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AT STUTTGART

INTERESTING INCIDENTS AT OPENING OF CONGRESS.

Great Gathering Given Splendid Reception—Bebel's Speech—American Delegations Meet Together to Apportion Vote—Contest Between Pick and Heslewood—Hilquit Acknowledges Error While Volkszeitung Publishes Falsehood—Lively Fight in S. P. Delegation—Unity Prevails in Delegation of S. L. P.

Stuttgart, August 19.—The Stuttgart Congress is the largest yet held. At the same time it has been housed in the most beautiful building it has yet occupied, and, to the honor of the Stuttgart organization, which has had charge of the arrangements, this Congress is the most orderly, properly equipped and in every respect provided for. There can be no doubt that but the Congress is an imposing demonstration, and that such a demonstration can not fail to have its influence for good.

The Congress opened late on the forenoon of Sunday, the 18th. The ceremonies were imposing. This hall is called the Liederhalle, Hall of Songs, in English. It is acoustically constructed. Despite its vastness the voice reaches far. The opening ceremonies consisted of a male and female choral organization by the Socialist musical organizations of the city. The chorus filled the vast stage. It was a beautiful song. That was followed by a speech of welcome made by Bebel who spoke in the name of Germany, pointed to the fact that this was the first Congress held on German soil since a generation ago, and commented on the progress that implied. Other speeches were made by Vanderveide and others of the Bureau in the same sense. The Congress organized itself permanently and adjourned to Monday morning. The rest of Sunday was taken up with a monster mass meeting in the open where over 50,000 people were assembled, and at night with a magnificent concert at which the Stuttgart labor organizations were the musicians. This is the region of German music. The musicians approved themselves worthy of the reputation of their city.

Work began to-day. The several delegations met by nationalities in several rooms. So, likewise, the American delegations—Socialist Labor and Socialist party. What happened there should have been witnessed by the whole American movement. It was not one thing, it was several that happened.

First.—The report of the S. P. to the Congress, printed in advance, earned the spurs of the S. P. as a paladin—not a very heroic one, yet a paladin,—of the Civic Federationized A. F. of L. Hilquit, the writer and signer of the report, had repeated the regulation fabrications with which pure and simple political Socialism had these ten months been rubbing the sore spots inflicted upon it by the revolutionary movement last September in Chicago. At the Chicago I. W. W. convention the said pure and simple had been soundly whipped. Their conspiracy in behalf of Sherman having signally failed, they had been pronouncing the I. W. W. ("Trautman faction," as they termed it) dead, and had been claiming the whole organization for the dumped Sherman. This bit of fiction figured conspicuously in the S. P. report. Now, then, when the two delegations met to apportion the votes of each, the question arose over the vote that should be apportioned to the I. W. W., which had delegates present—the imaginary Sherman "wins" being represented by one Pick, the I. W. W. proper by Fred W. Heslewood. Despite the Hilquit report, the S. P. proposed to give each delegate 1 vote. This Heslewood and the S. L. P. delegates objected to. Heslewood spoke straight to the point. His facts were not denied. They were undeniable. He proved Pick represented Zero. Hilquit admitted he was wrong and STATED HE HAD WRITTEN A CORRECTION BOTH TO THE BUREAU AND TO A GERMAN PAPER. The up-shot was that Pick, who had crawled under the A. F. of L. wing of the S. P. was "quartered." He had expected the full I. W. W. vote. He got 1/4. Of

the 2 votes which the I. W. W. was to have, Heslewood received 1 1/2, while Pick, was consoling with just 1/4 a vote—a rather unheroic status. Nor was that all. On that same day I received a copy of the New York "Volkszeitung" sent to me by a New York comrade. That copy came marked—the Hilquit report. Thus while the Volkszeitung was publishing on August 8th the false report of Hilquit about the I. W. W., the S. P. falsehood was nulled in Stuttgart, and Sherman was given a fraction of a vote. The Volkszeitung was passed around by the S. L. P. Its contents and the triumphant facts contrasted significantly.

Second.—The "harmonious" S. P. made an exhibition of itself at that joint meeting of the S. L. P. and S. P. Several of its members scratched one another's face—so to speak. Boudin brought home to Hilquit that Hilquit's backward races resolution, to be introduced at this Congress, had been bureaucratically jammed through the S. P. Hilquit sought to technicalize Boudin off the floor. This exhibition was hardly over when Nicholas Klein, also S. P., took the floor and read some racy letters he had written to Benjamin Hanford and other S. P. luminaries on the score of their having voted against him for delegate to the Congress. And so it went on, for some time. In the meantime the 8 delegates of the allegedly "quarrelsome" S. L. P. sat there like a lot of angels who, with their peaceful, angelic faces, posture and demeanor put to shame the choir of angels that serve the archangel Gabriel as body-guard.

Great times are expected.

D. DE LEON.

I. W. W. TRAINMEN WIN.

Short and Sweet Struggle on Nevada R. R. Comes Their Way.

Goldfield, Nev., August 28.—The Nevada Workman, the new W. F. M. and I. W. W. paper published here, says: The strike that took place on the Clark road on Wednesday, August 7th, has been won by reason of the fact that the men went about it in the right manner and with the proper spirit, the victory went to them in short order. The strike involved all the train crews of the railroad brotherhoods between Beatty and Las Vegas, and the yardmen and operators belonging to the Industrial Workers of the World local at Beatty.

CONCEDING GRACEFULLY.

Cobalt Mine-Owners Giving Work by Contract System Stipulating Union Conditions.

Cobalt, August 26.—The mine-owners are gracefully admitting defeat. Several properties are giving their work by contract which stipulates that work shall be done under union hours and conditions. This gives the union a decided advantage in getting their men to work, and gives the mine-owners an opening to get out by saying that they did not give in to the "Western Federation of Murderers."

This action of letting work by contract will put the majority of our members to work, and will thoroughly establish the fact that the industrial organization is the weapon with which the workers can fight the employers. This has raised the hopes of the wage-workers, who have time and again been defeated by the craft unions of the A. F. of L.

The recognition of any card of any organization, which is the rule adopted by this local, has been the means of proving that the working class spirit prevails in an industrial organization.

Cobalt, August 27.—The strike breakers are now about ready to strike. Union men are working nine hours and on union schedule at one camp, and within a quarter of a mile of this camp mine managers are working their strike breakers ten hours at lower wages. The mine managers are finding it a hard job to enforce their schedule in the camp of strike breakers. The strike breakers are asking questions and threatening to strike if they do not get the same conditions enjoyed by their union brothers and we are calling upon them to join their fellow workers against their employers.

Cobalt, Ont., August 29.—In blasting on Nipissing property yesterday, the strike breakers loaded several holes so heavily that several chunks of ore were thrown across the lake, one piece hitting one of our members in the head and killing him instantly.

