

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

The Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day—Its History,
Significance and Failure, Culminating in
the Capitalist Riots of 1904.

Written by H. J. BRIMBLE,
Florence, Colorado, 1904.

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THIRD EPISODE.—Continued.

THE CAUSE OF FLOATEN'S EXPERIENCE.

To return to our talk of the night of the 14th. A. H. Floaten's experience was of the most harrowing description. Mr. Floaten had incurred the enmity of the business men of Telluride by reason of the fact that he managed a store in which the miners had done a considerable proportion of their trading, and which had cut deeply into the trade formerly in the hands of members of the Citizens' Alliance. In gathering up those upon the blacklist, one squad, led by Walter Kenley, deputy sheriff and a notorious bully, went to the home of Mr. Floaten and broke in the door. While Kenley was forcing an entrance, some one in the crowd yelled, "Burn the son of a ——— in the house!" Floaten was in the house with his shoes off. His wife had retired. Kenley shoved a revolver in Floaten's face and told him to come along. Floaten asked Kenley if he had a warrant, and was told that one was not needed. Floaten asked to be permitted to put his shoes on, when one of the men struck him with a revolver, cutting a gash about an inch deep on the left side of his head, at the same time telling him that he would need no shoes. Then they carried him, bareheaded and barefooted, out into the street, and when his wife attempted to hand him his hat and shoes some one struck him again. In walking up the alley he was forced into pools of icy water, getting his feet wet. When they had gone two blocks, without any word being said, Kenley walked up behind Floaten and struck him on the head with a revolver, one of the mob shouting at the same time, "Shoot the son of a ———!"

Sixty-four men were herded into a vacant building, and at 1.30 a. m. were placed aboard a special train, as already stated, and sent to Ridgeway, forty-five miles distant, arriving there at 4.10 a. m. Thence they walked into Ouray, a distance of ten miles, where they were cared for by the miners' union. Mr. Floaten says that while on the train some one threw him his shoes, overcoat and hat, evidently sent by his wife.

PERPETRATORS OF THE INFAMIES.

It is necessary to state explicitly the names of the men who took a leading part in the deportation and assaults. First on the list is Willard Runnels, deputy sheriff and professional bad man; Bulkeley Wells, captain of Company A, of the militia, was another; C. E. Watson, deputy sheriff and County Superintendent of Schools, carried a gun and helped drag the miners from their homes; Cooper Anderson, quartermaster of the militia; John A. Adams, groceryman and a leading church member, took this method of showing his fellowship with the meek and lowly Nazarene; Charles H. Chase, superintendent of the Liberty Belle Mine, acted as escort for the prisoners. The names of many others are given by the victims, but enough has been said to give an idea as to the make-up of the mob. Of course, we must not omit the gamblers and saloon-keepers who assisted in the ceremonies. They were getting a blow in at the men who had stood between them and their prey.

The "Ouray Times," referring to the work of the mob, makes this comment:

"There is not a man among the deported who, if he will but go back and buy a stack of chips in one of the games, and talk against those who threaten the suppression of gambling, will not be welcomed at the camp. While his cash lasts and he continues to back the game, he will be regarded as a staunch and respected citizen. Let him but tell his fellows that gambling hells are a good thing, and he will be branded as an agitator and be persecuted."

PEABODY SNUBS THE VICTIMS.

A committee of three, A. H. Floaten, Antone Matti and Stewart Forbes, was sent by the exiles to Denver to see the Governor and solicit his aid in returning them to their homes. Only a few hours prior to their arrival in Denver, and while it was well known that they were on their way, Governor Peabody said:

"I am not in receipt of any word or telegram from any of the parties that were deported. I trust that all citizens of Telluride, no matter on which side they are aligned, will strive for peace from this time on."

Not a word, you see, that would lead one to believe that the law would be enforced upon behalf of men upon whom had been inflicted so great an injury. On the contrary, it is not hard to read a tacit approval of the mob's work in the Governor's expressions, and a definite approval in his actions.

