of the working class-the I. W. W.

Just a word in closing to the members of the S. L. P. in this section. A move is now well under way to establish Pacific coast circuit of speakers and organizers, embracing in its scope the three states of Washington, Oregon and California, and the Territory of Arizona. The plan is to keep men in the field constantly to agitate for the S. L. P. and I. W. W. The territory I have covered so far convinces me of the supreme importance of this move. The field is ripe. Large bodies of workingmen are ready for our revolutionary propaganda. Spasmodic attempts at agitation and organization are usually unproductive. Continuous and concerted action should be the endeavor from now on. Let every individual member and sympathizer as well as every section of the S. L. P. from Washington to Arizona buckle down to the business of raising funds for this purpose. Don't delay! Act at Fraternally,

B. H. Williams, National Organizer, S. L. P. and I. W. W.

LETTER BOX.

(Continued from page five.) plebs leaders for equal political and social privileges with the patricians. Second-There could not be, in the days of Rome, any emancipation, proper, of the proletariat. The fact and reasoning are elaborated in full on pages 49-

parallel. The important thing in history is to detect resemblances. Points of difference are obvious. Moreover, in social evolution the human agency plays, not a dead, but a living part. The point in that first of the "Two Pages" is missed if we start to look for the numerous differences between then and now Fact is that the "Labor Leader" is best understood if we understand the "Plebs Leader." If we don't understand

the Labor Leader we are in the soup. "PRINTER." NEW YORK-No anonymous communication is accepted

J. B., CHICAGO, ILL.; J. C., LON-DON; ENG.; L. H., NEWTON, N. J.; D. O. C., ROANOKE, VA.; G. P. R. SAN JOSE, CAL.: I. B., CHICAGO, ILL.; O. F., COLUMBUS, O.; A. L. D., ST. LOUIS, MO.; B. E., RED WING, MINN.; C. C. C., PLEASANT-VILLE, N. Y.; A. G., TACOMA, WASH.; A. G. B., DETROIT, MICH.; E. K., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; F. C., BROOKLYN, N. Y.; M. K., CHI-CAGO, ILL.; O. M. J., OAKLAND, CAL.; G. P. R., SAN JOSE, CAL.; R. R. LAMARTINE, COL.; H. F. F., SOUTH MANCHESTER, CONN.; W. E. K., NEW ORLEANS, LA.; B. H .W., STOCKTON, CAL.; J. M. R., TORONTO, CANADA; W. W. E., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.-Matter received.

drs. Winslow's Southing Syrup

has been used for over BIXTY YEARS by MIL-LIONS of MOTHERS for their CHILDREN while TRETHING, with PERFECT SUCCESS. It SOOTHES the CHILD, SOFTENS the GUMS, ALLAYS ALL PAIN; CURES WIND COLIC, and s the best remedy for DIARRHOLA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup," and take no other kind. Twenty-fve cts a bottle. RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS'

The following contributions were received during the week ending with Saturday, January 20:

S. Schwartzman, New York ... \$ 1.00

Jerome L. Forrester, Imperial, Cal. Robert Clausen, Somers, Mont. Adolph Anderson, Port Angeles,

III. Collected by Section Essex

County, N. J. Max A. Goltz, Winona, Minn. . 26th A. D., New York-J. Zimel, \$3; E. Moonelis, \$2; J. Mazanek, \$1; B. Broitman, \$1; J. Simon, \$2; J. Zameknik, \$1; J. Hruby, \$1; Ch. Potuzak, \$1; E. Voska, \$1; J. A. Pulpit, \$2; J. Martinek, 25c.;

Fr. Ruzicka, 25c.; J. Tausick, 10c. Geo. Signarovitz, Brooklyn, N. Omaha, Neb .- R. S., \$1: Friend.

\$1; F. R., 50c.; A. B., 50c. .. L. Rosenthal, Kingston, N. Y. John J. Leahy, New York 34th A. D., New York, day's wages by Theo. Swenson, \$3; Henry Hoepker, \$1; Thos. Edgington, \$2 August Gillhaus, day's wages ... Philip Veal, day's wages Chas Scurlock, Idaho Falls, Ida. Elbert Archibald, Columbia, Cal. David S. Law, Center Barn-

stead, N. H. E. Anderson Cambridgeport, Mass. Brantfort, Ont .- Henkle Bros., \$1; A. Rosenfeld, 50c.; M. Moldever, 50c.; M. Glikich, 50c.; L. Lazarus, 50c.; M. Wood, 25c. Chas. Brenner, Biloxi, Miss.

day's wages Monessen, Pa.-Cyril Sistek, \$1; Frank Sistek, 25c. Member of 12th A. D., N. Y. Collected at "Der Arbeiter" benefit, Grand Theatre, N. Y. John Donohue, New York August Gleiforst, Brooklyn, N.

