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## CRIMINAL CAPITALISTS

### ARRANGE DASTARDLY PLOT TO POISON PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

Detectives, Corporation Officers, and Military Men Unite to Derail Cars and Destroy Lighting in Attempt to Break the Richmond Car Strike.

(Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.)

Manchester, Va., August 15.—In my last letter to the Daily People bearing on the Richmond street car strike, a typographical error made me say that the street car corporation had "HAD several dastardly plots," when it should have read "LAID several dastardly plots."

One of these plots has recently been cleared up, with the result that the Gould street car corporation and the high military functionaries have been caught red-handed in the most damnable conspiracy ever hatched in this section of the country. As showing the methods of the criminal capitalist class, a recital of the facts in this case may be useful.

As I have written from time to time regarding the strike, public sentiment has from the first been strongly sympathetic with the strikers, the result being that the company, by its own admission on the witness stand a few days ago, lost one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000) the first month of the strike. Not being disposed to grant any concession by means of which a settlement could be arrived at, the company decided on desperate methods whereby to poison public sentiment and bring down popular indignation on the heads of the strikers. Just previous to the strike being declared, the street car company employed a spy (one Newman) to join the carmen's union and report its proceedings to a detective employed by the company. This detective was named Hanks, and he was a brother-in-law to Newman, the spy. In this way the company was kept closely informed of every movement of the union.

These two men were called into conference with Manager Huff, of the street car corporation; Colonel Anderson, commanding the Seventh Regiment of Infantry, and Lieutenant Leland Rankin, of Colonel Anderson's staff (and also business manager of the Richmond News-Leader). This conference took place on the Sunday preceding the carrying out of the plot, and was held in the Westmoreland Club, the swell social club of the city and the lounging place of most of our "best" people.

Between the individuals a conspiracy to entrap the strikers was arranged as follows: On the night of July 15th, at midnight, a car containing only the scab motorman and conductor was to be run through Fulton, the extreme eastern part of the city, populated almost exclusively by the working class, and therefore the storm center of the strike. The military, on foot, were to take a circuitous route to ward off suspicion as to their object; and reach a certain point almost simultaneously with the car. The company's henchmen were to place spikes on the track and derail the car, and a man detailed for the purpose would cut off the lights and throw the car in darkness. At this juncture the detectives were to fire from an alley, and this would be a signal for the military to swoop down from all sides on everybody that happened to be in sight and place them under arrest.

Just here it may be well to explain that for some days previous to the carrying out of this plot the two detectives, Newman and Hanks, had been frequenting saloons in Fulton and spending lots of money in losing pool games, treating crowds who came into the saloons, etc. To several persons in these saloons the detectives dropped a hint that there would be some "fun" with a late car in Fulton on the 15th, and invited them to take a hand in the affair. The men thus approached would not agree to the proposition of the company's agents, but some of them intimated that they might be on hand as spectators of what might occur.

The programme outlined above was carried out to the letter. The car struck the spikes placed on the track by the company's employees, and was derailed, the lights were turned out, the detectives and the strike-breakers fired their pistols and the military closed in from all sides. Of course, those unwary ones who had been duped into seeing the "fun," though innocent of any wrongdoing, were arrested, as were also two of the strikers who happened to be passing the place on their way home from a strikers' meeting. The two detectives were also placed under arrest, but on being recognized by the military officers, were released at once and left the city.

Of the remaining seven men arrested, four were strikers. Charges of felony were preferred against them—unlawfully, feloniously and maliciously assaulting. Numbers of the strikers are returning to the company's service, but more than four hundred refuse to go back, and have either secured employment elsewhere or are in daily attendance on the strike meetings.

The company is improving its service day by day. That its employees will be ruled with an iron hand in future is very apparent from reports that emanate from strikers who have returned to the company's employ.

Nothing would give me more pleasure than to be able to write of a victory won by these poor fellows, after all the working-class here and elsewhere. May object-lessons furnished by this strike, however, are of inestimable value to the wrongs and persecutions that have been railroad innocent workmen to the pen-heaped upon them by the capitalistic beast, but I can see no sign of hope. The But the two detectives who carried out the company's plot have been sent away by it, and unless they testified against the company no conviction could be accomplished. Therefore, another black crime of capitalism—that of conspiring to identify—will go unwhipped of justice.

There is little change in the strike of conspiracy is the general sentiment. they are headed!

Alex. B. McCulloch.

### Tobin Label Turned Down.

Pittsburg, Aug. 11.—The United Labor League last night considered the fight between the Cutters' Assembly No. 3062, K. of L., the Shoe Workers' Protective Union and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. The fight started in Lynn, Mass., January 16, and reached this city about a month ago. The league decided last night that the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union had taken unfair methods in its manner of building up its organization and refused to indorse the stamp as being a union label.

Philip Byrne, national organizer of the American Federation of Labor, representing the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, was accorded the floor for 50 minutes. His arguments did not bear out the facts as known in this city, and when confronted with the evidence he left the meeting.

The fight was caused by the B. & S. U. granting the stamp to any manufacturer. After he commenced using it it would compel all the people working for him to join this union. The stamp was granted to the manufacturer, regardless of wages paid, the number of hours worked, or any working conditions.

The cutters at Lynn came out on strike for an increase of wages in one factory. The B. & S. W. U. scoured the country for people to fill their places and spent much money in breaking the strike. This was condemned at last night's meeting. It was argued that one union should not attempt to destroy another, but should endeavor to bring about a settlement.

### Chicago, Attention!

Section Chicago, S. L. P., will give a picnic at Scheiner's Grove, 3200 North 40th avenue, Sunday, September 6.

A delightful time is assured to all. There will be prize bowling, and prize racing, and good fishing for those who enjoy the sport.

After a week of toil, tripping the light fantastic is an agreeable and pleasant diversion, so there will be dancing also. A good musical program and ample refreshments are among the remaining good features.

Readers of the People and sympathizers are cordially invited to attend. The tickets are only fifteen cents. The affair will be an afternoon and evening one. Tickets can be secured from any Comrade, or at headquarters, 48 West Randolph street.

In order to reach the Grove, board all northbound Robey, Western, California and Kedzie Avenue cars. Transfer to Elston Avenue cars to 40th Avenue cars; direct to the Grove.

### To Members of Section Minneapolis.

Members of Section Minneapolis who are temporarily out of town but retain their membership are hereby notified that the present financial secretary is Ben Frankford, Labor Lyceum, 36 Washington avenue, south. By order of Section Minneapolis. C. A. Johnson, Organizer.

### Grand Outing and Clambake.

The Greater Boston Entertainment Committee will hold its annual outing Sunday, Aug. 23, at Quarry Grove, Lynnfield street, Lynn, Mass. The tickets are only 25 cents, including bake. Comrades and sympathizers should try and make it a success, as the money realized will go to the State Executive Committee to help them keep our State Organizer in the field.

Take Lynn car to Central square; ask conductor for transfer to Lynn Woods. Cars leave Central square for Lynn Woods every fifteen minutes. They will take you to the foot of Lynnfield street; a member of this committee will be there to direct you to the grove. Bake served at 2 p. m. sharp. C. H. Chabot, Sec.

## HAYES AND HANNA

### MAMIE IS PRAISED BY MARK'S CLEVELAND MOUTHPIECE.

Treated With Great Deference by Sheet That Has Nothing But Contempt for Real Defenders of Labor—Instinctively Uses the S. L. P. to Give Him Prestige.

(Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.)

Cleveland, O., Aug. 9.—The following article, culled from the Cleveland Leader of Monday, July 27, will probably be interesting to the readers of The People. To get at the meat of the coconut it is well to remember that the Cleveland Leader is the personal organ of Senator Mark Hanna, and that it has praise and puffs only for the tools of the Senator and nothing but kicks and cuffs for his enemies. Draw your own conclusions. Here is the article:

### "FAREWELL RECEPTION GIVEN TO MAX HAYES.

"Socialists Pap Honor to Their Leader on the Eve of His Departure for Europe.

"Socialists rallied around the forum of Branch No. 1 yesterday afternoon to show their appreciation of the services of Max Hayes. The latter, although young, is a veteran in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party [Note how the Leader lies. It knows instinctively that the working people have respect for the Socialist Labor Party, and hence it tries to give Mamie Hayes additional prestige by crediting him with being a veteran in the ranks of the genuine Socialist instead of the bogus ones where he belongs.] and has done more for the cause of socialism in Cleveland than any other man.

[Nay, nay, Paulina. Mr. Editor of the Leader, you are away off. Mamie Hayes has done more to besmirch the good name of Socialism in Cleveland, and to drag it into the slime of pure and simple or 'no politics in the union' trades-unionism, and unclass-conscious Civic Federationism, than has any other man in Cleveland. He has become one of Hanna's good little Socialists, and hence gets all this fulsome and disgusting praise from that arch-enemy of Socialism, Mark Hanna's personal organ, the Cleveland Leader. And what makes this all the more clear is the fact that the Plain Dealer and Press, Tom L. Johnson's organs, give but a few lines, less than a "stickful," to this all-important (?) farewell reception to Max Hayes.]

"Some time ago he was elected fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. He expects to leave Cleveland one week from next Wednesday, and it was deemed most appropriate that he be given a farewell that he would remember for a long time to come. The affair was termed a reception and was conducted at Army and Navy Hall [A most appropriate meeting place for Carey's army followers.] headquarters of the organization which MR. Hayes represents. Usually the delegates present at the Sunday afternoon meetings have occasion to listen to MR. Hayes, and it is a rare occasion when he does not make a more or less startling speech. [When a genuine Socialist speaks The Leader does not hesitate to call his speech "the usual Socialist harangue." With the bogus Hayes, though, The Leader handles it differently.]

"Yesterday, however, the tables were turned and MR. Hayes was silent. [It would be better for genuine Socialism were he always thus.] He heard during this enforced silence words of praise for his work in the past from the more prominent members of the organization. He was eulogized by everyone, and there was not one unpleasant word [How nice!] or act to mar the solemnity of the occasion. [Oh, fudge!] A vast amount of wholesome advice was also tendered him gratis, and if he succeeds in following it he will be kept extremely busy during the next few months.

"The trip laid out for MR. Hayes will be indeed a pleasant one. Leaving Cleveland ten days hence, he will proceed to Washington, D. C. Here he will attend the International Typographical Union convention. [Max always was great on conventions, banquets and receptions. He generally manages to "get in" on the ground floor.] He will remain in Washington about two weeks, and will sail from New York August 26. The honor conferred upon MR. Hayes by the American Federation of Labor, which organization he will represent, is an unusual one. There will be labor delegates from all over the world when the Trade Congress assembles for business. It will be seen from this that the position of delegate is one that is important

"Following the adjournment of the congress MR. Hayes will make an extended tour of the continent. MR. Hayes will make a study of the European labor problems from a political and economic point of view. He expects to return to this country during the latter part of November."

"How is that for a puff from Mark Hanna's personal organ, The Leader? Is it not *prima facie* evidence to anyone of collusion between MR. Hayes, as The Leader calls him, and Senator Hanna? By the way, Kangaroo Hayes will not be able to help Kangaroo Cowen in his effort to land the governorship of Ohio, by grace of the Socialist (?) Party, because of his absence on his European tour. Alas! poor Cowen. He will have to depend on foreign importations in the shape of broken-down ministers, slyster lawyers and freaks like Mother Jones to help him in his canvass for the governorship. Before he gets through he will doubtless exclaim, "The Lord deliver us from our fool friends."]

Tom L. Johnson, mayor of Cleveland, has furnished a little political excitement to the voters of Cleveland here lately. On Monday, July 27, the City Council took a vote on an ordinance providing for an issuance of \$200,000 in bonds for the purpose of constructing a municipal electric lighting plant.

The Chamber of Commerce sent in a communication to the council opposing the project. Their communication was received and filed, without reading, by a vote of 23 to 9. Persons in the lobby then thought the ordinance would surely pass. But the unexpected happened. The ordinance required a two-thirds vote for its adoption. Every Democratic councilman prior to the last spring election pledged himself to vote for a municipal electric lighting plant, should he be elected. Three councilmen, Gunn, Roche and Stanton, Democrats, violated their pledges and voted with the Republicans against the measure. One Democrat, Werthmann, voted against it, for the purpose of voting for a reconsideration at the next meeting. The municipal electric lighting ordinance was defeated by a vote of 19 to 13.

Then commenced an effort on the part of Tom L. Johnson to whip the renegades or traitors into line. In this he failed, for at the next meeting, held August 3, upon a vote for reconsideration, the three traitors voted as before, and the motion for reconsideration was defeated by a vote of 20 ayes to 12 nays, a two-thirds vote being required.

Then Tom L. played a trump card. Councilman Maulberger, Democrat, had a resolution read by the city clerk, declaring for a special election to be held September 8 to permit the electors to vote upon the question of issuing bonds for a municipal lighting establishment. The resolution provided for an appropriation of \$400,000.

Maulberger then moved the suspension of the rules, and that the resolution be placed upon its third reading and passed. This motion for the suspension of rules and passage of the ordinance required a three-quarters vote, which was exactly received, with not a vote to spare. Every Democratic vote, including the three pledge violators, Gunn, Roche and Stanton, was cast for it, and one Republican, Robinson, giving just the necessary 24 affirmative against 8 negative votes, all Republicans.

The following propositions were also submitted to the voters to be voted upon at the special election of September 8:

The purchasing and condemning of land and improving land already acquired for boulevard purposes, \$600,000.

For building a high level bridge to connect the East and West sides, \$500,000.

For building a bridge across the Cuyahoga valley between Clark avenue and East Clark avenue, \$200,000.

For street openings, \$100,000.

For municipal electric plant, \$400,000. The Electrical Workers' Union in particular and the United Trades and Labor Council in general unanimously indorsed the bond issue for a municipally owned electric lighting plant.

No doubt the Socialist Labor Party speakers will enlighten the workers upon the difference between Tom L. Johnson's municipal ownership for the benefit of the middle class and genuine Socialist municipal ownership for the benefit of the working class. The opportunity for agitation along these lines is probably the greatest benefit that will accrue to the Socialist Labor Party out of this special election to be held September 8 at the behest of Tom L. Johnson and his hypnotized cohorts.

### Officers of Section Columbus.

The officers for Section Columbus, O., for the ensuing six months are as follows: Organizer, O. M. Held; financial secretary and treasurer, Oscar Freer; recording secretary, James E. Lloyd; literary agents, I. Hauser; agent for party press, O. C. Steinhoff; grievance committee, I. Hauser and Wm. Granewitsh. Oscar Freer, Retiring Organizer.

## RICHMOND SOCIALISTS

### EXPOSED BY THE S. L. P., SHOW THEIR HANDS

They Aid the Police and the Labor Fakirs in Persecuting Those Honestly Opposed to Capitalism—They Annul the Right of Free Assemblage

(Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.)

Manchester, Va., Aug. 11.—That the local "Socialist" party is disposed to "get even" with Section Richmond of the Socialist Labor Party for unmaking it as we have recently done is very evident. The following correspondence, published in the Richmond News-Leader, speaks for itself:

### I.

"Socialists and Labor Unions."  
"Richmond, July 31.—Editor of the News-Leader: In this evening's paper Secretary Tyler, of the Streetcar Men's Union, is quoted as saying 'A Socialist paper was read among the members this morning calling the leaders of the union 'fakirs.'"

"As the publication of the above quotation and the distribution of the alleged Socialist paper containing scurrilous articles and vile slanders of the trade union movement is apt to create a false impression regarding the trade union attitude of the Socialist movement of America, I want to state for the benefit of the public that the paper alluded to is repudiated by our party. The Socialist Party is friendly to the trade union movement and never loses an opportunity to aid the unions in their economic struggles. In the miners' strike we donated over \$10,000 to the strikers, and our national executive committee urged all locals to appoint members to address trade unions on behalf of the strikers. When the present streetcar strike occurred the Richmond local of the Socialist Party gave the strikers not only moral but financial aid also. In all industrial wars the Socialist Party will be found with the working class, not passively, but actively working for victory. The Socialist Party will continue to aid the working class in their struggles against tyranny until present industrial system is abolished and a new social order inaugurated under which all the powers of government will be used in the interest of human life rather than property and absolute justice prevail. Yours truly, John Catrell, City Organizer Socialist Party."

### II.

"Socialists Fall Out."  
"Manchester, Va., Aug. 5.—Editor of the News-Leader: In your issue of yesterday I notice a letter signed by John Catrell, in which he refers to an alleged Socialist paper containing scurrilous articles and vile slanders of the trade union movement." As these purple adjectives are called forth by reason of an article I recently wrote for the organ of the Richmond Labor Party, bearing on the RICHMOND streetcar strike, and of which the News-Leader published a very brief synopsis on Friday last, I ask for a small amount of space to answer this gem of vituperative eloquence.

"As special correspondent for The Daily and Weekly People, the only bona fide Socialist papers published in the English language in the United States, I have written several articles since the local streetcar strike began, and I have not the least hesitancy in declaring those articles to be the only truthful accounts of the strike that have been published. The article reported as having been read among the strikers is a fair sample of what I have written from time to time, and I am far from offering an apology for statements made in it. The duty of a true Socialist is to let the truth be known at all hazards.

"The claims of the so-called 'Socialist Party' as to its sympathy with the working class are on a par with those of the trade union fakirs. Both seek to exploit the workers and drag them down to ignominious defeat by capitalism on the economic as well as on the political field.

"The 'repudiation' of the Socialist Labor Party press by the 'city organizer of the Socialist Party' is indeed good comedy. It is like the criminal caught red-handed in his crime who, when the arm of the law seizes him, declares, grandiloquently, 'I repudiate you!' The Socialist Labor Party is doing a grand work in puncturing the pretensions of these bogus friends of the working class—a work which will be more highly appreciated as the workings become enlightened.

### "Alexander B. McCulloch."

Failing in inflicting any damage' on the Socialist Labor Party by speech or by pen, Catrell and his fakir gang have at last succeeded in playing their cards in a way which gives us some concern.

In the past the Socialist Labor Party has exercised, without the slightest interference, the right of assemblage and of free speech in the streets of Richmond. We have stood upon our constitutional rights in this matter, and never thought

of asking permission of the city authorities. The "Socialist" Party knew very well that no speaking permit was required. Does not the tone of the following letter to the Chief of Police, published in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, prove that these maxplots were simply attempting a "grandstand play," and that their real object was to throw obstacles in the way of legitimate Socialist agitation?