UNIONISM

No one should approach the question of unionism except with a consciousness of the importance of that question. Whether or not the workers organize is the most vital question that modern society faces, it is a matter the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. To make further progress of the human race possible, the workers must be organized economically. The method of wealth production that is now in operation is the basis of the existing social system, and every social institution in existence is, and cannot but be, adjusted to and based upon the industrial system now in vogue. These social institutions, the state, the church, the literature, social relationships, morals—the have all reached and passed the zenith of their day. There is no new unfoldment in any of them possible under capitalism. These institutions have all given forth the best they are capable of under the present industrial system, and they are now decadent, tainted with corruption and reaction. New growth and further social progress can only spring from a new industrial system.

Unless the working class organize as workers, no new industrial system is possible, for the present industrial system must still continue until the workers are organized for the exercise of industrial authority. Industrial tyranny cannot give way until this organized groundwork is prepared for the existence of industrial democracy.

The working class must be organized. After the question of organization, the question next in importance is how they shall organize, and with what purpose and intent they shall organize. Elsewhere in these columns is published a

EDITOR IN SPOKANE

Go down the street here to an employment office and you will find a sign of laborers wanted at \$2.25—that is the laborer's quotation.

"That's right," spoke up several from the crowd. One man stepped into the ring and took off his hat. "I came from Wilkesbarre, Pa., just arrived, lived there all my life, and I say that's right, young fellow," he said.

Great enthusiasm was aroused among the audience. Things will hum if Ettor's challenge to the secretary of the Central Labor council is accepted, a portion of which follows. The challenge will be formally extended this morning:

"To the Secretary of the Spokane Central Labor Council, American Federation of Labor:

"Dear Sir: This letter is forwarded to your body from representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"It is addressed to you for the purpose of ascertaining as to whether you will take part in a joint mass meeting of your organization and the I. W. W. for the purpose of discussing the question as to whether your organization or the I. W. W. represents the best interests of labor. Unionism is that which organizes all the workers of an industry in one compact union on the basis that 'an injury to one is an injury to all.' That is to say, that where now we find as many unions as there are petty trades and crafts, there should be only one union to each industry, all organized together in 13 industrial departments, under one general administration for all. In case of a grievance on the part of one set of workers of one industry, we insist that all members of that industry should be interested, and, if necessary, all the industrial department take a hand in the controversy. The American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, contends that the various crafts should be organized by themselves with complete craft autonomy. Thus we see the A. F. of L. composed of 120 different international unions, each with its own jurisdiction and autonomy. Because the United Brewery Workers would not agree to this program of folly they are expelled from the A. F. of L.

"The craft unionists of San Francisco were defeated in their last strike of May and June 1907, because of craft divisions. The street car men's union affiliated with the A. F. of L. struck for an eight-hour day and \$3 wage scale. The A. F. of L. engineers and firemen endorsed the strike, but kept on working in the power houses of the street railway company.

"I say the workingman is a slave," he declared at one of the open air meetings, "and we are in this fight to see that labor matters are not settled till the laborer has become a free man. When you look for work, you are simply looking for a master. They tell you you can quit if you do not like the conditions, but what do you do when you quit? Look up another master. In the morning paper you will see the market quotations of steel so much, for wool so much and so on.

"You ought to come down and hear me, and you would get some news. I am going to challenge the central labor council to debate the merits of the old line labor organizations as against the I. W. W. The unions not often will take up the question—they are afraid to. I challenged one union on the Coast and the officials said they would debate me after one of them returned from a trip and I waited two weeks, but they did not show up. I am going to make my challenge to the general bodies here, and not to any single union."

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UNIONISM

can monopolize the jobs of, as was done in the case of the bricklayers. The A. F. of L. has organized and monopolized some few trades and it can go no further. Its further progress is balked by the tide of surplus workers who are too numerous an army of job seekers to be crowded back farther by the monopolization of any more trades.

The A. F. of L., by its very structure and methods of organization is powerless to organize more than two and one half of the twenty-five millions of workers. Its methods have transformed \$2.50 ten hour laborers, bricklayers, who at one time recognized their common cause with the rest of the working class—the A. F. of L. has transformed them into an artificially aristocratic body which now helps to keep the working class down, and to teach them that the rest of the workers are a lower class, common laborers who should not aspire to rise. This A. F. of L. stands powerless to organize the working class. The portion of the working class which it has organized, it has converted into a bulwark for the defense of capitalism. And yet this A. F. of L. presumes to be "the labor movement of this country recognized all over the world."

Not only does the A. F. of L. not measure up to the demands of unionism, but it stands in the way of the development of the unionism that is demanded to make possible the further progress of the human race. Along with other forces relied upon by the capitalist class for the perpetuation of a divided, disorganized and impotent working class, the forces of the A. F. of L. must be overcome by the revolutionary movement.

Miss Flynn Returns to New York—Philadelphia Responds Well to Message of Industrial Unionism—Work Done for The People—S. P. Declares Sympathy with I. W. W. Program.

Miss Flynn called on Aug. 27 at the Daily People office, on returning from Philadelphia. When asked about her week of agitation here for the S. L. P., she expressed herself as well pleased with the results. Literature sales were good. A supply of Daily People which were on hand at the last two meetings were very eagerly bought by the audience.

Miss Flynn said that the co-operation Philadelphia had been splendid; and she expressed the opinion that the sleepy city had shown considerable evidences of wakefulness to the agitation carried on.

Philadelphia, August 25.—Our first meeting, with Miss Flynn as speaker, was held Tuesday night, and though there was a "religious" meeting on an adjoining corner and it was in a bourgeois neighborhood, we had a large crowd and an attentive hearing. The following night, in West Philadelphia, we had a very large meeting. It was the largest gathering of the kind ever held in that part of the city. Miss Flynn was in good form and made a fine presentation of Socialism, branching off into industrial unionism—frankly, I thought this a mistake, as the audience was composed largely of union men (A. F. of L.); but, as she explained the question I was surprised to see the audience break out into exclamations of approval, followed by round after round of applause. That night the press "caught on" to us and the next day the reporters were after us. The West Philadelphians bought many copies of The People, and several men came up and subscribed.

Thursday night, at Front and Dauphin streets, we had an immense audience in which were a number of reporters; they wrote up more or less (principally less) accurate accounts, and gave a great deal of space to their reports in the morning papers. The feature of all these meetings that impressed me most strongly was the respectful attention and earnestness of the audience. Working men crowded about the platform and stood for an hour to two hours, listening eagerly to every word. The exposition of industrial unionism was closely followed, and

when Miss Flynn presented The People, "owned by the working class, edited and run by the working class, for the working class," the impression was apparent to every one, especially so when she said, "Not a share of stock of this paper is for sale. You could not buy it for love or money. The only way you can become a shareholder is to join the Socialist Labor Party."

