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PRELIMINARY EXPLOSION OR VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS COMING TO A HEAD

(Special to the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE from Frank Bohn, National Organizer of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.) St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 13.—All readers of The People have, for some time, had their ears attuned to the music of "Volcanic Rumbblings." They have been aware that a storm of opposition to pure and simple unionism in general and to the A. F. of L. in particular, has been gathering in the West...

S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. With reference to this matter the S. T. & L. A. delegates, if any are sent, should have very definite opinions. This attitude on the political character of the proposed organization, prevailed with a majority of the members of the conference, because it was thought that attention should just now be riveted upon the subject of re-organization upon the industrial field. "Socialists" not interested in the subject of industrial unionism are supposed to remain away from the June convention. It is to be hoped that the convention may accept all those principles which have made the S. T. & L. A. heretofore the only real Socialist labor union; and make provision for a clear-cut organization along the lines marked out by those principles. This will mean at once a powerful attack upon the A. F. of L. and all its defenders, including "Socialists" like Max Hayes, Berger and the Volkzeitung crew, as well as Gompers and Mitchell.

One more incident—it will be seen at once that the list of signatures to the Manifesto contains the names of some men who have been most bitter opponents of both the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. Furthermore the names of some appear who were not present at the conference, notably those of Debs and Untermyer, the latter of whom has been in the past a most strenuous advocate of "boring from within." In all the discussion which is now to come, may principles and not individuals be considered as really important. The men made prominent by the Colorado struggle, Moyer and Haywood, Clarence Smith and Haggerty, have been the mainstays of instituting the new movement. Lessons learned by them in the bitter school of experience have prompted this first step on their part.

DEBATE IN DETROIT, MICH. "Resolved, That the present competitive system of production is on the whole preferable to any practicable form of Socialism." Is the subject of a public debate to be held Saturday, January 28, at Miami Hall, 96 Miami avenue, Detroit, which will begin at 8 p. m. The affirmative will be upheld by the Rev. Paul Zeigler, Pastor of St. Barnabas' and Mariners' Churches, Mr. W. L. Blauvelt, superintendent of coke ovens at the Solvay Process Co., living at 40 Mott avenue. For the negative:—Comrades Meyer and Richter. There will be four speeches with no rebuttals.

MILWAUKEE, WIS. PARTY. The Young Men's Socialist Club of Milwaukee, Wis., will give a Card Party and Social on Saturday evening, January 28 at Hanks' Hall, corner of Ninth and Harmon streets. The members of the organization have worked unceasingly to make the affair a great success, which it undoubtedly will be. As the Young Men's Socialist Club is a great factor in spreading the principles of Socialism, comrades are urged to attend and bring a few of their friends with them.

LITHO. ARBITRATION

As Depicted by the Organ of the Civic Federation, and As It Really Is.

The January National Civic Federation Monthly Review is given over entirely to the reports and speeches made to and at the recent executive meetings and banquet of that body. On Page 19, appears the "Report of Department of Trade Agreements, by F. L. Robbins and John Mitchell, Chairmen." This report says: "The experience of this Department has confirmed our conviction that there is nothing so important for the future of this country as the trade agreement as a method of reaching harmonious relations between capital and labor. The trade agreement, in our opinion, offers the most practical way to avert difficulties, dangers and possibly disaster in the industrial world." The report then proceeds to give instances in proof of this assertion. Among these instances the case of the lithographers is cited, as follows:

"Members of this Department attended many of the protracted and arduous conferences between representatives of the Lithographers' Association and of the employed crafts, which resulted in a national trade agreement that includes practically all of the trade. After the formation of that agreement, a dispute arose at Cincinnati and San Francisco over its construction, which was referred to a member of this Department. Both sides accepted his decision as satisfactory. A second contention arising under the same agreement in St. Louis, Chicago and Cleveland, each side selected a different member of the Civic Federation, and they chose a third member. This arbitration committee rendered a decision mutually satisfactory to the contestants."

This statement and the instance in support of it are worthy of analysis, as they cover a field of great sociological importance. As a prelude to this analysis, it is necessary to inquire how this so-called trade agreement in the litho. industry was affected, after which it can be shown how it is enforced, with the results among the rank and file of the labor employed.

George J. Bohnen, a leader of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in a debate now running in "Record and Guide", the real estate organ, criticizing arbitration, as practiced in the building trades of this city, says: "It was entirely a one-sided affair forced upon the unions after they had been weakened by a prolonged struggle. Further along in the same article, Bohnen says: "Arbitration, from the employers' standpoint, is a game of heads I win, tails you lose."

Had Bohnen been writing of arbitration in lithography instead of the building trades, he would have used precisely the same words. Arbitration was forced on the lithographers after a prolonged strike last spring. The lithographic organizations came out of this strike with their treasuries depleted and their ranks divided, leaving them helpless and at the mercy of the employers, who have since utilized the circumstances thus created, to their own advantage. The division in the ranks of the lithographic unions was attained by a refined and subtle kind of "Weinseimering". The employers made special contracts with foremen and others. The latter organized "good government" clubs. These clubs are ostensibly organized to secure good government for the unions. Their real purpose is to govern the unions for the good of the employers. The depleted treasuries of the unions, together with the "good government" clubs, make possible "the heads I win, tails you lose" game of the employers laid out in the trade "agreement" forced on their defeated employees. It was under such conditions that the contentions referred to in the instance quoted by Messrs. Robbins and Mitchell in support of their claims in behalf of the trade agreement, were "mutually adjusted"—to the satisfaction of the employers.

It would be idle to presume that peace can exist where men are compelled to submit to enforced "agreements" and their logical results, enforced injustices. The peace that exists among the litho. employes under such circumstances is the peace of Warsaw. Experience gained since the adoption of that trade "agreement" has forced upon many lithographers the conclusion that, FOR THE PRESENT, a decisive re-assertion of rights, is not possible. Recuperation from the effects of the late strike, and trade developments that will destroy the demoralizing influence of the good gov-

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THE VOTE.

Table with columns: State, Corregan, Debs. Lists states from Alabama to Wyoming with corresponding numbers.

The vote in the above second column is the vote polled by Charles H. Corregan and Will W. Cox in the twenty States in which the Socialist Labor Party had a ticket. The eighty-two S. L. P. men, who in the Territory of Arizona simultaneously gave their vote to the S. L. P. candidate for delegate, the only office in the Territory, rightly belong with the above total. Accordingly, at the Presidential election of 1904, 34,172 votes are officially accredited to the Socialist Labor Party—the only party in the field that stood unqualifiedly for the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class, the only party whose propaganda did not differ according to longitude or latitude, the only party whose apostles, in every one of the twenty States in which the Party's banner was unfurled, urged the voters not to give it their support unless they were ready to back up its demands. The California vote is, in a way, the most remarkable. As yet unable to place their honored Party on the official ballot, the 296 Socialist Labor Party stalwarts had to surmount the difficulty of each writing out in full the names of the Party's electoral candidates on the official ballot. The poll for 1904 falls only nineteen short of the previous Presidential year. The S. L. P. column stands unshaken.

As to the vote for Debs, it is taken exactly as found in one of the S. P. latest official publications.

CHICAGO CITY CONVENTION. The City Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of the City of Chicago will be held at Labor Lyceum, 76 La Salle street, Chicago, on Tuesday evening, January 24, 1905, at 8 P. M. Nominations of Candidates for the Spring Election, and other matters that may properly come before the Convention, will be the order of business.

For Section Chicago, H. A. Nielsen, Organizer.

CONNECTICUT, ATTENTION! To the Sections and members of the S. L. P. in the State of Connecticut: On account of sickness, Comrade A. Gierginsky has resigned from the secretaryship, therefore all communications intended for the Connecticut S. E. C. should be addressed to the undersigned. Fred Fellermann, 2 State street, Hartford, Conn.

NOTICE, SECTIONS! Send all communications intended for Section Hartford to L. Newhouse, organizer, 412 Broad street, Hartford, Conn.

KANSAS GAS BELT

Life in Its Zinc Smelters and Brickyard Bad for Labor—A Pen Picture.

(Special Correspondence.)

Cherryvale, Kansas, Jan. 5.—Cherryvale is a typical non-union town. There isn't a labor union in it. Yet it is an industrial town and has the largest individual zinc smelting plant in the world. It has sixteen furnaces fed entirely by natural gas. The atmosphere around the smelter is so poisonous that it kills all plant life within a radius of one to two miles, according as the season is dry, or wet. In this smelter four hundred men are employed. The highest wage paid is \$3.10 for twelve hours' work, and the man in charge of the fires gets this. There is a class of work here, however, which calls for extraordinary bodily exertion. The men doing it are allowed to go home when they have charged the furnace. These men start to work at four a. m. and generally get through about 11.30 a. m. to 12 noon. The wages range from \$1.60 to \$2.15 and only one man to each furnace receives this wage. The kiln men and the roasters work twelve hours for \$2.15; while the laborers in the yard receive \$1.50 for a ten hour day. Now a charge consists of zinc, ore, silica, coal dust, coke dust and a blue powder containing arsenic in large quantities. Only the strongest and most robust men can stand it, and they become saturated with zinc and arsenical poisoning after a few years.

