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EMPLOYING DECEPTION

"SOCIALIST" JACKASSES DECK THEMSELVES IN LION'S SKIN.

Nominate a William J. Carroll on Their State Ticket in Order That They May Reap the Benefit of the Agitation of William H. Carroll, State Organizer, S. L. P.

Lowell, Oct. 12.—The following newspaper clippings and editorial comments, I believe, go to prove that the "Socialist" alias Social Democratic party, is attempting to make political capital out of the S. L. P. agitation carried on this summer. William H. Carroll has carried on considerable agitation which, together with his arrest in Lowell, has brought his name before the voters to a considerable degree. Read the following item from the Boston Herald, Sept. 29, as to the "Socialist" party nomination for Attorney General:

"There was a contest over the candidate for attorney-general. John W. Sherman of Boston and William J. Carroll of Lowell being proposed. The former is a member of the bar and the latter a clerk in a lumber yard. The clerk got more votes than the lawyer, but it was privately explained to the reporters that this was not because of Socialist prejudice against lawyers, but was due to the discovery that no person of Irish extraction had been nominated for any of the other places on the State ticket."

As soon as I read the above I concluded the bogus Socialists were attempting to exploit Carroll's arrest in Lowell, to draw votes to their party.

That same day Carroll came to Lawrence by way of Lowell. The first man he met in Lowell was Sproule, the bogus Socialist nominee for representative.

"I have been in Lowell five weeks," Carroll said, "and I never knew that you had a William Carroll as a member of your party."

Sproule explained who their Carroll was and, with a broad smile, said: "Lots of people will think it is you."

The following editorial appeared in the Courier Citizen of Lowell, a few days afterward:

"It is safe to say that when W. J. Carroll of Lowell gets elected attorney-general of the State of Massachusetts on the Socialist Labor ticket, he will see that street corner orators get their rights without police interruption. But it would seem that if Mr. Carroll is of the right size for attorney-general he should be engaged in the practice of his profession. Attorneys-general are supposed, we believe, to have some expert knowledge of the law. It is a pity to make a job of such important nominations, even where the nominee stands no chance of election. It gives the party rather a set-back to indulge in nominations for office which are evidently ill-fitting and absurd."

Carroll wrote the editor of the Courier Citizen pointing out that the W. J. Carroll of Lowell and William H. Carroll were two different persons, that the "Socialist" party was out to mislead the people in the interest of capitalism and that the capitalist press assisted in the work; citing the record of their party in furnishing strike breakers, assisting the capitalist in procuring injunctions, and nominating a lieutenant of the militia on their ticket; and concluding that since the W. J. Carroll of Lowell was almost unknown in the "Socialist" party, and since John W. Sherman of Boston was a prominent member of the party, having been their nominee for Mayor of Boston, it was plain to see that the "Socialist" party was playing cheap politics.

Needless to say the letter was not published, but instead the following editorial comment appeared:

"W. H. Carroll, a Socialist Labor party agitator recently in this city, writes us in some haste to say that he is a very different person from 'W. J. Carroll of Lowell,' nominated for attorney-general on the Socialist ticket. There is at present a very wide divergence between Socialists and Socialist Laborers, judging by Mr. Carroll's letter in which he belabors the Socialists as 'misleading the masses' and committing other high crimes and misdemeanors. We are certainly sorry to have mixed those Carrolls up, if we did so in our comment. Just now to differentiate the candidates of these two parties is as difficult as to tell who is politically in Greater New York. Fortunately it makes extremely little difference just now. Until the radicals can convert the average man to their way of thinking, Massachusetts may disregard Socialism. We firmly believe that the average man will never be converted."

Thus we can see how the capitalist press recognizes the "Socialist" party for its work and assists in helping them to confuse the minds of the working class. But nothing will save the bogus Socialists—who, like the jackasses in the fable of old, are disguising themselves in the lion's skin of the S. L. P.—from exposure.

PROFIT SHARING.

The Steel Trust Gives a Practical Demonstration of Its Meaning.

The capitalist, in order to increase the profits that are wrung from labor, or to make the profits more secure, so that nothing shall interrupt their regular flow, will invent all kinds of devilish schemes. One of these is "profit sharing."

The capitalist knows, if he knows anything, that the worker generally takes no interest in the business of his employer. Why should he? Capitalist prosperity means hard work to the wage-worker. Capitalist adversity means the same thing. So, why should the worker take any interest in the business of his employer? And he doesn't.

The capitalist knows that, and nothing calls him more than to see how little the worker bothers his head about the capitalist's welfare. So the capitalist sets to work to create a scheme by which the worker will care for the welfare of the capitalist—something that will wipe out that which makes the worker instinctively feel that the capitalist is his exploiter.

"Profit sharing" is one of the schemes. The capitalist goes into "partnership" with his employees. He tells them they are "part owners" of the profits of the concern. He tells them: "If you want to make more than you do now, work harder. Waste no material. Don't stop to wash up before time. Work steadily and faithfully. The higher the profits, the more you will get. Every stockholder will get according to the amount of stock he holds, and the dividends will be according to the profits, the profit according to the way you will work."

Anything wrong in that? "It is the true solution of the labor question," says one. "The labor leader, or, rather, labor fakir, gives his assent. (He gets his share whether it is from the dues of the workers or from the capitalist to keep the men in line.)

Not so the Socialist Labor Party. The S. L. P. exposed this fraud on the workers at its very inception. "But, then," say the goody-goody, "the S. L. P. will never give credit to the capitalist, even when he does do something good."

The Socialist knows that the interests of capital and labor are not the same, but opposite. What is good for capital is not good for labor, and what is good for labor is not good for capital.

The knowledge of this fact is to the Socialist just what a compass is to the mariner. And whenever the capitalist and labor fakir conspire to draw the wool over the eyes of the worker, so that he can be more easily fleeced, the Socialist Labor Party exposes the schemes.

So it was with the benevolent proposition of the Steel Trust, when it offered its wage slaves the opportunity to become stockholders, and 27,633 workers were taken in. The scheme worked both ways. There was no strike. How could they strike? They are part owners. And they toiled faithfully. The profits of the concern increased. Did they get their share of profits?

The following, taken from the N. Y. Tribune of Oct. 10, tells the tale. As the Tribune is an advocate of the capitalists, the following must be true:

"With the economies resulting from the concentration of manufacturing plants and the reduction of railway freight charges, it is believed the Steel Corporation will be able to extend largely its export trade.

"Under the Steel Corporation's profit sharing plan of Jan. 1, 1903, 27,633 employees subscribed for preferred stock, of whom 12,170 were in the class receiving \$800 or less a year in wages and 14,260 in the class receiving salaries of \$800 to \$2,500 a year. The profit sharing plan provides that if a subscribing employee 'will not sell or part with the stock, but will keep it, and in January of each year for five years, commencing with January, 1904, will exhibit the certificate to the treasurer of his company, together with a letter from a proper official to the effect that he has been continuously in the employ of the corporation or of one or another of its subsidiary companies, during the preceding year, and has shown a proper interest in its welfare and progress, he will, during each of such five years, receive checks at the rate of \$5 a share per year; and if he shall remain continuously in the service of the corporation for five years, he will, at the end of the fifth year, receive a still further dividend. But the closing down of several of the Steel Corporation's plants would necessarily mean the throwing out of employment of many of these subscribers to the preferred stock, a condition apparently not covered by the terms of the profit sharing offer. The question whether or not subscribing employees who, because of the closing of the plants in which they have been working, may be unable to meet the profit sharing plan's requirement of continuous employment, are to be debarred from participating in the yearly bonus, is one which is interesting Wall Street."

"Interesting Wall Street" is good. Rather the dupes who were taken in by the Steel Trust are interested. Wall Street settled the question long ago. The
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WORKINGMEN OF NEW YORK

Here Are Some Facts For You To Consider Before You Vote On Election Day

Once more the Tammany Democratic and the Fusion Republican parties are pleading with you to put them in possession of the city government. Ordinarily, the men in control of these organizations look down upon you as little better than cattle. Why is it then, that they now come before you begging for your votes? For the reason that without your support neither can hope to win. You, voters of the working class, are numerous enough to overwhelm both Fusion and Tammany at the polls. They know that without your votes they cannot win and both of them are trying to bamboozle you into believing that it is your welfare, and your welfare alone, that concerns them.

Importance of the Ballot.
No doubt every workman votes as he thinks will best serve his interests, but are you sure that you clearly perceive just what is for your interest? Now then, before you decide to cast your ballot for either of these parties just ask yourselves what interest of yours will be served by so doing.