One Davis, of the Socialist Party, honored us by his presence on this occasion, and, of course, we felt duly impressed by such liberality, especially when we learned that he is the official organizer of Local Philadelphia, Socialist Party. Friday night, at Germantown and Lehigh avenues, Miss Flynn spoke to a large crowd, and, as you will have seen by the Philadelphia papers, the reporters were following us about to all of our meetings. Beside opportunity to misrepresent, they were, of course, looking for the sensation which is the life of the capitalist press. The meeting had been under way but a few minutes when the rain began to pour. Here the reporters got their coveted "sensation," for Miss Flynn put it up to the audience whether to close the meeting or not. The crowd stuck, and she talked while the rain poured over her, and every once in a while the swaying figure on the platform was lit by a flash of fitful lightning. "Doesn't she make a picture," said one old lady near me, who stood under an umbrella, listening throughout. Here, too, the earnestness of the audience impressed one.

I believe that Philadelphia will be a good field for industrial unionism, as soon as the I. W. W. is once started. Saturday night Miss Flynn spoke at Germantown. Unfortunately for the Socialist party, they had selected the same night and place for a meeting. The Socialist Labor Party had already started before the S. P. speaker was on the ground. Miss Flynn held her audience throughout. She was followed by Campbell, who explained the position of the Socialist Labor Party on the trade union question. This was called out this time by a young man across the street on the S. P. platform. Justice compels me to say that no reproach attaches to the rank and file of the Socialist Party who were present. Several members of that party came over and apologized for the mistake and declared themselves in sympathy with the I. W. W.

Soon both meetings were closed by a downpour of rain.

Miss Flynn addressed a gathering to-night (Sunday) at the north plaza of the City Hall. It was such a meeting as has seldom been seen in Philadelphia. There were fully a thousand people packed into a dense crowd who listened with close attention for two hours. Every point seemed to be appreciated, and the speech was continually punctuated by enthusiastic applause. The Socialist Party held a sort of overflow meeting a short distance away, but it did not in any way detract from our meeting. These meetings which have been held during Miss Flynn's presence here, have impressed the Philadelphians with a knowledge of the fact that there is something doing in Socialist propaganda. When Miss Flynn finished this final address there was long and enthusiastic applause, followed by a rush to shake her hands. The pressure was so great that her father and two other party members had difficulty in extricating her from her too enthusiastic friends.

The chairman at all of the meetings was Rehder, and he did his part well, making a very appropriate and short speech on each occasion.

When Miss Flynn was about to leave for New York, she expressed herself as quite well pleased with the audiences that have turned out to hear her here in Philadelphia. She will be back to speak here again on Labor Day. K.

The capitalist's heart follows his pocket-book. The same Californians who a few months ago were denouncing the Jap and the Chinaman now feel the need of labor to harvest their fruit crop. Accordingly, they are casting sheep's eyes at the Orientals, calling them "quiet, very industrious laborers," and agitating for a relaxation of the immigration laws so as to allow of "the admission of a very considerable number of Japanese workers, or preferably Chinese."

In bygone centuries comets were supposed to foretell all sorts of disasters to the ruling powers. Perhaps the Daniels comet is come to bring war and confusion to the Moyer-Pettibone persecution.

IN SCHENECTADY

VALUABLE EXPERIENCES SINCE BIG I. W. W. STRIKE.

Delegates to Third Annual Convention Tell of Tricks and Discrimination Invented by General Electric Company—2000 Men "Laid Off"—Folly of "Laying Low"—Doings of Pure and Simple Molders.

On their way to Chicago, Joseph Le Voy, delegate to the Third Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago on September 16, and B. T. Weber, both of Schenectady, stopped over a few days in New York.

"We have made some very valuable experience in Schenectady," said Weber, speaking of the Schenectady strike and later developments in the I. W. W. "Yes. We were tricked into the strike. We found that out afterward," he continued. "We had had matters up a few times already, with the General Electric, and they had given in. Then they fired the three men. On the Committee which had that matter under consideration was Noonan. We had already suspected Noonan, at least he had had a little too many conferences with the boss. We asked him why the boss came to him so often where he worked, and he made the excuse that the boss came over to sharpen his knife. On the committee, Noonan insisted upon a strike, and gibed some members who thought a strike wasn't wise, as having a 'yellow streak down their backs.' Now Noonan is assistant foreman, while all the straight men are being laid off right and left.

"We had fully 2,000 members in the I. W. W. at the time of the strike. Ever since we went back, the company has been thinning them out. The General Electric has, I dare say, laid off fully 2,000 men, not more.

"Then again, in my opinion the local made a mistake. After the strike it was pretty generally expected that the company would begin picking off the active men, and the question was brought up in the union as to what policy should be adopted. Several were in favor of 'laying low'—finally the policy was adopted of 'laying low' for the present, preparing for renewal of activity when we came upon a less dangerous time for agitation. Some thought, by the adoption of this policy, we would protect ourselves and later we would do great work. Now we see the result. Men have been laid off right and left, in spite of 'laying low.' It couldn't have been any worse if we had been as active as possible; and then again, had we adopted the policy of activity, we would have gotten the new men as fast as the company could bring them in.

"The company is put to some disadvantage, all right, by its campaign against us, but they have been transferring a lot of work to Pittsfield, Mass. They will transfer all the work back, just as soon as they get the working class in Schenectady where they want them. If they ever get them there. Then, when they get through wiping up unionism in Schenectady they will probably transfer Pittsfield work there, if they have any toning down to do among the workers of Pittsfield. General Electric is also building a new shop at Erie, Pa.

"G. E. Emmons, the General Manager is cunning, and he is resourceful.

"The Molders, A. F. of L., are being hit too. You saw the notice of the trouble they had—the Schenectady papers said they took two days' off for rest. The facts are they walked out for the reinstatement of 43 men. Most of those men were sympathizers of the I. W. W. Every man among them who shows any proper union spirit is laid off. Walker, their president is a slimy character. One night the I. W. W., when we were on strike, sent a committee to their meeting. The Committee sent in a note to the president, and Walker didn't present it. Pretty soon some members passing in and out asked what our committee was waiting for and learned about the note. They went back in to see why the note hadn't been read; and when it was demanded that that note be read, rather than read it, Walker and all his followers broke up the meeting and bolted. About 250 men however, stayed about and listened to the explanation.

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(Continued on P. VI.)

(Continued on P. VI.)

A. F. OF L. VS. I. W. W.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED BY HERMAN ROBINSON AND JOHN T. VAUGHAN BEFORE THE STEEL AND COPPER PLATE ENGRAVERS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

In contemplation of joining some general organization of labor, the Steel and Copper Plate Engravers of New York City concluded that, before determining what organization to affiliate with, they should hear a representative of the A. F. of L. and also a representative of the I. W. W. They therefore invited Herman Robinson, who is an officer of the Central Federated Union of New York and also a general organizer of the A. F. of L. to represent the American Federation; and invited John T. Vaughan, a member of the I. W. W., to represent the Industrial Workers.