There are also six brick yards here. The highest wages paid in them is \$2.50 for the head setter. The rest get \$1.50 per day. There are but two men who receive more than \$1.50 per day. They receive \$2.00 per day. With the discovery of gas in paying quantities came the discovery that the small hills around here were composed of shale, a kind of decomposed rock; this combination, natural gas and shale, caused brick yards to be established here. They employ over one thousand men. A great many of the brick yard men live in tents patched up with refuse boards, and dry goods boxes, and any one who remembers how upper Fifth avenue looked with its goats and shanties among the rocks can easily picture the settlements of these brick yard employes. These men are employed only about one-half the time. Whenever it rains "no work"; when it freezes up, or machinery breaks, "no work." If they had to pay house rent it would be impossible for them to live.

In the town, the middle class reign supreme; the restaurants are all small and while the men folk wait on the table the women folk do the cooking. A great many people who, in the keen competition of the larger places, and railroad men, whom the age limit has eliminated from railway service, are starting small places in this and surrounding towns; in fact, the Kansas gas belt is the last gasp of the expiring middle class. These people are renting from the farmers in the surrounding country and they expected that, attracted by the abundance of gas, factories would spring up, the renting value of their houses and stores would increase and a home market created, so that they could raise garden truck, poultry, dairy products, etc., and sell direct to the consumer without paying enormous freight rates to the railroads, and trusting to the tender conscience of the commission merchants in Kansas City. So when an agent of one of the subsidiary companies of the Standard Oil Company offered them \$50.00 to \$75.00 per year royalty on a gas well, and \$100.00 to \$150.00 for an oil well and the owners of the farms jumped at it. They figured that these people would start factories and a great land boom would result.

The ore that is smelted here comes from the Joplin district of Missouri, a distance of seventy-five miles. The coal used has to be brought fifty miles from the Pittsburg coal district. The blue arsenical powder has to be brought from St. Louis, and through the Joplin district to Cherryvale. Freight rates are high. The trust has piped the gas as far as Galena. The next move will be the erection of an up-to-date smelter, run by gas and electricity, as that will generate enough horse-power to run the machinery, while the gas coming through a pipe at a pressure of 450 to 500 pounds will require no pumping and furnish the heat for the furnaces. If the gas plays out in the gas belt, coal and coke would have to be shipped into Cherryvale, but if the gas gives out in Galena they are in the midst of the coal belt and also the zinc

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CONGRESSIONAL

HEATED DEBATE ON THE STATEHOOD BILL

HEATED SENATE DEBATE ON THE STATEHOOD BILL

Beveridge Loses Control of His Capitalist Politician Tongue and Utters These Words: "For Fifty Years We Have Heard What Politicians Said the People Wanted, But Never Have We Heard the People Themselves Say What They Wanted"!!!!

Originally there were four independent bills to create new States. One bill provided for the admission of Oklahoma, another for the admission of the Indian Territory, a third for the admission of New Mexico, and the fourth for the admission of Arizona—in all, four new States. These bills all originated in the House. There they underwent several transformations, until they were pounded into their present shape—one bill providing for the union of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory in one State, to be known as Oklahoma, and also providing for the union of New Mexico and Arizona in one State, to be known as Arizona. In that shape the bills were reported back to the House on April 8, 1904. On the 19th the consolidated bill was taken up "for consideration" by the House in-Committee of the Whole. To what extent the matter was "considered" may be judged from the circumstance that the bill was taken up "for consideration" under a rule limiting the debate, excluding intervening motions, and providing for a vote on the bill on its final passage at 4 o'clock of that day. The bill passed, and is now before the Senate. Such a jamming-through prelude is enough to cause even the most credulous to ponder and ask, "What's back of it?" The Socialist, equipped with the unerring key that opens all such locks, the knowledge that material interests, and not high flown principles, are the groundwork of legislation, seeks to fathom the mystery, and thereby to understand the thing. The debate now on in the Senate, whose Committee on Territories has also reported the bill favorably, tends rather to deepen than to clarify the mystery.

There is no division in the Senate on the head of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. All hands are agreed to consolidate the two into one State. The division is on the Arizona-New Mexico proposition. One set of Senators, seemingly a minority, object to the proposition. They raise a number of objections. They claim that the area of two such territories lumped into one would be unwieldy; they claim that the pursuits of the two populations are too dissimilar to be harmonized by one body of legislation; they claim that the institutions and traditions of the two peoples are wholly different; they claim that the difference starts from the difference in race, the one being mainly Mexican and Greaser, the other, Arizona, being mainly white. Senator Tillman, a leader in the opposition, calls "the white man." The opposition back up their claims with a stack of resolutions and protests—from the Governor of Arizona, from the Arizona Bar Association, from the Arizona Baptist Convention and from a number of other officials and bodies—all protesting emphatically against the "disgrace" of joining Arizona to New Mexico, and against the "threatened disaster to Arizona." All express the preference of having Arizona remain a territory rather than having the territory raised to the dignity of State "with the mill-stone of New Mexico tied to its neck." It must be here stated that New Mexico is not behind Arizona in these protests. The New Mexican protesters also object to statehood if that means consolidation with Arizona. The opposition in the Senate entrenches itself behind this mass of protests.

Redoubtable as these entrenchments look at first sight, their value melts wholly away upon closer inspection, especially upon an inspection of the bill itself. The Senators who favor the bill make just one argument; that one argument should be quite enough to silence the opposition's guns. The argument is that the opposition talks as though Congress, in the exercise of its plenary

rights over the territories, decreed by the bill that Arizona and New Mexico be consolidated into one State. The bill does not so order. The bill only provides for the submission of the question to a vote of the respective population in the two territories. "Are you," as these Senators to the opposition, "Are you afraid of the voice of the people? "We have that voice!" answers the opposition holding up the bundles of protests from Governors, lawyers, Baptist Convention, sheriffs, and other dignitaries; "We have that voice here!" "Not so!" retort the Senators in favor of the bill; and Senator Beveridge of Indiana is carried so headlong in his assault upon the opposition that he brushes away their answer with a reply that is amazing, considering the source from which it comes and the place in which it is made. Beveridge's reply is: "FOR FIFTY YEARS WE HAVE HEARD WHAT POLITICIANS SAID THE PEOPLE WANTED, BUT NEVER HAVE WE HEARD THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES SAY WHAT THEY WANTED." The Congressional Record, page 518, on which this passage is officially entered under the head of the Senate debate of the 6th instant has no marginal or bracketed description of the tableau produced in the Senate in that Sanhedrin of capitalist politicians, by Beveridge's sledge-hammer truth upon the heads of the opposition Senators, and his boomerang-truth upon the heads of his own side of the house his own head among the rest.

So complicated are capitalist interests that it is often next to impossible, without an X-ray look into Senatorial pockets, to understand exactly the particular source of the "justice" for which each contestant is in the other's hair. Whether the cats will come out of the bag, before the debate on the Statehood bill is over, remains to be seen. That however, vital pocket interests are at stake may be gathered from the heat developed in the debate, a heat intense enough to so completely throw a Beveridge off his guard as to cause him to give away to a truth so damaging to the methods of the class that the Senate collectively represents—"FOR FIFTY YEARS WE HAVE HEARD WHAT POLITICIANS SAID THE PEOPLE WANTED, BUT NEVER HAVE WE HEARD THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES SAY WHAT THEY WANTED." The day is drawing near when Senator Beveridge will wish his tongue had been torn out of his head and burned before it uttered that truth—one of the notes in the symphony that is going up from the camp of the Working Class, the people of the land.

OF INTEREST TO DALLAS, TEX. Bill B. Cook, 144 Nusbaumer street, Dallas, Tex., requests the Weekly People to inform its readers in that city that he is endeavoring to organize a Section there. Get in touch with him.

SECTION OFFICERS. At a meeting of Section Seattle, held December 28, 1904, the following members were elected to serve as officers for 1905: A. Brearcliff, Organizer; Steve Brearcliff, Financial Secretary; F. J. Meyers, Recording Secretary; E. Krause, Literary Agent; A. G. Delly, F. Crossman and Paul Wagner, Grievance Committee. Address of any of above is Box 1040.

Section New Haven has elected the following officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, Joseph Marek; recording secretary, J. P. Johnson; financial secretary, Chris. Schmidt; treasurer, Meyer Stodel; literary agent, S. Stodel; Agent for the People, Chris. Schmidt; for Arbeiter Zeitung, E. T. Oatley; auditing committee, C. Warner, A. Fischer and C. G. Sundberg; grievance committee, T. Sullivan, E. T. Oatley, Meyer Stodel, C. G. Sundberg and J. Marek.

OFFICERS SECTION TACOMA, WASH. Organizer, J. C. Anderson; Recording Secretary, Wm. Carnegie; Financial Secretary, E. H. Carlson; Treasurer, G. Rush; Literary Agent, T. Hutton; Press Agent, T. G. Sadler; Agent (Arbeiter Zeitung) Chas. Martin; Grievance Committee, G. Rush, George Oakley, C. M. Carlson; Auditing Committee, Chas. Martin, C. M. Carlson, J. C. Anderson.