In the first place consider what it is you do when you vote: you by that act give your consent to the party you support, to use the public powers as they may see fit. These public powers have to do with the granting of franchises, taxation, the police power and other municipal functions. Behind the Tammany and the Fusion parties are rival business concerns seeking to capture the public powers to further their own ends. The transportation interests, the dock-vesting interests, the building trade interests, the street paving interests—and in fact every business interest that could in any way be benefited by having its own servants in public office. Whichever set wins it will have a great advantage over the set that loses, but what is that to you? While the winners will be able to push schemes for their own enrichment, and even sacrifice life to their greed, what is the advantage to you?

The Real Issue For You.
Of course both Fusion and Tammany tell you that it is your welfare alone that moves them. Fusion Republicanism "points with pride" to cleaner streets, more parks and play grounds, and similar things—all for the dear working people. Tammany retorts, that had it been continued in power more of these things would have been forthcoming, and it denounces Fusion for not having done more. Grant that all of these "improvements" have been made, of what benefit have they been to you? To a hungry man vainly seeking for work of what benefit are parks and play grounds, except as places in which to while away his idle time? What are parks and play grounds to the children of the working class who must toil their young lives away in the factory or shop?

The fact is that the great issue, the real issue to you is how to get something to eat, and to wear, and a place of shelter. Under Fusion, as under Tammany, you have found these things just as hard to get. Many of you have been out of work, under both sets alike. Then, no doubt, your families lacked the bare necessities of life; did they feel any difference in the suffering they had to undergo, whether it was Fusion or Tammany that controlled the city? When you have gone on strike against the further reduction of your starvation wages, has not Fusion ordered out the police to club you into submission, just the same as Tammany did? If you will examine into the matter closely you will find that whether it is Fusion or whether it is Tammany your interests are not considered at all. To consider your interests would be detrimental to the interests of the capitalists whom these parties serve, and this brings us to a brief consideration of

POLITICS AND CLASSES

Cleveland, Oct. 13.—The following leaflet is being circulated here. It is worth reading elsewhere:

"The Republican and Democratic parties have inaugurated a campaign quarrel over the possibility of our country's prosperity. According to General Dick's open letter in the Cleveland Leader, of Sunday, Sept. 20, Tom Johnson has declared that 'the country stands at the verge of financial ruin.' Mark Hanna invokes the aid of his God to help him defeat the Democratic party to save the country from industrial and political chaos.

"Both these millionaire politicians are cognizant of the fact that without the working man's vote neither can carry the day for his party and become the forerunner of next year's political wind in the national campaign. They also know that during these days of 'unprecedented prosperity' the working man's burden has not been to 'lay up something for a rainy day' but rather how to meet the high prices for food, clothing and shelter. "The very suggestion of 'hard times' will cause the workman to shiver, for it is he and his family that actually suffer at such periods for the bare necessities of life. This fact is obvious to capitalist politicians, hence the mutual predictions of calamity. They brutally play upon the want and the fear of want of an exploited and propertyless working class to

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The Capitalist System.
This city is the greatest manufacturing centre of the greatest manufacturing State in the Union. The factories, and the machinery of production of this great manufacturing city, are the private property of a very few of the population. The vast majority of us possess none of the things that are needed to work with and we must either starve or sell the only thing we have, our labor power—the power to work—to the capitalists who own the machinery of production.

When the capitalist "gives" you a job, he does so only because you will produce more than he pays you for. Were it not so he would have no use for you. You produce all the wealth. Out of what you produce, the capitalist takes a part, less than one-quarter, and hands that to you as payment for your labor power. This is your wages. The capitalist gives you just wages enough to keep you in condition to work, and the rest of the wealth you have created, the capitalist keeps, as his "share," or as it is called, profits.

The capitalist is ever on the outlook to grab more and more of the wealth you produce. He welcomes the machine that displaces some of you, as it allows him to "make" greater profits by compelling the rest of you to take lower wages and at the same time do more work.

What Tammany and Fusion Represent.
Tammany and Fusion both represent the business interests—the labor fleecing interests of the city. The fundamental principle of both is that labor is here to be fleeced, must be fleeced. Imagine then the fleecers of labor doing anything that would benefit labor. Don't you see that they would be flying in the face of their own interests?

To knock out the sweating system and tenement house factories; to enforce laws pertaining to hours of labor and employment of children; to make the tenements habitable; all of these things would reduce profits and profits are the breath of life in the nostrils of the capitalist class. The success of Tammany the same as the success of Fusion means

gigantic factories, mills, mines, railway systems, etc., owned by capitalists organized into corporations, more or less monopolistic in nature.

"These comprise but a small portion of modern society and are correctly termed the capitalist class. A class, because they have a common interest and that is to protect their holdings industrially, commercially and politically.

"The development of capitalism is pressing on irresistibly, but as yet not everything has been gobbled up by the trusts and corporations. Consequently there still exists a middle class, a portion of our population who carry on 'business' with a small capital wherever a chance may present itself, wherever a crumb of opportunity may have been overlooked by large capital, or which it may have as yet deemed insufficiently profitable to gather in. But every inch of industrial and commercial ground held by the middle class is being gradually 'assimilated' by its more powerful competitor.

"This, of course, is not going on without a struggle. The one is fighting hard to maintain its position by denouncing trusts and corporations, by endeavoring to 'smash them' or to curtail their further development and operations, the other with its mighty force pressing onward; crushing with ease and relentless tranquility every feeble resistance.

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WHY NOMINATE WORKMEN.

For Political Offices Requiring Lawyers—A Candidate's Answer.

Since the nomination of Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has been bestowed on me by the Socialist Labor Party, a great many people have inquired of me why the S. L. P. nominated an electro-plater (which I am) for Attorney General in place of nominating a lawyer, which, logically, all think should fill that office under any system. In order to save time and reach more ears, I write this article in explanation.

You know under capitalism, as it exists to-day, the office of Attorney General must of necessity be filled by one who thoroughly understands the requirements of capitalism; that is, the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Law to-day is always framed especially for the perpetuation of the capitalist system and in the interests of its ruling members, the capitalists. Law requires, the longer capitalism exists, more changes and complications to conform to new conditions as they present themselves. Like an old garment, which needs many new patches to keep it from falling to pieces, many of these changes require that old and new theories work together. Consequently, he who acts as Attorney General is supposed to, must be well versed in old and new laws, so as to act with capitalistic equality to both sides when capitalism wars with capitalism; and also to act against all opponents who are not of the controlling class, compelling them to understand that the laws of to-day must of necessity favor the ruling capitalists if the ruling capitalists are to exist as such; excepting in some cases, where the working class is granted some concession which would be of no consequential detriment to capitalism, thus pacifying the toiler and enabling him to bear his misery a while longer in silence.

As one instance of capitalist interest, take a strike. Let the striking workers picket a factory to keep men from filling their places—a self-protective measure. How soon is an injunction served on them to keep them from picketing the work? And why? Because it injures the firm. Now let the firm picket its works with militia or deputy sheriffs. Can you recall the judge who ever served an injunction compelling them to desist because of the injury to the workingmen?

Vote For Your Own Interests.
Workingmen, cease to fight for any political party which does not represent your interests and your interests only. Those who live by fleecing you cannot favor a programme that will abolish such fleecing. The Socialist Labor Party holds that the working class must achieve its own emancipation by overthrowing the capitalist class. The Socialist Labor Party does not seek, nor would it accept the endorsement of any other party, and it refuses to allow itself to be drawn aside from its unswerving fidelity to the Cause of Labor. It comes before you at this time to ask but one favor, and that is that you think seriously over the situation that confronts you, knowing full well that when you understand the source of the misery that afflicts you you will quickly rally under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party to overthrow the vicious system of capitalism. The power is in your own hands. Learn to wield it intelligently.

It was the votes of the workers who placed those officials where they are. What is the reason of this? Why, the capitalist is the ruling class and it must be protected, because it is in a position to claim it. If you workers were in control of the government it would be you who would get the legal protection. This is what Socialism is for.

This explanation, together with what is known of capitalist courts, should be sufficient to enable all who comprehend capitalism to know that the Attorney General's office is filled by lawyers to-day because the lawyer is educated to act the sophist and recognize only capitalist rulings and authority.

But in a Socialist society lawyers, especially those educated to-day, would be useless, as their education would be in conflict with Socialist practice, just the same as would a feudal law barrister be useless in capitalist society because of its different interests.

Before explaining still further, let me ask a few questions. Did the colonists of 1776 accept or follow the English law of King George when they revolted? If they had, they would have remained British subjects to this day. Did the Cubans acknowledge and obey the Spanish laws when they rebelled? Did the Irish adopt or utilize British desires when they refused English sovereignty? Decidedly, no!