A debate was at first contemplated, but Robinson being unwilling to enter into a debate, two separate open meetings were arranged for. The first was held on June 14, addressed by Robinson; and the second, on June 28, was addressed by Vaughan.

The following is taken from the stenographic report of the two addresses, as they appeared in full in the Daily People, including questions and answers following the lectures:

HERMAN ROBINSON'S SPEECH

Mr. Robinson spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and friends. It is rather a popular subject to discuss the question of the organized wage worker, and the benefits that are to be derived from organizations. Your Chairman has practically covered a portion of that, which cannot readily be answered. You will all agree when you sum it up that it requires no answer. We do not charge the employers with being unfair generally because they have a peculiar nature, the nature that is possessed by all employers, and that is that they want to get the most work for the least amount of money, and you want to get the most money for the least hours. That is the only difference between the two of you. The question which presents itself is how can you get that which you desire? Can you obtain it as an individual?

In our opinion, if a trade is in good condition and if you are getting good wages, good hours and have got no complaint, why organization is necessary to bring those good conditions about and to be in a position to prevent them from being worse. If the conditions are bad or organization is for the purpose of improvement. In any event organization is necessary. Many people do not desire to organize until their conditions are so bad that instead of organizing for their own benefit they are forced into an organization by their employers grinding them down to such an extent that there is nothing else left for them to do. Whether you organize to-day or a little later, the time will come when you will organize.

Speaking from the Federation point of view, our Chairman said that the subject matter, the question would be taken up by others representing another organization. I have no desire to enter into a controversy with an organization, with what we term an opponent organization. From what I know they are considered an organization that has organized for the purpose of organizing along industrial lines and desire to be more progressive. The American Federation of Labor is too conservative. We are charged on the one side with being too conservative and by the employers with being too radical—I do not know where we fit if that is the case. However, the American Federation of Labor from its inception has made greater progress than any other of its kind in the entire world and the history of the entire work cannot be disputed. A great many things may be said, but to prove them absolutely is another question. I am not of that kind who believes in building up the American Federation of Labor upon the ruins of others; and I do not propose to say anything against an organization because I am not here to try to defend or belittle that body irrespective of what their opinion might be or what their position might be when they address you. The American Federation of Labor is an organization to which is attached 121 national and international unions. They may be charged with having lost a great many strikes, and I am prepared to admit that the A. F. of L. cannot to-day nor for some time to come give a guarantee that every strike of a labor organization affiliated with it will be a clean cut victory. It is impossible to say that the American Federation of Labor is entirely perfect. No, it is not so, and my reason for saying so to you is because there is no such thing as entire perfection. There

is not a human being that is entirely perfect. A young lady some twenty years ago told me that she had just then reached the age where she had decided to enter into the matrimonial bond, that she was waiting to get a perfect young man, a perfect gentleman. I met her the other day and she is still waiting. I might say this, that if there are any young men here that are going to consider this matrimonial proposition with a view of waiting until they get a young lady also entirely perfect, you had better make application to a home for bachelors because you are not going to find her. The human life is not built without fault. We are endeavoring to bring out the best that is in us; and the institution of labor may have made mistakes, and its progress may have been impaired, circumstances were not always what we desired them to be; but if history speaks the truth we have had great labor improvements. History and the records of it are the best proof that can be produced.

In 1885 when I joined the labor movement, the bricklayer was then getting twenty-five cents an hour for ten hours work, or \$2.50 a day. The carpenter was working for twenty cents an hour and the painter likewise. There was no such thing as a nine or eight hour day. Does it appear to anybody here that the conditions that these men now enjoy in those trades have been secured all in one jump? If so, you are greatly mistaken. They have organized, they have taken that opportunity that presented itself and gradually worked their way up until they are now enjoying the conditions they are. They maintained their organization all of these years. Don't you forget it has taken the bricklayer, in order to reach his present stage, years and years, five cents at a time. The union bricklayer's price is from sixty-five to seventy cents an hour and work eight hours a day. The carpenters work eight hours. Every building trade organized under the trades union movement works eight hours per day with very few exceptions. That has been done through and under the trades union movement and not in a jiffy. If the plate printers or the engravers expect that they are going to organize to-night—I don't mean those of you that are organized—if there are men that believe that by joining the organization to-night they will get an increase in their envelope on Saturday, they are expecting too much and too soon. It might be well enough to picture a panacea for this organization, but that is going too far. The Federation will do for the organization what they will do for themselves.

What is the American Federation of Labor and who are the men that compose it? It is no: I nor the president, nor the executive council, but it is the entire membership. What is the plate engraver going to do for me? What he will do for himself and what all of you will do for yourselves combined. That is what organization will do. The Federation through its successes—and I say successes, has reached a point despite all of the opposition. We have had to compete with the Manufacturers' Association, Employers' Association, spies and everything else, yet in spite of all that, we have reached a stage where we can now boast of two million and a half membership. We are meeting with the opposition of employers. There are men who style themselves workmen who also condemn the Federation of Labor. The trouble is that some men do not know how the Federation is constructed and usually you find them assailing a few individuals because they happen to be the officials, and those of you who belong to other organizations know that officials are only the officers who carry out the instructions that the rank and file give them. It is ridiculous to try to throw mud or cast any reflection or impugn the honesty or motives of any man or set of men without being in a position to make good facts, mere say so does not count as circumstances may count differently. Mistakes have been made by organizations, and I have seen them make mistakes. Are we to stand up and say no matter what the labor organization does, we have been told to stand for what they do right or wrong? Yes, to that degree that it does not sacrifice the whole movement, but there are times when organizations make mistakes. Many independent organizations have made mistakes, and the most recent one, I am sorry to say, has been the longshoremen. A month ago we knew that we could do something to prevent the employers from reaching the ultimatum, but it is too late now. Last night they declared their strike off

cially. The Federation had no part in it. That is an instance where the Federation could have been of some service and their not accepting it resulted in their losing the strike. I say this with no degree of flattery or pleasure because they lost the strike. Independent or organized it is a reflection upon organized labor in general, because it is always held up by the employers as a victory over organized labor, and we are not here to permit employers to get victories at our expense. It is necessary to be organized. The closer you can get with the organized workers the better it is for all concerned.