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.

FIFTH EPISODE—Continued

FIFTH EPISODE—Continued.

PROFESSIONS OF HORROR AND NOTES OF EXULTATION.

The spokesmen of the mine-owners professed to be horrified at the explosion, and it is possible that they felt for the unfortunate victims, but if one fact be apparent more than another it is that, notwithstanding the expressions of horror and of pity, the dominant note was one of exultation. Bismarck, turning against the Socialists of Germany the weapons placed in his hands by a pair of crazy Anarchists, was of like mind. The opportunity long desired was at hand. The non-union men, inflamed by a judicious use of whiskey and tales of how they were to be the next victims, rushed to Victor, and, with arms supplied by their masters, aided them in overturning the established government of the county and in placing men of their own selection in office. We may remain forever in doubt as to the perpetrators of the Independence outrage, but I do not hesitate in placing the responsibility for the deaths of the men killed in the riots upon the shoulders of those who got up the meeting in Victor as a part of their criminal program.

Had the gathering been arranged for in good faith it would still have been an act of criminal insanity. But the evidence compels us to reject this charitable construction. As to who fired the first shot we cannot say, but we do know the men responsible for the meeting and we are acquainted with their object.

THE WRECKING OF THE UNION STORES.

The next thing that demands our attention is the wrecking of the union stores. As has been stated, the union stores had been eminently successful, so much so as to form in themselves a cause of complaint among the parasites who live on the backs of the workers, and who fight the battles of the capitalists. In Victor the union store occupied one room on the ground floor of the Miners' Union building. The other was occupied by the firm of Simonton and Moore. Prior to the denial of credit to the miners, this concern had done a great business, running as high as eight delivery wagons, from which the volume of the trade may be estimated. As might be expected, Simonton and Moore were among the first to feel the effects of the union competition, and, by the time of the usurpation of the mine-owners, business was at a standstill, one of the proprietors being forced to drive the single delivery wagon in use.

Moore, of Simonton and Moore, is Captain Moore of the National Guard, and when the mine-owners seized the reins in Teller county, he was placed in command of the local companies. His first move was to take revenge on the organization that had taken his business when he elected to stand with the operators, and he headed the mob that wrecked at least one of the union stores. I presume there were others of his kidney among the rioters, but his case is the more glaring because of his official position. The characters of the enforcers of law and the preservers of order may be estimated from the fact that some of the "best people" stocked their larders with the plunder, and others befouled in a most shocking manner many of the things that could not otherwise be destroyed or carried away.

"DEPORTATION A PEACE MEASURE."—BELL.

Next comes up for treatment the deportation of the union miners and sympathizers. General Bell, Governor Peabody, and many others have endeavored to square themselves with the country on this score by claiming that they were only exercising a power that is used by the police of every city in the country every day in the year. The miners were, in the picturesque words of Bell, driven away from their homes because he "believed it to be the most effective method of ridding Teller County and the State of Colorado of an organized gang of assassins, dynamiters, anarchists and law-breakers." "More than that," said Bell, "I sent them out of the district for their own safety. Martial law and the presence of the military is all that has prevented these men from being lynched by the indignant citizens of Teller and El Paso counties. My men have even taken ropes from their necks and saved them."

"The deportation was the quickest way of restoring peace. I don't want these men in Colorado. They are the leaders and participants in the insurrection now existing in the Cripple Creek district and it is my business to break it up. That is exactly what I propose to do."

"What steps I have taken as military commander concerns nobody but myself and my commander-in-chief, the Governor of this State."

That is a fair statement of the head of the military, and in this he is backed up by the administration. Bell's avowal as to his position was the result of a telegram from a New York paper enquiring as to the law that had guided him in his denial of the right of free, open, and speedy trial of the men whom he had designated as criminals, and in the abrogation of their liberty, while they were unconvicted of, and even uncharged with, any crime.

BELL'S "PEACE" MEASURE ANALYZED.

We will treat this question as we have the preceding ones, and inquire as to the evidence. In the first place, the miners of the

Cripple Creek district are unexcelled as workman, and that takes them out of the category of professional criminals. Secondly, the mine-owners have done, and are doing, everything that lies in their power to induce these criminals to return to work, so much the more as they see their profits disappearing before the onslaughts of the imported saints.

When the miners were first rounded up into the bull-pen it speedily became evident that it was hopeless to expect to convict the greater part of them. Something had to be done to destroy the union, and deportation was decided upon. The evidence of Judge H. McGarry, president of the Military Commission, which examined the prisoners, settles the question as to the reasons for deportation, and, incidentally, shows up General Bell and Governor Peabody as a pair of poor, though malicious, liars.

"No," said the Judge, "we are not deporting any criminals or anyone that might make a good witness. The only difference between those deported and those remaining is that the former are on the wrong side of the Federation question. Otherwise they are just as good men, in many instances, as those who have not been molested and are permitted to remain in their homes here. Their sympathies, which they refuse to renounce, are all that we have against such men as Marshal Brothers and Joe Hamilton, of Goldfield. However, the citizens of Goldfield are not overlooking any such persons but are faithfully reporting them to the committee."

Where are the assassins, dynamiters, anarchists and law-breakers of Bell and Peabody?

THE SIMPLE AND ELOQUENT FACTS ABOUT THE ENFORCED RESIGNATION.

The enforced resignations of the officials of Teller County who refused to do the bidding of the Mine-Owners' Association need little or no comment. The simple facts are sufficiently eloquent. I may say, though, that quite recently C. C. Hamlin, secretary of the Mine-Owners' Association, boasted to no less a person than Judge Lewis that he was one of the men who held the rope when Sheriff Robertson was told that he would be hanged in case of refusal to resign. As to the charges of being incapable or declining to enforce the law, brought against the regularly elected officials of Teller County by the mine-owners, all that needs to be said is that the men appointed to office when the former occupants were forced out, consented to do the bidding of their masters without question. Their predecessors did not; hence the charges brought against them.

One more point, and we shall drop this phase. Former U. S. Senator John M. Thurston, commenting upon the extraordinary proceedings of the military under General Bell, said that those who directed the troops had evidently acted upon their own responsibility or without having been properly advised. "Every man in the United States," says the Senator, "has a constitutional right to his life and his liberty until they are taken away from him by due process of law." With a due sense of what it means to oppose so learned a man, I must say that he is mistaken, and has confused theory with fact; that he has taken what is written in the statutes as being the law by which we are governed, when, in truth, our Government, is in the hands of the men who are dominant economically, and whose will is law—the real law.

And again, the Senator has overlooked the previous verdict handed down by the Supreme Court of Colorado on that fateful day, June 6th, which declares that the Governor is supreme in the State, and that he is not to be bound by the observance of what are generally considered to be the essential and fundamental features of government in America.

INDICTMENT OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION.

After taking evidence for a week, with the public and representatives of the press excluded for the greater part of the time from its sittings, the Coroner's Jury empanelled to inquire into the deaths of Roxie McGee and John Davies, killed in the riots of the 6th, brought in a verdict naming Albert Bilot and William Boyle as being directly responsible for the deaths of the men, and it was also declared that the riot was the result of a conspiracy on the part of the Western Federation of Miners. As a consequence of this verdict, 48 indictments were brought against the president, secretary, members of the executive board, the editor of the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners and every man who had taken an active part in the work of the union. A number of the men thus charged with murder were already under arrest, and preparations were made to secure the others.

After being a prisoner ten days, President Moyer was admitted to bail in the sum of \$10,000. Officers from Teller County came to Denver to apprehend the other officials of the union, but these were prepared for their visitors and gave bond. In a number of cases bail was refused: the Sheriff of Teller County proposing to hold the men until brought to trial.

THE STATUS OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION.

Although deportations by the wholesale were at an end, the Military Commission was still engaged in giving certain prescribed individuals to understand that they must leave the district, and, as the military and a choice band of detectives and deputies were there to enforce the orders of the Commission, the victims generally heeded the warning.

There may be some doubt in the mind of the reader as to the origin and status of this Military Commission, and it may be well to devote a few lines to an explanation of what it really was, and how it came into being. The determination on the part of the Mine-Owners' Association to exterminate the Western Federation of Miners did not have its birth on June 6th. The events of that day merely furnished the excuse and the opportunity desired. Accordingly, when Teller County was placed once more under martial law, the Military Commission was brought into being to direct operations for the establishment of desirable conditions in Teller County, from the mine-owners' point of view.

NOMINALLY A MILITARY, BUT REALLY A MINE OWNERS' AGENT.

Nominally, it was the agent of the military; really, the commission represented the Mine-Owners' Association and the soldiers were there to do its bidding. Had Bell declined to do as McGarry and his colleagues directed him, he would have retained command of the troops just as long as it took to get a message to Denver, and no longer. Of course, the commission kept in the background, and allowed Bell to do the talking, from which

the poor fool came to believe that he had the destinies of the district in his hands. The point must be made perfectly clear: This self-constituted body, without the slightest warrant in law, ran the Cripple Creek district to suit itself, and had, because they were purchased by the mine-owners, the forces of the State back of it to enforce its dicta.

"THWARTING THE MOB."