Consequently, we will make a new code of laws to rule by, and a new sort of lawyer as well to administer it. The present day lawyer is so steeped in capitalistic law books and isms that to wean him from them is proverbially as difficult as to learn old dogs new tricks, for such a lawyer would be continually giving briefs that were more or less capitalistic—maybe with a smattering of Socialistic logic, but in favor of their ideal ruling class.

So, from this, you see that a man whom no capitalist laws have yet impregnated as being right laws will be required to fill all offices under Socialism. For this a common Socialist is more fitted than an educated capitalist lawyer.

Revolution, you know, implies a complete change. Sometimes the opposite of present usages are brought in vogue. The Socialist Labor Party believes in obeying the law as it is written to-day, but only until such time as the majority gives them the right to change it to conform to the system of Socialism.

The workingmen must first understand scientific Socialism in a revolutionary sense before inaugurating it, and not as the "Socialist," or Social Democratic, party claims, that all you need is to get votes and into power, even by accepting endorsements from capitalist parties, such as the Republicans and Democrats are

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THE MILL STRIKE

MEN GUT REPUDIATE LABOR FAKIR, JOHN M. FINLEY.

They Vote Down His Propositions and Compel Him To Resign the Presidency of the International Union—Employer's Bluff Fails to Weaken Strikers.

(Special Correspondence, Daily and Weekly People.)

Minneapolis, Minn., Oct. 11.—The Minneapolis mill employes are putting up a battle royal just now. As the strike, from the first, was a most just one, so it also appears to be a plucky one.

The situation throughout has been very much as it always is at such times. Some men, of course, deficient of backbone, have run back either to get their positions again or through special inducements offered by the firms; but the number is very small. A number of professional strike breakers and "respectable young men" of the middle class have been taken into the mills in closed carriages. There they have had to eat, drink and sleep.

A terrible bluster and show of running the mills at full blast has been put forth to weaken the ranks of the strikers; but to no avail. The firms have already spent thousands of dollars to break this strike but so far it has refused to be broken.

To show the hypocrisy of capital, this may serve as an illustration. The firms stated, when the strike started that their business would go to ruin if the loaders were to receive \$2 for eight hours. Then they recruited university students and made a boast of paying them \$2.25 for six hours' work. They have already spent a good deal more to break this strike than it would have taken to pay the demands of the 400 to 500 loaders for the next ten years.

It is not an immediate question of dollars and cents that is behind this strike as far as the firms are concerned. It is the unity of the men and their moral backbone that they want to break. They want their reduced to the condition of submissive slaves and then it will not take a year to make up this loss. As the anthracite coal barons have made up the deficit of the strike and an extra million more than the profit of the previous year during only six months' operation, so would the mill owners here do if only the men would be tricked back.

During the last few days the daily papers have been full of accounts of the great speed at which the mills are running, the many men that were coming in, the many men that were going back, and most of all, how anxious the mill owners are that some of their good men who had been forced out by others should get their places back before they were all taken; and, moreover how the ranks of the strikers are weakening and that they would probably vote to go back in a body before many a day.

The ground being thus prepared, Friday afternoon, at the usual meeting of the strikers, J. M. Finley came up with a proposition to go back. Never in all the history of warfare was a general found in allegiance with the enemy, more flatly turned down. He was hissed and hooted, and the words "Scab speech" were heard and "No, no, no!" shouted in answer to his propositions could be heard ringing in the hall.

A secret ballot was then taken on the proposition to go back and it was unanimously in favor of "strike to the bitter end." The strikers then, on some one's proposition, filed from the hall, formed outside on Washington avenue, and marched to the mills and passed them, over 1,000 strong. It was an inspiring sight, these men without a "general," orderly and enthusiastic.

While the vote was going on in the hall the evening papers came from the press with glowing headlines that the strike was in all probability being declared off. As the procession passed the mills the crew at work all came to the windows, no doubt by order, so as to make the bluff stick that they have all kinds of men. It was, however, an agreeable surprise to men familiar with the faces of the old mill employes to see no one that they knew but instead only a congregation of young fellows, no doubt of the class that has forever been told by the servants of capitalism that they have all kinds of chances to rise in the world if they only seize the opportunities that present themselves.

After having left the meeting, John Finley at once resigned from the strike committee and temporarily from the presidency of the International Union until the board met last night and accepted his formal resignation. Militant.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Subscription price: 50 cents per year; 25 cents for six months. Address Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

Canadian Royal Commission's Labor Report

The report of the Royal Commission, which was instructed to enquire into the disputes between the coal and metalliferous mine owners and their employees, and also between the transportation companies and their employees, in the Province of British Columbia, was laid upon the table of the Dominion Parliament, on the 21st of August just past. As a contribution towards the shedding of additional light on the great question of Capital and Labor it is worthy of some consideration.

The members composing the commission were selected with a view to representing both the civil and religious elements of the Dominion, one being the Hon. Gordon Hunter, Chief Justice of the Province of British Columbia, and the other the Rev. Elliot Rowe, of the City of Vancouver, both men of acknowledged eminence from the standpoint of capitalist opinion.

Royal and other commissions are now considered necessary institutions in capitalist countries, and they certainly do serve a useful purpose in modern society under capitalist rule. This particular commission with which it is the purpose of this present article to deal, will serve, under the searchlight of Socialist criticism, to reveal in bold relief some of the noted features of capitalism and trades unionism as they appear in modern forms.

Our meaning will become more plain as the narrative proceeds; but before entering upon our task, we may remark that broadly speaking the purpose of such commissions are primarily to furnish means of sidetracking the labor movement; and, under cover of legal investigation to obtain information which will enable capitalist authorities to safeguard themselves and their class from any serious injury by the working class when led under the direction of trades union leaders.

The report of the commission, which consists of seventy-seven pages of closely printed matter, is a summary of 2,000 pages of evidence and observation. Running through the whole report is found a vein of pure Canadian patriotism which betrays a strong aversion to the internationality of labor organizations. The reader can readily gather that this is to become a potent cry in Canadian political life in the near future. Loyalty has ever been a profitable cry to capitalist parties and its virtue in this regard is not yet dead.

The chief outstanding feature however in this, as in all other reports of a like nature, is the exposure of the rottenness of capitalism on the one hand and union labor organizations on the other. No impartial reader who has studied the labor problem can come to any other conclusion than the impossibility of satisfactorily amending existing conditions while those elements retain power.

The evidence adduced in the report regarding the nature of the organization of "The United Brotherhood of Railway Employees" and the oath administered to its members is fully set forth in the report. As the oath lays special emphasis on the duty of secrecy in the conduct of its members, it is of interest to note the fact that instead of such a method being a source of strength to the organization it proved the contrary. For it was here that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, against whom the strike was carried on, got in their fine work, and brought utter disaster to the efforts of the men.

But first a word regarding secret or-

ganizations and binding oaths in unions of the working class.

The following occurs in the oath of the U. B. R. E. "I do solemnly and sincerely swear (or affirm)—, that I will never reveal any of the secrets of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees." This savors, on the face of it, of lack of manhood and of duplicity. Can the workers hope to attain their ends by a secret coup d'état; while the capitalist retains the reins of power? There is not much danger of such an event taking place.

Again, as has been demonstrated in this struggle, when secrecy is an element upon which the workers rely, and it being of value to the capitalist to purchase—and of value to the corrupt labor leader to sell, means will always be found to accomplish the purchase and sale.

In the present case an individual of the name of P—, as reported, was chosen by Estes, the chief of the order of the U. B. R. E. as organizer for Canada. He is mentioned as being a weak man, of doubtful record, in financial difficulties, and apparently in poor health. The detective of the Central Pacific Railway also had secured facts of a damaging character elsewhere regarding his conduct.

This was the oath-bound champion of the workers who was to lead the ranks of labor to victory against the C. P. R., and the following short sentence summarizes the conclusion of the struggle: "Under the influence of fear and the stress of having to provide for his family, he yielded to the pressure applied by the detective and entered into a contract with the C. P. R. to faithfully act as a member of their search service department."

This contract was duly signed and delivered at Nelson at the beginning of the year. For this wretched man who shortly afterwards died in the Winnipeg hospital, one can scarcely have feelings other than pity and contempt, but for the conduct of the C. P. R. in the matter words fail to express the baseness of the act. It so completely illustrates the soulless, mean and heartless manner in which such corporations secure the means of defeating the efforts of the workers; to secure even a morsel of justice at their hands.

How long will the workers dwell in their false paradise, trusting to their pure and simple methods of secret oaths, boycotts and fruitless strikes? The whole structure of organization from its foundation is built on false premises and the results must naturally terminate in disaster.

The extent of this system of espionage is scarcely credible, so far reaching and perfect is it becoming; but it is an absolute necessity to capitalism at the present time.