It is not a question for the employer to say that he does not want you because you are an Italian, or a colored man. The employers do not make any discrimination at all. The fellow that can do the most work for the least amount of money—that is the fellow he wants, and workers should not view it in that light if it is an organized body of working men. Of course it is a trades union because we believe in trade autonomy. It may be all right to consider the question from an industrial standpoint. There are a number of trades that can never be organized industrially because it has been tried before. The Knights of Labor were organized along the industrial line and I have been in it. I served as a Master Workman of a local assembly in this city and during that time I have had some little experience, and I know what industrial organization means. When you enter into a contract with an employer you are in duty bound to live up to it. Unless you can demonstrate to your employer that you are going to fulfill your obligation there is no necessity for making it. This is the system under which you work, and we are not in a position at this time nor in the near future, no matter how much we dislike it, to wipe it out. I do not believe in condemning them. They have to live. I frankly admit that we are not in a position where we can reach that point of turning over this entire system. In Russia they believe in revolution. In the United States we believe in evolution. That is the way we desire to make progress—by leaps and bounds. I am very sorry for the leaps they are going to make. I have my suspicion of the fellow with a cure for all ills. I do not care to drift into the political question. If they can do it by casting their votes, let them go ahead and cast them. The result speaks for itself. If we are going to enter into a Socialistic argument along these lines perhaps I could give you some figures. From 1904 to 1906, within two years' time the Socialist vote decreased thirty per cent, throughout the United States. If that doesn't speak louder than words I don't know anything about it. Then they ask you to come right in line. If anybody has any doubts about my statement I will produce the goods. I make this an open statement. Does anybody challenge the correctness of the statement that the Socialists in two years decreased thirty per cent? I will forfeit and am willing to stand publicly as a fabricator. I will produce the records compiled by the best statisticians in this country—the Rand School of Socialism is the authority. They will give you the figures. You have got the name where it comes from. We do not advocate any kind of politics. Organize to get better conditions to-day, to-morrow and the day after and any time we can consistent with our position. That is the policy the American Federation of Labor proposes.

Let us say this for your information so that you might know that in no case have the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor the power to order a strike or to declare a strike off, and any man that will say that the officers of the A. F. of L. have called strikes or settled strikes tells you something that is not true. The only time that officers of the A. F. of L. are called in is when the executive officers of that particular trade or local organization ask for their advice and assistance, that is the time they step in and they do it with the consent of the organization that is involved in the controversy. That is best to be understood; some are making a statement to the contrary. Every organization has its own autonomy to transact its own business as it sees fit without any interference from President Gompers or anybody else. When the American Federation of Labor adopts a constitution of laws and puts it up to its officers they must stand behind it to enforce their own action. The revocation of the Brewers' working charter is the most recent case. The newspapers came out and made it appear to the human mind that President Gompers revoked the charter of the brewery workers. The convention held at Minneapolis decided to revoke the charter unless they complied with the decision adopted by that convention of delegates up to a certain time. The brewery workers failed to

comply with that decision and Mr. Gompers simply carried out the action of the convention. I believe I have explained the attitude of the Federation. It believes in all organizations of labor to be united. There is not room for two organizations. We cannot reconcile ourselves to two organizations. Because of a true statement I am sorry I have to make it. A little less than two years ago, perhaps, in the city of Chicago, this so-called Industrial Workers of the World was incorporated. Some time ago they had their second annual convention and at the end of their first year's work this so-called Industrial Workers of the World charged each other with being crooks and thieves. Now there are two of them, and which of the two is the honest one? I do not know because the courts are going to decide that. That is a matter of record. The Federation of Labor has been in existence for 27 years now, and while we have been called lots of things nobody yet has been able to prove them. I say it is the labor movement of this country recognized all over the world as the movement that has done more for the building up of the trades unions and the improvement of the general condition of the working people forcing recognition by the so-called educated men, professors of colleges, ministers, doctors of law. In every walk of life to-day the trades union movement is the recognized institution, and let me tell you that that was achieved with no little sacrifice. The A. F. of L. is responsible for all of the laws that are now established in the United States for the improvement of the condition of labor. The Child Labor law is established in many states through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor. The eight hour work day which is now on the books of many states is still being urged by the A. F. of L. in order to establish it a National law. Do you not think that that needs some sacrifice? Look at the present condition of the sailors, through the A. F. of L. The sailor some years ago would not dare to call his soul his own. If he embarked upon a steamer on the other side he was not allowed ashore here, he would have to return. It meant mutiny. He was taken away like a prisoner. The sailors have some freedom now. The maritime law has been changed, through its efforts. It has taken years and years to bring about the conditions we wanted. The more we get to line up with us the better.

Some people will say if that is what we are driving at it is a good purpose, but that is not it alone. We believe in getting moral support, the more we can get to assist us morally the better. When you go to buy a hat, buy a union made one and the same with shoes, clothing—union made. When you are going to buy, see that it is labeled and in doing that you are helping the other trades. In every one of these items a union man is figuring and you are helping right along the line. That is what we believe in and that is what the Federation is advocating for your protection. Unfortunately, there are times that we cannot do everything but we do the best we can. We are all fallible, consequently we are subject to make mistakes. If we could get everything we desired I should be sorry for the community, because I do not think you could hold some of us. We have got to be in a condition where we can review these things and do the very best we can under the circumstances. For that reason, my friends, it is immaterial. We want you to be organized in any event, and if you see your way clear you will become a part of the American Federation of Labor. In the first place the printers are all a part of it and that in itself should be an incentive to the engravers. If you are so closely allied together so as to make that an industrial form of organization I do not think that there will be any objections. Consequently, the printers and engravers are so close, so friendly, they do not object to work for the same employers, and you can come to the same meetings here, why cannot you get together and have a mutual understanding and even if you do have separate organizations there is no reason why you cannot have a joint board, both of your interests to be protected through that body. I believe that I have endeavored to make the position of the A. F. of L. as clear as I know how and I will now allow some little time for those of you who want to ask questions, and I want to thank you for your attention.

A Voice: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the speaker to state in as few words as possible the principles, tactics and aims of the American Federation of Labor. He has already touched on the policy but I do not think he has covered the entire matter.

Mr. Robinson: In order to make it clear, it gives special and free autonomy to every trade organization. If it is national that autonomy is vested in the National Union. If it is a local organization that autonomy is vested in

the local organization. The aim is to improve the workers generally, to be of assistance to each other, both morally and financially. The tactics are usually taken by the members themselves. When you say tactics I do not know whether you mean its trade union tactics or its political tactics. In order to make that clear I will answer it. If you mean its political tactics, its political attitude is to support your friends and defeat your enemies. Support men irrespective of party if they are in favor of labor measures. The first time the American Federation of Labor has undertaken to campaign against its enemies who stood up in Congress and voted against our bills, it made no difference who the man was nor what he represented, if he was an enemy of ours and on our blacklist we undertook to defeat him as far as possible. We have to-day in Congress something we never had before, W. B. Wilson, Secretary of the Treasury of the United Mine Workers, a member of Congress. That is the political tactics of the A. F. of L.

A Voice: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the Speaker if President Gompers is still a member of the Board of Civic Federation?

Mr. Robinson: President Gompers is still a member of the Civic Federation; yes, sir. Is that satisfactory?

A Voice: I wanted to know why he is a member of that Board. What he represents. He does not represent the Federation there. What benefits are attached to the Federation by his being a member of that Board?

Mr. Robinson: That is his personal liberty, his personal desire. When a man becomes a member of the Federation he does not sign away his liberty. We do not tell a man whom he shall vote for or what particular organization or society he shall mingle with.