### "No Street Meeting."

"The following letter is requested publication:

"Richmond Local of the Socialist Party. "Richmond, Va., Aug. 7.—Major B. F. Howard, Chief of Police, Richmond, Va.: Dear Sir—At a special meeting of the Richmond local of the Socialist Party Comrade J. W. Catrell, who was authorized to secure permit for street speaking, made the following report: Permission was peremptorily refused him to speak on the corner of Seventh and Broad streets at 8 p. m. August 8. Comrade Catrell insisted upon exercising his constitutional rights, whereupon three officers were detailed to arrest him should he pursue this policy. After careful consideration of existing conditions we desire to place ourselves on record (so earnest and zealous are we to aid in the preservation of public peace) as unwilling to act in defiance of constituted authority. We cannot see why this permission was refused, as we do not propose to take any action unlawful in itself and in performance. In view of the above facts the street meeting has been abandoned and it will be held instead at Davison's Hall, corner of Seventh and Broad streets, at same date and hour. It was resolved that a copy of this letter be furnished the press. We are respectfully yours,

"Richmond Local Socialist Party. "L. H. Rhodes, Organizer."

Let it be thought by anyone that local conditions attendant on the streetcar strike justified Catrell in approaching the police department in this matter, I would state that the military were withdrawn from Richmond three weeks ago, and that the city has been quiet ever since, barring an occasional attempt on the part of the streetcar company to poison public sentiment against the strikers by placing explosives under the cars, and this always occurs on the outskirts of the city. Therefore the contemptible action of this craven crew who call themselves "Socialists" is seen in its true light.

In concluding this article, already too long, I wish to call attention to another scheme that has been hatched and is being agitated among the fakirs. This item is taken from the news columns of the Richmond News-Leader of to-day:

### "Printers and the Socialists."

"Considerable interest is being manifested among the printers—members of Typographical Union, No. 90—concerning a report published in a New York Socialist paper from a member of the local union, in which the leaders of the striking streetcar men were characterized as 'labor fakirs.'"

"One of the members called attention to the following clipping from the Typographical Journal, the official organ of the I. T. U., and said that such a course might be followed here.

"Charles H. Corrigan, while a candidate for Governor of the State of New York on the Socialist ticket, in a public speech referred to members of the typographical union as 'labor fakirs,' and was expelled by Syracuse Typographical Union, No. 55. He applied to the Supreme Court to compel the union to reinstate him. The application was denied, the justice deciding that Corrigan had not exhausted his rights of appeal within the organization before seeking redress from the court."

Of course, your correspondent is referred to in the above. "We shall see what we shall see."

Alex. B. McCulloch.

### D. A. 4, S. T. & L. A.

A special meeting of D. A. 4, S. T. & L. A., will be held at headquarters of Section Hoboken, N. J., S. L. P., 163 Fourth corner Garden street, on Sunday, August 23. Nomination of a delegate to represent the district at the S. T. & L. A. annual convention to be held at Newark will be made and other business will come up for consideration. Therefore, delegates must not fail to attend.

Ernest Aiazzone, Organizer.

### To Comrades of Section Providence.

The regular meeting of Section Providence will be held on Sunday, August 23, at 2:30 p. m., in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster.

The resolution of Section Everett and other business of importance to the Socialist movement will be acted upon at this meeting; therefore, all members should be present.

James McGuigan, Organizer.

### Open-Air Meetings in Yonkers.

Open-air meetings will be held in Getty Square, Yonkers, N. Y., on the following dates, at 8 p. m.

Saturday, Aug. 22—Speaker, Comrade Curly.

Saturday, Aug. 29—Speaker, Comrade Bohm.

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PRICE TWO CENTS

## SCHMITZ WINS

### "LABOR MAYOR" DEFEATS HIS OPPONENTS AT PRIMARIES.

Casey Defeated For "Betraying Labor," That is, Taking Jobs From Union Officials—Strike and Boycotts Increase In Favor—"Labor Leaders' Exchange Acquisitions.

(Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.)

San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 12.—It would seem now that the paramount issue of the coming city election is to be municipal ownership. At least the primary agitation seemed to point that way. The Union Labor and Democratic Clubs vied with each other in promises leading in that direction. Both these radical (?) parties, however, displayed a most respectable horror at being accused of having socialist intentions, thus showing a knowledge of the nature of Socialism which the so-called Socialist Party would do well to emulate.

The quarrel between the Schmitz and Casey factions of the Union Labor Party grew more interesting as the primary proceedings advanced. At first, the outcry against Schmitz seemed likely to drown all other sounds, but soon public attention was drawn to the remarkable audacity of Mr. Casey, who, in his position as president of the Board of Public Works, was preparing for the coming campaign. He dismissed Government employes that he might fill their places with friends, created new offices for the same purpose, and performed other feats worthy of his high station. Unfortunately he found it convenient to throw out certain union men of influence. Headed by the Schmitz faction, the unions raised the cry of "Traitor to Labor," and the Brotherhood of Teamsters, whose president he is, attempted to pass a resolution enacting that the officers of that body must be actually engaged in team driving. The motion was lost, but the outcry was not silenced; and as time passed on, it began to be evident that the Schmitz faction would get possession of the primaries.

To be sure the soaring eloquence of Congressman Livernash was continually employed in exalting the mighty name of Casey and hurling that of Schmitz to the last word, for the Alhambra Theatre was packed with his followers on the night before the primaries, and his fame raised to the stars. So Schmitz won. A month ago such an outcome seemed impossible, but Casey, new in bossdom, showed his hand too soon. Indeed, "Down with the Bosses," was the cry of the campaign. The Republican and Democratic parties were also divided into factions, and in every case the boss was beaten. The so-called Socialist Party was in the field but made a very poor showing.

The primary excitement and the approaching election have had the usual effect of increasing the importance of "Labor" and bringing the strikes and boycotts more into public favor. The liumens' struggle with the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co. continues in spite of arbitration. Mayor Schmitz has the matter in hand at present. The long strike of the Fort Bragg lumbermen has led to more complications between the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Council, and this time the City Front Federation is involved. It seems that the A. F. of L. appointed Andrew Furuseth, secretary of the Sailors' Union, to settle the Fort Bragg troubles. Furuseth was adjusting matters in his own smooth way when McCarthy, president of the B. T. C., stepped in, accusing Furuseth of bartering principle for a mess of pottage and other acts of exchange. In the dispute it came out that Furuseth had been transporting scab lumbermen to Fort Bragg with a view to breaking the strike. About this time McCarthy himself had successfully arbitrated the Stonecutters' strike and engaged that the men should return to work on the 1st of August. This the Stonecutters refused to do, and accused McCarthy of bad faith. The difficulty was adjusted, however, and the men did return to work on the 8th, leaving McCarthy free to attend to Furuseth's little "irregularities."

The most effective strike of the season is that of the Burlap and Cotton Bag Makers against the firm of Ames & Harris. This strike has continued since the 8th of June, and has succeeded in reducing the factory to twenty hands, at a loss of many thousand dollars to the firm. The Bag Makers' Union is now restrained by a continued injunction. An interesting feature of this strike is the prominence of women in the struggle. Two young girls have been arrested on charge of battery by a sister worker whom they were attempting to discipline for refusing to quit work at the call of the union. The newshyds are now on a strike against the evening papers, and with good reason, too. The little fellows

(Continued on Page Six.)

# The Flour and Cereal Mill Employes' Convention.

## Adopts Measures That Are Applauded By The Employers—The Reason, As Revealed By An Analysis of Present Industrial Conditions—John Finley, "Labor Leader," and Friend of The Mill Owners.

It is a wise old saying often used in the People that: "Praise from the enemy is worse than criticism from a friend." If this is true—as true we know it is—then the Eight-Hour Miller and the Flour and Cereal Mill Employes' Convention stand in the very lowest category of moral turpitude, because they not only received praise from the employer's journal, the Northwestern Miller, but the Eight Hour Miller publishes this praise in full in the July number and comments favorably upon it. From this article we learn that the recent convention's every measure was highly favorable to the employers who publish The Northwestern Miller, and, in turn, the Eight Hour Miller is in high glee over having so well pleased the employers that it actually proves itself right then and there to be nothing but a handmaid of the Minneapolis mill owners, which we shall also see is an actual fact when we come to examine more closely the principal measures of the convention.

The article from the Northwestern Miller is interesting and valuable enough to be printed in full; but space will not admit us doing so. But part of it must be quoted to be appreciated and it is too tempting not to do so.

First, this journal has a discussion on economies that contains some revelations worthy of the most petrified "vulgar economist," to use a favorite expression of Marx. It speaks of the recent convention of the mill owners in Detroit and says that its expressions on "the labor question" can be taken as that of the entire American milling trade, yet it adds philosophically:

"One feels disposed to take exception to the common use of the word 'labor' in this connection and to resent its limitation to the wage earner. It expresses a false distinction; one that does not exist. The dignity of labor is man's, whether he works for wages or works to pay wages, and it can not be arrogated by the artisan. This misuse of the word is in itself a fruitful source of trouble, and, presuming upon it, wrongfully, men have sought to establish a code of rights for the class they arbitrarily denominate laborers, which they deny to others or which infringe upon the rights of others. To get back to the broad and true meaning of the word labor is to clarify the atmosphere and rid the question of much of the sophistication which needlessly surrounds it. We are all laborers whether with hands or brain, whether for a definite wage or for an indefinite and sometimes intangible profit. The Almighty gave us all our rights as men and laborers, and any human code which attempts to create privileges for one which infringe upon those of another, which draws a circle about one class, working with its hands, and says 'this is labor,' meaning that the rest is something different, is wrong and must inevitably fail. Mankind must be considered and treated as one inseparable class subject to the same law; the same justice; and the same right."

Here we have the sum and substance of the brotherhood theory, short and concise; and this is not only the code of the employes but through the Eight Hour Miller and the fakirs of the new International, it has become the code of the employes also.

Now, let us see the full meaning of

this. If the writer of that article was writing fables for use in the American kindergarten and he wished to demonstrate the point in question to the childish minds, we think he ought to proceed thus wise: "A potato bug after having filled his capacious belly perched himself high on a potato plant and addressed the angry farmer who was scattering paris green in these words: 'We all belong to the potato field whether in tubers below ground or as bugs above, and any one who draws a circle around any part of the growth there and says 'this is potato,' meaning that the rest is something else, is wrong and must inevitably fail. The Almighty made us one potato field, subject to the same law, the same justice, and the same right."

The difference of the "labor" of the man "who works for wages" and the man "who works to pay wages" is as different as is to the farmer the "activity" of the potato and the potato bug, and is as easily defined. The wage worker, whether he works with hands and brains in the mill or with brains and hands in the office does useful work. In other words he brings forth wealth. The capitalist, the man who pays wages, or, to use the Socialist term, which is much clearer, the man who buys labor power may "labor" indeed and sometimes early and late, but his labor is diametrically opposite to that of the wage worker's labor. It creates no wealth; it is unnecessary. Yet to him, as an individual it is most necessary. It has a twofold object in view. First, to get the largest possible amount of work for the least possible amount of wages out of the laborers or, if the Northwestern Miller likes it better, the wage workers; second, to, as an individual capitalist, get as large part of the fleecings of the entire wage-working class as possible. This is done by methods of scheming to get hold of the wealth fleeced by other capitalists from their wage workers. Now, this can not be too well understood because on these two points hang the whole tale—in fact, the whole capitalist system. Therefore, to sum up: First, the skinning of the wage-working class by the capitalist class; second, the skinning of one capitalist by another, therein consists the capitalists "labor." Or, to again put it in terms such as might be used in the kindergarten; first, a band of robbers robs some honest travelers, then they fight each other for the spoils and the strongest make off with the lion's share. That that involves "labor" we do not dispute, but the usefulness of that labor we must question.

Again the Northwestern Miller quotes as the sentiment of the entire milling trade "that we recognize the right of all men, whether workers for wages or employers of labor, to unite with and form such organizations as they may deem desirable to create for their mutual benefit, protection and advancement, so long as such organizations are within the limit of the law and do not infringe upon the rights of others."

Then it goes on discussing this claim that employers and employes have a right to organize as long as they are within the bounds of the law and that either should be interfered with only when they, through their organization, attempt to break the law.

Now, that is a beautiful sentiment and worthy of the respectable citizens in the office of The Northwestern Miller. This "fairness" nearly brings tears from the eyes of the editor of The Eight Hour Miller.

But, let us see where the limit of the law will lead us. Now, the ownership and non-ownership of the means of

production creates two distinct economic classes, viz., the class that pays and the class that receives wages, or the capitalist and the wage-working classes, respectively. On the economic field these two classes must necessarily always be in conflict from the fact that the interest of the one can never be advanced one iota without infringing on the interest of the other, for this reason that there is only one set of wealth created—namely, that produced by labor—that must be divided into two shares, wages and profits. If wages increase, profits decrease. If profits increase, wages decrease and there is no other possible way for labor's interest to be advanced as a class than to infringe on the interest of capital. Now, this struggle has to-day become perpetual and what more results perpetually, as a whole, to the detriment of the wage-working class. Yet, says the Northwestern Miller this struggle must be carried on within the range of the law. How does it become possible for one class to steadily infringe on the rights and privileges of another, and that the majority of the people, and yet remain honest and law-abiding citizens? Let us see.

By virtue of the ownership of the means of production and the products of labor, the capitalist class controls almost the entire wealth of the nation. By this wealth it, through its political lackies controls the elections and sees to it that the legislative, executive and judicial offices are filled by the representatives of the capitalist class. Hence, nearly all legislation, under capitalism, is in favor of the capitalist class; and, if ever a law should be made apparently in favor of labor, the capital executive will not enforce it; and, in all cases, have the capitalist judges the chance to declare it unconstitutional. Hence, all law to-day is capitalist law. Therefore, the capitalist can well afford to be a law-abiding citizen, for the law does never interfere with his rights as a capitalist, but on the other hand aids him to infringe on the rights of the working class.

In the next paragraph the Northwestern Miller is jubilant over the fact that the Flour and Cereal Mill Employes' Convention allowed itself to be drawn into the whirlpool of capitalism, and, blinded as to its own interest, was made to fight the battle of their employers. They passed a resolution calling for reciprocal trade relations with foreign countries, similar to one passed by the mill owners at their Detroit convention. Now, free trade and protection has time and again been proven to be squabbles which concern the different capitalists alone; in other words, a fight of the robbers over the spoils. For labor to join in such a fight is as preposterous as it is for the robbed traveler to take sides with the robbers in the division of the spoils taken from him. "But," says the employes' convention, "reciprocity will favor the American millers and the continuous running of the American mills will favor the American mill employes as it will give them steady work." Very good as far as it goes; but it does not go very far. Remember, that capitalism is international and so is, consequently, wage labor. In the world's market there is only a certain quantity of flour needed. If the mills in the United States run more the Canadian, Australian, Russian, etc., mills must run less. If any worker in these countries cannot obtain work at home he will seek it abroad. More work in United States and less in foreign countries will increase immigration; and that, in turn, means that the wage-workers in the

United States will have the same workers to compete with in their own town which they formerly had to compete with abroad.

The members of the wage-working class cannot move logically for their own benefit until they recognize that their interest is one, no matter of what nationality, creed, color or sex they may be; or, in other words, not until they follow Marx's maxim: "Workers of all countries unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain," will they be free. The convention passed two more, to the employers, very important measures. First, to "further postpone all efforts to obtain the eight-hour day until September, 1905, and then, if attempts be made, let it apply to a section of the country and not to a city or town." Second, that "no local union shall henceforth strike without the consent of the international union and should it do so its charter will be forfeited."

Over the last of these measures the Northwestern Miller is in additional glee and comments upon it as "a wise act which renders impossible the irresponsible ill considered local strike." "Militant," writing from Minneapolis, in the Weekly People of July 11, appreciates the fact that John Finley is duping the mill employes and is staving them off until they are hemmed in and he can nicely trade them off to the employer's interest. About that there is no doubt and that Finley is a "level-headed youth," as to labor faking, there is no doubt either. But, there is one point, however, which seems to have escaped "Militant," perhaps from the fact of not at that time, having full knowledge of the convention's measures. And, furthermore, the recent labor fakir's trials in New York have brought out some of the beauty points of faking so that we can now, better than ever, see the whole thing as if we were reading about it in a book. The labor fakir has a twofold duty to fulfill to his buyer. First, and foremost, of course, to dupe the workers. Second, and sometimes no less in importance, to aid one employer to freeze out the competitor. As we mentioned before, the "labor" of the capitalist is twofold, first, to get as much profit as possible out of their own employes; second, to freeze out their competitors and get as much as possible out of the whole wage-working class. Consequently, the labor fakir's duty is also twofold. Now, that Finley works for the mill owners is clear from all his actions. Whether he does this ignorantly, as an economic ignoramus, or dishonestly, as a hired labor fakir matters not, the effect is the same. But the tale is not ended there. He works first and foremost in the interest of the Minneapolis mill owners. The convention has brought that out strongly. This fact seems also to be somewhat appreciated by the Modern Miller, the organ of the St. Louis mill owners, whose policy toward the International, Finley, designates as "a craven policy."

Now, let us look at the situation of the milling industry and see how this tallies. The Minneapolis mills are the largest in the country—they are practically the trust; but, they are far from being the whole thing. They have some formidable competitors in other parts of the country. So much milling is done in other places that all the Minneapolis mills are never kept running steady throughout the year. Now, this ought to be remedied and reciprocity is not sufficient, for it might as easily favor the East, the South, or the extreme West. There is but one sure remedy, namely,

to freeze out smaller competitors. But, the gradual process of evolution, that, as a rule, works in favor of the big against the little fellow has been rather slower than desirable in the milling trade and the peculiar conditions of the country might at any time turn the scales in favor of any of the other centers. Drastic measures must be taken. And the labor fakirs have of late proven themselves the best possible tools for the capitalists in this line of their "labor." Now, turn this light on the last two mentioned resolutions and see what we may deduce. Finley, on whose recommendation these resolutions were adopted and whose highest ambition it is to remain the president of the International (according to his own statement, as quoted by Militant), is given to September, 1905, to get the mill employes of the United States and Canada under his control. Then they may demand the eight-hour day, but strike for it only with the consent of the International officers. Further, the demand must then apply to a section of the country, the rest of the sections remaining at work as usual "to help to support the strikers." Now, again to quote Finley, "the Minneapolis mills will never be shut down one hour on account of a strike." Well, then, some other section will do the striking. While the East, South, or extreme West has trouble galore, the Minneapolis mills will run full time to supply the orders. The Northwestern millers will reap the profits and the competitors in the afflicted sections will have to throw up the sponge; and there the tale ends—only with this addition: Finley, in the July number of the Eight-Hour Miller says, he "wants it distinctly understood that he is not married, but —" Yes, indeed, but, only wait young ladies, John will be worth having yet. The West may be able to boast of its Murphys, too; only they may settle down quietly at home, rather than go on "the roaring billows" and tell their secrets.