It need scarcely be added that every communication of value to the company which came into the hands of the Canadian organizer was promptly turned over to the company for perusal, and with the assistance of P— several others associated with the secret service of the company were duly enrolled as members of the U. B. R. E., and they in turn became actually engaged in the work of organizing those desiring to war with the company. So that the whole organization became honey-combed with secret agents of the company, and utter defeat resulted to the whole movement.

The letters of Estes to P— are to say the least, exceedingly amusing; there he lays down the methods to be pursued during the course of the organization of the workers on the road. His campaign, which was to start in the west, was to be one ever increasing triumphal march until he entered the main offices in Montreal; with the imperative demand of the whole employees of the

road in his hand, which would accept nothing less than complete surrender of the company to the demands of the U. B. R. E.

All this was to be duly recorded in the journal of the Railway Employees, but it never passed the stage of a mental figment. When truth and honesty are sacrificed for the purpose of attaining an end, disaster will overtake the effort. Traitors and spies were abundant in the ranks of the U. B. R. E. as well as in the service of the company. Do the workers ever expect through such means to acquire their rights?

Another feature of the report shows the weakness in the ranks of the workers through the lack of solidarity. While the struggle was going on appeals were made to the different organizations of railway employees, such as the Engineers, Firemen, Trainmen, Conductors, Telegraphers and Maintenance-of-Way men, but no support was extended. This in itself demonstrates the futility of all efforts on the part of the workers under pure and simple leadership, lack of solidarity and class-consciousness underlies all their failures. It is stated that not only was there no support given, but open disapproval was expressed.

When confronted by an enemy it is seldom we find this spirit in the ranks of capital, and until those who lead the ranks of labor find common ground upon which to meet and defend the rights of the workers the struggle is useless.

The miners strike at Ladysmith and Union was largely of a sympathetic nature, and according to Carroll D. Wright and John Mitchell, such efforts can only result in failure. But leaving all such considerations aside, there is in the report a great deal of useful information regarding the "Western Federation of Miners," and their methods. As is pretty generally known the W. F. M., as also in some degree, the U. B. R. E., are of a quasi-Socialistic composition, and extracts from the "Miners Magazine," are quoted at considerable length for the purpose of setting forth the dangerous nature of such organizations.

The formidable numbers composing those organizations, and the danger confronting the civil authorities both in the United States and Canada is pictured in alarming colors. The bold utterances of the "Magazine" on confiscation, organized political action, supreme power of the worker at the ballot boxes, etc., etc., considerably alarmed the minds of the members of the commission.

We cannot, however, refrain from just here quoting the wisdom of the editor of "The Toronto Globe" in calming their perturbed minds on this point, as it so truly and aptly performs the task.

After citing the cause of their alarm in view of the numbers of those organizations, and their outspoken boldness, the editor of the Globe counsels the commissioners to set aside their fears, as they were in reality groundless, and a misconception of the attitude of those organizations towards the utterances they make, or the resolutions they adopt. In speaking of such matters in their conventions, the editor states there is generally a member with a fad. He has a "bee in his bonnet," whose buzzing disturbs the whole meeting, and is so persistent that the only manner in which the trouble can be abated is to afford the member an opportunity to declare his purpose in the form of a resolution; which is generally set forth in its fiercest aspect with set teeth and awful determination of countenance, boding doom and destruction to the enemy. Conventions generally of the workers accept the situation, and vote complacently to have his resolution duly entered on the minutes and adopted, and then proceed to business, securing harmony and the good will of the so-called revolutionary

political party of the middle class, which is not opposed to the system of labor exploitation, but opposed to the result of it; not as it effects the wage-worker but as it effects the little labor skinner.

"They are agreed with the big capitalist that it is just and right to rob the working class out of the greater portion of its product, but they want a more equitable division of the plunder.

"Notice how their campaign issues this fall are going to help the workingman, 'Equalization of taxation.' Place the burden of taxation upon corporations and not upon the owners of little property who are least able to bear it.

"Fact of the matter is that taxation affects the working class about as much as water does a duck's back. With rare exceptions the working class owns no taxable property. Wages is our only income. Is the amount of our wages determined by the amount of taxes the boss pays? Certainly not; if work is scarce then the competition for jobs will cause workmen to offer their services at a lower price, and the capitalist will take advantage of that opportunity and hire his 'hands' at the lowest possible wage, no matter how much taxes he pays.

"If that be true then the Democratic party defeats itself, for it is obvious that the majority of workmen employed today receive their pay not from small capitalists, but from corporations and trusts. If then the working class were to take the Democratic party by its word and vote according to the identity of interest theory the Republican party may be declared as elected without waiting to count the votes.

"This inconsistency arises from the fact that the Democratic party is the po-

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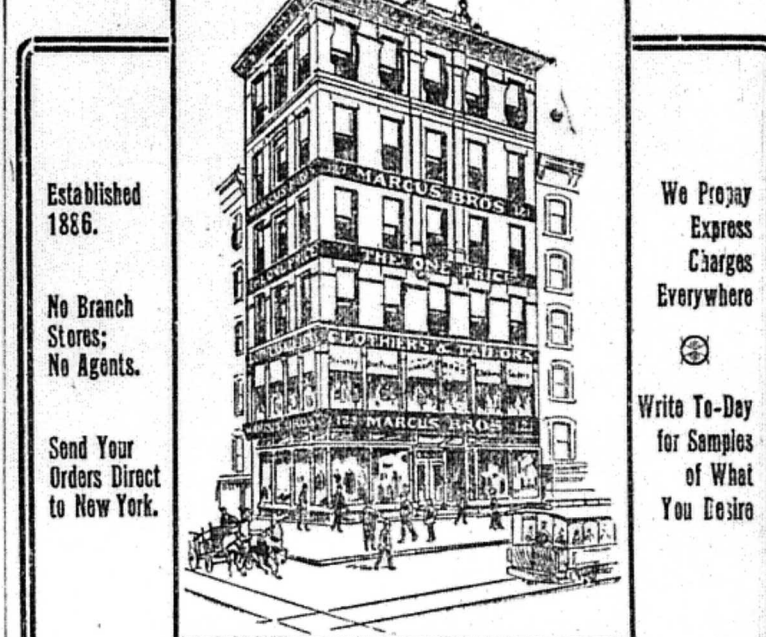
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MARCUS BROS.

New York Custom Tailors,
With a Perfect Mail-Order System, 121-123 Canal Street

To be smart, stylish and shape-retaining, clothes MUST be made to order, and to be well-fitting, must be made to the measurement of the man who is to wear them. Even the best ready-made clothes never fit properly, and quickly lose their shape and become "baggy." A man never appears or acts best in such clothes, and is unjust to himself when he wears them. We want to hear from men who want to break away from the ready-made habit and who object to the high prices demanded by most merchant tailors for made-to-order clothes. We have a splendid organization of expert cutters and tailors, and now do the biggest custom tailoring business in New York, simply because we give value, style and perfect fit.

FOR THE FALL AND WINTER OF 1903
We Have All the Styles in
Suits and Overcoats \$15 AND UP.
MADE TO ORDER, at

We send improved self-measurement blanks and full line of cloth samples, showing all that is newest and best in English Tweeds, Scotch Cheviots, Serges, Cassimeres, Unfinished Worsteds, Tibets, Vicunas, Oxfords and other staple and tested fabrics.
We made to order every kind of clothes a man wears. We take all the risk. No fit, no pay, is the Marcus Bros' way every day. Return anything not satisfactory and we will refund the money.

MARCUS BROS., 121-123 Canal St., NEW YORK.

ing also seen that because of the antagonistic class interests in society it is impossible for any one party to represent the interests of all the people; the party of the workingman must be a party that will represent the interest of no other class except the working class. Such a party we have in the Socialist Labor Party which has been organized and is controlled by wage-workers who have given careful thought and study to social and economic questions.

"We of the Socialist Labor Party maintain that to the producer belongs the product of his labor. But when the means of production are owned by a small class of nonproducers the worker is robbed of the greater portion of the wealth that he produces.

"We maintain that conditions as they exist to-day are becoming unbearable for the working class.

"There is but one logical method to improve these conditions. Human intelligence and genius has improved and developed the instruments of labor to such an extent that with their aid all the necessities and comforts of life can be produced in abundance for all with comparative ease and shortness of time. But under the present system of private ownership an obvious blessing to humanity is turned into a curse.

"In order that the whole of society may enjoy the benefits of progress and civilization, private ownership must be abolished and social ownership instituted in its stead. The working class is the only class to whose interest it is to bring about this change.

"Therefore we say to you workmen of Ohio, if you wish to vote right, if you wish to vote for yourselves and your families, you must vote for your class and the party of your class is the Socialist Labor Party.