Now that the Mine-Owners' Association had the upper hand, it was confidently predicted that peace and prosperity would reign in Teller County. The Western Federation of Miners was no longer a factor to be considered, and those in authority cannot evade the responsibility for subsequent happenings. A number of former residents of the district decided to return home. The wife of one of them, Chas. Tully, had been but lately confined and was in a precarious condition. Tully, naturally, wished to be at home, and, that he might return in safety, took the precaution to provide himself with a permit from General Bell. Two other men, James Fraser and D. C. O'Neill, were also provided with passes from the military commander. This provision was not of the slightest assistance to them. The presence of the men being distasteful, a mob was organized to give them an illustration of what it meant to return in the face of an order to stay away. A deputy sheriff took the men into custody with the avowed object of thwarting the mob, which he knew to be gathering. The victims, however, claim that this was part of the plot. At any rate, the men named, with two others, Fred Warburton and W. H. Heeney, were seized, and after being robbed, were beaten frightfully; to such an extent, indeed, that one was driven almost insane. The preservers of law and order drove their victims over the hills toward the river, beating them all the way. From one man, Warburton, money and valuables to the extent of \$211 were taken. The others, too, were robbed of everything they possessed, with the exception of Tully, whose frail physique saved him from the punishment meted out to the others, and who, not being searched, had two dollars, with which food was purchased while on the way to Canon City.

The deputy sheriff reported the case to Captain Moore and a squad of cavalry was sent out in the opposite direction to capture the mob and rescue the prisoners. The attitude of the military may be estimated from a remark of Captain Moore: "It will be a sorry day for the next one that comes back." There is not a little evidence in support of the charge that the soldiers themselves took a leading part in this outrage.

As might be expected, the work of the mob was not investigated by the authorities. The reason for this will appear later.

THE MILITARY INQUISITION IN OPERATION.

The next victim selected by the star chamber was Frank P. Mannix, Clerk and Recorder of Teller county. Late at night on July 8th, he was waited upon by a committee which informed him that his presence was desired at the mine-owners headquarters. He accompanied the members of the committee to that place and was then interrogated by a committee of twenty, of whom the principal inquisitors were former-Mayor Franklin, Sheriff Edward Bell, and Frank A. Words, of the Gold Coin mine. Mr. Mannix was charged with being too favorable to the cause of the miners' union, and his resignation was demanded. It was hinted by the committee that it would be well for him to resign, as otherwise charges of a criminal nature would be filed against him; William Carruthers, a former deputy under Mr. Mannix, having sworn that the county clerk had been corrupt in the administration of his office.

Mr. Mannix defied the committee and declined to give up his office, returning to his home after a four-hour session guarded by a military escort under the personal command of General Bell and Captain Moore. Following this an effort was made to have the county commissioners remove the objectionable man, but the lawyers consulted declared such a thing to be impossible. It being apparent that his enemies would endeavor to drive him into resigning by making life unbearable, Mr. Mannix left Teller county for his ranch in Montrose, leaving the office in charge of a deputy.

FLOODS OF LIGHT ON MILITARY METHODS.

The case of W. G. Bradley throws a flood of light upon the methods in use by the vigilance committee in Teller county. This man was arrested by the notorious ex-convict Frank Vannick, and was taken to the office of the sheriff. From that place he was taken before the committee and "sweated" for hours, the unfortunate man being loaded with all kinds of abuse. Then he was deported, with the intimation that he would be killed in case of returning.

A new move was introduced into the game by a gang of men who entered a saloon and, after robbing the place, seized five men found there and robbed them, finishing the job by running the plundered individuals out of town.

It is impossible to follow the long list of deportations, assaults, robberies, and other outrages committed under the regime of the military commission. Enough has been said, I trust, to establish the fact that the mine-owners did not hesitate to resort to any means to bring about the end desired. At the door of these men must be laid the responsibility for the negation of civilization that grew out of the setting of their hirelings at the throats of the men marked for slaughter.

CASE OF PORTLAND MINE OWNERS' ASSOCIATION CARD MEN.

When General Bell seized the Portland mine on June 9, it was agreed that part of the mechanical force should remain at work, it being the understanding on the part of those who shut the mine down that all employes should eventually take out the card issued by the Mine-Owners' Association. Certain of the men employed by Mr. Burns declined to give themselves body and soul into the keeping of that organization, and, as a consequence, the existence of these recalcitrants was made so miserable that they decided to quit the Portland, and, in fact, had given notice of their intentions. General Bell promptly scented a conspiracy in the action of these men. A raid was made on the Portland and forty-two men were gathered in. Of these twenty-six could show cards issued by the Mine-Owners' Association, and were turned loose. Fourteen could not do so, and, as they declined to take them out, the sentence of deportation was passed upon them.

Some of the victimized men issued a statement, which I quote in part, as it shows that, in addition to the tyranny of compelling a man to enroll himself on the books of the Mine-Owners' Asso-

ciation, those in control of the district were so bent upon gaining complete power that they were willing to place the lives of hundreds of men in the hands of green and inexperienced men

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE PERMITTED MINERS.

"When the mine was ordered started by the board of directors after the shut down by the military, the condition of affairs was deplorable, indeed. The powers in control issued an order that no person would be allowed to return to work unless he first take out a permit from the Mine-Owners' Association. It was very necessary to have skilled men in my department, and it was considered particularly dangerous to make radical changes in our hoisting engineers. The mine manager assured me that the men in my department would be an exception to the rule, and asked me to inform them that all that would be required in their case was a withdrawal from the federation by such as belonged. These instructions were carried out to the letter. And in spite of the intolerable conditions, as a result of the shot gun regime, many of the men, like myself, remained loyal to the company, relying implicitly on the promise given by our manager.

"All this was done in spite of the fact that it was current talk that some members of the Mine-Owners' Association had said they 'would let the old men work on the Portland until such a time as they had broken in a lot of new men, when they would be caught some night coming off shift and hanged.' The hoisting engineers knew full well that in case of any unavoidable accident to the machinery whereby any one might be injured or killed the ever-ready mob of the Mine-Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance in Victor would surge up the slope of Battle Mountain with rope, gun and torch, ready to do violence to the unfortunate who might perchance be at the levers at that time. Under such circumstances even the Mine-Owners' card would have been no protection, for had not deportation and beating been the lot of many who had surrendered their independence and taken out these cards? It was frankly admitted by the military authorities and by the military commission that there was not enough troops to afford protection under such circumstances.

"Such conditions prevailed until July 20, when the self-same manager (Mr. Kurie) who had given the promise mentioned above, informed me that the military commission demanded that every one in my department take out a card, under penalty of losing his job. I was then ordered to break in a set of new men, which was refused by my expressing a willingness to resign rather than trust the lives of hundreds of men to a green man at the levers.

"On the night of this same day I was summoned before the military commissoin and 'sweated' from 11 to 1 o'clock. While this was going on an armed force went to the mines to make arrests and many were landed in the bull-pen.

"I wish to emphasize the fact that I am not a member of the Western Federation of Miners, and if any conspiracy existed on their part I am entirely ignorant of it. The conspiracy seems to be on the other side, when the mine manager conspired with the Mine-Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance to keep us at our posts by false representations, and when we finally refused to surrender our manhood, was willing to have us thrown in the bull-pen. The 'boys' considered that they had done enough in surrendering their affiliations with the union, without submitting to the extent of being coerced into joining a union of non-union men.

"There was no strike whatever. I was the first person to quit, and did so without urging or even asking any one else to do so. The fact of the matter is that they were nearly all driven off or taken into custody before they had a chance to quit.

"C. W. Brand,

"Master Mechanic at Portland Mine.

"The undersigned have read the foregoing statements and know them to be true:

"A. C. Johnston,

"General Master Mechanic, Portland G. M. Company.

"C. O'Rourke,

"J. R. Williams,

"Wm. McKenzie,

"Hoisting Engineers.

"R. E. King,

"Chief Electrician.

"Wm. Trevarthan,

"Fireman."

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

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The Class Struggle

(By Mrs. Olive M. Johnson.)

(Concluded from last week.)

The modern class struggle has developed along with capitalism itself. At first it was exclusively an economic question, i. e., the workers attempted to artificially influence the laws of capitalism and raise their wages and improve their conditions or at least to uphold their standard of living when the capitalist tendency was to force it downward. The results of the class struggle as fought by the purely economic unions, every one ought to know. At first, particularly in favored countries like Great Britain, many concessions were gained from the capitalists, and even to-day, under specially favorable circumstances, in especially favored crafts, the workers can, apparently, at least, better or uphold conditions...

These results are nothing more than a mirage. On the economic field the capitalists have all the advantages—the workers cannot employ themselves but must find a boss; the average wage worker is one month from the poorhouse when his income stops; the capitalists, in most cases, can live for years on their accumulated surplus; should a capitalist fall however, no advantage would result to the working class because his capital is then simply swallowed up by some other capitalist, a more successful labor skinner; a large army of unemployed is in competition with those workers who are fortunate enough to have a job and of the misery of these the capitalists take advantage; the capitalists have access to all the agencies of communication, the press, the postal service, the telegraph, etc., and the railroads can give quick transportation to the unemployed from distant regions into the seat of trouble; the crises are seen to occur and re-occur as regular social phenomena and, as the unions keep their members profoundly ignorant on the social question, the average workers know nothing whatsoever about the causes of crises; hence, seeing only the misery of their class, at such times they become timid and submissive and are glad to be "thankful to have a job"; furthermore, if the workers become too bold in their demands for better conditions the capitalists bring the apparatus of government to bear upon them and in every recent strike of any note the police force, the militia and regular army have taken important parts in "settling the trouble"; note conditions in Colorado, for example.