When the members of the committee arrived in Denver they endeavored by personal interview, by telephone and by letter to get at the Governor, who declined to see them or consider their case in any way, shape or form. People were a little puzzled at Peabody's action and evasions; they have since become acquainted with the degree of servility which he exhibits in his eagerness to serve his masters and his prowess as an all-around liar. Madened at this brutal treatment, the committeemen left Denver for "the San Juan," and some of the hot-headed union leaders gave it out that an attempt would be made to reinstate the deported men by a force of arms. This, as we shall see, was just what Peabody and his friends wanted.

"INJUNCTION, THE REMEDY"

"The remedy of these men," said the Governor, "is the injunction. The men forced out of Idaho Springs went back under

an injunction, and if one is issued to the Telluride strikers they can undoubtedly go back under it. What I desire to impress upon the entire State is that armed men will not be allowed to parade in this State, unless allowed to do so by the proper authority."

Peabody actually had the audacity to refer to Idaho Springs, forgetful, it would seem, of the ignoble part played by himself in that affair.

In referring to "armed men" the Governor had in mind the union men alone. The work of the Telluride mob—surely a parading of armed men, and worse—was passed over without comment. Men whose breaches of the law were unquestioned—aye, even admitted by the State authorities—were not to be molested in their criminality, but men who desired to take the right denied them by a prostituted Executive were threatened with punishment by all the forces at his command, should they dare move in their own behalf.

INJUNCTION NULLIFIED BY MARTIAL LAW.

Following the Governor's advice, and, possibly, relying upon his assurances as to the efficacy of an injunction, John H. Murphy, attorney of the Western Federation of Miners, presented his complaint to Judge Theron Stevens, and an order restraining the mob leaders, the Citizens' Alliance of Telluride, the Mine Owners' Association and the members thereof, was granted. This was late at night on the 22d, and by 3.30 p. m. next day Governor Peabody declared the County of San Miguel "in a state of insurrection and rebellion." This was done at the behest of the very men who had organized and headed the mob, and against whom the injunction was issued. Immediately the county was placed under martial law, and Judge Stevens' order was worth as much, to the miners, as the paper upon which it was written, and no more.

The Governor—I say it with a full consciousness of what it implies—perjured himself and violated his office and his word as a man, to further the interests of the class which put him in office, and to whose cause he is pledged.

END THAT THE MEANS ARE TO JUSTIFY.

The chapter draws to a close. Scores of men tried to get back to their homes in Telluride, but the militia ran things to suit the mine managers. The Citizens' Alliance storekeepers, whose business had been injured by the action of the miners in patronizing the people who favored their cause, have at last put an end to the "People's Store," and forced the Floatens to wind up its affairs. There is little use in going over the sorry record of deportations and redeportations. Enough has been said, I trust, to convince the most skeptical that the principle of action of our capitalist government resembles that accredited to the Jesuits: "The end justifies the means"—and the end aimed at is to make this a country in which the capitalist may rule without let or hindrance. In the counties of San Miguel, Las Animas and Teller the end has been attained, through the means recorded in these pages, and where capitalism has triumphed there the working-man is but a serf, existing by the grace of his masters. He cannot come, he may not go; he is not allowed to abide without work; he is not permitted to work, except as those in authority may direct. Democracy in these places is at an end.

FOURTH EPISODE.

THE FLAG "DESECRATION."

The Western Federation of Miners, in its strike campaign, issued a poster, in the shape of the national emblem, upon the stripes of which the following sentences were printed:

"Martial law declared in Colorado!
"Habeas corpus suspended in Colorado!
"Free press throttled in Colorado!
"Bull-pens for union men in Colorado!
"Free speech denied in Colorado!
"Soldiers defy the courts in Colorado!
"Wholesale arrests without warrant in Colorado!
"Union men exiled from homes and families in Colorado!
"Constitutional right to bear arms questioned in Colorado!
"Corporations corrupt and control administration in Colorado!
"Right of fair, impartial and speedy trial abolished in Colorado!
"Citizens' Alliance resorts to mob law and violence in Colorado!
"Militia hired to corporations to break the strike in Colorado!"

Thus the Western Federation of Miners. The sting in the foregoing arraignment of the powers that be lies in the fact that every word is true. No wonder the "best people" were maddened to the point of committing the gravest of crimes.