"But take heed lest you may be misled at the very moment you decide to vote for the abolition of capitalism. It is not mere words and phrases that make for principles; but deeds and acts based upon an uncompromising struggle can battle with success. Not the mere adoption of the name of socialism makes a party the just claimant to that title. Scan your ballot carefully and place your political seal at the head of the Socialist Labor Party."

STATE TICKET.
Governor,
JOHN D. GOERKE,
Lieutenant-Governor,
DAVID F. CRONIN,
Auditor of State.

WM. GARRITY,
Treasurer of State,
JOHN H. T. JUERGENS,
Attorney General,
OTTO STEINHOFF,
Judge of Supreme Court,
FRANCIS HENRY,
Member Board of Public Works,
ISRAEL HAUSER,
Commissioner of Public Schools,
FRANK F. YOUNG.

COUNTY TICKET.
County Recorder,
P. C. CHRISTIANSEN,
County Treasurer,
JOHN HEIDENREICH,
County Commissioner,
FRED BROWN,
Common Pleas Judge,
HARRY BRADBURY,
State Senators,
PAUL DINGER,
JOHN KIRCHER,
JAMES MATTHEWS,
RICHARD KOEPEL,
State Representatives,
JOE REIMAN,
ED. HAUSER,
G. GEHRMANN,
W. A. ZILLMER,
JOHN HANZLEY,
JOHN ZILLMER,
CHAS. FRANK,
HERMANN STIEG,
HERMAN SHERBARTH,
JAMES RUGG.

Schenectady, N. Y., Ticket.
Schenectady, N. Y., Oct. 19.—At the various conventions of the Socialist Labor Party the following nominations were made: For Justices of the Supreme Court, John E. Wallace, of Schenectady, and Arthur Playford, of Amsterdam; member of Assembly, Charles B. Gyant; County Clerk, James T. Noonan; County Treasurer, Charles Houtek; Coroner, Christian Sidmyre; Mayor, John J. Hanlon; City Treasurer, August Michels; Comptroller, Julius Timmoy; City Judge, Everett L. Lake; Police Justice, Max Stern; Assessor, Oscar Heider; Alderman, First Ward, Henry Kruse and Joseph S. Weinberg; Third Ward, Matthew Molloy; Fourth Ward, Peter Anderson; Sixth Ward, Patrick Coyne; Seventh Ward, Anthony Wagner; Eighth Ward, Henry Eisenach; Ninth Ward, Edward Schreck; and Tenth Ward, Chas. Gebner.

Workingmen's Mutual Sick and Benevolent Society meets every first and third Wednesday at 601 East Eighty-second street.

POLITICS AND CLASSES

(Continued from page 1.)

"But by far the vast majority of the people comprise the working class. Stripped of every opportunity and means to employ himself, the wage-worker becomes an article of sale on the 'Labor Market.' He sells himself by selling his labor-power to those who own the means of production and distribution. As the price of every other merchandise is regulated by supply and demand, so also is the price of labor-power the only thing the wage-worker has to sell.

"Labor saving machinery increases the supply of labor by making workmen superfluous. It enables the capitalist to employ women and children who can be had at a lower price. A reserve army of unemployed creates a fierce competition for jobs and the result is that the price of labor-power, the laborer's wage, is not determined by the amount of wealth he creates for the capitalist who hires him but by the amount the laborer needs to live.

"It need not be emphasized that all the working class can get under the present system is a bare living. Hence all that we produce over and above our bare living goes to the employing class large or small in the form of profits, dividends, interest and whatever other name they might give to their stealings to make it appear respectable.

"Identity of interests between employers and employes is consequently an impossibility. They are engaged in a relentless struggle for the possession of the

wealth created by the working class, which rightly belongs to them, but is appropriated and claimed by the capitalist class because they own the implements of production.

"The working class is in no wise interested in the struggle between the large and the small exploiters because both uphold this system of legalized plunder, both are striving to perpetuate it in their own respective ways. Both are on our backs struggling as to who shall remain master of the field.

"Having thus briefly outlined existing conditions and the various class interests dominating modern society, it should be easy to comprehend that political parties are the crystallized expressions of material class interests.

"The Republican party invariably 'points with pride to the past achievements' of its activity. It claims the credit, and that with an element of justice, of having nurtured the American 'infant industries' until they have become giants of their kind capable of bidding defiance to the competition of the world.

"It has fostered and politically aided the development of American industry, and at the present time is unquestionably the political representative of trusts and monopolies. And as such it is the party of the capitalist class. In order to make a small portion of the people millionaires it has made wage slaves of those whose labor created the wealth which the former possess. Abundance and luxury on one hand, poverty on the other.

"The working class is economically dependent upon the few for an existence;

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 PRESENT—Continued.

The absorption by the large landlords of the small holdings in land frequently proceeds in "alarming manner." For instance, in the judicial district of Adenz, community of St. Ilgen, an Alpine hill of over 5,000 yokes, with pasture ground for 300 heads of cattle, and a contiguous peasant estate of 700 yokes, was all converted into a hunting ground. The same thing happened with Hoellaep, located in the community of Seevesen, which had pasture land for 200 heads of cattle. In the same judicial district of Adenz, 47 other pieces of land, holding 840 heads of cattle, were gradually absorbed and turned into hunting grounds. Similar doings are reported from all parts of the Alps. In Steiermark, a number of peasants find it more profitable to sell the hay to the lordly hunters as feed for the game in winter, than give it to their own cattle. In the neighborhood of Mezzzusehlag, some peasants no longer keep cattle, but sell all the feed for the support of the game.

In the judicial district of Schwarz, 7, and in the judicial district of Zell, 16 Alpine hills, formerly used for pasture, were "cashiered" by the new landlords and converted into hunting grounds. The whole region of the Karwendel mountain has been closed to cattle. It is generally the high nobility of Austria and Germany, together with rich bourgeois upstarts, who bought up Alpine stretches of land of 70,000 yokes and more at a clip and had them arranged for hunting parks. Whole villages, hundreds upon hundreds of holdings are thus wiped out of existence; the inhabitants are crowded off; and in the place of human beings, together with cattle meet for their sustenance, roes, deer and chamois put in their appearance. Oddest of all, more than one of the men, who thus lay whole provinces waste, is seen rising in the parliaments and declaiming on the "distress of landed property," and abusing his power to secure the protection of Government in the shape of duties on corn, wood and meat, and premiums on brandy and sugar,—all at the expense of the propertyless masses.

According to the census of the eighties, there were 8,547,285 farms in France; 2,993,450 farm owners had an average annual income of 300 francs, the aggregate income of these being 22.5 per cent. of the total income from farms; 1,095,850 farm owners had an average annual income of 1,730 francs, the aggregate income of these being 47 per cent. of the total income from farms; 65,525 large landlords, owning 109,285 farms, drew 25.4 per cent. of the total agricultural revenues.—their possessions embraced more than one-half of the agricultural lands of France.

Large agricultural property is becoming the standard in all countries of civilization, and, in virtue of its political influence, it sways legislation without regard to the welfare of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, the tenure of agricultural land and its cultivation is of high importance to social development. Upon land and its productivity depends first of all the population and its subsistence. Land can not be multiplied at will, hence the question is of all the greater magnitude to everyone how the land is cultivated and exploited. Germany, whose population increases yearly by from 5,600,000 heads, needs a large supply of breadstuffs and meat, if the prices of the principal necessities of life shall remain within the reach of the people.

At this point an important antagonism arises between the industrial and the agricultural population. The industrial population, being independent of agriculture, has a vital interest in cheap food; the degree in which they are to thrive both as men and as workers depends upon that. Every rise in the price of food leads, either to further adulterations, or to a decline of exports, and thereby of wages as a consequence of increased difficulties of competition. The question is otherwise with the cultivator of the soil. As in the instance of the industrial producer, the farmer is bent upon making the largest gains possible out of his trade, whatever line that may be in. If the importation of corn and meat reduces the high prices for these articles and thereby lowers his profits, then he gives up raising corn and devotes his soil to some other product that may bring larger returns: he cultivates sugar-beet for the production of sugar, potatoes and grain for distilleries, instead of wheat and rye for bread. He devotes the most fertile tracts to tobacco instead of vegetables. In the same way, thousands of hectares are used as horse pastures because horses for soldiers and other purposes of war fetch good prices. On the other hand, extensive forests, that can be made fertile, are kept at present for the enjoyment of the hunting lords, and this often happens in neighborhoods where the dismantling of a few hectares of woodland and their conversion to agricultural purposes could be undertaken without thereby injuriously affecting the humidity of the neighborhood.