A Voice: Does the speaker believe that representation in the Civic Federation is any advantage to organized labor?

Mr. Robinson: Why, I am here to speak for the A. F. of L. and if I thought you wanted to make an issue with the Civic Federation I would have had one of its representatives here to defend it. If there is anything that you know of a dishonest character in the Civic Federation I would be pleased to hear it. It has to be positive, not hearsay. I want positive facts.

A Voice: I do not disparage the Civic Federation in any way, shape or manner; that was not my intention. I believe there are other members of the A. F. of L. connected with the Civic Federation and in a way they do affiliate with capitalists.

Mr. Robinson: Mr. Chairman, in order to make this thing clear for the benefit of your members, I believe in calling a spade a spade. I am a born New Yorker and have traveled through the United States, and any time a man would ask me a question as to whether a representative of labor who becomes a part of the Civic Federation has any ulterior motive because he happens to rub elbows with the capitalists, I believe in calling a spade a spade. I have heard so much about the condemnation of capital that it is almost tiresome. If it is the purpose of some people to believe that labor was instituted to fight capital or wipe it out of existence, at this particular time they ought to change their brand. We have had so much of that thing pictured to us, and it is all hearsay. Now let me say that the Civic Federation is composed of a lot of wealthy men, public men and a lot of labor men. I am not an enthusiast of the Civic Federation and in no instance have all those who have attempted to say things against it been able to say any more than August Belmont or Mark Hanna or somebody else was connected with it, and when pinned down you could get no facts except the fact that they happened to be rich men. Show me the fellow who don't want to be rich and I'll take my hat off to him. They may have acquired their wealth through the way I have described, through lack of ability to organize, lack of organization. Are we going to continue to condemn them, or to educate them, to get them to our way of thinking? Eliminate strikes as far as possible, let capital and labor get together. Some people believe in revolutionary strikes and want things brought to us on a silver platter. I think it is ridiculous, not that I charge you with insincerity. I am not an enthusiast for the Civic Federation. Have you really studied both sides of the Civic Federation? Has it not occurred to you that there are two sides to every question? I would advise for your own sake to get a statement of facts as to what the Civic Federation has really done since it has been in existence. So far as labor has been concerned I will say this that it has done in many instances a world of good. It has been responsible for bringing about a settlement of the Anthracite strike for one thing. It has been the means of bringing about education in a good many trades that have been at loggerheads, to try to bring the

two together. They have accomplished a whole lot. The hardest thing is to get the strikers and employers together. If there could only be a medium to do that. They have been of some value and I don't believe in condemning them. There has been so much said, it is pictured to you as something unnatural, a gigantic monopoly by the powers that be to control the workmen. Are they so foolish and so silly that they cannot meet these fellows and argue the question? Have we got to run away from them? I believe in getting closer together. I do not care if it is the President of the United States, especially if I know I am right. Because he has got money makes no difference. Establish yourselves and take the position and let us stand on that. If a man be wrong, whether rich or poor, we have got to take the position that he is wrong. The law says we are not permitted to go and take this man's money away if he got it legally or illegally, he has got it just the same.

JOHN T. VAUGHAN'S SPEECH.

On Friday night, June 28th, 1907, the second lecture on the above subject was delivered by Mr. John T. Vaughan, of the Industrial Workers of the World, under the auspices of the Steel and Copperplate Engravers League of America at 67 St. Mark's Place.

Mr. Vaughan said, in part:

To begin with, capital and labor are not brothers, and when I say brothers I mean in the shop—I am not discussing capital and labor at a church congregation or at some off-day festival—I mean in your shops capital and labor are not brothers. How can there exist a brotherly feeling between one man or set of men on the one hand, and one man or set of men on the other hand who are so diametrically opposed to each other with their disbursements and demands? On one hand you have the worker who wants high wages and short hours while on the other hand there is the employer or employers who want high hours and short wages. High hours and short wages to the employers of the land mean plenty of automobiles, plenty of race horses, plenty of opportunities to spend millions upon dressing their wives and families, plenty of opportunity to go to the race track and throw away more upon a single bet than some of us will have as long as we live. The opportunity to corrupt legislatures, the opportunity to corrupt senators, to corrupt the political situation of the land. That is what high hours and short wages mean to them. The higher the hours and the shorter the wage the larger the dividend. On the other hand that condition means something to the wage worker, it means his going down and down the line until at the age of forty, when the gray hairs begin to show, he is too old, he steps down and out, his job is taken, his own son maybe takes his job. And as the thing travels along increased hours of labor and short wages you will also increase improvement in machinery, and when the machinery becomes improved the young man becomes nervous for his job, the machinery has become improved and he will not be needed, and possibly the young man's sister who then was a baby in the cradle, goes into that concern and takes his job and he is thrown out to tramp the land from the East to the West and from the North to the South, to join our increasing army of 500,000 in numbers.

On the other hand the workers want high wages and short hours. When I say high wages I do not mean high nominal money wages, but a proportionate amount of the product you create. That means low profit on the part of the boss. Short hours is equivalent to high wages because the shorter the hours the more change of increasing the supply of labor on the outside and just to that extent does his power wane. It means less and less fine dresses for the aristocracy, less grandeur, less fine sacks, etc., and then he has staring him in the face the increasing possibility that he may wander over into the army of the wage workers of the land and that he will go back to the bench. Can you expect, human as we are, that there can exist brotherly love in that conflict? Why, look over our strikes. Have you forgotten everything? I do not see how that argument can sink into the minds of the American workman. Take your street car strike in Brooklyn in the nineties, I was a youngster then, I did not appreciate its significance. Was any brotherly love shown there? Take it up at Albany. Was there any brotherly love shown there? Take it up at Buffalo in the strike for the enforcement of the eight hour law, which has been passed by the legislature and signed by the governor of this state, and the very governor who signed the law sent the State militia to Buffalo to drive them back to ten hours, notwithstanding it was against the law of the state. Can any brotherly love exist there? No, I say that an organization of labor that comes to the workers and says you must be brothers, you

are brothers, that that organization has ceased to function; that that organization ceases to live in the age wherein it vegetates.