So stands matters in the milling industry! So practically stand matters in ever large industry of the nation! The papers are full of the fraud and corruption of the so-called "labor world" brought out by the recent trials of "walking delegates" in New York! Shall this thing be allowed to quiet down? Shall labor continue to be duped? It seems so. For while conditions are such as to arouse men to action, yet, to a great extent, labor looks lazily and disinterestedly on, as if the whole matter did not concern it. They go to work and drudge from day to day happy while the mill, mine or factory is in operation. They eat their scanty meal and tumble into bed. They do not recognize how, day by day and year by year, their conditions are declining, for the lowering process is gradual, but inevitable, under the capitalist system of privately-owned tools of production.

Panics will throw industry out of gear to such a great extent that thousands will suffer want and then they may realize that the free American citizens are being reduced to the condition of the Asiatic coolie laborers minus their security of existence, because the crises sweep off thousands of the working class by starvation. It is drawing toward that point, if in the meantime the workers do not listen to the rallying cry of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party and emancipate themselves from the fakirs and then fight their own battle instead of that of their employers.

MILL EMPLOYEE.  
Detroit, Mich., Aug. 6.

423217. This drops a shutter in an iron box on the telegraph table and sets the bell ringing, until the telegrapher gets up and shuts it off by twisting a brass button in the end of the box. At wash-out and wrecks his hours have no limit; he is expected to work as long as he can sit up, or until the track is clear. A hospital system is maintained on most roads, and telegraphers are required to contribute 50 cents monthly to the fund for sustaining a miserable lot of quack doctors and surgical butchers. These doctors are useful to the company in damage suits by the testimony they give. Many of the quacks are appointed solely on account of their pliability and ignorance.

I saw a striking illustration of this on the Union Pacific Railway in Montana. A boy viper fell under an engine in a roundhouse and had a foot crushed off at the ankles. His shopmates brought him to the quack in a buggy, drawing it themselves, and the quack would have permitted him to have bled to death if one of the shopmen had not picked up and tied the broken arteries.

Nearly every trade has its impure and simple parasites, and the railroad telegraphers have had and are having more than their share. Just now the honors of misleading telegraph dupes are shared by "Hank," or H. B. Perham and Geo. Estes. Perham is the president of the O. R. T., or as it is commonly known, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, and Estes is president of the U. B. R. E., or, as it is generally known, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes. When Estes organized the U. B. R. E. he was general chairman of Division 53, O. R. T., on the Southern Pacific Railway system, at \$250 per month and expenses, but left it for a better graft. Perham was formerly general secretary-treasurer of the O. R. T., and succeeded Humpty Dumpty, or "Mike," Dolphin, who inherited the office of president from W. V. Powell, who was "investigated" at the St. Louis convention and kicked into outer darkness. Powell is now maintenance of way agent on the Missouri Pacific Railway and in good standing with his brother fakirs in the railway orders. Perham was a \$75 clerk on the Midland Terminal Railway at Cripple Creek, Colo., shortly before he broke out as a labor (mis)leader. Now the O. R. T. pays him \$3,000 per annum to dine "informally" with President Roosevelt and write Sunday school editorials on the supposed "Harmonious relations of Labor and Capital," "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work," "Labor and Capital are brothers," etc., etc., ad nauseum. Perham expects his dupes to keep paid up and allow him to blize the trail for the Order. He remarks that he must be very careful what he says or allows to be printed in the "Telegraph-

er," even if published over a member's own signature, for fear that the railroad officials might get offended at something and refuse to give him another schedule with its \$5 "increase" and second-hand clauses copied from the company's book of rules; hence he fills up his magazine with reprint and advertising matter furnished by the railroads, and choice recipes as to "How to make dried apple pies."

Estes is a shrewder, smoother man than Perham, and is after bigger game. He says the railroad class orders are constantly arrayed against each other, and that they are failures. With Clark, of the O. R. C., on record as opposed to sympathetic strikes, and the different orders being constantly taught and counseled through their magazines and the capitalist press that a fellow laborer's troubles are nothing to them, that they must maintain the inviolability of their contracts, even while the railroad companies are making ducks and drakes of said contracts, it is plain that Estes is correct. But does Estes' organization offer anything better? No! It simply lurches the different departments in the B. R. E., relieves the company of their death losses by coffin assessment insurance, and sells them out collectively to capitalist politicians and capitalism. Estes, when urged by me to investigate Socialism, said he knew nothing of it, that it was an untried field to him and he preferred to devote his time to something with which he was more familiar—the trades union movement. Then he made speeches for union labor fakirs Democratic fakirs and now I learn that his Brotherhood has indorsed the Socialist Party, which permits one to talk for any old thing or party except the S. L. P.

Blind leaders of the blind! The railroad telegrapher has a latent class-consciousness, but it is being and has always been sidetracked by labor fakirs. You talk to one of the class struggle and he assumes that you are discussing the latest brand of breakfast food or a new four-in-hand tie. The death rate among railroad telegraphers, while not as high as among commercial men, is extremely heavy, consumption having a larger per cent. of victims than all other diseases combined.

Economic development has not made such general changes among railroad telegraphers as in some other occupations, but the necessity for larger dividends is constantly spurring managers on to inaugurate a system which will give their properties greater earning capacities, and the railroad telegrapher an environment which will make him think and act along different lines than now. Then he will be ripe for Socialism and a valuable recruit for the S. L. P. A. S. D.

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Section Rochester's Officers.	Section Denver's Officers.
At its regular meeting, held on Aug. 15, Section Monroe County, S. L. P. elected the following officers for the ensuing term:	Section Denver, S. L. P., at its regular meeting, held June 7, elected the following officers for the ensuing term:
Recording secretary, J. C. Vollertsen; financial secretary, C. A. Ruby; People agent, C. A. Ruby; Soc. Arb. Zeitung agent, A. Metzler; literary agent, J. T. B. Gearty; auditing committee, B. Baum; G. J. Fischer and J. Zierer; campaign committee, J. T. B. Gearty, L. Bell, H. J. Berl, E. Seusa and C. A. Ruby; grievance committee, C. Luedecke, R. C. Wetzel and A. Metzler; press committee, J. T. B. Gearty, A. Metzler and H. Engel.	Organizer, Carl Starkenberg; recording secretary, Chas. J. Michael; secretary-treasurer, Carl Demms; agent of The People, Aug. Schroeder; agitation committee, A. Gunlin, C. F. Leach, August Schroeder and J. Michael; press committee, M. Hurwitz, A. Schroeder, J. Kadis and C. Demms; grievance committee, C. H. Chase, J. Michael and C. F. Leach; auditing committee, W. A. Coder, J. Travers and Carl Starkenberg.
We intend making up for lost time by getting on the firing line immediately.	C. Starkenberg, Organizer.

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"MOZLE"  
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# THE RAILROAD TELEGRAPHER

The railroad telegrapher is the eyes and fingers of the train dispatcher. Seated at his desk in the city office, or at a table in some shack or shanty on the arid plains, or amid the wind-swept Sierras, he records the flight of every passing train, checks baggage and freight, sells tickets, handles a voluminous commercial business, express and freight, loads cattle, transfers mail, cleans lamps and switch lights, advises the dispatcher as to changes in the weather, and where he is not an agent he often runs a steam or gasoline engine at pumping stations at a salary of from one-sixth to one-third that which the company formerly paid a regular pumper for this service.

These are but a part of his multifarious duties, for in order to extort dividends the corporation finds it necessary to extract most of the juice of life from its servants and wire slaves. Part of his wire work consists of train orders, car reports, messages relative to freight and the movement of the same, and the receipt and delivery of lists showing each car, number and contents as it leaves each division point.

sages on a typewriter, to keep same in good condition and pay for breakage. On some roads he is expected to own a machine and do the company's work with it. At way offices, as stations outside of division points are called, these rules are not so generally enforced.

The origin of the railroad telegrapher is not far to seek—he is the product of economic necessities and conditions, and often he begins his career as a messenger boy and "swamper" around a general office or station. His gratuities at this period consisting mostly of pick-ups for special delivery of Western Union messages and possibly \$15 or \$20 per month on the company's payroll. At spare moments he may copy what he can of passing messages, assist the agent or operator in making out the thousand and one reports with which the service is burdened, seal cars, take numbers, load baggage or otherwise act as a general utility man.

Some telegraphers begin as students in a telegraph school, or "ham factory," as it is known to the initiated, but if they become anything but tyros they graduate from a railroad office. Many students part with their money and the "professor" and drift back to the farm, which is healthier though no harder than the life of the strenuous, overworked man of many responsibilities—the railroad telegrapher. When he has acquired a knowledge of station work and telegraphy his sponsor, the agent or tele-

grapher—who is often both—recommends him to the division superintendent or trainmaster for a job. If the company is short of telegraphers, they decide to try him, and in a few days he gets a message like this:

"Chicago 13,  
"Darktown.  
"Go to Lonleyville on No. 15 and work nights. Condr has pass." L. Skinner,  
"Supt."

Lonleyville, like many way stations, consists of a name, a water tank, a telegraph shanty and a section house. If he can't "batch" he boards with the section boss, and thus one more unfortunate is launched upon a catch-as-catch-can career which will land him in the president's, or at least the general manager's, chair.

This is the sort of inspiration he gets from the stories in the "Railroad Telegrapher," the "Monthly (O. R. C.) Conductor," the grafting "professors" and the capitalist press, and he believes it until he gets old enough and kicks enough to reason and think otherwise. Cold facts have a most unromantic way of knocking out capitalist sophistry and so-called wise saws, as the gray-headed old-timers in the telegraph service can testify. Several railroad systems employ from 8,000 to 25,000 men, and the Jaspers and Rubes who are eking out a sweltering existence with an eye on the presidency of "their road" have about

one chance in twenty-five thousand of getting it, provided they have pull and abilities. With pull and ability they have from ten to twelve chances in twenty-five thousand of becoming division superintendent or trainmaster and drawing from \$150 to \$300 per month.

However, that is not the way they finish. After working nights a while a spasm of economy or a panic hits the management, and Jasper's office is closed and he is put on the extra list to go where he is sent, to relieve some sick, discharged or leave-of-absence man for a month or two. In the course of time he may get a station at a salary that will afford him a few clothes and an occasional vacation, and just as he is setting down to the belief that he is on the sunny side of prosperity a general reorganization occurs, his salary is cut, his night telegrapher and check clerk are taken off, and he is "fortunate" in retaining his job with three men's work to do. After working through all the various gradations of night telegrapher, check clerk, bill clerk, assistant agent, baggage man, agent and roundabout, he rounds out a quarter of a century of confining, enervating, grinding existence to find himself a broken-down, young-old man, holding down a night office at some side track, consoling himself with the thought, if he is a believer in capitalist wisecracks, that it is the identical station in life to which God in His infinite wisdom has called him.

The pay of the average railroad telegrapher ranges from \$25 to \$75 in the East and South to \$45 and \$75 in the North and West. The hours are from twelve to eighteen, varying with locations and the conditions of work. He is subject to the superintendent, trainmaster, chief operator, three dispatchers, auditor, traveling auditor, the express officials and the officers of the Western Union or Postal Telegraph companies. He must give a bond in a surety company prescribed by the railroad, must be familiar with a book of rules of some 150 pages, the Western Union tariff, freight, passenger and express rates and innumerable supplements and bulletins from all sources. He must neither smoke, chew, drink nor swear, must always look neat, be polite, and under no circumstances neglect the company's interests. "Company interests" is a very elastic term, as in the case of the railroad telegrapher he is expected to act as a political agent for them when the election of a favorite candidate may be in jeopardy; to handle the tickets for the "loyal" candidates and to instruct the section foreman to see that he and his men "vote right."

# WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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## PART II.

### WOMAN IN THE PAST—Continued.

The Leipzig Police Doctor, Dr. J. Kuehn, says: "Prostitution is not merely an evil that must be tolerated, it is a necessary evil, because it protects the wives from infidelity, [which only the husbands have the right to be guilty of] and virtue also [female virtue, of course, the husbands have no need of the commodity] from being assailed [sic.] and, therefore, from falling." These few words of Dr. Kuehn typify, in all its nakedness, the crass egoism of male creation. Kuehn takes the correct stand for a Police Doctor, who, by superintending prostitution, sacrifices himself, to the end of saving the men from disreputable diseases. In the same sense with him did his successor, Dr. Eckstein, utter himself at the twelfth convention of the German Associations of House and City Real Estate Owners, held in Magdeburg in the summer of 1890. The honorable house-owners wished to know how they could prevent the numerous instances of prostitutes occupying their houses, and how to protect themselves against flies in case prostitutes are caught living in them. Dr. Eckstein lectured them on this head to the effect that prostitution was a "necessary evil," never absent from any people or religion. Another interesting gentleman is Dr. Fock, who in a treatise, entitled "Prostitution, in its Ethical and Sanitary Aspects," in the "Deutschen Vierteljahrsschrift fuer oeffentliche Gesundheitspflege," vol. xx, No. 1, considers prostitution "an unenviable corollary of our civilized arrangements." He fears an over-production of people if all were to marry upon reaching the age of puberty; hence he considers important to have prostitution "regulated" by the State. He considers natural that the State supervise and regulate prostitution, and thereby assume the care of providing for the supply of girls that are free from syphilis. He pronounces himself in favor of the most rigid inspection of "all women, proven to lead an abandoned life;"—also when ladies of "an abandoned life" belong to the prominent classes? It is the old story. That in all logic and justice also those men should be held under surveillance who hunt up prostitutes, maintain them and make their existence possible,—of that no one thinks. Dr. Fock also demands the taxing of the prostitutes, and their concentration in given streets. In other words, the Christian State is to procure for itself a revenue out of prostitution, and, at the same time, organize and place prostitution under its protection for the benefit of male creation. What was it that the Emperor Vespasian said at a somewhat similar juncture? "Non olet!"—it smells not.

Did we exaggerate when we said: Prostitution is to-day a necessary social institution just as the police, standing armies, the Church and wage-mastership?

In the German Empire, prostitution is not, like in France, organized and superintended by the State; it is only tolerated. Official public houses are forbidden by law, and procuring is severely punishable. But that does not prevent that in a large number of German cities public houses continue to exist, and are winked at by the police. This establishes an incomprehensible state of things. The defiance of the law implied in such a state of things dawned even upon our statesmen, and they hurried themselves to remove the objection by legislative enactments. The German Criminal Code makes also the lodging of a prostitute a penal offense. On the other hand, however, the police are compelled to tolerate thousands of women as prostitutes, and, in a measure, to privilege them in their trade, provided they enter themselves as prostitutes on the Police Register, and submit to the Police regulations,—for instance, periodically recurring examinations by a physician. It follows, however, that, if the Government licenses the prostitute, and thereby protects the exercise of her trade, she must also have a habitation. Aye, it is even in the interest of public health and order that they have such a place to ply their trade in. What contradictions! On the one hand, the Government officially acknowledges that prostitution is necessary; on the other, it prosecutes and punishes the prostitute and the pimp. But it is out of contradictions that bourgeois society is put together. Moreover, the attitude of the Government is an avowal that prostitution is a Sphinx to modern society, the riddle which society can not solve: it considers necessary to tolerate and superintend prostitution in order to avoid greater evils. In other words, our social system, so boastful of its morality, its religiousness, its civilization and its culture, feels compelled to tolerate that immorality and corruption spread through its body like a stealthy poison. But this state of things betrays something else, besides the admission by the Christian State that marriage is insufficient, and that the husband has the right to demand illegitimate gratification of his sexual instincts. Woman counts with such a State in so far only as she is willing, as a sexual being, to yield to illegitimate male desires, i. e., become a prostitute. In keeping her with, the supervision and control, exercised by the organs of the State over the registered prostitutes, do not fall upon the men also, those who seek the prostitute. Such a provision would be a matter of course if the sanitary police control was to be of any sense, and even of partial effect,—apart from the circumstance that a sense of justice would demand an even-handed application of the law to both sexes. No; "supervision and control" fall upon woman alone.

This protection by the State of man and not woman, turns upside down the nature of things. It looks as if men were the weaker vessel and women the stronger; as if woman were the seducer, and poor, weak man the seduced. The seduction-myth between Adam and Eve in Paradise continues to operate in our opinions and laws, and it says to Christianity: "You are right; woman is the arch seductress, the vessel of iniquity." Men should be ashamed of such a sorry and unworthy role; but this role of the "weak" and the "seduced" suits them;—the more they are protected, all the more they sin.

Wherever men assemble in large numbers, they seem unable to amuse themselves without prostitution. This was shown, among other instances of the kind, by the occurrences at the German Schuetzenfest, held in Berlin in the summer of 1890, which caused 2,300 women to express themselves as follows in a petition addressed to the Mayor of the German capital: "May it please your Honor to allow us to bring to your knowledge the matters that have reached the provinces, through the press and other means of communication, upon the German shooting matches, held at Pankow from the 6th to the 13th of July of this year. The reports of the matter, that we have seen with indignation and horror, represent the programme of that festival with the following announcements, among others: 'First German Herald, the Greatest Songstress of the World'; 'A Hundred Ladies and Forty Gentlemen'; Besides these smaller cafes chantants and shooting galleries, in which importunate women forced themselves upon the men. Also a 'free concert,' whose gaily-clad waitresses, seductively smiling, brazenly and shamelessly invited the gymnasium students and the fathers of families, the youths and the grown men alike, to the 'shooting retreats.' . . . The barely dressed 'lady' who invited people to the booth 'The Secrets of Hamburg, or a Night in St. Pauli,' should have been enough to justify her removal by the police. And then the shocking announcement, almost incredible of the much boasted about Imperial capital, and hardly to be believed by plain male and female citizens in the provinces, to the effect that the managers of the festival had consented to the employment, without pay, of 'young women' in large numbers, as bar-maids, instead of the waiters who applied for work. . . . We, German women, have thousands of occasions, as wives, mothers and as sisters, to send our husbands, children, daughters and brothers to Berlin in the service of the fatherland; we, consequently, pray to your Honor in all humbleness and in the confident expectation that, with the aid of the overpowering influence, which, as the chief magistrate of the Imperial capital, lies in your hand, you may institute such investigations of those disgraceful occurrences, or adopt such other measures as to your Honor may seem fit, to the end that a recurrence of those orgies may not have to be apprehended at the pending Sedan festival, for instance. . . ." (1)

During the session of the Reichstag, from 1892 to 1893, the united Governments made an effort to put an end to the contradiction that governmental practice, on the one hand, and the Criminal Code on the other, find themselves in with regard to prostitution. They introduced a bill that was to empower the police to designate certain habitations to prostitutes. It was admitted that prostitution could not be suppressed, and that, therefore, the most practical thing was to tolerate the thing in certain localities, and to control it. The bill—upon that all minds were agreed—would, if it became a law, have called again to life the brothels that were officially abolished in Prussia about 1845. The bill caused a great uproar, and it evoked a number of protests in which the warning was raised against the State's setting itself up as the protector of prostitution, and thereby favoring the idea that the use of prostitution was not in violation of good morals, or that the trade of the prostitute was such that the State could allow and approve of. The bill, which met with the strongest opposition both on the floor of the Reichstag and in the committee, was pigeon-holed, and dared not again come into daylight. That, nevertheless, such a bill could at all take shape reveals the embarrassment that society is in.