The greatest fault, however, of the economic union, is not so much its inability to cope with the immense powers of capitalism as the false economic principle upon which it is built, (the former, of course, is to a great extent the outgrowth of the latter). Few, if indeed any, of the economic unions, recognize the class struggle, so they build upon the steadily false theory of "the brotherhood of capital and labor." Believing in the brotherhood of capital and labor the unions must concede the rights of the capitalists to the profits they take, must justify wage slavery, and accept the capitalist system as a finality. Their only plea resolves itself into the cry for a "fair wage"; but as neither economist, chemist, philanthropist, or any other "ist," accept the Socialist—and to him they are not ready to listen yet—has been able to demonstrate what a "fair day's wage" is, their whole system becomes weak and without foundation. They may start a strike assured that one thing is "a fair wage," when the capitalists,

through all the agencies at their command will "demonstrate" that they "already have run behind a long time and make no profit whatsoever," and in general that they are about the most unfairly used and abused of all suffering humanity, and that consequently "the fair day's wage" is unfair. The workers having no foundation for their stand, will often repent of their wickedness and allow themselves to be more mercifully exploited than ever. The union movement is thus lame and ineffective and partakes of no feature of the class struggle. Nor is this all. The union recognizing the brotherhood of capital and labor on the economic field there naturally can be no class antagonism between them on the political field. Hence the unions do not endorse and exclusively recognize a political party of the working class as the only thing a union man could and should support. A union man is "a free American citizen" and can vote as he pleases. Therefrom springs the fact that the capitalist class has found a very fruitful field of work for their politicians in these very unions. The labor leaders, or labor fakirs, as they have been styled by the Socialists, use their influence in the unions to sway the rank and file to vote for this, that or the other capitalist candidate, or party. As long as they can deliver the goods they will hold their jobs and no doubt it is the very cheapest way the capitalists can buy the workers' votes en masse, as owing to the fakirs' essentially corrupt nature they are "cheap goods" after all. The sale of the unions on the political field and, in general, the leadership of such utterly corrupt and incapable leaders makes the unions, no matter what is the spirit of the rank and file, corrupt and inefficient, makes them tools in the hands of the capitalist class, makes them, in fact, capitalist institutions. The working class through pure and simpleminded is being battered from pillar to post.

It is the S. L. P. alone that scientifically recognizes the class struggle and, consequently, is ready to deal with it in a logical manner. Socialist philosophy teaches that the only solution possible is no wage at all, but to the worker the full product of his toil; and, that no ruling class in history ever willingly renounced its position, but had to be compelled thereto by the class that suffers from its abuses; and, further, that the only solution of the question is that the means of production be taken out of the private hands of the capitalist class and made the collective property of the whole people. To accomplish this we know that we must engage in a deadly class struggle. Learning by the failure of the economic unions that on the economic field the workers are far too weak, the Socialist Labor Party recognizes that the class struggle must mainly be fought out on the political field. There the workers can meet the capitalists, as many to one. But while the forces are taking shape for the grand struggle, the Socialist Labor Party knows that the workers must not be degraded to a status of absolute mercy on the capitalists and their lackeys. The downward tendency must be resisted. This can alone be done by an economic union. But for the Socialist Labor Party to recognize the fakir-led unions of pure and simpleminded would be to essentially compromise with the enemy. Therefore the Socialist Labor Party can recognize only a union that is class-conscious, is based upon the class struggle, and politically recognizes the Socialist Labor Party as the only party of labor. Such a union is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. These two are the instruments of the class struggle, the weapons of the coming revolution. The End.

What Is Capital?

(By FERDINAND LASALLE.)

(Continued from last week.)

To take advantage of the need and necessities of a borrower who devoted his loan exclusively to purposes of consumption, and was not an atom the richer for it than he was before he incurred it, is in every ground shameful; and this, antiquity and the Church have both justly recognized. But loans for purposes of production are now overwhelmingly preponderant—loans which the borrower at once applies to productive purposes. Such a loan is contracted, however, by reason of embarrassment, not only out of that single and embarrassing: how to get and, quite naturally, this sort of arrangement the lender gladly makes the borrower! In other words, the productive loan is, economically speaking, a share in the profit business; and the contradiction

between the ancient and the bourgeois view of the loanmonger and usurer—both of them, observe, arrived at in consequence of the dominant economic character of loans peculiar to the respective periods—is thus cleared up by the consideration of the actual historical conditions. As, therefore, the opportunity for lending money for productive investment begins to extend more and more in one direction, actual prohibition is enforced in another; public opinion is increasingly hostile and struggles against its introduction in practice. The investment of wealth in foreign production (and by its investment in his own natural sphere of production the investor remains, always "master," never as yet "capitalist") therefore always forms a relatively insignificant part of the ancient investment of wealth. "Almost wholly in landed possession, a trifle out at interest." Such, even at so late a period as that of Pliny, is the

statement of the wealth of a Roman senator. Even of so proverbially wealthy a man as Crassus, Plutarch says, when he enumerates his various properties, silver mines, landed estates, agricultural slaves, etc., "all this is really nothing in comparison with the value of his domestic slaves, so many and so admirable were they, readers, writers, silver-testers, overseers, attendants, etc."

Almost all these slaves were means of enjoyment. The ancient economic system, which in its active shape is "lordship," not "capital," develops into such means of enjoyment, not into "capital." There were instruments of labor, means of enjoyment, values and riches in the ancient world, but still no "capital." Estimated by this dominant form of the entire system, there was still no "productivity of capital" when, for instance, Sophocles makes his slaves carry on a sword factory. In this case of manufacture with a view to trade the "natural" character of the economic system first disappears. But, on the other hand, the characteristic of actual personal mastery remains unchanged in this form of production; and, secondly, this manufacture is first carried on only in commerce, which, as already stated, is already sufficiently developed. These slaves now produce all the articles of consumption which their owners want in the form of swords, which are exchanged for those articles of direct consumption; but these swords fulfill their function as articles of use or enjoyment, or, in shape of money, act as the means of purchasing all articles of use or enjoyment, and thus represent only these latter. But the swords do not yet appear in the form of prolific capital in its own free and independent productiveness, in its power; that is, of piling up interest for its possessor.

No doubt the first step is already taken in this manufacture with direct reference to the value, in exchange of what is produced. But this first step itself finds a stumbling block in the way of its further progress in the shape of the entire social and economic environment of the ancient world. The wealth and gold of antiquity formed the capitalist embryo out of which capital itself was later developed. But the development of that wealth into the specific and individual form of capital had not as yet by any means taken place.

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with January 14, the following amounts were received for the above fund:

Table listing donors and amounts for the General Agitation Fund. Donors include John Plamondon, K. Georgewitch, Max Heyman, John Lidberg, 'Discipline', A. Teuroff, Frank A. Bohn, Frank H. Bohn, Eugene Fischer, D. Ezer, M. Weinberger, Miss C. Weinberger, Holger Schmalfluss, F. Metzger, and various individuals from New York and Brooklyn.

Total \$43.42. Previously acknowledged \$185.24. Grand total \$228.66.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

CHRISTMAS FUND—1904.

Table listing donors and amounts for the Christmas Fund—1904. Donors include M. Eisenberg, A. Stainberg, Miss A. Heyman, Max Heyman, E. E. Ronner, H. Bly, A. Schmidt, J. C. Custer, and others.

Bohn in Illinois

St. Louis, Jan. 13.—He who wishes to study American capitalism at its highest stage of development industrially, and in its rawest state socially, will find in Chicago by far the finest opportunity. Imagine a city as large in area as New York with street-car service like that of an overgrown village in a border State ten years ago; where black mud lies four to five inches deep on the pavement of important business streets and in well-built suburbs; where the cold, damp winds are always laden with smoke so thick that the workers die of consumption before rheumatism has a chance. The prevailing standard of social life in Chicago requires of the capitalist class neither false morality nor bogus conscience. So Mr. Capitalist does not give much in "charity" as does his New York or Boston cousin. Cripples, small children and aged workers, lie by hundreds in the frozen filth of the streets, pleading for a cent or a morsel of food. In the sense in which the term is used in Europe or in the Eastern States, the city cannot be said to have a municipal government. Public parks and libraries, those cheap means of making the working class think somebody cares for them during their one hour of leisure per day, are almost non-existent. The only outward sign of the fact of an organized municipal life one observes in Chicago, is the large number of policemen, bestial in appearance, who clog traffic in the streets. It is commonly known, in fact, the matter hardly causes comment, that they are the very worst thugs and robbers which the slums can provide. But this, of course, is of little interest to the workers, who, as elsewhere, have nothing to be stolen. Between the Chicago capitalist and the block there appears no impediment in the shape of a single redeeming feature. As vulgar and vile as he is ignorant and greedy, it never occurs to him to take the precautions elsewhere thought of to keep the workers in bondage. Perhaps to this, more than to peculiar conditions among the working class, is due the reputation of Chicago as "the most revolutionary city in the United States." If mere striking back in rage is a sign of the revolutionary spirit, this reputation is borne out by the facts.