Now as to the craft form of organization, the I. W. W. says that it is rank idiocy and we will try to prove it. The bosses do not deal with you as workers in the coal industry or the steel industry, as workers in the mining industry or in the printing industry. Well, what difference does that make you say? Well, that means that you should deal with the bosses not as an engraver, not as a printer nor as a stamper, but first and principally as workingmen and workingwomen in that industry and incidentally this or that craft. I shall elaborate on that as I go along. The craft form defeats labor. Take it in New York City. We had a spectacle of the building trades, those are certainly well organized as far as numbers, etc. The structural iron workers who belong to the International organization of Structural Iron Workers who were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, they went out on strike and the good union bricklayer, mason, plasterer, tiler, electrician, inside finisher, door hangers, etc., to the number of 37 or 38 worked on the building with scabs; that is due to this craft form of organization that permits this autonomy that you undoubtedly have been informed about by Mr. Robinson. This craft has the authority to do what it pleases, to make trade agreements with the bosses, to sign hours and scales just for that craft. That craft has no connection with other building trades crafts, and when any trouble occurs in New York the structural iron workers in New York or some other town call upon some national or international officer to come on and handle their strike, and what is the reply?—it is no business of ours. We will give them our moral and financial support, they can duck down to the bottom of our treasury, but that does not win strikes. The I. W. W. says that all of the building trades employees should belong to one Industrial Union instead of this International organization of steamfitters, bricklayers, ironworkers, etc. Every single man shall belong to one industrial union. The complete elimination of craft divisions in departments of big industrial plants in itself would be a great improvement in the struggle for improved conditions. That all of the trades exist as branches of that Industrial Union, that all of the branches elect delegates to form the Executive Board or general committee of that Industrial Union of greater New York and vicinity, and then, if the structural iron workers have trouble, the bosses have trouble with the entire working class in the building trades industry because they belong to one organization, all combined for the protection of their interests.

The I. W. W. is a voluntary organization. Our plan is to organize all, from the man who works in the subway and in the power house, the fellows who work in the repair shops to those in the office with high collars and long cuffs; they think they are better than the fellow with the overalls. Well, I do not blame them for thinking so, but our plan is to organize them, organize every single person who works for the Interborough Company. If the Interborough Company interferes with the motormen then the Interborough Company has not only to contend with the motormen but with every single person working with it. There would be a general suspension of business. The whole mechanism would be stopped, every single person walks out of his shop. He has to fill it up again. The Industrial Workers of the World will organize the workers in such a way that the immediate and ultimate object of the organized efforts of the workers will be achieved. The working class interests can be protected only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any or all industries stop work if necessary whenever a strike is on in any part of it, not as we see being done now in the building trades strike, subway, typographical union, etc. In these craft trade agreements they sign, away their birthright, whether their hearts beat in sympathy or not for their fellow workmen; when they sign a trade agreement they are denying themselves the right to take part in a sympathy strike. Just think of it, selling their birthright for a mess of pottage, that is what it is. You as a craft organization in the A. F. of L. with craft autonomy you can build a Chinese wall around yourselves. You can sign a trade agreement to refuse to strike in sympathy with workers of your own organization and you are justified and upheld in that conduct and the A. F. of L. cannot force you to change it.

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FALSE AND RIDICULOUS CLAIMS

SPURIOUS I. W. W. OF 148 WEST MADISON ONCE MORE EXPOSED AND EXPLODED.

[From the Industrial Union Bulletin]

The fakirs of West Madison Street are still doing what little they are able to in keeping up the delusion that they are the I. W. W. Notwithstanding (1) that referendum vote of the membership of the organization was practically unanimous against them; (2) that the clique was abandoned by an overwhelming majority of the local unions and the members of the I. W. W.; (3) that they have at no time since the convention of 1906 had the support, financial or moral, of any number of former members of the I. W. W. exceeding 1,500; (4) that the alleged metal and machinery department was dissolved and disbanded by the remnant of its members last May; (5) that not a single one of the clique has been legally chosen to any position he holds; (6) that Sherman still himself "president" to illustrate, we presume, the farcical character of all their proceedings, since they had an "election" and chose one Kraft to that position; (7) that Sherman as recently as July 22, 1907, signed communications as "president," weeks after he had "reported" to the W. F. M. convention that he had "retired," on account of his complete failure to fill the position with credit either to himself or the organization; (8) and there is at the present time nothing doing at 148 W. Madison street, that is nothing legitimate and made necessary by the existence of a labor organization, a condition with which Haywood was made acquainted during his recent visit to Chicago; (9) that the monthly publication "The Industrial Worker," has died under the "brilliant" management of Mr. J. Faker Hannemann, (10) that the convention called by the reactionary clique for July 4 was a ridiculous failure, and its only result for the working class a faked report, notwithstanding all these facts, the clique still indulges in absurd attempts to make it appear that they constitute the I. W. W.

Deceiving the Workers.

The latest of these attempts is a characteristic example of the deception that has been practiced upon the working class and especially the Western Federation of Miners since the second annual convention held in Chicago last year. We get our information from a letter sent by Hannemann to Frank Koralek, of Denver, who was formerly secretary of Local Union No. 76, which was suspended for cause a year ago and has since had no affiliation with the I. W. W., but still receives "official" communication from the tool of the clique. The letter in question is dated August 6th. It is a mixture of deceit and deliberate lies. It stamps the person who wrote it and those who sanction its circulation as entirely worthy of the confidence and support of every trimmer, faker and self-seeker in the labor and socialist movement.

The letter starts out with the statement that "It is now plain to the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World that the position taken by this office in the recent troubles with our organization was correct." No attempt is made to explain away the fact that the "position" was condemned absolutely by an almost unanimous vote of the members of the organization. Such an attempt the clique was discreet enough not to undertake. They have at no time put their reliance on truth and facts; facts and truth they have studiously evaded; not to clear up the issue; but to obscure it in a maze of falsification, has been their policy. Knowing as well as we that their "position" by a referendum in which all who had a right to take part did so, was condemned and the work of the 1906 convention approved; knowing further that they have never had an organization to appeal to, from the date of that convention to the present hour, they still have the impudence to claim that the "organization" has endorsed them. Knowing, as we know, that today in all the world there are not 1,500 real wage workers so entirely bereft of reason and smitten with the virus of pure-and-simple compromise as to give support to a bunch of traders in working class interests, they have the effrontery to declare themselves exonerated from all blame, chucking at the prospect that they will thereby get into their meshes a few more of the "suckers." But the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World have not so declared them. By the members they have been denounced and repudiated. This is a matter of record and capable of proof. Our records show it and their records would prove it. But it is proven beyond the shadow of a doubt to those who know the inside facts. The public

evidence of their rout, evidences of the deceit they practice on the working class and the falsehoods they coin to "keep up appearances," are so numerous as scarcely to need mentioning.

Nothing Doing at "148"

If it is "plain to the membership" that the "position" of the clique was "correct," it is up to somebody to explain why the same membership is not paying dues to Sherman's secretary; why that same membership allowed "The Industrial Worker" to die; why it has been impossible for the clique to maintain any organizing staff in the field; why the office force has been cut down to "Hannemann from New York" and the office girl; why the office girl and "Hannemann from New York" have "nothing to do;" why the recent "convention" (!) was such a frost as to whither the hopes of its "promoters" and paralyze all their efforts except the propensity for lying.