In opening up this important phase of the class war I shall endeavor, as usual, to cut, at once, to the heart of the matter. I shall not argue as to whether the poster be a flag, or the picture of a flag. We are after the facts.

The Citizens' Alliance, these "patriotic societies," and every capitalist windjammer howled with real or affected rage. The flag had been desecrated, and some one must suffer. President Moyer was the first victim, but, as I shall show, his arrest upon a charge of flag desecration was but a subterfuge intended to conceal a more subtle attack upon the unionists, by the State authorities, who had by this time thrown all pretense of impartiality or concealment to the winds, and were openly arrayed upon the side of the exploiters.

Moyer was in Ouray, endeavoring to pave the way by which the Telluride exiles could return to their homes. He had wired Governor Peabody, asking if the men could go back to Telluride under Judge Stevens' injunction, and the Governor had replied, at the very moment that he was putting San Miguel County again in the clutches of the military, that they could, provided they did not attempt to do so by force of arms.

And the very next thing people knew was that Sheriff Rutan, of San Miguel County, had taken a trip to Ouray, and had then gathered in Moyer upon a charge of "flag desecration." He, Rutan, also attempted to arrest William Haywood, secretary of the W. F. of M., upon the same charge, taking a trip to Denver for that purpose. Haywood, by a ruse, evaded arrest, thus killing the scheme of the Telluride citizens, who had hoped to corral the officials of the W. F. of M. in a body, thus wrecking the organization.

Moyer was bound over by a Justice of the Peace to appear for

trial at the May term of the District Court, his bail being fixed at just double the amount of the heaviest fine that can be imposed under the statutes for the offense, and at the same time it was plainly intimated that the person coming forward with bail would speedily find himself outside San Miguel County.

MILITARY ARREST OF MOYER

On March 30, Messrs. Richardson, Murphy and Woods took the case of Moyer before the County Court, Judge Wardlaw sitting, and the president of the Western Federation of Miners was admitted to bond and released. As he emerged from the county jail a squad of soldiers approached, and Moyer was informed that he was under military arrest, and that he would be taken to military headquarters. General Bell received him, and said that he would be detained indefinitely as a military precaution. When Moyer's attorneys were informed that the military had their client in its clutches they decided that nothing more could be done in Telluride, and preparations were made to secure the prisoner's release upon a writ of habeas corpus.

A vivid light is thrown upon the conditions obtaining in Telluride at this time by the fact that General Bell, to prevent the "best people" from attacking and possibly murdering Moyer and his attorneys, thus creating too great a scandal, was forced to provide them with a strong guard, and to order the soldiers to fire in case of trouble. Even at that, Attorney Woods was assaulted, and the "Daily Journal," of Telluride, organ of the mine managers, exulted in the fact

MILITIA ABOVE THE LAW

On April 11, E. F. Richardson presented to Judge Stevens application for a writ of habeas corpus for Charles Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, then in custody of the military at Telluride. The application was granted, and Messrs. Bell, Wells & Co., acting under the orders of the State authorities, simply ignored it; whereupon Judge Stevens found them in contempt of court, fined them \$500, and ordered their arrest. This, again, had no effect. Bell and his men laughed at Judge Stevens, and when Sheriff Corbett, of Ouray County, attempted to execute the orders of the court and bring in Bell and Wells, he was sent back empty-handed by the men whom he had come to take. They were above all law except the will of the Chief Executive, so they said, and they certainly lived up to that belief. Thus ended the work of the attorneys in the District Court.

So incensed was the valiant Bell at the idea of a mere judge fining and ordering the arrest of a "Brigadier-General, Adjutant-General, State of Colorado," that he threatened to arrest Stevens and place him in jail. This is not a joke. Far from it. The men in authority have done worse things than this, and if they thought it could be done with impunity they would not hesitate a moment in carrying out Bell's threat.