Chicago is seething with discontent. But its working class has not yet developed a revolutionary nucleus which is both clear and powerful. The S. L. P. Section, though vigorous, is small. There also have been signs of spontaneous combustion on the part of the working class element in the large "Socialist" party local. But the crust of middle-class leadership, which, to secure votes, has hitherto been in a state of abject bondage to a coterie of the worst labor fakirs in the country, is too thick to be broken. The 1904 convention of the leaders, however, was a little too much for some, and about eighty working-class members crawled out from under the crust and organized the "Independent Socialist Club." Finding myself one day in front of their reading room and headquarters, I entered and made the acquaintance of such as were present. It was certainly a pleasure to note their clearness of thought in both Socialist economics and tactics. About twenty copies of the Weekly People are sold each week and a great deal of our literature is disposed of. One is led to question just why a group like this, teaching political action on the part of the working class, remains outside the S. L. P. For the S. L. P. stands for those very principles the lack of which caused their secession from the fraternity of the half-baked.

What Section Chicago, S. L. P., lacks in numbers it makes up in activity. During the last part of the campaign it held eight open-air meetings per week. If Section New York would hold as many in proportion to its number of members, Socialism would be preached to Gotham workers a hundred and fifty times every seven days. Chicago's method is worth careful consideration.

At the opening of the campaign they had but one speaker. This speaker drilled an assistant who served as chairman and spoke as long as the spirit gave him utterance. As soon as he was sure of himself for half an hour he was given an assistant and sent out to hold a meeting without speaker No. 1, who proceeded to drill another man. Thus three teams were developed. The large vote of the S. L. P. in Chicago was due to hard work. Next summer the same method will be pursued, and by September 1, Chicago will hold as many meetings as Greater New York. Our Chicago comrades think that one regular speaker is enough for any outdoor meeting.

From Chicago I proceeded to Moline and Rock Island, on the Mississippi. These "prosperous" towns are directly across the river from Davenport, Iowa. The three together have about 100,000 people. In Moline, farming machinery plants and in Rock Island the great United States Arsenal are the chief buyers in the slave mart. In the former place the effective work of Comrade Ahlberg had given us that foothold

which is the delight of the organizer. Working together we secured eighteen subscribers for The People and one for the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" during my stay. Six workers were induced to apply for membership-at-large. Electing at once a secretary and literary agent, our Moline comrades will prepare for the organization of a full-fledged Section next summer. At Davenport an interesting and strikingly suggestive situation presented itself. I knew nothing of the state of Socialist sentiment in the place beyond the fact that a half-dozen Weeklies regularly carried their message to Davenport workers. What was my surprise and pleasure to discover that the half-dozen were all young men, late members of the "Socialist" party, anxious to organize a Section of the S. L. P. None of our organizers or speakers had visited their town since 1899. Not one of the prospective members had ever come in contact with our organization. Unaided they had become revolutionary Socialists and were ready to enlist. We arranged for a meeting on the evening of December 26. As Comrade Ahlberg and I rode across the great river to the meeting place, a cold, drenching rain was falling and we vainly congratulated ourselves for performing our duty upon such an occasion, when no one else would be out. When we arrived at the meeting place the new comrades were found to have been more prompt than we. Soon there came another. Comrade Krenner, aged eighty-four years, who had walked a mile in the rain to be with us. He entertained us with stories of his personal relations with Marx and Engels in Germany, sixty years ago, and of the many perplexing crises which the movement has experienced since then. His application card went in with the others. Another visitor at our meeting was a Mr. Gibson, leader of the "Socialist" party in Rock Island. For all I know he is spreading the gospel of Socialism to the best of his knowledge and ability. Personally he is an exceptionally pleasant man to meet. At the moment of his arrival we were just at the point of asking and answering the questions on the application card. When we came to old No. 9, the following conversation took place:

Mr. Gibson—"You permit your members to join the pure and simple unions. Does not that make them as much responsible for their conduct, as though they were officers?"

Organizer—"You are a citizen of the capitalist State, Mr. Gibson. If you were not you could take no part in the political life of society. The situation is similar in the case of some workingmen and the bogus unions. They must belong to them to make a living. Does the fact of your citizenship render you as responsible for the oppression of the working class through capitalist government, as though you were an officer of that government? Is your question answered?"

Chorus of young S. L. P. comrades—"It ought to be."

Mr. Gibson—"But WE can answer all your questions satisfactorily. I see no reason at all for a difference or for a separate organization."

Organizer—"Then why, if no fault can be found with S. L. P. principles, was there ever a second party started. A single party is always sufficient to uphold a single set of principles. Perhaps you can give us a satisfactory reason for the existence of your party. We have never heard one."

Mr. Gibson (a few minutes later)—"I guess I'll go home. It is already late. I've remained long enough. I am sure I wish you success. You know where our meetings are held. We shall be glad to see you there."

Comrade Behrens—"Yes, yes, we shall come occasionally. I'll not even turn in my card, as I wish to keep it as a relic. Good night."

None know so well as those prominent in the "Socialist" party that they have an elephant on their hands—a big elephant, swollen and polluted from a loathsome disease—Opportunism. Now it has fallen across their path and refuses to die or move out of their way.

At Moline, I ran the guard line of the great Derré-Mansure Plov shops. This is a "closed" shop in two senses. Speaking to a small group I took three subscriptions for The People and advertised a meeting to be held on the floor of the shop Friday noon. On Friday I was again successful in getting in and spoke to fifty men on the subject, "Socialism and Unionism." Never have I received closer attention. They were a unit in agreeing with our policy. Several more subscribed for the paper and I sold nine books. One machinist said, "I have believed in that kind of unionism for ten years."

The field is dead ripe for the development of a class-conscious industrial union such as the S. T. & L. A. There is now no longer any acceptable excuse for the hibernation of S. L. P. workers during the winter months. In all large

cities there are some shops to which you can gain admittance and plant S. T. & L. A. seed. After visiting Kewanee my labors in Illinois were completed by a short talk on the occasion of Section Peoria's New Year's celebration. It was a fine event. A mixed chorus rendered revolutionary songs. The right arm of Section Peoria is the large Ladies' Socialist Auxiliary. The more material part of the entertainment, furnished by the Auxiliary, was of the kind which lays hold upon the memory of a wandering organizer. Even if the young people were more interested in the coming dance than in the teachings of Socialism, which I was supposed to make clear to them, their presence alone showed the fine future which Section Peoria has if its exceptional opportunity for agitation be not neglected.

My contribution to the discussion of "Bulgaria or Italy" remains unfinished. Because of sickness, I have been able to attend to only most pressing duties. With the publication of these articles in the special edition, the discussion, I

BOOK LIST

Table listing various books and pamphlets for sale, including titles like 'American Farmer', 'Behind the Scenes', 'Class Struggle', 'Capitalist Class', 'Communist Manifesto', 'Socialist Almanac', etc., with prices listed.

New York Labor News Co., 2-6 New Reade Street, New York.

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cities there are some shops to which you can gain admittance and plant S. T. & L. A. seed. After visiting Kewanee my labors in Illinois were completed by a short talk on the occasion of Section Peoria's New Year's celebration. It was a fine event. A mixed chorus rendered revolutionary songs. The right arm of Section Peoria is the large Ladies' Socialist Auxiliary. The more material part of the entertainment, furnished by the Auxiliary, was of the kind which lays hold upon the memory of a wandering organizer. Even if the young people were more interested in the coming dance than in the teachings of Socialism, which I was supposed to make clear to them, their presence alone showed the fine future which Section Peoria has if its exceptional opportunity for agitation be not neglected. My contribution to the discussion of "Bulgaria or Italy" remains unfinished. Because of sickness, I have been able to attend to only most pressing duties. With the publication of these articles in the special edition, the discussion, I presume, may be considered closed. What I meant to show in conclusion, briefly stated, was this: Millions of the working class are tired of fakirism, and are ready to be organized into a gigantic industrial union, class-conscious and revolutionary in nature. The membership of the S. L. P., by joining the S. T. & L. A. and pushing its work can be a great influence in the development of this phase of the movement. Should the present great opportunity be neglected, we as a political organization cannot develop the strength we need for our mission. That mission, for the present, is the uniting of the Socialist movement in America, not through compromise, but through a mighty propaganda of sound political and economic doctrine. By the time this report appears in the columns of The People, other and somewhat unlooked for developments will be under discussion. May every member of the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. give that thoughtful consideration to the new problem, which the welfare of our movement in the future demands of us in the present. FRANK BOHN.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Read Street, New York.

THE TOUR OF COMRADE FRANK A. BOHN.

On November 20 began the trans-continental tour of Comrade Frank A. Bohn. The comrade put in one week's sojourn in Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, from which he will go to Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, and then return East.