Upon this particular point, forestry to-day denies the influence of woodlands upon moisture. Woods should be allowed in large masses only at such places where the nature of the soil permits no other form of cultivation, or where the purpose is to furnish mountain regions with a profitable vegetation, or with a check to the rapid running down of water in order to prevent freshets and the washing away of the land. From this point of view, thousands of square kilometers of fertile land could be reclaimed in Germany for agriculture. But such an alteration runs counter as well to the interests of the hierarchy of office-holders—foresters—as to the private and hunting interests of the large landlords, who are not inclined to forfeit their hunting grounds and pleasures of the chase.

To what extent the process of rendering "hands" superfluous is progressing in agriculture and in the industries therewith connected has been shown in the palpable depopulation of the rural districts of Germany. It may, furthermore, be specified that in the period between 1885 and 1890, the decrease of the rural population in 74 districts east of the Elbe was above 2 per cent.; in 44 of these 74 districts it was even above 3 per cent. In western Prussia, a decrease was established of over 2 per cent. in 16 districts, in two of which the decrease exceeded 3 per cent. Especially high was the percentage of decrease in those neighborhoods where large landlords figure as special dispensations of Providence. In Wurtemberg, during the period between 1839 and 1885, the population of 22 peasant districts declined from 29,907 heads to 19,213,—not less than 35.7 per cent. In East and West Prignitz, the rural population declined during the period of 1868-1885 from 100,000 heads to 85,000,—15 per cent.

The decrease of the rural working population is marked also in England where, as well known, latifundia property reigns supreme. The progression in the decrease of agricultural workers was there as follows:—

| Sexes. | 1861. | 1871. | Decrease. |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Males | 1,833,652 | 1,328,151 | 505,501 |
| Females | 276,797 | 186,450 | 190,347 |
| Total | 2,210,449 | 1,514,601 | 695,848 |

Since then the decrease has proceeded further. According to Dr. B. J. Brock, in the year 1885 there was the following yield per acre in bushels:—

| Countries. | Wheat. | Barley. |
|---------------------|--------|---------|
| Great Britain | 35.2 | 37.8 |
| Germany | 18.7 | 23.6 |
| France | 16.0 | 19.5 |
| Austria | 15.5 | 18.8 |
| Hungary | 11.7 | 18.0 |

The difference in productivity between Great Britain and the other countries is, we see, considerable, and it is attained through a more extensive operation of the soil. In Hungary also the number of persons engaged in agriculture has decreased considerably:—

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| 1870 | 4,417,514 |
| 1880 | 3,669,177 |

a decrease of 748,457, or more than 17 per cent. in ten years. The agricultural lands passed into the hands of large magnates and capitalists, who employed machines instead of human workers, and thus rendered the latter "superfluous." These phenomena manifest themselves everywhere in agriculture,—just as in large industrial production. The productivity of labor increases, and in the same measure a portion of the working class is promoted to the sidewalk.

As a matter of course, this process has its evil consequences for woman also. Her prospects of being a proprietor and housewife decline, and the prospects increase of her becoming a servant, a cheap hand for the large landlord. As a sexual being she is more exposed even than in the city to the illicit wishes and cravings of the master or his lieutenants. More so than in industry, on the land proprietary rights in the labor-power frequently expand to proprietary rights over the whole person. Thus, in the very midst of "Christian" Europe a quasi Turkish harem system has developed. In the country, woman is isolated to a higher degree than in the city. The magistrate or a close friend of his is her employer: newspapers and a public opinion, to which she otherwise might look for protection, there are none; furthermore, male labor itself is generally in a disgraceful state of dependence. "But 'the heavens are away up, and the Tear is away off."

The census of occupation of 1882 established that, out of 5,273,344 farms, only 391,746, or 7½ per cent., employ machinery. Out of the 24,999 large farms, however, containing over 100 hectares of land, machinery was in use on 20,558, or 82¼ per cent. Naturally, it is the larger farms only that can utilize machinery. The application of machinery on a large surface, all of one product, engages labor only a comparatively short time, the number of male and female hands, absolutely needed on the place and for tending the cattle, is reduced, and after the field work is done, the day laborers are discharged. Thus with us, just as in England and in a still higher degree in the United States, a rural proletariat of grave aspect springs up. If, in view of the shortness of the season, these workmen demand correspondingly high wages when they are needed, their impudence is denounced; if, upon their discharge, they roam about in hunger and idleness, they are called vagabonds, are abused, and not infrequently dogs are set upon them to chase them from the yards as "tramps," unwilling to work, and they are handed over to the constabulary for the workhouse. A pretty social "order."

Capitalist exploitation of agriculture leads in all directions to capitalist conditions. One set of our farmers, for instance, has for years made enormous profits out of beet-root and the production of sugar therewith connected. Our system of taxation favored the exportation of sugar, and it was so framed that the tax on beets yielded but an infinitesimal revenue to the treasury of the Empire, the premium on the exportation of sugar being large enough to almost swallow the tax.

The rebate allowed the sugar manufacturers per double quintal was actually higher than the tax paid by them on beets; and this premium enabled them to sell large quantities of sugar at the expense of the domestic tax-payers, and to extend ever more the cultivation of the sugar-beet. The profit that accrued from this system of taxation to about 400 sugar factories was estimated at over 30 million marks for 1889-1890: on an average 78,000 marks per factory. Several hundreds of thousands of hectares of land, previously devoted to raising grain, were turned into beet-root fields; factories upon factories were started, and are still being started; the inevitable consequence is an eventual crash. The large returns yielded by the beet-root cultivation affected favorably the price of land. It rose. The result was the buying up of the small farms, whose owners, seduced by the high prices, allowed themselves to be inveigled into selling. While the land was thus being used for industrial speculation, the raising of potatoes and grain was being confined to narrower fields, hence the increasing need of importation of food from abroad. The demand exceeds the supply. Thereupon, the large supply of foreign farm products and their cheaper transportation from Russia, the Danubian Principalities, North and South America, India, etc., finally leads to prices on which the domestic farmers—weighed down with mortgages and taxes, and hampered by the smallness of their farms, and their often faultily organized and deficiently conducted farming—can no longer exist. High duties are then placed upon importations; but these duties accrue only to the large farmer: the small fellow profits little by them, or none at all; and they become heavy burdens to the non-agricultural population. The advantage of the few becomes the injury of the many; small farming progresses; for it there is no balm in Gilead. That the condition of the small peasants in the tariff areas of Germany has been steadily deteriorating, will be generally admitted. The advantages to the large farmer from high duties, prohibitions of importations and measures of exclusion enable him all the more easily to buy out the small holder. The large number of those who do not produce in meat and bread what they consume themselves—and a glance at the statistics of occupation and division of the soil shows that these are by far the larger majority of the farmers—even suffers a direct injury from the increased prices resulting upon higher tariffs and indirect taxes. An unfavorable crop, that lowers still more the returns from the farm, not only aggravates the pressure, but also increases the number of the agriculturists who are compelled to become purchasers of farm products themselves. Tariffs and indirect taxes can not improve the economic condition of the majority of the farmers: he who has little or nothing to sell, what, to him, does the tariff boot, be it never so high! The incumbrance of the small farmer and his final ruin are thereby promoted rather than checked.

For Baden—overwhelmingly a State of small farms—the increase of mortgage indebtedness during the period of 1884-1894 is estimated at 140 to 150 million marks. The mortgage indebtedness of the Bern peasants aggregated in round figures 200 million francs in 1860; in 1890 it aggregated 500 million francs. According to a report of the Bohemian representative Gustave Elm, made to his constituents in 1893, the indebtedness that weighed upon the farms of Bohemia stood as follows:—

| | |
|------------|------------------------|
| 1879 | 2,716,641,754 guilders |
| 1889 | 3,105,887,363 guilders |

We see that inside of that period the burden of indebtedness increased 14.13 per cent.—that of small holdings 13.29 per cent., while that of the large holdings increased only 3.77 per cent. The bulk of the increased indebtedness fell to the share of middle class property.

How the cultivator of the soil operates his farm is—under the aegis of St. Private Property—his own business. His private interest decides. What cares he about the commonwealth and its well-being? He has to look out for himself; so, then, stand aside! Does not the industrialist proceed on that plan? He produces obscene pictures, turns out immoral books, sets up factories for adulterating food. These and many other occupations are harmful to society: they undermine morality and invite corruption. What does that matter! It brings in money, even more money than moral pictures, scientific books, and honest dealing in unadulterated food. The industrialist, greedy after profits, needs to concern himself only about escaping the too sharp eye of the police; he can quietly pursue his shameful trade, assured that the money he will thereby rake in will earn for him the envy and esteem of society.