Y. E. S. Erikson, Independence. Minn. Martin Henryson, Blackduck, Minn. Max Eisenberg, Cincinnati, Ohio Chas. H. Tobin, No. Attleboro,

Mass. Branch 9, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Hoboken, N. J. F. C. Surber, Auburn, N. Y. .. . R. Fraser, Dayton, Ohio

Wm. J. Daniels, New York J. E. Farrell, North Boy, Ont. . Minneapolis, Minn.-J. Nielson, \$1; Tom Dougherty, \$1 New York-T. D., \$2; A. Moren, \$3 Max Heyman, New York Lewis Bama, New York Collected by "H," Local 67, I. W. W., Jersey City, N. J.

J. H., Jersey City, N. J. M. Swenson and Sons, N. Y. .. Collected by Scand. Section New York, day's wages for Birger Knutson, \$3; C. J. Bjorklund, \$2.50; A. H. Lyzell, \$2; A. Olson, \$2 So. Norwalk, Conn., per E. Singewald-Rappa, 50c.; F.

Howard, 50c.; A. Danke, 50c.; Geo. Sherwood, 50c.; Anton Stenger, 50c.; G. M., 50c.; Mygatt, 25c.; Wm. Wicke, 25c.; Carl Schaub, 5oc.; A. Megargee, 25c.; F. Selby, 25c.; R. Rossman, 25c.; B. Lane, 50c.; Geo. Singer, 50c.; M. Lubrano, 50c.; Albino Varnero, 50c.; Frank Merriam, 50c. (E. Singewald, last week \$1 contained in the total of \$9.75 then given but omitted in the enumeration),

Total for the week \$194.32 Previously acknowledged \$602.49

total this week

Grand total \$796.81 Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

You did somewhat better on subscriptions last week, but didn't reach the average needed to add 2,000 names to the list during January. At this writing you are about 1.400 short. Comrade Kortum of St. Louis, writes that "it ought to be possible for every comrade to get at least one new reader a week." He says "get out now, and hustle for the paper of the cause for which you have so long fought, and over whose banners victory is even now hovering." For the week ending January 19th we

received 273 subscriptions to the Weekly People and 20 mail subscriptions to the Daily, a total of 302

Prepaid postal cards sold: G. A. Jenning, E. St. Louis, Ill., \$5; Frank Rapp, serve notice once again that the United

SECTION CALENDAR.

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

Kings County General Committee-Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p, m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York Countty-Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading room at 2051/2 South Main street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings. San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. head-

quarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office, Open | Front avenue.

We certainly had a rush of bundle or

ders for the issue of the Weekly People

Debs' speech. The orders ran all the

way from 5 copies to one of 15,000

copies, ordered by the Mill and Smelter-

men's Union of Butte, Mont. The spe-

cial bundle orders on the issue foot up

55,685 copies. On that you did a good

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

250; L. Newhouse, Hartford, Conn.,

100; Wm. Yates, New Bedford, Conn.,

100; F. Leitner, San Antonio, Tex., 100;

Borini, San Francisco, Cal., 200; Sec-

tion Essex County, N. J., 100; R.

Murphy, Lynn, Mass., 200; P. Jacobson,

Yonkers, 'N. Y., 100; J. Ball, Buffalo, N.

Y., fifty; Gus Hurwarth, Detroit, Mich.,

Assorted pamphlets: August Gillhaus,

Pittsburg, Pa., \$4.55; C. H. Duncan,

Spokane, Wash., \$5; Chas. Rogers,

Kansas City, Mo., \$4.25; D. L. Munro,

Portsmouth, Va., \$2.25; E. J. Auburn,

Auburn, N. Y., \$1.08; G. N. Cohen,

Philadelphia, Pa., \$1.88; H. L. Borini,

San Francisco, Cal., \$3; Thirty-fourth

A. D., New York, \$1.08; E. MacDonald,

Connell, Wash., seventy-five cents; Twenty-eighth A. D., New York, sixty

Books: Geo. T. Craniton, Denver,

Colo., eleven Sue books and three Wo-

man; M. A. Goltz, Winona, Minn., one

Ancient Society and one History of

Civilization: H. L. Borini, San Fran-

cisco, Cal., two Woman and two Value

Price and Profit, cloth; J. Billow, Chi-

cago, Ill., one Woman; W. Lohrentz,

South Bend, Wash., one Sue story;

J. W. Johnson, Minneapolis, \$2.69 books

and literature; J. C. Falconer, Beloit,

Wis., \$2.81 books and literature; F

leaflets; J. M. Reid, Toronto, Ont.