The next move on the part of Moyer's attorneys was to apply to the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus. This they did, and on the 21st of April, Charles H. Moyer, escorted by a squad of soldiers, was brought before that body. Then the cat came out of the bag in earnest. When Moyer arrived in Denver, his colleague, Haywood, attempted to speak to him, and, as a consequence, received a tremendous beating at the hands of the soldiers, who, in addition, took him prisoner. There is a little doubt as to who started the trouble. Haywood, a quick-tempered, impulsive man, may have done so. If he did, he paid for his temerity. On the other hand, the majority of the witnesses say that the assault was entirely unprovoked, and that the military, angered at not having Haywood in their clutches as they had Moyer, did the "next best thing." The police of Denver, whose prisoner Haywood was, demanded the man, and got him, upon the orders of the Governor, who, much as he would have liked it, did not dare allow the militia to take prisoners in Denver. He has done worse than that since.

FORCE SUPREME IN COLORADO'S SUPREME COURT.

The scene in the chamber of the Supreme Court is, probably, without a parallel in the history of America. Bell instructed his men, at the door of the State House, to remove their arms, so as not to give rise to unpleasant comparisons. For all that, when Moyer appeared in court it was between General Bell and Captain Wells, and when John M. Waldron, a particularly able and unscrupulous lawyer, special counsel for the State, arose to address the court, the hand of the State was seen to be grasping two things: a wreath of bay-leaves and a whip, to be used as occasion demanded.

"The detention of this petitioner is rendered necessary because of his prominence and his connection with a band of insurgents, who are defying the Constitution and the civil authorities of the State."

Thus Waldron went on to say that the Supreme Court was without jurisdiction in the matter, and that Moyer had been produced in response to its writ simply as a matter of courtesy. There can be no mistake in attributing Waldron's words, the presence of the two officers in court, guarding Moyer, and the attitude of the State Administration, to a determination upon the part of the latter to defy the court in case its verdict went for Moyer.

Remember, these are the same people who, in '99, lauded that body to the skies when it killed the eight-hour bill, and who were then loud in the demands that the "court of last resort" be respected. Well, the working people of the State did respect the court. Whether the capitalists did or did not I leave to those who may peruse these pages.

There being but two of the three judges upon the bench, Chief Justice Gabbert and Judge Steele, the Chief Justice suggested that, the case being so important, he would much prefer to try it with a full bench. Then arose the question of bail; Waldron, for the State, declaring that for the court to admit Moyer to bail would be an assumption of jurisdiction in the case by that body, which right the State explicitly denied.

PEACE, NOT INSURRECTION, IN SAN MIGUEL COUNTY.

Mr. Richardson, in opening the case for Moyer, said, among other things: "The petitioner denies that on the 23d of March, or at any other time, there has been a state of insurrection, either against the Government, or the Constitution, or the laws of Colorado, in San Miguel County. On the contrary, the petitioner avers that the county was in state of peace. That shortly before an organization known as the Citizens' Alliance was brought

into being by certain mine owners, mine operators, bankers, liquor dealers and gamblers, for the purpose of controlling the miners of that county in violation of law, and in the interests of said organizers, and to that end they organized themselves into a mob, shortly before said date, and had deported about seventy men, theretofore miners in that county.

"That these miners announced their intention of returning peaceably to their homes in the county, and that to that end they would resist any further interference with their persons, and would resist any attempt at their deportation, but that their mission in returning was one of peace, and no force whatever would be used by them, except in defense from the attack of said mob. Thereupon certain members of the mob, whose names are signed to a petition to the Governor, made the representations set forth in the return, which were a part of the plan of action agreed upon by the Citizens' Alliance, for the purpose of controlling the labor situation; that all the proceedings were part of a conspiracy of the members of the Citizens' Alliance."

Mr. Richardson contended that the return of Sherman Bell and Bulkeley Wells to the writ of habeas corpus did not state the facts necessary to an answer; that the return was insufficient in law to constitute any justification whatsoever, either for the arrest, imprisonment, detention or further detention of the prisoner, and, of course, demanded that Moyer be released.

CAN WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS BE SUSPENDED?

"The sole point at issue," said Mr. Richardson, "in this case is whether the Governor has the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and retain a citizen of this State without giving a reason therefor. . . . and now comes the answer and return to this writ, which does not deny our allegations, but simply challenges the right of this court to interfere with the operations of the military."

"The prisoner is in the custody of this court, and should remain there until it shall decide whether he should be returned to the satraps of the Governor. There is nothing in this return to show that it is not a bailable offense. There is no charge against this prisoner, except in the expressed belief of the Governor and his commandant in the warlike fields of Telluride."