The Mammon character of our age is best typified by the Exchange and its doings. Land and industrial products; means of transportation; meteorologic and political conditions; scarcity and abundance; mass-misery and accidents; public debts, inventions and discoveries; the health, sickness and death of influential persons; war and rumors of war, often started for the express purpose—all this and much more is made objects of speculation, for exploitation and mutual cheating. The matadors of capital attain decided influence upon society, and, favored by the powerful means at their disposal and their connections, they amass enormous fortunes. Cabinet ministers and whole Governments become puppets in their hands, compelled to act according as matadors of the Exchange pull the wires behind the scenes. Not the State has the Exchange, but the Exchange has the State in its power. Will he, nille he, a Minister is often forced to water the upas tree, which he might prefer to tear up by the roots, but that he now must aid in growing.

All these facts, that, seeing the evils gain by the day in magnitude, daily force themselves with increasing importunity upon the consideration of everyone, demand speedy and radical help. But modern society stands bewildered before all these phenomena, just as certain animals are said to stand before a mountain: "it turns like a horse in the treadmill, constantly in a circle,—lost, helpless, the picture of distress and stupidity. Those who would bring help are yet too weak; those who should bring help will not, they rely upon force, at best, they think with Madame Pompadour "apres nous le deluge" (after us the deluge). But how if the deluge were to come before their departure from life?"

The flood rises and is washing out the foundations upon which our State and Social structure rests. All feel that the ground shakes and, that only the strongest props could now stand. But these demand great sacrifices on the part of the ruling classes. There is the rub. Every proposition injurious to the material interests of the ruling classes, and that threatens their privileged position, is bitterly opposed and branded as a scheme looking to the overthrow of the modern political and social order. Neither is the sick world to be cured without any danger to the privileges and immunities of the ruling classes, or without their final abolition by the abolition of the classes themselves.

"The struggle for the emancipation of the working class is no struggle for privileges, but a struggle for equal rights and equal duties; it is a struggle for the abolition of all privileges"—thus runs the programme of the Socialist Movement. It follows that half-measures and small concessions are fruitless.

Until now, the ruling classes regard their privileged position as quite natural and normal, as to the justice of which no doubt may be entertained. It is a matter of course, therefore, that they should object and resolutely oppose every attempt to shake their prerogatives. Even propositions and laws, that affect neither the fundamental principles of the existing social order nor the privileged position of the ruling classes, throw them into great commotion the moment their purses are or might be touched. Mountains of paper are filled in the parliaments full of speeches and printed matter, until the heaving mountains bring forth a ridiculous mouse. The simplest and most obvious questions regarding the protection of Labor are met by them with such a resistance as though the existence of society hinged on such concessions. After endless struggles a few concessions are finally wrung from them, and then they act as if they had sacrificed a large part of their fortunes. The same stubborn resistance do they display if the point is the formal recognition of the equality of the oppressed classes, to allow these, for instance, to have an equal voice with them in wage and other labor agreements.

This resistance to the simplest matters and the most obvious demands confirms the old principle founded in experience, that no ruling class can be convinced by reasoning, until the force of circumstances drives them to sense and to submission. This force of circumstances lies in the development of society, and in the increasing intelligence awakened by this very development among the oppressed. The class-antagonism—the sketch of our social conditions has pointed them out—grows more pronounced, visible and sensible. Along therewith increases the understanding of the untenableness of the existing order among the oppressed and exploited classes; their indignation mounts higher, and, as a result thereof, also the imperious demand for a change and for improved conditions. By penetrating ever wider circles, such understanding of the situation finally conquers the vast majority of society, most directly interested in the change. In the same measure, however, as the popular understanding increases regarding the untenableness of the existing order and the necessity of its radical change, the power of resistance decreases on the part of the ruling classes, whose power rests upon ignorance and lack of intelligence on the part of the oppressed and exploited. This cross effect is evident: hence, everything that promotes it must be welcome. The progress made by large capitalization, on one side, is amply compensated, on the other, by the increasing perception by the proletariat of the contradiction in which the social order stands with the well-being of the enormous majority. The dissolution and abolition of the social antagonisms may cost extraordinary pains, sacrifices and efforts, it may depend upon factors that lie beyond the influence of the individual, or even of a class. Nevertheless, the solution is reached the moment these antagonisms have reached their acme,—a point towards which they are rushing.

The measures to be adopted at the various phases of development depend upon the then conditions. It is impossible to foretell what measures may become necessary under given circumstances. No Government, no Minister, be he ever so powerful, can foresee what circumstances may require in the next few years. All the less is it possible to foretell measures, that will be influenced by circumstance, which elude all accurate calculation. The question of "measures" is a question of tactics in battle. These depend upon the enemy and upon the means at his disposal, and at mine. A measure that would be excellent to-day, may be harmful to-morrow, the circumstances that yesterday justified its application having changed to-day. With the goal in view, the means to attain it by depend upon time and tide; imperative is but the seizing of the most effective and thorough going ones that time and tide may allow. In forecasting the future, hypotheses alone are available: things must be supposed to exist that have not yet set in.

Accordingly, we suppose the arrival of a day when all the evils described will have reached such maturity that they will have become oppressingly sensible to the feeling us to the sight of the vast majority, to the extent of being no longer bearable; whereupon a general irresistible desire for a radical change will seize society, and then the quickest will be regarded the most effective remedy.

All social evils, without exception, have their source in that social order of things, which, as has been shown, rests upon capitalism, upon the capitalist system of production. Under this system, the capitalist class is the possessor of all instruments of labor—land, mines, quarries, raw material, tools, machines, means of transportation and communication—and it exploits and oppresses the vast majority of the people. The result of such abuses is an increased precariousness of livelihood, increased misery, oppression and degradation of the exploited classes. It is, consequently, necessary to convert this capitalist property into social property by means of a general expropriation. Production for sale must be converted into socialist production, conducted for and by Society. Production on a large scale, and the increasing fertility of social labor,—until now a source of misery and of oppression for the exploited classes—must be turned into a source of highest well-being and of full and harmonious culture.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SOCIALIZATION OF SOCIETY.

The soon as possible general expropriation of all the means of production furnishes society with a new foundation. The conditions of life and labor—in manufacture, agriculture, transportation and communication, education, marriage, science, art and intercourse—are radically changed for both sexes. Human existence acquires a new sense. The present political organization gradually loses ground: the State vanishes: in a measure it abolishes itself.

It was shown in the first part of this book why the State arose. It arises, as the product of a social growth, from a primitive form of society, that rested on communism and that dissolved in the measure that private property developed. With the rise of private property, antagonistic interests take shape within society; in the course of its development these antagonisms lead to rank and class contrasts, and these, in turn, grow into enmities between the several groups of interests, and finally into rank and class struggles, that threaten the existence of the new social order. In order to keep down these rank and class struggles, and to protect the property-holders, an organization is requisite that parries the assaults on property, and that pronounces "legal and sacred" the property obtained under certain forms. This organization and power, that guards and upholds property, is the State. Through the enactment of laws it secures the owner in his ownership, and it steps as judge and avenger before him who assails the established order. By reason of its innermost being, the interest of a ruling prop-

erty class, and of the Government therewith connected, is ever conservative. The organization of the State changes only when the interest of property so demands. The State is, accordingly, the inevitably necessary organization of a social order that rests upon class rule. The moment class antagonisms fall through the abolition of private property, the State loses both the necessity and the possibility for its existence. With the removal of the conditions for rulership, the State gradually ceases to be, the same as creeds wane when the belief ceases in supernatural beings, or in transcendental powers gifted with reason. Words must have sense; if they lose that they cease to convey ideas.

"Yes," interjects at this point a capitalist-minded reader, "that is all very well, but by what 'legal principle' can society justify such a change?" The legal principle is the same that ever prevailed, whenever it was the question of changes and reforms,—public policy. Not the State, but society is the source of right; the State is but the committee of Society, authorized to administer and dispense right. Hitherto, "Society" has been a small minority; yet it acted in the name of the whole community (the people) by pronouncing itself "Society," such as Louis XIV. pronounced himself the "State,"—*"L'Etat c'est moi"* (I am the State). When our newspapers announce: "The season begins; society is returning to the city," or "The season has closed; society is rushing to the country," they never mean the people, but only the upper ten thousand, who constitute "Society" as they constitute the "State." The masses are "plebs," "vile multitude," "canaille," "people." In keeping therewith, all that the State has done in the name of Society for the "public weal" has always been to the advantage and profit of the ruling class. It is in its interests that laws are framed. *"Salus reipublice suprema lex esto"* (Let the public weal be the supreme law) is a well known legal principle of Old Rome. But who constituted the Roman Commonwealth? Did it consist of the subjugated peoples, the millions of slaves? No. A disproportionately small number of Roman citizens, foremost among these the Roman nobility, all of whom were supported by the subject class.