Besides these there were many small

Give us more rush weeks. That's

THE PITTSBURG CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1.)

wanted them to. But sometimes the un-

On Sunday afternoon, January 14, in

old City Hall, several delegates of the

Pittsburg Mine Workers' convention of

the Pittsburg district were at our mass

meeting. One, Finny, was given the

platform to defend the great leader, John

Mitchell, and "his" organization, the

United Mine Workers. But it is quite

a different thing, as Finny soon found

out, to face an audience that is thinking

along the lines of the class struggle, than

it is to talk to a hunch of delegates who

are composed first, of the fellows who

want good fat political jobs, and are

willing to sacrifice the interests of their

fellow workers for them, like the Dodds;

second, the men who want to become

mine owners or superintendents, and use

the miners' organizations as stepping

stones, like Phil Penna, of Indiana, and

Wm. Warner, of the Pittsburg district;

third, the old pensioners and handi-

maids of capitalism who come to con-

ventions in order to go on a big drunk

like Pat Dolan; fourth, old fossils who

are tired and want a rest; fifth, those

who are too mnocent and too ill-in-

formed to know the true inwardness of

On Sunday afternoon it was plainly

seen that pure and simpledom is doomed

htat class unionism is bound to win out. We are already on the march, and we

orders, showing good individual activ-

what we are here for.

expected happens.

B. Surges, Vancouver, B. C., 100; H. L.

Another rush week. Preamble Ad-

W. Wulbeck, Cincinnati, O.,

Mass., \$4.50.

piece of work.

dress:

Newark, \$5; M. E. Ruther, Holyoke, | Mine Workers is not a labor but a capitalist organization; and that the I. W. W. is in the field contesting every inch. of the ground, not only for the miners, January 20th, containing Eugene V. but for the whole working class. Things look bright for the I. W. W.

every evening. All workingmen invited.

Section Providence, R. I., 77 Dyer st.,

oom 8. Every Tuesday night at 8,

2nd and 4th reg ar business, others de-

voted to lectures. Science class Wednes-

Section Indianapolis. Meetings first and

third Tuesdays of each month, at 291/2

Detroit, Mich., "Socialist Labor Auxili-

ary Reading Room, room 10 avenue

Theatre Bldg. ,Woodward avenue. Open

every evening. Sunday all day. Discus-

Section Chicago, Ill., meets second and

Fourth Tuesday in the month 8 p. m.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets

very first and third Sunday of month

at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets

every second and fourth Friday of each

month, 8 p. m., at Smith's Hall, 21st

Spokane, Wash., Socialist Labor Party

Headquarters, Free Reading Room, 217

South Deleware street, third floor.

sion meetings every Sunday.

at 155 E. Randelph st. 3rd floor,

Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

and Franklin ave., 3rd floor.

Business meetings every Tuesday.

Philip Veal.

MONSTER DEMONSTRATION

(Continued from page one.) nanimous rising vote

DeLeon was the next speaker. Before the applause which greeted him died way, he started out to make a point previously brought out by Reinstein and Basky, each without understanding the other's language, that the Czar, by his blind crime of massacring his peaceful petitioners, had effected in one year what the Socialists of the world had been striving for for tens of years, naemly, the united action of the working class of the world.

DeLeon then showed the identity of ection between the capitalist classes of Russia and of the United States. He proved his point by comparing Pobedonostseff's "Constitutions are absurd and harmful," with butcher Sherman Bell's Colorado utterance, "To hell with the Constitution," and the Evening Post's advice apropos of the Jersey railroad strikers, "Give them the rifle diet." with the orders of Witte, "Kill, burn, butcher, only suppress the revolution."

"The Russian government is now saying 'The revolution is dead' ", continued DeLeon. "So spoke the court of Louis XVI., the sycophants of Charles I., and the pro-slavery copperheads. But before they were through with their rejoicings, their respective revolutions overwhelmed them. So will the present revolution go on, to the abolition of tyranny, so long as the human heart has passions, or the

mind, woes." Following DeLeon, Schlossberg spoke in Jewish, Carotti in Italian, and Schitlovsky in German.

It was close upon midnight when the Kucera, Winston, Mont., one Capital; neeting closed with three 'resounding W. I. Scott, Los Palomas, N. M., four cheers for International Socialism, and books; E. Gabriel, New York, \$10 worth the audience streamed out of the big auditorium, singing the Marseillaise in P. Jacobson, Yonkers, N. Y., 2,000 various national tongues

CONGRESSIONAL.

(Continued from page one.) of a committee to investigate the Mrs. Morris affair. In introducing it the

"There are two broad and vital questions involved in this resolution, simple as it may be.

"The first is that we must, as far as we can, protect the President of the United States from dangerous characters-assassination and other things like that. The other is that we must protect the liberties and rights of the people of the United States. If we are to protect the President absolutely, we have got to make him a prisoner in actuality and protect him with guards and allow no one to have access to him who has not been searched, because it is a self-evident proposition that any man or weman, however, weak, who is willing to offer up his or her own life can take the life of another, however guarded he may be, unless he is a prisoner in jail.

"But, sir, when the President shall have offered up his life as a victim in the way that has caused this country so much of sorrow in numerous instances in our history, the President can be replaced by another man, who will discharge the duties of the office probably as well or better than he himself had done. But when the liberties of the people are destroyed there is nothing left but despotism. We ought not to permit the use in this country of Russian or Turkish methods toward the people.

A motion was immediately made to lay the resolution upon the table. It was tabled. Only eight Senators had the manhood to vote in the negative.