Mr. Richardson makes the issue clear, and Mr. Waldron is not far behind him. In his reply the State's attorney stated that the only question before the court was one of jurisdiction. "The Governor of this State has said that he (Moyer) is a dangerous person, and should not be at large. . . . No constitutional rights of this man are attacked by his detention."

In his closing argument Mr. Richardson eloquently attacked the contention of the State's counsel, all to no purpose, however.

CONSTITUTION NOT FOR ALL?

"This is the first time in my life that I have heard that the Constitution was not for all. If the Constitution is not for all the people, all the time, and everywhere, then it is not worth the parchment upon which it is written. If Governor Peabody is supreme in this State, and can suspend the sacred privilege of the habeas corpus at will, going outside of the military district and taking prisoners in, then he can declare any part of the State under martial law, and can arrest anyone as a military prisoner. The Constitution is supposed to shadow all, and it cannot be segregated in the interests of one man. Neither the judicial nor the executive branches of a government have the right to suspend habeas corpus. Only the legislature can do this. In the former cases in Cripple Creek, Governor Peabody did not go so far as to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, but in the present instance he did not even take the trouble to do this."

Mr. Richardson's puncturing of the argument, if argument it may be called, of Mr. Waldron availed nothing. Moyer was taken out of the court by his military captors, being brutally told to move on when he attempted to take his wife's hand and speak to her.

As the train conveying Moyer and his guard back to Telluride was leaving Ridgeway, a man named Flohr shouted to the notorious bully, Kenley, now in uniform: "This is not over; we'll see you later!" Kenley replied: "Why didn't you say so before the train started, you ———!" to which Flohr replied with language equally torrid. Then some one ordered the train stopped, and sixteen troopers got off and started after Flohr, who ran uptown, pursued by the soldiers. Fifty shots, at least, were fired at the fugitive, and many of the townspeople had narrow escapes. Flohr hid in the ice box of the Mentone Hotel, and Wells' warriors failed to find him.

On Monday, April 25, the Supreme Court handed down a decision denying application for bail for Charles Moyer. The trial was set for May 5. On the same day the court granted the application of Adjutant General Bell and Captain Wells for a writ of supersedeas to stay the ruling of Judge Stevens against them in the first Moyer habeas corpus case. The two guard officials were placed under a bond of \$2,000 each, and the court ruled that the cases brought before Judge Stevens should remain in status quo until the entire issue is met.

Captain Wells, on the 28th, informed the idle union miners remaining in Telluride that they must obtain employment or leave town.

COURT DECISIONS THAT ARE RESPECTED.

On May 5, the final contest in the Supreme Court for the liberty of Charles H. Moyer was opened by John W. Waldron, for the State, who forcibly enlightened the Judges as to their duties. Said he:

"I admit that Governor Peabody, in attempting to bring about a condition of law and order in this State, has called down upon himself the most bitter denunciation. This has been fostered by the press, and his actions have been denounced on the street. So general has been this adverse discussion that it is possible, in fact, it is even probable, that the members of this tribunal may have imbibed ideas adverse to the Governor's cause."

Later, Mr. Waldron reverted to this thought, and he held up to view a ghastly picture of the fate of judges who allowed their personal feelings to influence their verdicts. Not a word came from the court in condemnation of this outrageous behavior, but imagine with what wrath would John Campbell, at least, have descended upon the diminished head of Moyer's attorney had he said a thing one-tenth as bad as that uttered by Waldron.

(Continued on page 3.)

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

Table with 2 columns: Year and Vote count. Rows for 1888, 1892, 1896, 1900, 1902.

All the past we leave behind, We debouch upon a newer, mightier world, varied world; Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labor and we march, Pioneers! O, Pioneers!



Often made and fervid capitalist quarters, that portion of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party, with whom corruption is the leading principle...

As foreshadowed in these columns yesterday morning, the Republican party, the party of the largest and most of the capitalists, has won. And the way it won proves our statement true...

What that new history will be may be gathered from the large vote cast by what may be generally termed the elements of dissent in the country...

As stated yesterday in these columns, what IS will and must, and should continue to be until that which WILL BE has earned the right to supplant what IS.