The administrative regulation of prostitution raises in the minds of men not only the belief that the State allows the use of prostitution, but also that such control protects them against disease. Indeed, this belief greatly promotes indulgence and recklessness on the part of men. Brothels do not reduce sexual diseases, they promote the same: *the men grow more careless and less cautious.*

Experience has taught that neither the establishment of houses of prostitution, controlled by the police, nor the supervision and medical inspection, ordered by the police, afford the slightest guarantee against contagion. The nature of these diseases is frequently such that they are not to be easily or immediately detected. If there is to be any safety, the inspection would have to be held several times a day. That, however, is impossible in view of the number of women concerned, and also of the costs. Where thirty or forty prostitutes must be "done" in an hour, inspection is hardly more than a farce; moreover, one or two inspections a week is wholly inadequate. The success of these measures also suffers shipwreck in the circumstance that the men, who transmit the germs of disease from one woman to another, remain free from all official annoyance. A prostitute, just inspected and found healthy, may be infected that same hour by a diseased man, and she transmits the virus to other patrons, until the next inspection day, or until she has herself become aware of the disease. The control is not only illusory: These inspections, made at command, and conducted by male, instead of female physicians, hurt most deeply the sense of shame; and they contribute to its total ruination. This is a phenomenon confirmed by many physicians. Even the official report of the Berlin Police Department admits the fact by stating: "It may also be granted that registration causes the moral sense of the prostitute to sink still lower." Accordingly, the prostitutes try their utmost to escape this control. A further consequence of these police measures is that they make it extraordinarily difficult, even impossible, for the prostitute ever again to return to a decent trade. A woman, that has fallen under police control, is lost to society; she generally goes down in misery within a few years. Accurately and exhaustively did the fifth Congress at Geneva for Combating Immorality utter itself against the police regulation of prostitutes, by declaring: "The compulsory medical inspection of prostitutes is an all the more cruel punishment to the woman, seeing that, by destroying the remnants of shame, still possible within even the most abandoned, such inspection drags down completely into depravity the wretched being that is subjected thereto. The State, that means to regulate prostitution with the police, forgets that it owes equal protection to both sexes; it demoralizes and degrades women. Every system for the official regulation of prostitution has police arbitrariness for its consequence, as well as the violation of civic guarantees that are safeguarded to every individual, even to the greatest criminal, against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. Seeing this violation of right is exercised to the injury of woman only, the consequence is an inequality, shocking to nature, between her and man. Woman is degraded to the level of a mere means, and is no longer treated as a person. She is placed outside of the pale of law."

Of how little use police control is, England furnishes a striking illustration. In the year 1866 a law was enacted on the subject for places in which soldiers and marines were garrisoned. Now, then, while from 1860 to 1866, without the law, the lighter cases of syphilis had declined from 32.68 to 24.73 per cent., after a six years' enforcement of the new law, the percentage of diseased in 1872 was still 24.26. In other words, it was not one-half per cent. lower in 1872 than in 1866; but the average for these six years was 1-16 per cent. higher than in 1866. In sight of this, a special Commission, appointed in 1873, to investigate the effect of that law, arrived at the unanimous conclusion that "the periodical inspection of the women who usually have sexual intercourse with the personnel of the army and navy, had, at best, not occasioned the slightest diminution in the number of cases," and it recommended the suspension of periodical inspections.

The effects of the Act of Inspection on the women subjected thereto were, however, quite different from those on the troops. In 1866, there were, to every 1,000 prostitutes, 121 diseases; in 1868, after the law had been in force two years, there were 202. The number then gradually dropped, but, nevertheless, still exceeded in 1874 the figure for 1866 by 16 cases. Under the Act, deaths also increased frightfully among the prostitutes. In 1865 the proportion was 9.8 to every 1,000 prostitutes, whereas, in 1874 it had risen to 23. When, towards the close of the sixties, the English Government made the attempt to extend the Act of Inspection to all English cities, a storm of indignation arose from the women. The law was considered an affront to the whole sex. The Habeas Corpus Act,—that fundamental law, that protects the English citizen against police usurpation—would, such was the sentiment, be suspended for women; any brutal policeman, animated by revenge or any other base motive, would be free to seize any decent woman on the suspicion of her being a prostitute, whereas the licentiousness of the men would remain unmolested, aye, would be protected and fed, by just such a law.

Although this intervention in behalf of the outcasts of their sex readily exposed the English women to misrepresentation and degrading remarks from the quarter of narrow-minded men, the women did not allow themselves to be held back from energetically opposing the introduction of the law that was an insult to their sex. In newspaper articles and pamphlets the "pros" and "cons" were discussed by men and women; in Parliament, the extension of the law was, first, prevented; its repeal followed later. The German police is vested with a similar power, and cases that have forced themselves into publicity from Berlin, Leipzig and other cities, prove that its abuse—or be it "mistakes" in its exercise—is easy; nevertheless, of an energetic opposition to such regulations naught is heard. Even in middle class Norway, brothels were forbidden in 1884; in 1888 the compulsory registration of the prostitutes and the inspection connected therewith were abolished in the capital, Christiania; and in January, 1893, the enactment was made general for the whole country. Very rightly does Mrs. Guillaume-Schaek remark upon the "protective" measures adopted by the State in behalf of the men: "To what end do we teach our sons to respect virtue and morality if the State pronounces immorality a necessary evil; and if, before the young man has at all reached mental maturity, the State leads woman to him stamped by the authorities as a merchandise, as a toy for his passion?"

Let a sexually diseased man, in his unbridled career of licentiousness, contaminate ever so many of these poor beings—who, to the honor of woman be it said, are mostly driven by bitter want or through seduction to ply their disgraceful trade,—the servile fellow remains unmolested. But woe to the woman who does not forthwith submit to inspection and treatment! The garrison cities, university towns, etc., with their congestion of vigorous, healthy men, are the chief centers of prostitution and of its dangerous diseases, that are carried thence into the remotest corners of the land, and everywhere spread infection. The same holds with the sea towns. What the moral qualifications are with a large number of our students the following utterance in a publication for the promotion of morality may give an idea of: "With by far the larger number of students, the views entertained upon matters of morality are shockingly low, aye, they are downright unclean." And these are the circles—boastful of their "German breed," and "German morals"—from which our administrative officers, our District Attorneys and our Judges are in part recruited.

"Thy sins shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." This Bible sentence falls upon the dissipated and sexually diseased man in the fullest sense of the word, unhappily also

upon the innocent woman. "Attacks of apoplexy with young men and also women, several manifestations of spinal debility and softening of the brains, all manner of nervous diseases, affections of the eyes, cariosity, inflammation of the intestines, sterility and atrophy, frequently proceed from nothing else than chronic and neglected, and, often for special reasons, concealed syphilis. . . . As things now are, ignorance and light-headedness also contribute towards turning blooming daughters of the land into anæmic, listless creatures, who, under the burden of a chronic inflammation of the pelvis, have to atone for the excesses committed by their husbands before and after marriage." In the same sense does Dr. Blaschke utter himself: "Epidemics like cholera and smallpox, diphtheria and typhus, whose visible effects are, by reason of their suddenness, realized by all, although hardly equal to syphilis in point of violence, and, in point of diffusion, not to be compared therewith, yet are they the terror of the population. . . . while before syphilis society stands, one feels inclined to say, with frightful indifference." The fault lies in the circumstance that it is considered "improper" to talk openly of such things. Did not even the German Reichstag stop short before a resolution to provide by law that sexual diseases, as well as all others, shall be treated by Sick-Benefit Associations?

The syphilitic virus is in its effects the most tenacious and hardest poison to stamp out. Many years after an outbreak has been overcome, and the patient believes every trace to be wiped out, the sequels frequently crop up afresh in the wife or the new-born child; and a swarm of ailments among wives and children trace their causes back, respectively, to marital and parental venereal diseases. With some who are born blind, the misfortune is due to the father's sins, the consequences of which transmitted themselves to the wife, and from her to the child. Weak-minded and idiotic children may frequently ascribe their infirmity to the same cause. Finally, what dire disaster may be achieved through vaccination in an insignificant drop of syphilitic blood, our own days can furnish crass illustrations of.

In the measure that men, willingly or otherwise, renounce marriage, and seek the gratification of natural impulses through illegitimate channels, seductive allurements increase also. The great profits yielded by all undertakings that cater to immorality, attract numerous and unscrupulous business men, who spare no artifice of refinement to draw and keep customers. Account is taken of every demand, according to the rank and position of the custom, also of its means and readiness to bleed. If some of these "public houses" in our large cities were to blab out their secrets, the fact would appear that their female tenants—mostly of low extraction, without either culture or education, often unable to write their own names, but possessed of all the more physical charms—stand in the most intimate relations with "leaders of society," with men of high intelligence and culture. There would be found among these Cabinet Ministers, high military dignitaries, Councillors, members of Legislatures, Judges, etc., going in and out, and side by side with representatives of the aristocracy of birth, of finance, of commerce and of industry,—all of them, who, by day and in society, strut about with grave and dignified mien as "representatives and guardians of morality, of order, of marriage, and of the family," and who stand at the head of the Christian charity societies and of societies for the "suppression of prostitution." Modern capitalist society resembles a huge carnival festival, at which all seek to deceive and fool one another. Each carries his official disguise with dignity, in order later, unobtrusively and with all the less restraint, to give a lode to his inclinations and passions. All the while, public life is running over with "Morality," "Religion" and "Propriety." In no age was there greater hypocrisy than in ours. The number of the augurs swells daily.

The supply of women for purposes of lust rises even more rapidly than the demand. Our increasingly precarious social conditions—want, seduction, the love for an externally brilliant and apparently easy life—furnish the female candidates from all social strata. Quite typically does a novel of Hans Wachenhusen depict the state of things in the capital of the German Empire. The author expresses himself on the purpose of his work in these words: "My book deals mainly with the victims of the female sex and its steady depreciation, due to the unnatural plight of our social and civic state, through its own fault, through neglect of education, through the craving of luxury and the increasing light-headed supply in the market of life. It speaks of this sex's increasing surplus, which renders daily more hopeless the new-born ones, more prospectless those that grow up. . . . I wrote much in the same way as the District Attorney puts together the past life of a criminal, in order to establish therefrom the measure of his guilt. Novels being generally considered works of fiction, permissible opposites of Truth, the following is, in that sense, no novel, but a true picture of life, without coloring." In Berlin, things are no better and no worse than in other large cities. Whether Greek-Orthodox St. Petersburg or Catholic Rome, Germanic-Christian Berlin or heathen Paris, puritanic London or gay Vienna, approach nearer to Babylon of old is hard to decide. "Prostitution possesses its written and its unwritten laws, its resources, its various resorts, from the poorest cottage to the most splendid palace, its numberless grades from the lowest to the most refined and cultivated; it has its special amusements and public places of meeting, its police, its hospitals, its prisons and its literature." "We no longer celebrate the festival of Osiris, the Hachchaphalia and the Indian orgies of the spring month; but in Paris and other large cities, under the black cloak of night, behind the walls of 'public' and 'private' houses, people give themselves over to orgies and Bacchanalia that the boldest pen dare not describe."

Under such conditions, the traffic in female flesh has assumed mammoth proportions. It is conducted on a most extensive scale, and is most admirably organized in the very midst of the seats of civilization and culture, rarely attracting the notice of the police. A swarm of brokers, agents, carriers, male and female, ply the trade with the same unconcern as if they dealt in any other merchandise. Birth certificates are forged, and bills of lading are drawn up with accurate descriptions of the qualifications of the several "articles," and are handed over to the carriers as directions for the purchasers. As with all merchandise, the price depends upon the quality, and the several categories are assorted and consigned, according to the taste and the requirements of the customers in different places and countries. The slyest manipulations are resorted to in order to evade the snares and escape the vigilance of the police; not infrequently large sums are used to shut the eyes of the guardians of the law. A number of such cases have been established, especially in Paris.

Germany enjoys the sorry fame of being the woman market for half the world. The innate German migratory disposition seems to animate also a portion of the women. In larger numbers than those of any other people, the Austrian excepted, do they furnish their contingent to the supply of international prostitution. German women populate the harems of the Turks, as well as the public houses of central Siberia, and as far away as Bombay, Singapore, San Francisco and Chicago. In a book of travels, the author, W. Joest, speaks as follows on the German trade in girls: "People so often grow warm in our moral Germany over the slave trade that some African negro Prince may be carrying on, or over conditions in Cuba and Brazil, but they should rather keep in mind the beam in their own eyes: in no country is there such a trade with white female slaves, from no country is the export of this living merchandise as large as it is from Germany and Austria. The road that these girls take can be accurately followed. From Hamburg they are shipped to South America; Bahia and Rio de Janeiro receive their quotas; the largest part is destined for Montevideo and Buenos Ayres, while a small rest goes through the Straits of Magellan as far as Valparaiso. Another stream is steered via England, or direct to North America, where, however, it can hold its own only with difficulty against the domestic product, and, consequently, splits up down the Mississippi as far as New Orleans and Texas, or westward to California. Thence, the coast is supplied as far south as Panama; while Cuba, the West Indies and Mexico draw their supplies from New Orleans. Under the title of 'Bohemians,' further droves of German girls are exported over the Alps to Italy and thence further south to Alexandria, Suez, Bombay, Calcutta and Singapore, aye, even to Hongkong and as far as Shanghai. The Dutch Indies and Eastern Asia, Japan, especially, are poor markets, seeing that Holland does not allow white girls of this kind in its colonies, while in Japan the daughters of the soil are themselves too pretty and cheap. American competition from San Francisco also tends to spoil the otherwise favorable chances. Russia is provided from East

Prussia, Pomerania and Poland. The first station is usually Riga. Here the dealers from St. Petersburg and Moscow supply themselves, and ship their goods in large quantities to Nischnij-Novgorod and beyond the Ural Mountains to Irbit and Krestof-sky, aye as far as the interior of Siberia. I found, for instance, a German girl in Tschita who had been traded in this way. This wonderful trade is thoroughly organized, it is attended to by agents and commercial travelers. If ever the Foreign Department of the German Empire were to demand of its consuls reports on this matter, quite interesting statistical tables could be put together."

This trade flourishes to this day at its fullest, as proved in the autumn of 1893 by a Social Democratic delegate to the German Reichstag.

The number of prostitutes is hard to estimate; accurately it can not be at all given. The police can state approximately the number of women whose principal occupation is prostitution; but it can not do this with regard to the much larger number of those who resort to it as a side means of income. All the same, the figures approximately known are frightfully high. According to v. Oettingen, the number of prostitutes in London was, as early as the close of the sixties, estimated at 80,000. In Paris the number of registered prostitutes in 1892 was 4,700, but fully one-third escape police control. In all Paris, there were, in 1892, about sixty brothels, with 600 to 700 prostitutes, and the number of brothels is steadily on the decline. On the other hand, based upon an investigation, instituted by the Municipal Council of Paris, in 1889, the number of women who prostitute themselves is placed at the enormous figure of 120,000. In Berlin, the number of prostitutes, registered with the police, was:—

1886.....	3,006	1888.....	3,392
1887.....	3,063	1889.....	3,703
1890.....	4,039		

In 1890, there were six physicians employed, whose duty it was to devote two hours a day to inspection. Since then the number of physicians has been increased. The prostitutes, registered with the police, constitute, however, in Berlin also, only a very small portion of the total. Expert sources estimate it at not less than 50,000. In the year 1890 alone, there were in 9,024 liquor saloons, 2,022 bar-maids, almost all of whom yield to prostitution. Furthermore, the, from year to year, rising number of girls, arrested for disorderly conduct, shows that prostitution in Berlin is steadily on the increase. The numbers of these arrests were:—

1881.....	10,878	1887.....	13,358
1884.....	11,157	1890.....	16,603

Of the 16,605 girls, arrested in 1890, there were 9,162 carried for sentence before the Judge. There were, accordingly, 39 of these at every session of the court, and 128 of them were placed under the police by judicial decree. Already in 1860, it was calculated in Hamburg that every ninth woman was a prostitute. Since then the proportion has become greatly worse.

In Germany, the number of prostitutes probably runs up to 180,000. Accordingly, we here have to do with a large female army, that considers prostitution as a means of livelihood; and the number of victims, whom disease and death claim, is in proportion.<sup>14</sup>

Tait calculates for Edinburgh that the average life of the prostitute is 22 to 25 years. According to him, year in and year out, every fourth aye, every third prostitute seeks to take her own life, and every twelfth actually succeeds in killing herself. A truly shocking state of things. The majority of prostitutes are heartily tired of their way of living; aye, that they are disgusted therewith, is an experience admitted by all experts. But once fallen into prostitution, only to very few is the opportunity ever offered to escape.

And yet the number of prostitutes increases in the same measure that does that of the women engaged as female labor in the various branches of industry and trade, and that are paid off with wages that are too high to die, and too low to live on. Prostitution is, furthermore, promoted by the industrial crises that have become a necessity of the capitalist world, that commence to become chronic, and that carry want and misery into hundreds and thousands of families. According to a letter of the Chief Constable of Bolton, October 31, 1865, to a Factory Inspector, the number of young prostitutes had increased more during the English cotton famine, consequent upon the North American war for the emancipation of the slaves, than during the previous twenty-five years.<sup>15</sup> But it is not only the working-women, who, through want, fall a prey to prostitution. Prostitution also finds its recruiting grounds in the higher walks of life. Lombroso and Ferrero quote Mace,<sup>16</sup> who says of Paris that "a governess certificate, whether of high or low degree, is not so much a draft upon bread, as upon suicide, theft and prostitution."