To make possible the uninterrupted success of this tour, the National Executive Committee, who have assumed full responsibility for the work, financially and otherwise, must be supported. We therefore call upon all members and friends of the Socialist Labor Party to contribute to a fund to sustain the work now undertaken, said fund to be known as the "General Agitation Fund" under which head all contributions will be publicly acknowledged.

UP AND AT IT!

Inspiring Address on the Encouraging S. L. P. Outlook in Pennsylvania. To the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania: Comrades:—The effect of the elections of November 8 last was unique in some respects. Ultracapitalism, triumphant to an extent far beyond its own expectations, began trembling in its boots, justly perceiving forebodings of future disaster to itself in its very triumph.

During last summer the S. L. P. of the nation and of our State, have given plenty of evidence that for it there is no such a thing as apathy at a time when there is a chance to educate and organize the working class. In Pennsylvania, elsewhere, did the S. L. P. remain true to its mission to work for the uplifting of our class to the full extent of its resources.

two sections and at the close of the campaign we had a cash balance on hand of over thirty dollars. And when we consider that the vote of the S. L. P. in the State, as officially recorded, is only slightly less than four years ago, notwithstanding the fact that conditions were particularly favorable this time to wholesale counting out of our vote by the petty election officers and giving it to the credit of Debs, notwithstanding again that we were entirely off the ballot last year (not through any fault of ours), and keeping in mind that only two short years ago we were completely "annihilated" and "buried forever," by the Kangleit uprising—considering all this, we have good cause to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the S. L. P. is as unshakable and as firmly established in Pennsylvania as it is in the nation.

In contrast thereto, the so-called Socialist Party cut a sorry figure during last campaign. Only two years ago its membership amounted to a few thousands in this State—at present it barely numbers as many hundreds. Its local organizations conducted practically no campaign at all; its official organ at the seat of its committee in Erie suspended in the very midst of the campaign; its German daily paper in Philadelphia was whirling away the time bemoaning the unfortunate circumstance of the alleged extraordinary apathy of the campaign; and despairingly urging that at least the Deutsche Genossen stand by the ship and furnish an audience for its vice-presidential candidate. There seemed to be no incentive for those "revolutionists" to work, since neither Mitchell nor the Republican machine were in need of their agitation.

The political lay of the land, as revealed by the election returns, is such, that it is evident that the opportunities for rapid and tangible success of our agitational work are immense and the days are numbered when the S. L. P. men will have to merely "hold his own" and "stand it alone," provided we can so shape our energies as to make the best use possible of these opportunities. With our extremely small numbers and still smaller financial resources, it is of utmost importance to adhere to a system in conducting our work. We cannot afford to waste, to throw bread on the waters and let those who are in need of it fish for it. We must increase our membership, we must extend the sphere of our influence with our class, we must strengthen that influence in fields we already hold and at all times must we do our utmost to strengthen and improve the national institutions of our Party—and all of it practically resolves itself into working for the circulation of our Party Press.

Comrades, we cannot hope to get safe and reliable and desirable material into our organization but from the ranks of the readers of our Party literature. And there is only one way to extend the sphere of our influence permanently—and that's again the permanent extension of the circulation of our Party Press. And there is one way of strengthening our influence in fields we already hold—and that is for the organization to keep in constant touch with the readers of our Party literature. Let us, then, comrades, so shape our activities as to give them entirely to that line of work. Let it be the fixed purpose of every Party organization and every member to either get readers of our literature or get names and addresses of those likely to lend us their ear and give us their attention. Whether we are speaking on the street corners or doing anything else for the Party the fixed and ultimate purpose in view should be the getting of names and addresses of those who are either favorably impressed by us or at least are not hostile to us. A street meeting held without an effort having been made to convince those favorably impressed of the necessity of giving their names and addresses so that the Party could keep in touch with them and supply them with literature and more arguments, such a meeting is largely a waste of energy even if it is successful enough to make voters, since the Party organization as such is not strengthened by a vote if the voter behind that vote is not known.

Keep tab on the propositions continually appearing in The People as to best means of spreading the Party Press; keep a full line of Party literature on hand not only for sale, but for temporary use by those unable to buy; keep a file of The People for reference purposes for the comrades and speakers; keep tab on all the local papers and preserve clippings exposing them as

enemies of the working class—they will serve as admirable antidotes against the poison our class is absorbing daily through the capitalist press—in short, do your utmost to make your organization a source of light, knowledge and inspiration for our class.

The State Executive Committee will take up work along lines similar to correspondence bureau of the N. Y. S. E. C.; it is also prepared to handle and attend promptly to the three months' trial subs of the Weekly People, that it is hoped you will soon start sending in.

From Scranton comes a suggestion that the membership in the State start collecting funds to enable us to send an organizer through the State as soon as weather permits the holding of open air meetings; no action is taken on this matter by the S. E. C. and it is referred directly to the membership.

It is hoped that this circular will be read carefully and every one and all of the suggestions found in it acted upon; it would be best for the Section to elect committees, they to submit specific recommendations for work along lines suggested above.

It is essential that the S. E. C. receive from the sections and members at large periodical reports of their activity—this for the purpose of keeping the comrades throughout the State informed of the work being done everywhere and thus stimulating activity where such is lax; such reports will, of course, be mentioned in detail in the published moments of the S. E. C.

And now, comrades—Up and at it! For the State Executive Committee, L. Katz, Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Meeting of January 8, in Section Boston headquarters. Engelhardt in chair. Roll call showed Burnham, Schugel, Deans, Murphy, Englehardt, Mortensen and Sweeney present. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Voted that the credentials of J. C. Dunnack of Section Boston, and N. T. Fugelstad of Section Cambridge, be accepted and the delegates seated. Voted that the proposal of Section Boston to amend State Constitution, article 3, Section 1, to read "The cost of due-stamps shall be twelve cents per month," having been endorsed by the necessary three Sections, be sent to referendum vote, which is to close February 10.

Comrade Michael T. Berry, delegate to the new N. E. C., rendered his report of the two days' sessions. Balance of bill for expenses due, ordered paid.

The election of standing committees for the current year resulted as follows: Agitation, Engelhardt, Schugel, and Sweeney; auditors, Burnham, Fugelstad and Mortensen; grievance, Murphy, Deans and Mortensen.

Voted that the matter of Section Lowell be referred to the Agitation Committee; Comrade Carroll to go and speak there Sunday, January 22.

Committee of three elected to take inventory of materials belonging to General Committee, before being transferred from Lynn to Boston.

Moved that tabulated vote on N. E. C. delegate, State secretary, and treasurer, be sent to The People for insertion, as follows:

Table with columns: Sections, Brennan, Green-Berry, N.E.C., N.E.C., N.E.C. Rows include Boston, Everett, Cambridge, Somerville, Woburn, Lynn, Lowell, Lawrence, Salem, Worcester, Springfield, Holyoke, Pittsfield, New Bedford, Jennings, Members-at-large, Dailey, Members-at-large, Totals.

Table with columns: Sections, Sweeney, Deans, Young, Secretary, Treasurer. Rows include Boston, Everett, Cambridge, Somerville, Woburn, Lynn, Totals.

Adjournment followed. John Sweeney, Secretary, 53 Temple Street, Boston.

SOCIALISM AND PATRIOTISM.

A lecture on the above subject will be delivered by James Connolly on Sunday, Jan. 22, at 3 p. m. at Turn Hall, 19th street near 5th avenue, Brooklyn. The comrades of the 7th and 12th A. D.'s are urged to do what they can to make this lecture a success. Bring friends and sleep-mates along.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Two hundred and nineteen subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, January 14. This is a slight increase over the average for the past few weeks and an increase no matter how small is always better than a decrease. But what S. L. P. man will say that we cannot double this figure if we all go to work and make up our minds to do it? Let our hustlers in every city who are now getting all of the subscriptions talk to and impress upon the minds of the majority of our members who never get a new reader, the necessity for them all to do a little. Many of them do not realize the importance of it. If it is explained to them how easy it is and how much good it will do, many of them can be induced to help along.

The 34th A. D., New York city sends in 37; Comrade Brown sends in eleven for Section Cleveland; Walter Goss of Belleville, Ill., who is always at it, sends in 8; R. O. Otton, Yale, B. C., a new worker, sends 7 yearlies; Comrades Widmayer of Brooklyn, 9; Ernst of St. Louis, 6; Wm. E. Kern, New Orleans, C. U. Starckenberg, Chicago, G. A. Jennings, East St. Louis, Ill., B. Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y., and the 20th A. D., Brooklyn, 5 each.

Comrade Israelstam, of Johannesburg, South Africa remits ten dollars to pay for ten copies of the Weekly People for one year.

Comrade R. Goodwin of San Francisco, orders fifty copies a week and states that he will soon need more. Subscriptions are coming in with increasing regularity from that city.

Section Butte, Mont., took 250 copies of the issue of Jan. 14.

Order a bundle for distribution to help you in obtaining readers. The rates for small bundles are as follows:

Table with columns: Copies, 3 months, 6 months, 1 year. Rows include 5 copies, 10 copies, 25 copies, 50 copies.