In Illinois, the United Mine Workers have supplied men to break the strike of the mine hoisting engineers.

UNDER THE LIME LIGHT.

To-day our country—great in material wealth, still greater in the possibilities of material wealth, vast in area, and her brow wreathed in the aureola of the exalted mission that hers it is to fulfill—steps under the lime light of election day before the nations of the world.

The spectacle is worth watching. It will demonstrate more than one principle that the thinking world has established as fundamental.

It will demonstrate, in the first instance that "universal suffrage" means, under the class rule of capitalism, essentially, nothing more than the multiplied power of the ruling class, multiplied by the number of its wage slaves...

It will demonstrate that, however adverse the conditions, the human mind will resist enslavement. As in the forest, even under the shadow of towering trees, the tender sapling sprouts up...

Obedient to these principles the ballots are falling now. Capitalism will be returned "triumphant"—but triumphant only in the sense that what IS will, and must, and should continue to be until that which WILL BE has earned the right to supplant what IS.

Serenely facing the future, unterrified by the seemingly overwhelming shower of the Roosevelt-Parker ballots; without either overrating or underrating the power of the vote; and gathering strength in the knowledge of work well done...

THE FIRST SUBWAY VICTIM.

The first man to be killed in the Subway since its opening was a workman. An electrician, he was struck by a swift moving express train while engaged in the performance of his daily task.

The city paid \$35,000,000 for the Subway. A group of capitalists advanced this sum at high rates of interest. The same group of capitalists next formed a construction company, which built the Subway at an enormous profit.

Yet, despite such convincing answers as these dead workmen will give, one will meet self-professed wisacres, who dilate on "the risks of capital" and "the freedom of labor from losses."

MACHINERY.

Addressing an audience at Bridgeport, Conn., Judge Parker expressed the following views on machinery:

"In our later days the claim is often made, not only by practical men, but by students of economic history, that our rapid industrial progress is the result of machinery. This theory assumes that whatever our ancestors did in the way of building up institutions and industry, everything is now so changed that we have become dependent on the machine...

These views illustrate the proverbial inability of the Democracy to learn. Man's dependence on machinery is a widely recognized fact of great social significance.

The first indication of jobbery in building the Subway comes from N. Tesla, the electrical expert. He declares the Subway needs speedy re-equipment, the present one representing the state of the electrical art of more than ten years ago.

The man is merely an appendage to it, adapting himself to the economic conditions created by it, and regulating his actions according to its speed. In the degree that machinery attains automatic perfection, which is its most conspicuous tendency, it displaces man's mind, body and muscle...

Machinery is not an incident, an auxiliary. Machinery is a permanence, a fundamental feature of modern life, making possible the abundance and leisure which the philosophers of old proclaimed essential to the higher development of man.

THE THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

The President has issued his annual Thanksgiving proclamation. It contains two sentences that embody his campaign doctrines. They read as follows:

"The harvests have been abundant, and those who work, whether with hand or brain, are prospering greatly." "Reward has waited upon honest effort."

This boast of prosperity will not impress the charity officers who are clamoring for relief funds as apt. Nor will it commend itself to the army of unemployed, and those who, though employed, are working only one-half or three-quarters their former time...

MITCHELL'S REMARKABLE ARGUMENTS.

John Mitchell, in his speech at Mahony City, Pa., on Mitchell Day, made this statement:

"Miners, here and elsewhere, I presume, justify their failure to pay dues under the plea that the advance in wages has been counterbalanced by the increase in the cost of living. That is a fallacious argument. The cost of living would have increased irrespective of the rates in wages you receive. The reports of the Department of Labor show that the cost of existence has increased 16 per cent. in the last four years, while your wages have risen to 30 to 35 per cent. over and above what it was prior to the 1900 strike."

This is a remarkable argument. After reading it, one asks himself, are the miners fools? Are they so unwise as to lose great benefits for the sake of saving dues?

It is human nature to give much that little may be gained. The miners suffered five long months to secure slight advantages. It would, therefore, be a libel upon them to agree with Mitchell that now that they receive much they give nothing.

The deportation of the son of the President of the Cripple Creek Mine Owners' Association from Goldfield, Nev., is denounced by the press as "a miners' outrage."