Parent-Duchatelet made out in his time a statistical table, according to which, out of 5,000 prostitutes there were 1,440 who took to the occupation out of want and misery; 1,250 were orphaned and without support; 80 prostituted themselves in order to feed poor parents; 1,400 were concubines left by their keepers; 400 were girls whom officers and soldiers had seduced and dragged to Paris; 280 had been deserted by their lovers during pregnancy. These figures speak for themselves. They need no further explanation. Mrs. Butler, the zealous champion of the poorest and most wretched of her sex in England, says on the subject of prostitution: "Fortuitous circumstances, the death of a father, of a mother, lack of work, insufficient wages, misery, false promises, snares, had led them to sin." Instructive also is the information given by K. Schmidt<sup>17</sup> on the causes that lead the Berlin bar-maids so often into the arms of prostitution. Shockingly large is the number of female servants that become bar-maids, and that almost always means prostitutes. The answers that Schmidt received on his schedules of questions addressed to bar-maids, ran like this: "Because I got a child from my master and had to earn my living;" or "Because my book was spoiled;" or "Because with sewing-shirts and the like too little is made;" or "Because I was discharged from the factory and could get no more work;" or "Because my father died, and there were four other little ones." That, particularly, servant girls, after they fall a prey to seduction by their masters, furnish a large contingent to the prostitutes, is a known fact. On the subject of the shockingly large number of seductions of servant girls by their masters or by the sons of these, Dr. Max Taulde expresses himself reproachfully.<sup>18</sup> When, however, the upper classes furnish their quota to prostitution, it is not want but seduction and the inclination for an easy life, for dress and for pleasures. On that subject a certain work<sup>19</sup> utters itself thus:

"Cold with horror and dismay, many a staid citizen, many a parson, teacher, high official, high military dignitary, etc., learns that his daughter has secretly taken to prostitution. Were it allowable to mention all these daughters by name, either a social revolution would take place on the spot, or the popular ideas concerning honor and virtue would be seriously damaged."

It is especially the finer prostitutes, the *haute volée* among the prostitutes, that are recruited from these circles. Likewise do a large portion of actresses, whose wardrobe outlays alone stand in crass disproportion to their salaries, depend upon such unclean sources of revenue.<sup>20</sup> The same with numerous girls, engaged as sales-ladies, and in similar capacities. There are employers dishonorable enough to justify the low wages that they pay by referring their female employes to the aid of "friends." For instance: In 1889 the "Sächsische Arbeiter Zeitung" of Dresden published a notice that ran as follows: "A cultured young lady, long time out of work on account of lung troubles, looked, upon her recovery, for work of any sort. She was a governess. Nothing fit offered itself quickly, and she decided to accept the first job that came along, whatever it was. She first applied to Mr. ——. Seeing she spoke readily several languages, she was acceptable; but the 30 marks a month wages seemed to her too small to get along with. She stated to Mr. ———, and his answer was that most of his girls did not get even that much, but from 15 to 20 marks at most, and they all pulled through quite well, each having a 'good friend,' who helped along. Another gentleman, Mr. ———, expressed himself in the same sense. Of course, the lady accepted a place in neither of the two establishments."

<sup>14</sup>Zweiter Verwaltungsbericht des Königl. Polizei-Präsidiums von Berlin vom Jahre 1887-1890.

<sup>15</sup>In the large trades union sick-benefit associations of Berlin the number of syphilitic diseases increased from 4326 in 1881 to 9429 in 1890. Dr. A. Blaschke, *ubi supra*.

<sup>16</sup>Karl Marx, "Capital," p. 461, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1890.

<sup>17</sup>*Ubi supra*.

<sup>18</sup>Das Kellnerinnen-Elend in Berlin, Berlin, 1893.

<sup>19</sup>Dr. Max Taulde, "Der Schutz der unehelichen Kinder," Leipzig, 1893.

<sup>20</sup>Die gefallenen Mädchen und die Sittenpolizei," Wilm. Jassle, Berlin 1889.

<sup>21</sup>In a work, "Kapital und Presse," Berlin, 1891, Dr. P. Mehring proves that a by no means indifferent actress was engaged at a well known theatre at a salary of 100 marks a month, and that her outlay for wardrobe alone ran up to 1000 marks a month. The deficit was covered by a "friend."

(To Be Continued.)

<sup>22</sup>Zweiter Verwaltungsbericht des Königl. Polizei-Präsidiums von Berlin für die Jahre 1881-1890, pp. 251-259.

<sup>23</sup>Korrespondenzblatt zur Bekämpfung der öffentlichen Sittenlosigkeit," Aug. 15, 1893.

<sup>1</sup>Die gesundheitsschädliche Tragweite der Prostitution," Dr. Oskar Lassar.

<sup>2</sup>Die Behandlung der Geschlechtskrankheiten in Krankenkassen und Heilanstalten.

<sup>3</sup>In the English hospitals, during 1875, fully 14 per cent. of the children under treatment were suffering of inherited venereal diseases. In London, there died of these diseases 1 man out of every 190 cases of death; in all England, 1 out of every 159 cases; in the poor-houses of France, 1 out of 160.5.

<sup>4</sup>Was die Strassen verschlingt."

<sup>5</sup>Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, "The Moral Education."

<sup>6</sup>Montezuma, "L'Amour dans l'Humanité."

<sup>7</sup>Aus Japan nach Deutschland durch Sibirien."

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**SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.**

In 1868.....	2,063
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,911
In 1902.....	53,617

**MOB SPIRIT.**

D. M. Parry, now sufficiently known to fame to need no further introduction, has been delivering himself of some more congested and self-photographic burning feelings. This time it was on the 13th instant, at the Chautauqua conference. Among the things the gentleman said was that "organized labor is the worst form of mob spirit." It needs no deep penetration to perceive that Mr. Parry was again "talking out of school."

When Mr. Parry, the President, it is remembered, of an Association of crippled capitalist concerns that are caught in the swirl of capitalist currents, pronounces organized labor a mob he has a certain thing in mind; that thing is a reflex of the disorganized and, consequently, mob capital that he represents.

The thing Mr. Parry has in his mind is Mitchell (with an organization one-half of which (the bituminous wing) he caused to scab it on the other half (the anthracite wing) during last year's strike; the Murphy-Parks dominated building trades, one set of which cuts the throat of the other; the carpenters and woodworkers, who roundly denounced one another as "scabs"; the railroad "brotherhoods" who transport millions to beat down the wages of the workers in other trades and so on. That, certainly is a labor-mob. But what is that mob if not the reflex of competing capitalists, the one cutting the other's throat by underselling, by backbiting the other's credit, solvency, goods, etc.? Of competing capitalists joining in cartels, each with the object in view of thereby tying the other's hands, while himself breaks the cartel? Of competing capitalists spreading false market reports to mislead and ruin the others? And so forth and so on?

Capitalism, short of the monopoly stage, is a mob; and the spirit that animates it is Mob Spirit. The bulk of organized labor to-day is at that stage; and its being so but reflects the social stage of development that wide areas of capitalism, the Parry area, is still wholly in, and that few, if any, are yet wholly out of.

But Mr. Parry need not despair of the country or of civilization. As his stage of capitalism is purely transitory, so is the present stage of the bulk of organized labor transient. The same social and economic laws that are eliminating the Mob Spirit from organized labor. Those laws are working with accelerated effectiveness—witness the distress of Mr. Parry. The day is at hand, when wholly eradicated, Mob Spirit in organized labor will have made room for the Spirit of Order. On that day the present mob of organized labor, the reflex and product of the existing mob of disorganized capital, will take the helm and install Social Order, and save the country and civilization.

Let Mr. Parry wear his soul in patience.

The Armour Meat Company, not satisfied with going into the egg, butter, poultry, cracker and other branches of the food industry, has now decided to ship fruit to its local meat agencies. As the tendency of all industry is to concentrate all its resources under one central head, this is perfectly natural and logical. The fact that the anti-Armour fruit interests are in open arms against this latest phase of the tendency will not affect it unfavorably.

Where is Compera? Is the question agitating the striking Holyoke paper-makers. He can't be located, and it is suggested that he may be lost, strayed or stolen. It is more likely that he is dining and drinking with some capitalist body and giving its members pointers in the gentle art of labor faking.

**FRYING THE FISH.**

Labor is the sole producer of wealth.

Wealth has two values—"use value" and "exchange value."

Use value depends upon the quality of an article to supply human wants.

Exchange value depends upon the amount of human labor crystallized in an article, and socially necessary for its reproduction.

Use and exchange value are two different things, tho' at times they may happen to coincide. Price depends upon the oscillations of the market, due mainly to supply and demand.

Our last article—in the course of the economic discussion carried on with the Lincoln, Neb., "Independent"—entitled "Landing of the Fish," showed our populist adversary thoroughly committed, well hooked and landed. In its issue of the 6th instant, the "Independent" returns to the charge. We shall now proceed to "fry the fish."

In opposition to some of the Socialist principles quoted at the head of this article, the "Independent" says:

"The manna had no value—but who can doubt that it was wealth to the wandering Jews? . . . The expenditure of human energy in overcoming the form or location of natural resources results in the production of wealth."

The second of these two sentences knocks out the first.

"Expenditure of human energy in overcoming the form or location of natural resources" is a diffuse phrase to express a concrete idea—"labor." What else is that "expenditure," etc., but "labor"? Accordingly, the one word "labor" may be substituted for the 14-worded phrase beginning with "expenditure." And what is the result?

1st. No labor, no wealth;—correct!  
2d. Consequently, the manna itself was not wealth until it had crystallized labor in its composition;—correct!

Manna, no more than wild berries growing on a bush, is wealth. A woman may become a wife and mother, but she is only potentially such. All wives and mothers are women, but not all women are wives and mothers. So is manna, or wild cherries on a bush, only potential wealth, not wealth itself. The manna became wealth only when it was sanctified by human labor, the labor of picking up and gathering—or as the "Independent" with diffused verbiage would put it, by "the expenditure of human energy in overcoming the form or location of that natural resource"—and there goes the "Independents' claim about the manna being wealth, knocked out by itself. Stick a pin there.

In opposition to some other of the principles quoted at the head of this column, the "Independent" says:

"The expenditure of human energy in overcoming the adverse possession of another in an article of wealth, results in the force of demand for that article, and 'value' is simply human appraisal or 'valuation' of the intensity of that force of demand at the given time and place."

Again, "expenditure of human energy," etc., in this sentence is likewise a diffuse phrase to express a concrete idea—"demand," or "supply and demand." What else is this second "expenditure," etc., but "supply and demand"? It can mean, it means nothing else. Accordingly these three words, being the equivalent of the 27-worded phrase beginning with this second "expenditure," the 3 may be substituted for the 27, and the passage is then boiled down to read:

"Value is simply human appraisal or valuation of the force of supply and demand at a given time."

Time was when the "Independent" talked about the "money of our daddies"; its arguments were then based upon social conditions that had ceased to exist, never to return, any more than the social conditions of the cave-dwellers. But the "Independent" is retreating still further back into antiquity. The illustration that it now uses takes us even back of our "daddies"; it takes us to the Jews wandering in Arabia Petrea. Above we indulged it in its "manna" just long enough to establish out of its own unwilling mouth the first cardinal principle of sound economics, that is, "labor is the sole producer of wealth." The "manna" silliness having done its work, may now be dropped. The terms "exchange value," "price," "supply and demand" are strictly technical terms in political economy. They have no application outside of a social stage that produces for sale. They imply the existence of merchants. When the principles that regulate exchange value, price, etc., are spoken of nothing can be had in view but commodities that are produced and the quantity of which can be increased by

man (labor). The "manna" social stage is out of court.

Now, then, what is it that determines the exchange value of a commodity? Is it demand and supply? Admittedly, if the demand exceeds the supply the commodity will fetch a longer figure; if the supply exceeds the demand the figure fetched will be shorter. Is that figure the exchange value of the commodity? The pendulum will move to the right if the force pulling it to the left is stronger than that pulling it to the left; inversely, it will move to the left if the force pulling it to the right is stronger than that which pulls it to the right. But what if both forces are equal, cancel themselves? Will the pendulum fly into the azure? No. If left unaffected by any such perturbing forces, the pendulum WILL POINT TO THE CENTER OF THE EARTH. Similarly with commodities. The perturbing influences of supply and demand will cause a commodity to fetch in the market different figures at different times. But these figures do not register its "exchange value," they register its temporary "price." Supply and demand being equal, cancel themselves, what then? A commodity, that is, wealth will then point to its EXCHANGE VALUE—to the amount of that thing crystallized in it, and socially necessary for its reproduction, that alone rates it to the dignity of wealth, to-wit, LABOR.

When the "Independent," in its criticism of Socialist economics, defines "value" as the "human appraisal of the force of supply and demand" it not only confounds "price" with "value"; it not only throws itself into hopeless contradiction with its own definition of wealth; it betrays to the joy of the Socialist Labor Party the scientific bankruptcy of the forces arrayed against it.

Seeing that labor is the sole producer of all wealth, it follows with relentless logic:

1st. Not as the "Independent" wrongly quotes "The People" as holding that "labor is the sole product of all wealth values," but that labor is the sole measure of value, meaning exchange value;

2d. That the capitalist system, with its private ownership of the land and the tools with which to work, can not choose but lead to the subjugation and demoralization of the nation;

3d. That the Socialist Republic is the only goal and haven of refuge for the human race; while free coinage, free trade, high tariff, gold standard, silver standard, paper standard, tax reform, expansion, anti-expansion, capitalist government nationalization and municipalization, trust, anti-trust, etc., etc., are all so many different patent sauces in which to fry the working class,—and of one of these patent sauces the Lincoln, Neb., "Independent," with its populism, is of one of the few surviving cooks.

**CONFLUENT SMALLPOX.**

According to the new order, decided upon by the Postmaster General, trainmen are to be converted into auxiliary employees of the postal service. This is the rough statement. The detailed statement is of no importance. Of importance, however, is the significance of the move.

Any one who intelligently watches the performances of executives and legislators—federal, state and municipal; any one who traces these performances back and forward knows that these arms of government are manned by the capitalist class. Likewise does every intelligent man know that such a state of things is inseparable from the capitalist social system with the social division of classes, and that the reflective effect thereof is the degradation of the masses and the building up of the a raw-boned tyrant class. All this is known to the careful observer; but most people cannot be careful observers. They are otherwise too busy in the struggle for existence, and have been too early in the struggle to have time for contemplation. As the overwhelming majority of the people are in this fix, it would be hopeless to expect them ever to understand, and thus the fever state of popular indignation necessary to overthrow social wrong could be despised of. And, yet, why is it Socialists, the most clear-sighted of men, do not despair? The order just decided upon by the Postmaster General is an answer in point.

The Postmaster General's order amounts to this: riffs of Government employees are to be private capitalist appointees; the private capitalists appoint and discharge, the Government endorses and pays the wages; the civil service rules, long known to be farcical, are torn to shreds; according as the private capitalist sees fit trainmen are to be appointed and discharged. That the Government becomes under these circumstances

a mere paymaster of the private capitalist grows obvious to all. The eyes of the masses being opened hereby, they cannot fail soon to perceive the broader truth.

Smallpox is a deadly disease; its deadliest manifestation is when it becomes confluent, when the pox run into one another and the body becomes one festering mass. The smallpox of capitalism is rapidly coming to that stage. The individual pox of private capitalist domination are becoming confluent. The concealed fact of private capitalist official rule becomes obvious when the appointee of the private capitalist in his private industry, becomes ipso facto a Government employee entitled to a Government salary.

The rapidly acute growing stage of the disease is to be welcomed.

**WHEN ROGUES FALL OUT, ETC.**

The Rev. Herbert N. Casson was at one time a member of the Socialist Labor Party, Section Lynn, Mass. That was about seven years ago. He was then expelled from the Party, being too broad for the Party's "narrowness" in not tolerating "Labor Groceries," "Labor Churches," and other flea schemes of exploiting the Labor movement. Hardly expelled, the Rev. Herbert N. Casson plumped into the arms of his predecessor expellees from the S. L. P., who were then getting ready to set up a new party, and to start other flea schemes of exploiting the Labor Movement, such as privately owned "Socialist" papers, etc. The entry received the gentleman with acclaim. Jointly with a number of successor expellees and some new arrivals and not a few dupes, they carried out their plans, and the gentleman boomed his pals of armory-building and other malodorous schemes. But the partnership came to an end. There was not enough plunder to go around. As a result the Rev. Casson fell out with his associates, and now he is giving inside information. In the "Minnesota Union Advocate" of the 24th of last month, he successfully proves that the Bogus "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party leaders, are, to quote his own words, "a wrangling, dishonest, bankrupt gang." He does so by taking up the last annual report of the concern, and says:

This report made by Leon Greenbaum, national secretary of the Socialist Party, was not supposed to be seen by any one outside of the party. It is a long report and filled with the evidence of the Socialist Party's incompetence to manage even their own little affairs, not to speak of the affairs of the nation. The following twenty points are admitted in the report and shown to be true by the secretary himself:

- (1) Factional fight in Utah.
- (2) Factional fight in North Dakota.
- (3) Factional fight in Nebraska.
- (4) Dishonest appropriation of \$115 dues by New York Socialists.
- (5) Dishonest appropriation of \$200 dues by New York Socialists.
- (6) Fourteen state committees can't or won't pay dues.
- (7) Kansas Socialists repudiate dues and refuse payment.
- (8) Fight between Illinois Socialists and headquarters.
- (9) Official reports suppressed by New York and Illinois Socialists.
- (10) Wisconsin Socialists rebel against headquarters.
- (11) Membership has fallen off in 15 States.
- (12) Half of the local organizations pay no dues.
- (13) Debt of \$310 repudiated by Eastern Socialists.
- (14) Debt of \$334 repudiated by Socialist State Committees.
- (15) Net debt of Socialist headquarters, \$1,835.62.
- (16) Only 10,000 dues-paying members in the whole party.
- (17) Headquarters makes a capitalistic profit of 10 per cent. on supplies.
- (18) Pennsylvania Socialists tried to break up coal miners' strike.
- (19) Socialists tried to smash A. F. of L.
- (20) Tried to smash trade union political movement in San Francisco.