On the three-months subscription fund, \$8.05 was received; \$7.20 was used up, leaving a balance on hand of \$217.95.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

San Francisco ordered nearly 600 assorted pamphlets, including 200 "Burning Question", 100 "Behind the Scenes", and others well chosen for propaganda purposes. The balance of the orders were such as: San Pedro, Calif., \$3.75; Comrade Jorgensen, Benson, Neb., \$2; South Chicago \$3.75; Montrose, Colo., \$3.35 and Henning, Minn., \$3.40 worth of assorted literature. Dublin, Ireland, took 250 assorted pamphlets. Seattle, Wash., and Philadelphia, Pa., each a few.

Several individual orders for "Robert's Rules of Order" were received and filled; and Providence, R. I., ordered \$2.45 worth of German books.

We have on hand in addition to our late leaflets the following: 6,000 "Cuba, the Philippines and China".

7,000 "How the Landlords Manage to Live in Idleness and Luxury". 14,000 "The Modern Tragedy; Downfall of the Small Producer".

11,000 "Plain Statement of Facts". 11,000 "Union Wreckers".

We also have 5,000 of the Hungarian leaflet entitled "MI A KULONBSEG?" The Hungarian comrades ought to be able to make good use of these. Price \$1.50 per thousand, or 15 cents per hundred, plus express charges.

These English leaflets are all excellent for distribution. Beside that, we must get rid of some of our old stock to make room for the new. The Sections should realize the situation and order these leaflets out without delay.

A single thousand costs \$1.25; ten thousand or more at the rate of \$1 per thousand.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, ATTENTION.

Readers of The People and all those interested in the Socialist Labor Party are respectfully invited to attend a smoker at Fraternity Hall, 111 1-2 South High street (rear hall), on Monday evening, January 23. The object of this social gathering is to get in closer touch with The People readers and to call to attention those who would like to see the number of readers increased. While the circulation of The People in this city is fairly good, the merits of the paper and the wage slave conditions demand that it be increased. It is therefore urgent that readers and their friends attend this meeting and help in the work.

Organizer.

Watch the label on your paper. This will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LITHO. ARBITRATION.

(Continued from page 1.) ornaments, are counted upon to create conditions that will permit such a step in the future. No matter what may be the conventional indications, relations are very much strained in lithography. The litho. employes are undergoing a mental revolution that is sapping the vitality of capitalism. They are doing heaps of thinking and reading. Socialist Labor Party publications are circulating among them as they have never done before. THEY ARE BEGINNING TO REALIZE THAT THEY ARE FACE TO FACE WITH A CONFLICT OF INTERESTS.

IN WHICH THEY ARE THE DEFEATED, AND THEY ARE LOOKING FOR A WAY TO WIN. THE TRADE "AGREEMENT" IS ONE OF MANY ECONOMIC FACTORS THAT IS BRINGING HOME TO THEM THE TRUTH THAT THE INTERESTS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR ARE ANTAGONISTIC. IT IS AIDING TO DRIVE THEM INTO THE VERY THING THAT THE DELUDED BELIEVE THE TRADE "AGREEMENT" WILL DESTROY—SOCIALISM.

It is needless to say after the foregoing that the trade "agreement" works, in lithography, contrary to the claims made for it by the National Civic Federation. Were it possible to know the true status of affairs in the other instances cited by the National Civic Federation's department report, it is likely the same condition of affairs would also be revealed in them. Certain it is, that in the building and other trades, the trade "agreement" is held to be a weapon of coercion, whose use is opening the eyes and the minds of the employes to the conflicting interests of capital and labor. Thus the trade "agreement" is aiding in forcing the possible "disaster in the industrial world", i. e., their enforced abdication of the ownership of capital in favor of society, which the capitalist in control of the National Civic Federation so fondly hope to avert. Despite the National Civic Federation, the capitalist class is doomed—the advancement of its interests forces it to resort to measures that will cause its downfall. The class struggle cannot be lulled to sleep.

A Lithographer.

KANSAS GAS BELT.

(Continued from page 1.) belt. The middle class is desperate. They see in the leasing of these gas and oil lands their chance of becoming rich vanishing. They tried to stop the building of the pipe line. An injunction was soon issued by a friendly corporation judge, and then they appealed to the legislature to pass a law preventing the piping of natural gas out of the State. Still the laying of the pipes continued. Then a party of men disguised, blew up the pipe line with dynamite. A re-action set in and troops were about to be ordered out to protect the property of the pipe line company, when the pressure was turned on and there the matter rests.

Any law that prevents the pipe line company from sending gas out of the State would promptly be declared unconstitutional. The handwriting is on the wall. Cherryvale and the towns in the Kansas gas belt will become sleepy agricultural towns once more. More of the middle class will be in the ranks of the working class, and the southeastern part of Kansas, together with southwestern Missouri will be the greatest proletarian point between the Mississippi River and the Rockies.

Now there are signs of an approaching split on the trade union question in the Socialist party. The workmen of southwestern Missouri cannot be organized in a pure and simple union. They will listen to Socialism. They will support a Socialist speaker liberally, but they won't turn out to hear a pure and simple speech. These men must be reached by scientific literature as they will form the bulwarks of a genuine Socialist movement in the near future. Speed the day.

SECTION PROVIDENCE.

Section Providence, R. I. has elected the following officers for the ensuing six months: Organizer, James McQuigan; Recording Secretary, Henry O'Neil; Financial Secretary, John W. Leach; Treasurer, Adolph Gulbrandson; Grievance Committee, Ernest S. Bowers, Francis P. Carney, Bernard J. Murray. Auditing Committee, Ernest S. Bowers, Francis M. Riley, Thomas F. Herrick; Propaganda Committee, Pasqual Cuccaro, John W. Leach, Henry O'Neil; Literary Agent, Francis P. Carney.

GREATER BOSTON, TAKE NOTICE.

At a special meeting of Local 77, S. T. and L. A. at headquarters, Jan. 8, the following officers were elected: Organizer, Wm. H. Carroll; recording secretary, E. H. Burnham; financial secretary, Karl Gromos; treasurer, J. V. Schugel; sergeant at arms, Jos. Alcorn. Regular meetings, first Sunday of each month, at 7:30 p. m. A large attendance at meetings will be duly appreciated.

E. H. Burnham, Rec. Sec.

LETTER BOX.

S. B., PAWUCKET, R. I.—Leave that clergy alone for a while. They are only advertising us.

F. F., NORTH ADAMS, MASS.—The Middle Ages extend from the close of the fifth to the end of the fifteenth century.

L. P., LYNN, MASS.—It is not true that "at present, people who do not conform to the opinions of the majority can go into 'unused' land, not otherwise claimed (or buy land) and practice their methods of life safely." The Mormons, for instance, can not. Do you notice how inexact your premises usually are?

C. Z., PEEKSKILL, N. Y.—The item had been noticed. The man is not the only one who illustrates the pleasing point; nor is he likely to be the last. But the old event at that Section meeting was somewhat different. "The man in question had expressed himself traitorously about the Party. When the comrade rose to answer, he referred to the man as "that fellow." The fellow jumped up and demanded to be addressed as "comrade." The comrade refused to withdraw his words. While the fellow is now arrested for the violation of the child-labor law, all his cronies, who at the time were in constant petty intrigues against the party, are now candle-holders for the A. F. of E. labor betrayers in the "Volkszeitung" party. Father Time is a great adjuster.

J. C. M., FALKIRK, SCOT.—The book arrived O. K. The parallax is racy.

TO THE BULGARIA-ITALY DEBATORS.—Already it has been necessary to issue a supplement to the Weekly, lest the letters on the subject stack up too much. The recommendation is here made to cultivate brevity. In the nature of things such letters may not be "boiled down" or edited in this office. That every Party member, who so desires, must have space to enroll his view is obvious. But the suggestion is made that, in all instances where the correspondent thinks his views have been expressed by others, and he simply wishes to enroll, he adopt the Duluth method, as illustrated in the contribution from Duluth.

L. M.—E., NEW YORK.—Advice is all that can be given by this office on the matter. The advice is to await for the ruling of the proper Party authority. If the ruling is that the post IS an office in a pure and simple union, to give up the office. Among the rank and file there seems to be different opinions as to whether such a post is an office.

W. G., CINCINNATI, O.—The report from Bohn on whatever it be that took place in Chicago is hourly expected at this office. Will be published soon as received. We shall then all know from him himself directly and exactly.

J. W. McF., KANSAS CITY, MO.; F. J., NEW YORK; J. B., NEW YORK; C. Z., PEEKSKILL, N. Y.; T., DALLAS, TEX.; J. H., LEONMINSTER, MASS.; M. H., DENVER, COLO.; H. A. N., CHICAGO, ILL.; A. M. O., PALMYRA, N. Y.; F. C., SEATTLE, WASH.; A. G. A., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH; H. J. K., RED LAKE FALLS, MINN.; F. C. AND I. F. B., JERSEY CITY, N. J.; G. W. T., TROY, N. Y.—Matter received.

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Section Toronto, Can., S. L. P. meet in Room 3, Richmond Hall, Richmond street W., every second and fourth Wednesdays. Workmen cordially invited.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307 1/2 Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2:30 P. M.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8:00 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business; others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

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