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IN VINO VERITAS.

The old proverb that the truth leaps out of the man who is in his cups, may be adapted into the proverb: "Distress makes poachers peach."

Here is now the whole brigade of free trade Democrats dropping their conventional lies and letting out the truth. Distress, fear of being beaten made them peach.

Long has the Socialist Labor Party preached the doctrine that capital, that is, concentrated wealth was a tyranny upon the people. "Nonsense!" retorted the piebald capitalist class.

As is commonly known, there are two conflicting, though not separate wings in the Socialist movement of Italy—the Ferri wing and the Turati wing, the former being considered the radical, the latter the opportunist element.

The working class is often told the orthodox economic nursery tale, that the capitalist is wealthy and powerful because he is a leader who plans, invents and directs, and for whose initiative, foresight, invention and executive ability, there is and can be no substitute.

DIRECTING THE DIRECTORS.

The working class is often told the orthodox economic nursery tale, that the capitalist is wealthy and powerful because he is a leader who plans, invents and directs, and for whose initiative, foresight, invention and executive ability, there is and can be no substitute.

"Philadelphia, Oct. 20.—President A. J. Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, has appointed a mechanical and electrical advisory committee to assist him in considering plans and specifications for mechanical and electrical work in connection with the New York tunnels and terminals.

Here we have the supreme advisor being advised, the director being directed, the general being led, by a COMMITTEE of his employes and subordinates!

The "Textile Mill News" of a commercial newspaper contains the following paragraph:

"Overproduction" will disappear if this policy becomes general. "Prevention of Accumulation" will then take its place!

Flash-Lights of the Amsterdam Congress

[Rather than try to give a condensed report of the Amsterdam Congress and of what I saw of the European Movement in general, I shall present a series of articles under the above general head, subdivided under special heads. This flash-light method will be on the whole better. It will deal in detail with persons and things; and the flash-lights will, in the end, be seen to run into one another and portray the scene more effectively.—DANIEL DE LEON.]

ENRICO FERRI AND BULGARIA.

Unable to find among my notes the name of the Bulgarian delegate on the committee on international political tactics, whom I wish to consider in connection with Ferri of Italy, I shall herein designate him by the name of his country—Bulgaria.

As is commonly known, there are two conflicting, though not separate wings in the Socialist movement of Italy—the Ferri wing and the Turati wing, the former being considered the radical, the latter the opportunist element.

He argued: Principle is an essential element to action; without principle action is worthless. On the other hand, principle is operative without organization, and organization implies tactics or conduct. Accordingly, to declare correct principle and disregard its application is folly.

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Here, two conflicting policies were wrestling in the Socialist camp. The one was called "Narrow," the other "Broad." As terms of distinction, tho' not of demarcation, the two names will do as well as any other. The issue was essentially one of organization. It took two external manifestations—one on the Party's attitude towards the Trades Unions, the other on the Party's attitude towards Reformers.

When the turn came of Bulgaria to speak, the delegate, a young and forceful man, grappled with Ferri's line of reasoning. Without rhetorical flourishes, but tersely and to the point, he argued: The experience in Bulgaria shows the folly of preventing a rupture between conflicting tactics.

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its striking arm was free; it sailed in to do work: The straightforward agitation started. Instructive, because straight and uncompromising, literature sprang up. The work of propaganda began in good earnest. Since then real Socialist enlightenment has spread. Progress has been made.—All of which also is very true.

Ferri and Bulgaria, in juxtaposition, point to what I consider the one, at least the leading fault of these international congresses, as conducted by our continental comrades. The picture that the two, in themselves superb speeches condensed above throw upon the canvass, is the picture of the mind that lacks evolutionary perspective.

It is undoubtedly true, as Ferri stated, that two opposing tactics may each have an element, a starting point of soundness; that, for the sake of saving those elements of soundness to the movement, rupture should be avoided; whereas rupture has fatedly for its effect the driving of the ruptured tactical elements to such extremes from their own premises that they became self-destructive.

He argued: Principle is an essential element to action; without principle action is worthless. On the other hand, principle is operative without organization, and organization implies tactics or conduct.