When this report was issued the head bosses of the Socialist Party at once made charges against the secretary who was honest enough to tell the facts, and he was dismissed, together with four other officials who agreed with him.

One of the four officials, Mr. J. S. Roche, of St. Louis, sent me a copy of the report, so that what I say is not second-hand evidence. If any party Socialist denies the facts, ask him to produce the annual report of his party for 1902.

The fact is that, so far as it has had power, the Socialist Party has been quite as corrupt a lot of wife-pullers as the Republican or Democratic parties. It has shown less competence than they have in managing its affairs, and it has been more boss-ridden than any party in existence.

From first to last it has done nothing except to bring the principles of Socialism into discredit with all intelligent people. Its bigotry and fanaticism have been worthy of the middle ages, and its boss-rule has put Tammany Hall in the shade, even in the worst days of Tweed and Croker.

When rogues fall out—they peach upon one another.

**THE INCREASED RAILROAD WAGE**

During the early part of this month, the press of this country extensively circulated the following news item:

"\$1,000,000 in Increased R. R. Wages."

"Chicago, Aug. 7.—At about \$100,000,000, 000 Silas Thompson, editor of the Railway News, estimates the increase of the payrolls of the railroads of the United States during the last year. 'Some of this, probably \$50,000,000,' he said, 'is due to the natural increase of the business of the country, but the rest is due to the concerted demands of the employees.'"

Of course, this news item is intended to show that the railroad employees of the country are reaping the benefits of prosperity in the form of increased wages, to the extent of \$100,000,000. This is a good showing when contrasted with the preceding year when the wages of the railroad employees of the country decreased, as was recently shown in these columns.

Despite the establishment of the news item, however, the railroad employees of the country are not reaping the benefits of prosperity as they seem to be. First, in the number of railroad employees during the year in question. According to the latest report of the Interstate Commission there was an increase of 118,146 employees in the year ending June 30, 1902, so it will be seen that the increase of employees is a factor that cannot be ignored in any wage-increase consideration. Second, many of the wage-increases announced during the year mentioned in the press despatches have been nullified by measures since enacted by the railroads. These measures have intensified the labor of railroad employees and decreased the pay roll.

A statement of the measures adopted by two of the leading railroads of this country will make this clear. On July 31, the press of this country printed the following:

"The Pennsylvania R. R. Co. is said to have notified many of its employees that, dating from August 1, they will be laid off one day every month at their own expense. Complaint has followed the order, and it is said its enforcement will practically take from the employees the increase granted last spring."

"The first men to receive the order were the ferry hands in Jersey City. The deckmen, porters, ticket sellers and bridgemen must all take one day off a month, while the others will double up and do their work. They are paid an average of about \$40 a month, and a proportionate amount will be deducted from their wages."

"The baggagemen between Jersey City and Pittsburg have all been similarly notified. There are 2,500 of them, while 700 trackmen between Jersey City and Newark come under the same order. These, it is said, are the first, and gradually the entire system will be affected. "While the loss to each man is comparatively small, amounting to only a few dollars a month, the company will gain almost \$1,000,000 a year by the move."

"Conductors and brakemen and even the clerks in the Pennsylvania offices are wondering if the order will affect them. That the officials are impartial in issuing the orders is shown by the fact that Superintendent of Ferries Carroll will suffer with his men."

As will be seen, the Pennsylvania employees are compelled to "double up" in order that the company may reduce their wages to the extent of \$1,000,000 annually.

It will be remembered that the Pennsylvania was heralded far and wide as one of the companies whose increased business enabled it to advance wages voluntarily. The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, however, was threatened with a strike, and as a result it also "raised" wages. Nominally the men received a ten per cent. increase; but actually the company got more work at less wages than formerly.

Just how this was affected the following schedules in force before and after the "increase" in the wages of yard crews will show. These schedules are according to "tricks," that is, shifts, of which there are three every twenty-four hours.

	FIRST TRICK.		Old		New	
	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.
Conductor .....	\$2.75		\$2.75		\$2.80	
Brakeman .....	1.95		1.95		2.20	
" .....	1.95		1.95		2.20	
" .....	1.95		1.95		2.20	
Total .....	\$10.55		\$10.55		\$9.40	

Thus the New Haven and Hartford "raised" wages by reducing the yard crews from 5 to 4 members, intensifying their labor, and saving \$1.15 a crew on the first shift. The other "tricks" show similar results.

	MIDDLE TRICK.		Old		New	
	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.
Conductor .....	\$2.75		\$2.75		\$2.85	
Brakeman .....	1.95		1.95		2.25	
" .....	1.95		1.95		2.25	
" .....	1.95		1.95		2.25	
Total .....	\$10.55		\$10.55		\$9.60	

	THIRD TRICK.		Old		New	
	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.	Schedule.
Conductor .....	\$2.75		\$2.75		\$2.90	
Brakeman .....	1.95		1.95		2.30	
" .....	1.95		1.95		2.30	
" .....	1.95		1.95		2.30	
Total .....	\$10.55		\$10.55		\$9.80	

The total reduction in wages affected by this "increase," by the New Haven and Hartford Railroad will be shown by the following:

	FIRST TRICK.		Per		Total	
	City	Crews	Crew	Per	City	Total
New York .....	13	95	\$11.15		\$14.95	
Bridgeport .....	2	1.15	2.30		2.30	
New Haven .....	8	1.15	9.20		9.20	
New London .....	5	1.15	5.75		5.75	
Providence .....	10	1.15	11.50		11.50	
Boston .....	9	1.15	10.35		10.35	
Total .....	47		\$54.05		\$54.05	

	SECOND TRICK		Per		Total	
	City	Crews	Crew	Per	City	Total
New York .....	13	95	\$12.35		\$16.05	
Bridgeport .....	2	95	1.90		1.90	
New Haven .....	8	95	7.60		7.60	
New London .....	5	95	4.75		4.75	
Providence .....	10	95	9.50		9.50	
Boston .....	9	95	8.55		8.55	
Total .....	47		\$44.65		\$44.65	

	THIRD TRICK.		Per		Total	
	City	Crews	Crew	Per	City	Total
New York .....	13	75	\$9.75		\$12.60	
Bridgeport .....	2	75	1.50		1.50	
New Haven .....	8	75	6.00		6.00	
New London .....	5	75	3.75		3.75	
Providence .....	10	75	7.50		7.50	
Boston .....	9	75	6.75		6.75	
Total .....	47		\$35.25		\$35.25	

Grand total saved all cities: First trick, \$54.05; second trick, \$44.65; third trick, \$35.25; or \$133.95 a day. As yard crews work, in most instances, every day the reduction in wages affected by this increase amounts to considerable for the year.

These facts and figures are here given so much in detail because they show that the "increased" railroad wages exist more in print than in fact; and because they further show that, as contended above, since increasing wages the railroads have introduced measures to intensify labor while reducing their payrolls.

"The United Tailors" is the latest thing in trusts. Chas. M. Schwab, ex-President of the Steel Trust, is backing it. It is to own a chain of stores, like the United Cigar Stores, in the leading cities, in which custom tailoring will be cheaply done. In the furtherance of its plans, "The United Tailors," will own its own woolen mills, open schools for cutters, trimmers and salesmen, and employ half-a-million men. This latest trust will prove detrimental to small custom tailoring establishments and to pure and simple unionism. Against a trust backed by millions, which manufactures its own woolsens, trains its own employees and sells its own wares, the small custom tailor and the pure and simple union has small chances of success. As a two-edged concentration of capitalism, "The United Tailors" cannot fail to be both destructive and instructive. In both events it will prove an aid to socialism, firstly, in that it brings about consolidation; secondly, in that it makes tailors and other folks think. These are both necessary preliminaries to Socialism.

The fight now being conducted by Henry Oxnard, the beet sugar capitalist, for a seat in the United States Senate from California is instructive. Oxnard knows enough about capitalist government to take no stock in the pure and simple trade union doctrine of legislation by influence. Familiar with the many pitfalls awaiting such legislation, he prefers direct participation and action as the safest and best. When will the working class of this country learn not to induce others to legislate for them, but to go and do it themselves?

In one of the principal speeches of last week delivered in London, Sir John Murray said:

"The great battles of future, I believe, will not be between man and man, but a struggle for possession of the forces of the earth."

The same belief was long ago expressed by Frederick Engels, in the conclusion of his work, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." As Engels therein shows, the belief can only become a reality under Socialism.

The advisability of stopping the payment of dividends on common stock, now being considered by the directors of the Steel Trust, reflects the pretty pass to which the prosperity boom has come in this country. With the prospects of a depression in sight, the directors of the Steel Trust are taking time by the forelock in order to insure the continuance of dividend payments on the preferred stock.

The Warsaw statement that an American farmers' association has approached the Russian Minister of Finance and Agriculture with a proposition to establish a union of wheat growers all over the world, for the purpose of raising prices, will not make pleasant reading to those who maintain that "Our farmers can never be induced to support the trust idea, especially in agriculture."



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—This is going too far! This is awful! These labor unions must be smashed!  
UNCLE SAM—Hem!  
B. J.—Do you believe in Trades Unions?

U. S.—I do in some; I don't in others.  
B. J.—Do you believe in Unions that establish regulations which deprive their members of the freedom to enter into whatever agreement they please?  
U. S.—There can be no sensible objection to that.

B. J.—Well I have a sensible objection to it. We call this a free country; and so it is. True freedom means that men shall be allowed to enter into any agreement, unrestricted and un molested. To do what the Unions do is a violation of freedom. Smash the Unions.

U. S.—Tut, tut, tut.  
B. J.—No "tut, tut, tut," about it; I say the Unions are treasurable; they violate the land's fundamental principle of freedom. Smash them, I say.  
U. S.—"Smash them"

**CORRESPONDENCE.**

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

[Enclosure 2.]

**SOCIALISTS HOLD SUNDAY MEETING.**

Rev. J. G. Townsend Talks on New Code of Social Ethics.

**COMMENDED TRADES UNIONS. Says They Are Instruments of Progress and Liberty Preservers.**

Last Sunday afternoon a meeting was held in City Hall under the auspices of the local Socialist Club. The meeting was called to order by E. J. Squires, who said, "The great mass of wealth producers are wanting education along economic lines, and the aims of the Social Democratic Club is to supply this knowledge in a fair way to the wage-worker."

Rev. J. G. Townsend was then introduced as the speaker of the afternoon. He said in part as follows: "Every day we are confronted with questions in physics which we cannot explain. This can be truly said of ethics, and when we study the matter we find that we are but in the A B C of this philosophy. The goodness of yesterday may not be the goodness of to-day, for we know that there is a new goodness, a new morality, a new righteousness, which is not of the past and its influence is bound to be felt."

"I am a Republican, and I believe in partisanship. I believe that there are two kinds of Republicans, hard and soft. I am a soft Republican in that I do not believe in all that the party advocates. I am a free trader and I never did believe in an expanded navy. There are many reasons why we should have a new code of ethics. There is a great change in the conditions that existed a quarter of a century ago. The way clothes are made now as compared to the mode 100 years ago is vastly different. The age of individualism is passing away, and we all have claims upon each other which must be met. We no longer need philanthropists, but what we do need is simple justice. We need patriots, poets, statesmen, artists and thinkers, but we do not need philanthropists."

"There is a manifest attempt upon the part of the trade unions to bring about this new code of ethics. This movement was started centuries ago when the guilds were formed in England, Holland and other countries of Europe. If it were not for these guilds we would not have this great American republic, as in them our freedom had its birth. Many employers claim the right to run their business to suit themselves. They claim that the business is run on their capital and their brains. Let us consider this question. Take the railroad. The owners have depended upon others who preceded them in the business; it is not the outcome of his own brain. Then he depends upon the men who make up the great force of operatives. He has not the right to run his business as he pleases as long as others are interested in its operation. Baer made this same statement, but he has had it proven to him that he was mistaken. If there were no men to run the railroads they would not be worth to-morrow's breakfast. If Baer were the only being in the universe, then, and only then, would he have the right to run his business as he pleases."

**Republican Speaker Addresses Workmen Under 'Socialist' Alias Social Democratic Party Auspices.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—There is another example of the "Socialist" education the Socialist (alias Social Democratic) Party renders to the working people. Inclosure 1 is a handbill given out on the Saturday previous to the meeting mentioned in it. The head of the handbill calls for "Socialism" in one and a half inch letters. The second sentence calls for "a lecture on the science of Socialism," and the whole bill winds up with, "Come and Hear the Truth."

Enclosure 2 is taken from "The Union Advocate," of Jamestown, N. Y., of August 6, 1903. I was present myself at that meeting to hear the "truth," that that Rev. "Coming Our Way" had to say. As I intended to write those truths up for The People, I took notes. On comparing my notes with Enclosure 2 I found they both contained the same statement, except one which is not there. It is this: "The working classes have only one weapon to better their condition with, and that is the strike."

"In regard to the words spoken by the kang-'Comrade' Bush, they have been fixed up a little, so as to look more like Socialistic phrases. Originally he made the following statements: 'It is not a struggle between Capital and Labor, but between capitalists and the working people.' 'It is said that the capitalists are getting their share by profit, interest and rent, but it is not so. It is only by taxation on the working classes.' 'Socialism means the absolute rule of the majority. And the government shall own all capital, not wealth.'

"After the meeting I approached 'Comrade' Bush and asked him, 'How is it that you advertise a lecture on Socialism while you have a Republican speaking for you?' His answer was: 'Well, we were more disappointed than you are.' Beld.

Jamestown, N. Y., Aug. 9

**The Machinists' Daily People Lathes.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The idea to get a tool with which it will be possible to perform necessary repairs on the plant of The Daily People is indeed a good one, and should be pushed to realization as soon as possible. For this reason, L. A., 307, S. T. & L. A. has donated \$2 for this purpose and \$5 more have been donated by Section Hartford, S. L. P., together \$7, which you will find inclosed.

Wishing speedy success, I am yours in the cause. Fred. Fellerman. Hartford, Conn., Aug. 8, 1903.

**The Chain of Department Stores Nothing New.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—In the editorial columns of to-day's issue I notice an item which states that "The corporation mill at Trenton, N. J., has just ground out a \$5,000,000 concern, whose object is said to be the acquiring of a chain of department stores throughout the United States." This, the writer says, is something new. Now, I assure him it is by no means new, as there is a chain of department stores already in existence and has been for some time, and that is the H. B. Clafin Company.

That company controls such stores as Hahné & Co., of Newark, N. J.; James McCreery & Co., of New York; also Adams & Co., and, I understand, although I am not sure, Chapman & Co., and the Bedford Store, of Brooklyn. Within the last year it has gotten control of the H. O'Neill & Co.'s store, and August Hahné, of Hahné & Co., of Newark, was appointed manager of the merchandise department, William C. Strange, who negotiated the sale between Mrs. Hugh O'Neill and Clafin & Co., which cost the Clafin Co. \$3,000,000, was appointed general manager, and John Robinson was transferred from James McCreery & Co., and appointed assistant superintendent. If you walk into the receiving rooms of any of these stores you will find that for every bill from a manufacturer you will find ten from H. B. Clafin & Co.

In connection with this I would like to ask, Where is the much vaunted "freedom of labor" for the retail clerk? If he throws up his position in one of these stores and goes to another, is he not working for the same bosses and under the same conditions?

So I ask again of the high clerks and creased pantalooned retail clerk, Where is your "freedom of labor"? A Class-Conscious Retail Clerk. New York, Aug. 9, 1903.

**"Vacation Week" Among the Workers of Cohoes.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The comrades of Sections Troy and Watenbit came to Cohoes last Sunday evening and held a meeting, at which Comrades Passonno, Boland, Long and De Lee spoke to an audience of about 200 people, who paid strict attention to all that was said. The comrades purpose holding a meeting here every other Monday evening, and I believe this will result in our securing enough material with which to start a section in Cohoes. Section Troy held another successful meeting last evening at the corner of River and Fulton streets, at which Passonno, Long and Boland spoke. A number of pamphlets were sold, including a few copies of "Two Pages from Roman History."

When Comrade Boland asked for questions someone asked him if John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, was not a good leader of the working people. It is needless to say that the comrade proved that Mitchell was a slimy fakir, and a tool used by Hanna in his interest. After Boland finished, Comrade Long took the stand, and if there were any pure and simple in that audience who have pictured John Mitchell as a person with a halo over his head, methinks that the thinness of the air must have made the halo take a sudden drop, and left John Mitchell standing with the earmarks of the fakir, plainly to be seen, and minus the halo the pure and simple believed they had seen.

To return to the home of "the Prophets." The principal industries of Cohoes are its knitting mills and cotton cloth manufacturers. These are operated by water power, the water being taken from the Mohawk and thence to the mills, through a system of canals.

Every year during one week in August the water is drawn from the canal, and the workers have what is here called "vacation week." During this week repairs are made to the canal, water wheels, etc., so that when the slaves return from their week's rest everything will run nicely and the capitalist profits will be greater than ever, because of the fact that the machinery of production is in better condition and so also are the workers, who, as Comrade Aldrutz says, are simply an appendage to the machine, since skill has been eliminated.

The wage slaves who were so fortunate as to have been able to find a master or masters for the entire period of fifty-one weeks since the last "vacation week," go away to different places to rest, using the small amount they have been able to save by denying themselves what they would otherwise have had in the way of better food, wearing apparel and shelter.

In some of the mills they form clubs, each one putting in a certain amount, every payday, and this is kept in trust for them, until the Saturday the water goes out, when each gets his share.

Mer. who have been without a master part of the time and are therefore unable to go away for the entire week go on one or two of the numerous excursions run during this week to secure the savings of that portion of the workers referred to, by the holy father of St. John's Church, the Business Men's Association, the Brotherly Love Fraternity (the Masons), and others with about the same amount of love for the workers, the love to work the workers for all that they possibly can.

However, the greater portion never get any further than Troy, the fare being only 10 cents, nothing extra for a seat.

Some never get further than the outskirts of the city and are likely to be pinched as vagrants, as they compare very favorably with the man that tramps as far as outer appearances go. A. N. B. Cohoes, N. Y., Aug. 9.

**The "Increased" R. R. Wages.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Appropos of the editorial in to-day's People, "The 'Increased' R. R. Wages," the following expenses of the labor fakirs represented by the Trainmen's organization, who secured the increase on the New York, New Haven and Hartford R. R., will prove interesting.