When, in the Middle Ages, noblemen and Princes stole the common property, they did so "according to law," in the "interest of the public weal," and how drastically the common property and that of the helpless peasants was treated on the occasion we have sufficiently explained. The agrarian history of the last fifteen centuries is a narration of uninterrupted robbery perpetrated upon common and peasant property by the nobility and the Church in all the leading countries of Europe. When the French Revolution expropriated the estates of the nobility and the Church, it did so "in the name of the public weal"; and a large part of the seven million of landed estates, that are to-day the prof of modern bourgeois France, owe their existence to this expropriation. "In the name of the public weal," Spain more than once embargoed Church property, and Italy wholly confiscated the same,—both with the plaudits of the zealous defenders of "sacred property." The English nobility has for centuries been robbing the Irish and English people of their property, and, during the period of 1804-1832 made itself a present of not less than 3,511,710 acres of commons "in the interest of the public weal." When during the great North American war for the emancipation of the negro, millions of slaves, the regular property of their masters, were declared free without indemnity to the latter, the thing was done "in the name of the public weal." Our whole capitalist development is an uninterrupted process of expropriation and confiscation, at which the manufacturer expropriates the workman, the large landlord expropriates the peasant, the large merchant expropriates the small dealer, and finally one capitalist expropriates another, i. e., the larger expropriates and absorbs the smaller. To hear our bourgeoisie, all that happens in the interest of the "public weal," for the "good of society." The Napoleonists "saved Society" on the 18th Brumaire and 2d of December, and "Society" congratulated them. If hereafter Society shall save itself by resuming possession of the property that itself has produced, it will enact the most notable historic event—it is not seeking to oppress some in the interest of others, but to afford to all the prerequisite for equality of existence, to make possible to each an existence worthy of human beings. It will be morally the cleanest and most stupendous measure that human society has ever executed.

In what manner this gigantic process of social expropriation will be achieved, and under what modality, eludes all surmise. Who can tell how general conditions will then be, and what the demands of public interest will be.

In his fourth social letter to v. Kirchmann, entitled "Capital," Rodbertus says: "The dissolution of all capitalist property in land is no chimera; on the contrary, it is easily conceivable in national economy. It would, moreover, be the most radical aid to society, that, as might be put in a few words, is suffering of rent-rising—rent of land and capital. Hence the measure would be the only manner of abolishing property in land and capital, a measure that would not even for a moment interrupt the commerce and progress of the nation." What say our agrarians to this opinion of their former political co-religionist?

In the contemplation of how matters will probably shape themselves along the principal lines of human activity, upon such a measure of general expropriation, there can be no question of establishing hard and fast lines, or rigid institutions. No one is able to forecast the detailed molds in which future generations may cast their social organizations, and how they will satisfy their wants. In Society as in Nature, everything is in constant flux and reflux; one thing rises, another wanes; what is old and sere is replaced with new and living forms. Inventions, discoveries and improvements, numerous and various, the bearing and significance of which often none can tell, are made from day to day, come into operation, and, each in its own way, they revolutionize and transform human life and all society.

We can, accordingly, be concerned only with general principles, that flow inevitably from the preceding *expose*, and whose enforcement may be supervised, up to a certain point. If even hitherto society has been no atomistic entity, leadable and guideable by an individual, such as appearances often pointed the other way; if even hitherto those who imagined they pushed were themselves pushed; if even hitherto society was an organism, that developed according to certain inherent laws;—if that was hitherto the case, in the future all guiding and leading after individual caprice is all the more out of question. Society will have discovered the secret of its own being, it will have discovered the laws of its own progress, and it will apply these consciously towards its own further development.

So soon as society is in possession of all the means of production, the duty to work, on the part of all able to work, without distinction of sex, becomes the organic law of socialized society. Without work society can not exist. Hence, society has the right to demand that all, who wish to satisfy their wants, shall exert themselves, according to their physical and mental faculties, in the production of the requisite wealth. The silly claim that the Socialist does not wish to work, that he seeks to abolish work, is a matchless absurdity, which fits our adversaries alone. Non-workers, idlers, exist in capitalist society only. Socialism agrees with the Bible that "He who will not work, neither shall he eat." But work shall not be mere activity; it shall be useful, productive activity. The new social system will demand that each and all pursue some industrial, agricultural or other useful occupation, whereby to furnish a certain amount of work towards the satisfaction of existing wants. Without work no pleasure, no pleasure without work.

All being obliged to work, all have an equal interest in seeing the following three conditions of work in force:—

- First, that work shall be moderate, and shall overtax none;
 - Second, that work shall be as agreeable and varied as possible;
 - Third, that work shall be as productive as possible, seeing that both the hours of work and fruition hinge upon that.
- These three conditions hinge, in turn, upon the nature and the number of the productive powers that are available, and also upon the aspirations of society. But Socialist society does not come into existence for the purpose of living in proletarian style; it comes into existence in order to abolish the proletarian style of life of the large majority of humanity. It seeks to afford to each and all the fullest possible measure of the amenities of life. The question that does rise is, How high will the aspirations of society mount?

To be Continued.

The publication of "Woman Under Socialism" began on Sunday, May 24, in the Sunday People, and in the Weekly People of May 30. It will appear in serial form in the Sunday and Weekly until completed, when it will be published in book form.

*A German idiom, expressive of dumb bewilderment, uses the simile: "Like oxen before a mountain."—THE TRANSLATOR.

TABULATED RESULT OF THE GENERAL VOTE

On the Proposition of Section Everett, Mass., to Amend the Constitution of the Socialist Labor Party.

Table with columns: Sections, Question 1 (Yes, No), Question 2 (Yes, No), Question 3 (Yes, No). Lists various states and their respective votes.

Notes.—The questions voted upon were: 1. Shall Article 5, Section 7, Part K, be stricken out? (The said Part K orders the N. E. C. to call for nominations for delegates to represent the S. L. P. at the National Conventions of the S. T. & L. A.)

MASSACHUSETTS S. E. C. Regular meeting Massachusetts State Executive Committee, S. L. P., called to order by the secretary, Comrade John H. Hagan, elected chairman of the session.

the management of the paper has adopted a new plan by which it will be possible for all of our friends to do their share of the work which must be done, before we can hope to better our conditions as wage slaves. The plan is intended to set everybody in sympathy with our movement who possibly can spare a few hours to work, spreading our literature and getting subscriptions for the Weekly and Monthly People.

COLORADO AGITATION FUND. I hereby acknowledge receipt of contributions to the State Agitation Fund as follows: Previously acknowledged, \$205.35; B. M. Hurwitz, Black Hawk, \$5; J. M. Nolan, Bald Mount, \$2; John Olsen, Denver, 90 cents; Carl Starckenberg, Denver, \$10; Robert Holbweg, Denver, \$2.50; Chas. Letcher, Denver, \$2; R. P. Reimann, Denver, \$5; Chas. H. Chase, Denver, \$50; Stephen Bailey, Delta, \$8; W. J. Gerry, Colorado Springs, \$5; Alfred Lampe, Salida, \$5; Wm. Miller, Pueblo, \$2; Wm. Jurgens, Pueblo, \$1; Joe Frank, Pueblo, \$1; Simon Cashmaker, Pueblo, \$2; W. B. Lazaro, Pueblo, 50 cents; A. G. Allen, Salt Lake City, \$1; Ed. Keenan, Lafayette, \$4.25; Nixon Elliott, Pueblo, \$1; Section Mesa County, Grand Junction, \$12; Nels Anderson, Gladstone, \$5; account of balance defence Committee, Storkenberg free speech case, \$35.20; H. J. Brimble, Florence, \$1.50; total, \$367.20.

“WISE” “SOCIALISTS” THOSE OF RICHMOND, VA., DISPLAY LACK OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE. Nominate for Office for Which There Is No Election, and Put Up Twice the Number of Nominees for Offices to Be Filled—Only Show Sense When They Imitate S. L. P.

sentation and elections as does the average Hottentot. In making their nominations, they nominated a candidate for Senator from Henrico County, when there is none to be elected until 1905! They also furnished additional proof of their ignorance by nominating two candidates for the House of Delegates (State Legislature), whereas each county is entitled to only one.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES. It looked at first as if we would have to stop at 399 subscribers for The Weekly People, during last week, but while these notes were being written a comrade walked into the office with one more, making it an even 400 for the week! We are travelling on towards the 500 mark, and, if a gain is made every week as has been done in the past four or five weeks, it will not be long before it will be reached.

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS An Old and Well-Tried Remedy. MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP. Best and most reliable for all ailments of CHILDREN. SOOTHES THE GUMS, ALLAYS ALL PAIN, CURES COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHOEA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP. (AND TAKE NO OTHER BRAND.)

Experts recognize "MOZLE" The Best Turkish Cigarette Made. John A. Anderson, Gardner, Mass.