Here, two conflicting policies were wrestling in the Socialist camp. The one was called "Narrow," the other "Broad." As terms of distinction, tho' not of demarcation, the two names will do as well as any other.

The movement was as two spent swimmers, that cling together and choke their art. They broke away. Rupture ensued. It was inevitable. No amount of purpose would have brought it on; no amount of "wisdom" could have prevented it.

They broke away. Rupture ensued. It was inevitable. No amount of purpose would have brought it on; no amount of "wisdom" could have prevented it. The movement had entered upon the evolutionary stage described by Bulgaria. The clarifying conflict, the conflict without which clarification is not possible, was in the evolutionary cards.

The clarifying conflict, the conflict without which clarification is not possible, was in the evolutionary cards. It broke out, and progress, the progress of clarification, immediately set in. Each side, the Socialist Labor Party and its rival, that sprang into being with the rupture, developed its practical principle unhampered.

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UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I must have been dreaming all my born days.

UNCLE SAM—Are you making discoveries? B. J.—It almost looks that way to me. Just think of it: When I struck with my fellow switchmen in Buffalo to uphold the ten-hour law, Governor Flower, the Democrat, swooped down upon us with the whole militia of the State and gave the victory to the bosses who were grinding us down.

U. S.—So he did. B. J.—Then I went to work as a longshoreman on the Erie Lake, and Mark Hanna, the Republican, cut our wages in two; and when we struck he knocked the stuffs out of us with policemen's clubs.

U. S.—Too true. B. J.—And then I got a job as trainman on the Chicago & Rock Island Road, and when we demanded that our fellow men at Pullman be not treated as beasts of burden, good God, how didn't Cleveland, the Democrat, and Woods, the Republican, knock us into as many cocked hats with their soldiers and their gating guns on paper, and how didn't the Republican Dewey and the Democratic Whiteneys approve of these, their transactions!

U. S.—Indeed they did. B. J.—Now from all this I had drawn my conclusions. U. S.—To what effect? B. J.—To the effect that these capitalists were a lot of scallawags, who looked upon us workers as their legitimate beasts of burden, that had to be whipped blind if they roared or kicked.

U. S.—There are no flies on that conclusion. B. J.—But here comes the puzzle—U. S. (looking around)—Where? B. J.—Right here; the identical Democratic politicians who browbeat us before are now making speeches in which they say: "There is no conflict between capital and labor. The interest of the workers are the interest of the employers. And it behooves us, who are employes to resist with might and main the lowering of the wages of the working poor."

U. S.—That's very loving. B. J.—And the identical Republican politicians who shot us and helped the bosses stink us dry are holding the same language.

U. S.—The love of these people for the working class seems to bloom like the rose in June. B. J.—Doesn't it? U. S.—Looks like it. B. J.—And aren't you puzzled? U. S.—Where at? B. J.—At so much love pouring forth from quarters that otherwise only pour down oppression upon us?

U. S.—Not a bit. B. J.—Well, which is which? Are these Republicans and Democrats our real friends or are they our enemies after all? U. S.—Don't you remember that Scotch terrier that snarled and growled at you yesterday when you called at John Jones'?

B. J.—Blast the brute! I could have broken its neck. U. S.—Did you love him? B. J.—Not much, I did. U. S.—And yet I overheard you addressing him in these endearing terms: "Good doggy, sweet doggy, pch, pch, come, come nice doggy!"

B. J.—What would you have me do? Growl at him and have him tear me all to pieces? U. S.—Just what you did to John Jones' doggy is what these Republicans and Democrats are now doing to us. They have been treating us as dogs, using workmen to satisfy their pleasures, skinning us, outraging us right and left. Now comes election time. They want to get into office—a sort of John Jones' house—where they will be able to carry on their system of fleecing us, each side of them, though wanting to get there to the exclusion of the other, so as to have our whole hide to itself. But now it so happens that there are one hundred workmen's votes to those Republican and Democrat capitalists and we workmen are growing in their way, they need our votes to get in; they want to keep us from voting for ourselves and want us to vote for them.—Hence their present love.—Hence we are now "good doggy," "sweet doggy," "nice doggy." Catch on!

(Continued on page 5.)