Five dollars per day were paid each of the committeemen. The total number of days spent at New Haven was sixty. The New York city lodge spent \$300 in this way. About \$2,000 was the total, all told. Fraternally, Trainman. New Haven, Conn., Aug. 11.

**Pushing the Party Press and Agitation in Denver.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Last Saturday evening three of our section went out to Lafayette to speak to the coal miners, the meeting having been advertised by some sympathizers and Comrade Travers, of Denver, who was working there and secured a few subscribers during the week.

As we were preparing to open the meeting an officer of the town came up and told us that the selling of literature would be prohibited under a license ordinance. We explained to the crowd the intent of this license law to be to protect the merchants, who were obliged to pay the expenses of the town government from the unequal competition of peddlers who, were it not for the license, would be free of all such burdens; that a license on the sale of literature was wholly outside of that intent; and, further, that the construction placed upon the ordinance by the officials were merely a ruse for the prohibition of Socialist education.

We spoke to a comparatively small crowd until 10 o'clock and took eight subscriptions to The People and announced our meeting for 9:30 Sunday morning.

The next morning Comrades Starckenberg and Chase spoke until the train started for Louisville at 11:20, devoting their time principally to the trade union question. We secured seven more subscribers to The People and some members of the audience contributed 70 cents to our Agitation Fund, and we gave them literature to that amount free.

At Louisville almost nothing could be done. Owing to a picnic and baseball game the town was practically depopulated. However, we met some of our sympathizers there, secured one subscription to The People and sold 40 cents worth of literature.

Then we walked back to Lafayette, three miles, so as to catch our train for Denver; having secured one yearly and two six months subscriptions to the Weekly and thirteen to the Monthly People.

Press Committee, Section Denver. Denver, Colo., Aug. 10.

**Keeping at It With Success in Columbus.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Last Saturday evening Section Columbus held an outdoor meeting at the corner of Town and High streets. Comrade Freer opened the meeting. For thirty minutes he held an audience of 100 eager listeners.

I want to say right here that this is Comrade Freer's third time before an audience, and if he keeps on improving in the future as he has in the past three meetings he will be counted among the stars when he gets through.

I took the stand next. I spoke one hour and a half. The audience numbered about 200.

After the meeting we sold 15 pamphlets and distributed 25 Daily People. Our bundle of Weeklies did not come. We do not give them away. We receive 20 every week and sell them at 2 cents a piece.

**Enemy Retires Before S. L. P. Fire.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The comrades of the First, Third and Fifth Assembly Districts were on deck at the corner of Clarkson and Hudson streets last Tuesday evening. We were surprised to find that the Hand-with-the-fly-duster, alias "Socialist," alias Social Democratic Party, were also to have a meeting at these streets, so we looked for fun. But the "Socialist," alias Social Democrat, of this district is not at all accommodating. Two of them, Nicholson and another, listened to the expose of their party without a word of protest or defense.

P. Walsh and R. Downes were the speakers. Their criticisms of the "Socialists," Democrats, Republicans and labor fakirs were well received. There was one man in the audience who is well known. He is John J. Donnelly, a member of Tammany Hall and president of Bricklayers' Union No. 7. Walsh showed him up, as he did the Parks, Carvels, O'Briens, Blacks and so forth. Donnelly retired after our batteries were turned on him.

About 300 people listened attentively to all that was said. We sold ten pamphlets, while our leaflets were eagerly sought. The Daily People has become well known in this district. Election is three months away, but having sold 1,200 Sunday Peoples and 300 pamphlets, and hav-

ing distributed 5,000 leaflets, we feel we aren't doing so bad for a "bunch of dead ones." Organizer. New York City, Aug. 13.

**The Iron Molders' Agreement—How It Makes Scabbing Easy.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The Brown Cotton Gin Co. lockout is still on. The machinists tried to unionize the plant, while the firm wishes to make it an open shop.

No machinists have returned to work, but the Molders' Union has fifteen members, mostly married men, working, or, I might say, scabbing.

I spoke to one of the molders as he was leaving the factory at the noon dinner hour. I said to him, "What! Are you scabbing it on the Machinists?" He answered, "No," and said he is acting according to union instructions. How the molders would howl were the machinists to scab it on them, that is, act according to union instructions.

The enclosed, from the Morning Telegraph of the 12th inst., will show how the trouble between the unions is caused. Adam Marx. New London, Conn., Aug. 14.

**"NOW UNIONS ARE AT ODDS."**

"Want Cotton Gin Co. Molders Called Out by A. F. of L."

"President E. T. Brown of the Brown Cotton Gin Co. said last night that the shop was running yesterday with 125 men at work. The molders were not taken back as a body, but only the married men who needed work the most were given employment in proportion with the amount of work that the other departments of the shop would be able to finish with their present working forces."

"At a meeting held yesterday morning by the members of the Machinists and Federal unions affected by the lockout at the factory, it was voted to invoke the power of the American Federation of Labor in calling out the iron molders on the ground that they should support union principles. There has been trouble brewing for some time between the unions whose members are employees of the Brown Cotton Gin Co. The Molders union says that it cannot support the Machinists and Federal unions because of an agreement they have with the company and add that they do not think that the other two unions have a grievance that would suffice their supporting them."

"The facts are, that when the policeman pulled Fieldman off the automobile, Simmonds, who was with him, trembled like one who has the snakes. Not a word of protest, not a sound came from the leader of the Kangaroos, but, with trembling hands, he took off the sign which the policeman claimed scared every horse in town. Then commenced the run for a bondsman. Every business man in town who is known as a "friend of labor" was approached without result. When I left work and came over to the field of action I found the automobile near the curb and a crowd of boys around it. Fieldman's assistant, a young fellow, who is a little lame about his feet, was in it. I asked him for particulars. He took me for a "Comrade" and asked me if I had got a bondsman. That was about 6 o'clock, a few hours after the arrest."

It was very comical to watch the antics of the Kangs. Every now and then another Kang would hop to the place where the automobile was standing and then hop away to come again in a few minutes, just to see if the auto was there yet. This hop is now recorded in the annals of Kangaroodom as "the memorable hop for a bondsman."

**The Memorable Hop For a Bondsman in Peekskill.**

To The Daily and Weekly People.—In reporting their affair in Peekskill, the Kangaroo Social Democratic Worker, says that when Fieldman was arrested he was promptly bailed by "Comrade" Simmonds.

It was toward evening when "Comrade" Simmonds "promptly furnished bail" after they tried every politician and "friend of labor" they knew. Strange to say, from the time Fieldman was bailed till after the trial when he was fined for scaring the horses, he was not seen alone he was accompanied by a few Kangs, whether this was to prevent an attack upon Fieldman or to protect Simmonds I will not venture to say.

Another fact I wish to relate is the following: Mr. B. C. Everingham, who, in a fit of patriotism, broke the Kangaroo flag, is the kind of patriot whom Dr. Johnson had in mind when he said "That patriotism is the last resort, etc." Well, this same gentleman was instrumental in making their last Fourth of July an "old fashioned celebration," with a great parade, lots of fireworks, reading of the Declaration of Independence and plenty windjamming.

Here in Peekskill we do not celebrate Fourth of July every year, but periodically every three, five, or eight years. It all depends on when the politicians make up their mind that the workingman need an extra dose of dope, then "we" celebrate the Fourth of July. This last happened to be one of these occasions.

Mr. Everingham was chairman. He appointed a committee of citizens to help him so that the dose of dope that work-

ing people were to get should be swallowed with grace. Among those whom the one who broke the Kangaroo banner appointed we find Kangaroo Seth Taber. So here you have it. The same patriotism that one Kangaroo Social Democrat help to foster comes back and like a boomerang strikes another Kangaroo Social Democrat in the face and costs about fifty dollars besides. Such is Kangaroodom!

If necessary, I will send the official programme of the celebration. It is quite an elaborate affair, you will there find the names of both B. C. Everingham, Republican and patriot, and among other Republican and Democratic labor skinners, Seth Taber, Social Democrat, as member of the citizen committee.

I was surprised to-day. My mail was delivered by a Kangaroo by the name of Thomas Haynes. Of course, ordinarily, all one has to do to become a letter carrier is to pass a civil service examination. Nothing is ordinarily here. From President of the Board to Pound Master (dog catcher) all jobs have strings; so, the only explanation is, it is a morsel of "Socialism in our time." Chas. Zolot.

**LETTER-BOX**  
Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

P. T., CHICAGO, ILL.—How can a man repent unless the nature of his transgression is made plain to him? Did you ever hear that expression before? Well, it applies with equal force on the field on which the revolutionary army is to be drilled. There must be stern plain making of the ways that are not straight.

H. G., WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Postmaster-General's order making railway trainmen auxiliary employees of the Post Office is a blow to the Civil Service. The private employer is to be the examiner.

G. F. G., NEW YORK.—Quite possible and quite likely the Macedonian "revolt" is some more of Russia's doing.

W. W., ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The principal reason why the Kangaroos in this State do not try to exchange their name to "Socialist" party is that they are not so sure to get the Republican party to help them again to secure the necessary signatures, as it helped them in 1900, and without which help they never could have got the signatures in fully one-third of the Counties in the State.

F. T., BOSTON, MASS.—1. On the whole it would be injurious to the movement in Germany if the Social Democracy splits. A clip and clear Socialist party could accomplish little at this time. A split would simply give the Empire a new lease of life.

2. There is talk about clipping the suffrage in Germany. The talk is not likely to crystallize into action. The genuine bourgeois element still needs universal suffrage for its own purposes.

3. Russia is much more of a danger to Germany than France.

H. L. S., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—That "Sun's" article claiming that savings banks' depositors were buying stocks stated no truth; what it did, or was meant to do, was to give a hint to the depositors to buy. Its ultimate purpose was to check the plunge downward of the stocks.

T. S., NEW YORK.—Just drill yourself in these questions:

1. Can your party expel you or can it not?—It can.
2. Can your party expel a stockholder?—It can not.

The Volkszeitung corporation is consequently a private concern above and beyond the reach of your party.

E. A., WEST HOBOKEN.—As to the Vermont so-called Socialist party, no specific acts of corruption committed there has reached us. As to the Kansas contingent it is in the hair of the rest of that party. As the Illinois contingent "The Difference" you will find at least one concrete instance of corruption. For the rest, no State organization can claim purity for itself if it associates with such corrupt bodies as the Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, etc., "Socialist" parties.

C. B. R., DETROIT, MICH.—The Wyoming "Non-Union Union" is of the nature of the concern started in Connecticut. Quite possible some of these "Non-Union" bodies are started by employers. But have you never heard of Unions started by employers? If that were all "honors" would be even.

J. F. B. G., ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The talk about Prof. Ferris' coming to America under auspices of the Bogus Socialist party was an invention of these gentlemen. Ferris was to come under auspices of "El Proletario," but could not, having been made editor of the Rome "Avanti!" All such other talk is of the same nature.

L. H., NEWTON, N. J.—1. As soon as Congress reconvenes—it is now announced for October—and the Aldridge bill is presented and published, we shall take it up again. It was taken up recently to the extent that its present imperfect stage allow.

2. What new military bill in particular do you mean?

C. G. O., MADISON, WIS.—The passage you have in mind is probably this:

"There comes a time when all that men have regarded as inalienable become objects of exchange, of traffic, and can be disposed of. It is the time in which even the things which until then had been communicated, but never exchanged; given, but never sold; ac-

quired, but never bought—virtue, love, opinion, science, conscience, etc.—where all at last enter into commerce. It is the period of general corruption; of universal venality, or, to speak in the terms of political economy, the time when everything moral or physical having become a marketable commodity, is conveyed to the market to be appraised at its proper value." The passage occurs in Marx' refutation of Proudhon, "Misère de la Philosophie."

H. C. WORCESTER, MASS.; J. R. D., SEATTLE, WASH.; P. S. S., NEW YORK; S. E. H. CANTON, O. D. C., NEW YORK.—Matter received.

**BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES**

The work that has been done for the Party Press during the past week is encouraging, a total of 226 subscriptions having been secured for The Weekly People as against 187 for the previous week and 153 the week before. Although this number is not as large as we should like to see it still it is a good substantial increase over previous weeks. The number of subscriptions that are secured each week should be raised to the three hundred mark. It takes a long time for some comrades to get worked up to the point of gathering subscriptions, but when a start is once made the difficulty connected with it vanishes. Such has been the experience of those who are successful workers. We advise every one who is not doing anything for the Party Press to make a start immediately. Never let an opportunity slip by to get a subscription. When you are discussing the subject of Socialism with your friends or acquaintances always ask them to become readers of The Weekly or Monthly People.

The comrades of Detroit, Mich., sent in eighteen Weekly and five Monthly subs. through their agent, P. Friesma, Jr. Some of these were formerly readers of the "Wage-Worker" when that paper was an organ of the "Socialist" party. The "Wage-Worker" was turned over to the S. L. P. and a short time ago discontinued, the unexpired subscriptions to be filled by The Weekly People. After receiving copies of The Weekly People it is evident that the "Wage-Worker's" subscribers are satisfied with it, as shown by these renewals. The comrades in other cities in Michigan should also look after these subscribers and get them to renew with The Weekly People.

Comrade Usher, of Skowhegan, Maine, sends in fifteen Weekly subs., and gets a copy of Lissagaray's "History of the Paris Commune."

The following is a record of those who have sent in five or more subs. It shows that some of them have been doing some hard hustling: Jos. Hand, New York City, 10 Weeklies; Max Stern, Schenectady, N. Y., 10 Weeklies; J. Trainor, Syracuse, N. Y., 8 Monthlies; G. F. Bussey, Troy, N. Y., 6 Weeklies; C. J. Goertz, Winfield Junction, L. I., N. Y., 7 Monthlies; T. Berdan, Paterson, N. J., 20 Weeklies; Julius Eck, Hoboken, N. J., 14 Monthlies; Walter Goss, Belleville, Ills., 10 Weeklies; C. E. Hagar, St. Louis, Mo., 10 Weeklies; 1 Monthly; E. Smith, Ronoke, Va., 7 Weeklies; 1 Monthly; Phillip Veal, Pueblo, Colo., 8 Weeklies; 1 Monthly; J. Vierthaler, Milwaukee, Wis., 3 Weeklies; 2 Monthlies; O. T. Rosnas, Superior, Wis., 8 Monthlies; C. A. Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn., 6 Weeklies; H. S. James, Toronto, Ont., 3 Weeklies; 5 Monthlies; Wm. Walker, Seattle, Wash., 15 Weeklies; 7 Monthlies; C. Carlson, Tacoma, Wash., 4 Weeklies; 13 Monthlies; E. Bombach, Boston, Mass., 5 Weeklies; 1 Monthly; James Keeley, Springfield, Vt., 2 Weeklies; 5 Monthlies; V. Barnardini, Galveston, Texas, 1 Weekly; 5 Monthlies. Total, 226 Weeklies; 178 Monthlies.

The State Executive Committee of Illinois, has ordered 1,000 circulars printed, to send to readers of The Monthly People along with sample copies of The Weekly People, to try to induce them to subscribe for the latter. The first subscriptions to The Monthly People will run out in September. Now is the time to visit these people and get their subscriptions for The Weekly People.

The comrades of Hartford, Conn., say they are going to establish a Sunday People route. This is a splendid idea, and should be put into practice in other cities, too.

Ernest Anzour, of West Hoboken, N. J., writes that he has picked up a few regular ex-subscribers for The Sunday People, and sends in his order for papers for Sunday.

The prize offered by the 8th and 12th A. D. of New York City, to the one sending in the largest number of subscribers to The Weekly People between June 17 and August 15, was won by Frank Bohmbach, of Boston, Mass., who sent in fifty-one subscribers. The prize is a copy of Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables," in three volumes, Wm. Walker, of Seattle, Wash., ran second with thirty-five, and F. Brown of Cleveland, O. third, with thirty-three.

Section Boston is in the lead in the contest for the speakers' platform which is offered to the Section sending in the largest number of Weekly subs. between July 18 and September 17. But there are some hustlers on the ground in Chicago, and the comrades at that place stand a good chance to win. Boston had better watch out.

[Enclosure 1.]  
**SOCIALISM.**

A Lecture on the SCIENCE OF SOCIALISM Will Be Given at the CITY HALL, SUNDAY, AUGUST 23, at 3 o'clock, by REV. DR. J. G. TOWNSEND. Subject: "The New Social Code." Everyone is cordially invited to be Present. No Charge. COME AND HEAR THE TRUTH.

OFFICIAL

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

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Wetzel, 226 1/2 Dundas street, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 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.

National Executive Committee.

Regular meeting held August 14th at 2-6 New Reade street, with A. Klein in the chair. Absent, A. Gillhous. The financial report ending Aug. 8 showed receipts \$53.86, expenditures \$57.14.

Communications: From Los Angeles, Cal., about progress of vote on Everett proposition, showing that all votes cast were against, but that vote is being held open to give all members a chance to vote.

From Cal. S. E. C. upon work done in the State to establish new connections and to push the Party press, the S. E. C. addressing all readers of the Monthly People with a view of securing their subscriptions for the Weekly People.

From Pittsburg, Pa., about local conditions, particularly the disintegration of the "logical center" element; also reporting election of officers for Section Allegheny County.

From Santa Clara Co., Cal., reporting active work in holding street meetings and election of officers. From Jer. Devine, Abington, Mass., stating that he will take up his residence at Erie, Pa., his attention having been directed to the town by the request of Section Erie that a speaker be located there.

From Cincinnati, Ohio, as to work planned in the way of distributing literature; also election of officers. Section South Hudson, N. J., reported election of new organizer. From Jamestown, N. Y., from former member of Brooklyn, N. Y., asking for information to aid him in agitation work in his new home.

Request complied with. From Hartford, Conn., reporting that sale of Sunday people will be taken up; also about lathe for Daily People plant and offering some tools for same. From Minn. S. E. C., sending semi-annual report and referring to steps taken to secure speaker for the State.

From Perkinsville, Vt., inquiring about membership at large and information about setting up a section eventually. Complied with. From Chicago, Ill., pointing out that agent for Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung in that town is not a member of the Party and that the Section will assume no responsibility in connection with such responsibility.

From Section Providence and R. I. S. E. C. about having a speaker tour the city and State in October. From Hamilton, Ohio, stating that the Section succeeded in disposing of the application for loan certificates sent them and that the money will soon be sent on. L. A. of S. T. & L. A., located at Los Angeles, Cal., reported to have disposed of 3 certificates thus far for which remittances had been made to the Daily People Finance Committee.

From Va. S. E. C. with semi-annual report; also setting forth the difficulties encountered in that State. From Colo. S. E. C. with copy of by-laws for State organization for approval by N. E. C. The said by-laws containing nothing in conflict with national constitution were approved of. From Jellico, Tenn., about information to form a Section, which information had been sent by the Secretary.

Chicago, Belleville, East St. Louis and Madison County.

Organizer instructed to communicate with National Secretary, submitting a plan to reach and solicit all the subscribers to The Monthly People to subscribe for The Weekly. The plan will be in next minutes.

The following route was mapped out for Comrade Pierson, when he leaves Chicago the 24th of August: Aug. 24 to 29, Joliet; Aug. 30 to Sept. 15, Peoria; Sept. 16 to 30, Springfield; Oct. 1 to 4, Decatur; et. 5 to 11, Danville; Oct. 12 to 15, Kankakee; Oct. 16, back to Chicago.

Financial Report.

General Fund.—Balance on hand July 26, \$8.52; received from members-at-large, .36; total, \$8.88. Expenses, for stamps, \$1.20. Balance on hand, \$7.68.

State Fund.—Received from Section Chicago \$11.25; from Section Springfield, \$3; from Section Belleville, \$1; from Section E. St. Louis, \$1; from Section Madison Co. \$1; from Duquoin, \$1; from St. Charles, Mo., \$5; total, \$23.25. Expenses to Pierson for wages, \$11.25. Balance on hand, \$12.

G. A. Jennings, Rec. Secy.

As to the Amendment of Section Everett

The vote on the Everett (Mass.) proposition to amend the party constitution, will soon be in, counted, and the question settled, unless again brought up at some other time, as we should all abide by the will of the majority.

We believe all such questions should be settled by the party at large, rather than by the national convention, composed of only a small per cent of the party membership.

Every organization should be strong enough to stand alone or permitted to fall.

We have been a member of the S. L. P. for more than six years, and during all that time, have never seen a time when we thought the S. L. P. too weak to stand alone.

If the S. T. & L. A. is all that it is claimed to be by its members, it too, is surely strong enough to stand alone, but if it isn't strong enough for that, and must be held up by the S. L. P., it would be well to rebuild and construct it, so it could stand on its own bottom.

In Colorado, the so-called Socialist party is very weak, and unable to stand without leaning on the A. L. U. While the S. L. P. is not only able to stand alone, but able to fight all the upholders of capitalism, and that without the aid of any other organization on earth.

As we are not in favor of consolidating the two into one organization with but one set of officers, we will vote for the Everett (Mass.) amendment to divorce the one from the other.

S. B. Hutchinson, Organizer of Section Mesa County S. L. P. Grand Junction, Colo., Aug. 2, 1903.

II.

Apparently the S. T. & L. A. question, or, as I would sooner put it, the trade-union policy of the S. L. P. is developing into a "vexed question," and from the different points of view put forth, it is plain that there exists in the minds of our membership nothing like a true comprehension of what that policy is, nor even a uniform idea as to what it should be.

As "nothing is settled until it is settled right," and feeling it therefore a duty to contribute what I can to such a settlement, I herewith intend to enter into an examination of the subject as far as my ability goes.

A trade-union is an organization of the working-class, the purpose of which is to better their economical condition by economic means, in which respect it differs from a working-class political party which seeks the same end through political means. Can the economic conditions of the working-class be bettered by political means, i. e. by a class-conscious use of the ballot? The very fact of the existence of the S. L. P. is an emphatic yes to that question, which, accordingly, needs no further confirmation.

But what as to the other? Can the economic condition of the working-class be appreciably, or permanently, bettered by a purely economic organization working through economic means, such as the strike or boycott? The S. L. P. has consistently answered this question with an emphatic no, and on that no based its opposition to the old-style, or "pure-and-simple" form of unionism.

Does it therefore follow from these premises, as Section Everett and its secondors hold, that economic organizations are wholly useless, or even hurtful? I think not; let us see. On one point there seems to be a practical unanimity of opinion, namely, that, whatever form they may take economic organizations or one kind, or another, will always exist as long as capitalist society endures, and therefore, rather than leave them to the leadership of crooks and fakirs, it becomes a question for the class-conscious members of the Proletariat to settle, of how to make those organizations as far as they can be utilized for the purpose, subservient to the ideas and aims of Socialism and thus aiding to the extent of their power in the final emancipation of the working-class. Can an economic organization in any way contribute to the attainment of that result? I say yes. But—and there is a big but, it must be understood—there is a class-conscious control, and I think that it is upon the difficulty

of maintaining such control that, at bottom, the whole trouble really hinges, but more of that later.

Let us now sum up the grounds in favor of the economic organization, as viewed from the class-conscious workers point of vantage.

First: An economic organization, being the organization of the factory and workshop, is pre-eminently suitable as a vehicle by which to reach a vast number of the working-class which would otherwise be practically inaccessible, and therefore an invaluable means of agitation and spreading of sound economic knowledge, to be followed up by a teaching of the aims and objects of Socialism and the tactics necessary to attain thereto.

Second: On the eventual inauguration of the Socialist Republic a certain amount of training and discipline would be necessary to enable the working-class to undertake the operation and administration of the means of production and distribution and then avoid an interval of chaos or anarchy which would, in the absence of such training, probably ensue, and such training cannot be satisfactorily furnished, except by an economic organization. The power of cohesion and the solidarity fostered by an economic organization, held in class-conscious leading strings, would also be of the greatest importance in the event of a physical struggle having to be fought out.

Third: As Socialism gains ground by victories at the ballot box, the possibility of wringing concessions from the hands of the capitalist-class with the aid of an economic organization, would probably increase.

Fourth: Is negative and amounts to this, that, even if economic organizations were found to be wholly useless for the purpose of hastening the emancipation of the working-class, it would, nevertheless, be good policy to keep them under control to such an extent as not to ruin their position, as every member of the S. L. P. is aware that they can be the means of doing incalculable harm to the movement, by discriminating fake economic doctrines, etc., as abundantly proved by the present "pure-and-simple" unions.

I venture to think that I have made out a fairly good case for the retention of economic organizations—always providing that they can be kept under a strictly class-conscious control, as, if it can be satisfactorily shown that they cannot be thus controlled, it can be no doubt that any further dickerings with them by the S. L. P. will be not only useless, but suicidal. As far as I can see, there can be only one way to obtain, and be reasonably sure of remaining in such control and that is to make the continued endorsement of the S. T. & L. A. by the S. L. P. contingent upon the former amending its constitution in conformity with that of the S. L. P. in so far as to require every applicant for membership to pledge himself to vote for no other party, and if he nevertheless did so, to expel him as a traitor to his class. Such a provision would, of course, greatly hamper the growth of the Alliance and render it unable to compete with the "pure-and-simple" unions, but that is the only way to keep it up to the work (of class-consciousness) and I see a grave danger in the Alliance overshadowing the party, as it were, as even if it cannot directly control the S. L. P.'s policy it can do so indirectly by means of the large percentage of its members who are likewise members of the party. That is where the danger lies as that part of the Alliance's membership consisting of followers of other political parties can not help to a certain extent impressing their various "pure-and-simple" and reactionary views on that part of the membership who likewise belong to and have an influence in determining the policy of the S. L. P. This is inevitable as you cannot mix equal quantities of wine and water and expect to get either all wine, or pure water, neither can you mix an equal number of Socialists and "pure-and-simplers," without both being to a certain extent mutually influenced by each others views. Perhaps it might be thought that I ought rather to use the simile of the small quantity of yeast that leaves a much greater quantity of dough, and that would be, no doubt, correct as far as it goes, but even then if your quantity of dough were too large the yeast could not leaven it, there being a limit to everything even yeast, or a Socialist's enthusiasm, as the case may be.

It seems to me that there is already a disquieting manifestation of "pure-and-simple" ideas taking root within the Alliance. So I have noticed certain members of the S. T. & L. A. frequently use the term "the S. L. P. is but the political expression of the S. T. & L. A.," which latter is explained to be the economic condition at the back of the S. L. P., leaving one to infer that the latter while useful as an auxiliary is nevertheless, on the whole, of a secondary importance. Now, the S. L. P. wishes to accomplish the Social Revolution peacefully, if possible, and that cannot be done except through the ballot, to direct and control which effort a political organization is absolutely indispensable, and while I believe, on the grounds already set forth, that an auxiliary economic organization is useful, even necessary at the present stage, to bring success to our efforts yet should circumstances (restrictive capitalist laws for instance) make it possible to organize economically, I would still look for victory as long as the ballot remained in the hands of the working-class. It may, of course, be objected to this that capitalist laws would be more likely to restrict the use of the ballot than the right of economic organization, and while that may be granted the fact remains that, while we do have the ballot it is incomparably the safest method to use, in

fact, it is only by getting a majority at the polls that we can have an absolute certainty of success. A mere physical uprising might produce the desired result, but such events are, as history plainly teaches, productive of surprises, there being no way of telling the will of the majority except through the barometer of the ballot box; not to talk of the widespread misery and anarchy that would, in any case be the result for a time at least of a physical uprising whether successful or not. We may, of course, be given no other choice when the time comes but it will be time to prepare for such contingencies when the need arises. In the meantime let us use and safeguard the means at our command, freedom of speech and the ballot. By using these intelligently and to the best advantage we will eliminate all fear of, or necessity for, a blind struggle in the dark that every physical uprising must necessarily be. Let us then tackle this S. T. & L. A. question in the right spirit, the spirit of class-consciousness, let us make it clear, beyond a doubt and "settle it right," and we will not have to "settle" it again when it perhaps may have gone beyond control.

J. A. Stromqvist, San Francisco, Cal.

S. T. & L. A. NEWS

Regular meeting of the General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A. held at Headquarters, 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, Thursday evening, August 13, 1903. Meeting called to order at 8 o'clock.

August Gillhaus was elected chairman. Members present: French, Olson, Gillhaus, Bartel, Kinnally and Crawford. Absent without excuse—Wolf, Kops. Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

The organization committee of D. A. 49, Comrades S. Winaver, chairman of committee, and Jas. J. Hanlon, secretary, were present and asked to be heard. Request granted. They then entered a general complaint against actions of John Martin and Wm. L. Brower, president and secretary, respectively, of D. A. 49 who had acted in a high handed and unconstitutional manner in D. A. 49, having thereby created a disorganized condition in said district. The committee presented a written statement, signed, setting forth the facts in the case showing that the organization committee of D. A. 49, consisting of Hanlon, Winaver and Brower, in session July 28, decided to communicate with L. A. 42, Yonkers, on the building up of that Local, and that while the L. A. pursuant to that end were carrying out the request of the organization committee of D. A. 49, John Martin and Wm. L. Brower visited L. A. 42 on Sunday, August 9, and took up the charter of said Local. Also, that at the meeting of this organization committee, held July 28, instructions were given the secretary, Hanlon, to call a meeting of L. A. 1563 for Wednesday, August 12, which was done and when said meeting was called where new candidates for membership were present, as well as members attending, it was found that he, Brower, had also taken up the charter of L. A. 1563, thereby disorganizing and discouraging these L. A.'s of D. A. 49, when a good possibility existed of building up said Locals.

S. Winaver, chairman of auditing committee of D. A. 49, made a statement to the effect that D. A. 49 had instructed Secretary Wm. L. Brower to turn over to that committee the books of the district for auditing and a meeting having been called for that purpose he, Brower, had refused to give the books to the committee as directed by the D. A., which was a gross violation of the constitution, and spirit of the S. T. & L. A.

Comrade Unger, member and delegate of L. A. 141, and vice-president of D. A. 49, being present asked for the privilege of the floor to explain and enter a protest against a high handed act of John Martin, president of the district, against L. A. 141. Request granted. Comrade Unger made a statement to the effect that a special meeting of D. A. 49 had been called for Tuesday, August 11, and held for the special purpose of nominating delegates for election to the National Convention of the S. T. & L. A., and that at that meeting the delegates of L. A. 141 were deprived of taking part in the nomination of the delegates on the ground that L. A. 141 had not filed the June quarterly report within the specified time called for by the Constitution, Article 6, Section 4, which does not in any way suspend automatically, but if the L. A. can give good and sufficient reason why such action should not be taken time may be extended by the District. Such were the precedents established by D. A. 49. Comrade Unger further explained that the time had expired Monday, August 10, and the meeting held Tuesday, August 11, was a special meeting called for a special purpose; L. A. 141, although having good and sufficient cause to show why the report had not been sent in, they, the delegates of 141 were denied the right of representation and a voice in the selection of candidates for delegates to the National Convention of the S. T. & L. A. And further, the D. A. had not suspended L. A. 141 after a proper hearing which was denied them. This act of President Martin was contrary to the spirit of all fairness as well as the constitution of the S. T. & L. A.

Comrade Unger stated fully that he was acquainted with all the facts and conditions existing in D. A. 49, and he was fully qualified to say that D. A. 49 was in a disorganized state on account of the actions of President Martin and Secretary Brower, as every effort was being made to further that end instead of the upbuilding of the District, and something should be done by the G. E. B. to place the D. A. in its proper place so that it could organize instead of dis-

organizing. Comrades Winaver, Hanlon and Unger were then questioned fully by the members of the G. E. B. on the existing trouble in D. A. 49, after which they retired, and after a thorough discussion by the G. E. B. the following was adopted:

"Whereas, By the facts presented before this G. E. B. to-night and a thorough understanding of said facts and conditions existing in D. A. 49, we believe that if D. A. 49 would do the work for which the S. T. & L. A. was established, viz.: the emancipation of the workers for the overthrow of the wage system and the overthrow of capitalism, this work of high handed, unconstitutional and unwarranted actions of John Martin and W. L. Brower as officers of D. A. 49 should and must be stopped, and that their nefarious work be brought to an end. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the acts of John Martin and W. L. Brower, in taking up the charters of L. A. 42 and 1563 in the manner described were unconstitutional and contrary to the spirit of the S. T. & L. A., and we the G. E. B. declare their acts null and void.

"Resolved, That the G. E. B. be refused that the act of W. L. Brower in refusing to hand over the books of D. A. 49 to the chairman of the auditing committee as directed by the D. A., to be in violation of his obligation as an officer of the D. A. And be it further

"Resolved, That we declare the arbitrary action of President John Martin in refusing the right of L. A. 141 to a voice and vote at the selection of candidates for delegates to the National Convention of the S. T. & L. A. as a high handed act of stupidity and a perversion of the spirit in which the work of the S. T. & L. A. should be done. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the nominations made at the special meeting of D. A. 49, on August 11 be and are hereby declared illegal, null and void, and that new nominations be ordered made in accordance with Constitution, the necessary time being granted to the District for that purpose.

"Resolved, That on account of the acts committed as above and the disorganized state of D. A. 49, the office of president of D. A. 49, held by John Martin and the offices of organizer and secretary and treasurer, held by Wm. L. Brower be and are hereby declared vacant and that Comrade and Vice-President Unger of D. A. 49 be authorized to issue a call for the next regular meeting of D. A. 49.

"Resolved, That all L. A.'s attached to D. A. 49 be notified of the action taken by the G. E. B., and that Comrades French and Olson be appointed a special committee to visit L. A. 390 Saturday evening, August 16, and acquaint the membership of the L. A. of the action taken, and that no vote be taken on the candidates nominated for delegates to the National Convention as their nominations were illegal.

In reference to the election of delegates to the National Convention after due consideration the following were adopted:

"Whereas, the S. L. P. is now taking a vote on the Everett proposition which gives the S. L. P. no opportunity while the vote is being taken to nominate and elect delegates to the convention and file them by August 20. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That a motion to extend the time for filing nominations of delegates with the G. E. B. from August 20 to October 1, be sent out to the membership of the S. T. & L. A.

"Resolved, That the vote be returned by the L. A.'s not later than September 1, 1903.

Wolf Kops, member of the G. E. B., having been absent four consecutive meetings without sending any excuse or explanation, it was

"Resolved, That his place as member of this board be and is hereby declared vacant. It was also

"Resolved, That W. L. Brower, secretary of the last National Convention of the S. T. & L. A. be directed to turn over to the board all documents, original and otherwise, of the last National Convention.

"Resolved, That when we adjourn we adjourn to meet Sunday, August 16, 3 p. m.

"Resolved, That reading of correspondence be laid over until Sunday. Also reports of agitation and finances."

After other routine business was transacted the meeting was adjourned to Sunday. John J. Kinnally, General Secretary.

Call To S. T. & L. A. Members. To the Members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance—Greeting: In view of the fact that there should be a full and thorough representation of all bodies entitled to seats in the coming National Convention of the S. T. & L. A., and the further fact that the Socialist Labor Party, which is entitled to three delegates, cannot very well nominate and elect its delegates until the vote on the Everett proposition is in. The General Executive Board has decided to call for a referendum vote of the membership of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance on the question of extending the time for reporting names of delegates, as follows:

Important Notice.

Hereafter all communications intended for the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of Massachusetts should be addressed to Michael T. Berry, 82 Jefferson street, Lynn, Mass., and all communications of a financial nature for the Massachusetts S. E. C. should be sent to John F. Coyle, 122 Essex street, Lynn, Mass., who have been elected recording secretary and financial secretary-treasurer of the S. E. C. respectively. John W. Ryan.

SCHMITZ WINS

(Continued from Page One.)

have held out bravely for several weeks and are still cheerful and confident of success.

The protracted session of the Street Railway Court of Arbitration seems to be drawing to an end. The case of the United Railroads was closed on the 5th inst. The testimony on both sides is all in now, and the Carman's rebuttal ends to-day.

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN

(Continued from Page Four.)

B. J.—They come from the product of labor.

U. S.—And where do the profits of the capitalist come from?

B. J.—Also from the product of labor.

U. S.—Does it not, then, follow that the higher the wages of the working people, the lower must be the profits of the idle capitalist class?

B. J. (striking his forehead)—That's so!

U. S.—Now you will understand why that judge decides as he does. He is deciding in the interest of the class that he represents—the capitalist class. The interests of that class are to demoralize the working class so as to keep from them ever larger slices of the workers' product. Hence he declares that the conduct of these Unions is repugnant to freedom; and so it is—to the freedom of his fleecing class of capitalists.

B. J.—But that's horrible.

U. S.—So it is; and won't be otherwise until the workingmen kick these capitalists out of the public offices, and elect the Socialist Labor Party. Then freedom will be interpreted the other way. The right way.

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