Without understanding the terms he used in the letter, the writer proceeds: "The Trautmann-De Leon element were entirely in the wrong in verbally charging individuals with wrong doing without any foundation of proof." Probably this is Hannemann's humor; it certainly is not true. Every charge made against members of the clique is a matter of record in cold type (see the proceedings of the Second Annual Convention and the files of the Industrial Union Bulletin.) The proof of the charges is as abundant as the charges themselves are numerous. Not one of the charges has been refuted. Aside from the stenographic report of the last I. W. W. convention, we have published affidavits and other documentary proof which has carried conviction to the minds of thousands.

In an effort to bolster up a losing game and discredit the 114 delegates to the W. F. M. convention who favored the regular and bona fide I. W. W., the letter says: "A number of delegates who voted in favor of affiliating with the Trautmann element stated that they voted that way because they were instructed to do so by their local union, and having heard the true facts the local unions will in turn repudiate the Trautmann-De Leon outfit." This statement is an insult to the intelligence of nearly 12,000 members of the W. F. M. who were represented by the 114 delegates. That element of nearly 12,000 included the men in the W. F. M. of whom St. John, Ryan, Helewood, Rawling and others were might name are types. They are revolutionary unionists; they are men who are always at it for the cause that has no worse enemies than those who seek to use it for pecuniary purposes or to aggrandize their own importance.

Trick of an Impostor.

But it is when the scribbler of the defeated clique comes to clinch his "appeal" that the honest reader stands amazed at the audacity of this impostor from New York. We quote this portion of the letter in full: "The Mining Department of the I. W. W.—the W. F. M.—have in their fifteenth annual convention initiated the calling of a convention to be held in Chicago, Ill., on October 1, 1907, and due to the fact that the Trautmann-De Leon outfit has been repudiated by the Mining Department and that we have expelled them from the I. W. W. and that the courts have given us the name, seal and label of the I. W. W. and that we are in possession of all the books, records, seal and complete office outfit, it is clearly demonstrated that the Trautmann-De Leon outfit will not be admitted to the October 1st convention; on the other hand, we will be represented in the October 1st convention. (sic)"

From the above it will be seen that the fakirs deliberately try to deceive the workers to whom the letter is addressed by representing that the W. F. M. is the mining department of the reactionary clique calling itself the I. W. W. This is the way the bunch has of investigating the "recent troubles" for those who do not investigate for themselves; then after its investigation it proceeds to report upon its own findings, all of which are at variance with the facts in the case. The letter is not written for members of the W. F. M., but for gudgeons whom they hope to catch as dues payers.

The facts in relation to the W. F. M. are these: The former mining department of the I. W. W. suspended itself, or was suspended by the action of its executive board in December, 1906, since which time it has not been in any sense a part of the organization, because that action necessarily involved the repudiation of the authority of the general executive board of the I.

W. W. and deprived the organization of the moral and financial support of the former mining department. We of the I. W. W. have made no claims that the W. F. M. was a part of the organization since the act of last December. The fakirs of Madison street have always claimed it, or at least attempted to attach the W. F. M. as tail-feathers to their lean and emaculated body. No medicine the poor thing has had to take has been as bitter as the failure of the W. F. M. convention to endorse "the position taken at this office in the recent troubles." The invalid counted not only on such endorsement, but also on a big check to pay its debts. But the convention would endorse nothing emanating from Madison street, despite the ardent longings of Mr. Mahoney that it would do so, and there has been wailing and lamentation ever since. True, that the convention did not, as a whole favor the regular I. W. W. No communication went from this office asking for an endorsement. We knew from the beginning of the "recent troubles" that the revolutionary union element in the W. F. M. was always with us. It was quite unnecessary for that element to adopt resolutions at Denver to convince us. But even now the Madison street clique is frantically trying to hold on to the tail feathers. It isn't even cognizant of its defeat, but expects to have its plumage fully restored at a conference here in Chicago next October.

Prattle of a Faker.

The claim that "we have expelled them (meaning us) from the I. W. W." is the harmless prattle of a faker who does not want his readers to know that the court denied their right to expel anybody and found specifically that Wm. E. Trautmann was the regular, legal and acting secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W. The court also gave us the "right to use the name, seal and label of the I. W. W.," but aside from that we have a right derived from an overwhelming majority of the members of the organization—and we are using them in the interest of revolutionary unionism and the working class.

It is true that the reactionary clique is in possession of the books, records and office outfit, but they got possession by forcible seizure and the employment of hired sluggers. It is also true that we are in possession of books, records, seal and office outfit, made possible by the loyalty and sacrifice of thousands of workers throughout the land. Further, it is true that the books, records and office outfit of Madison street is a closed record and dead stock, the evidences of a corpse, while the books and records in Bush Temple bristle with the evidence of a living, active, resourceful organization. We may have been "repudiated" by a bunch of "labor leaders" of the Sherman-Mahoney stripe, but we have, on the other hand, been vindicated by the workers themselves, which is to us of far greater importance. The old "Industrial Worker" is dead, but the new "Industrial Union Bulletin" lives, with a circulation of 7,000 per week, or three times that of the old monthly. We have not the support, as we ought to have of the W. F. M., but we have that of nearly 30,000 Industrial Unionists who are for the unity of the working class, but will, if necessary, stand alone for a principle.

Our Right Derived from Members.

The fact that the fakirs have possession of a seal and an office outfit (or what is left of it) may be a "demonstration" that they will be "admitted" to the October 1st convention, and we admit that if that convention is to be manipulated in the interest of anti-revolutionary unionism and fakerism in the labor movement, they clearly belong there.

But as to whether the I. W. W. will be represented in the October convention, the decision rests not with the Madison street clique but with convention of the I. W. W. There will positively be no compromise on our part. If we go in, which we shall probably not do, it will be only on the express condition that we are recognized as the Industrial Workers of the World. If we go in it will be on the further condition that the Madison street clique be excluded. We will never sit in conference with a bunch of reactionaries whose conception of working class interests and the labor movement is so thoroughly debased and commercialized. Not for one single moment have we been in doubt as to our position since last year's convention. Not for a moment have we wavered in contemplating the probable attitude of the W. F. M. at any point. If the W. F. M. can by a few acting officers be swung against the revolutionary working class movement, that is a misfortune; but we shall not swing backward, though the miners were ten thousand times ten thousand strong. We stand for the principles enunciated by the founders of the movement—the signers of the Manifesto.

Loyalty to Manifesto.

We write in no spirit of defiance; we are making no threats; but the part we had in the "recent troubles" and our loyalty to the movement which others attempted to destroy, gives us a right to be heard. That right we shall exercise in the interest first of the movement, and to that all other interests shall be subservient. We are loyal to the spirit and letter of the Manifesto which called us into being, and to the two conventions that followed it. But over and above all conventions and constitutions we are loyal to the workers who listened to the call for revolutionary unity on the industrial field and who have made unmeasured sacrifices in order that the Industrial Workers of the World might blaze the way to emancipation from the slavery of capitalist industry. Their efforts and their sacrifices were made in the face of the bitterest opposition of the master class, and they have been confronted with the persistent and insolent antagonism of those who should have been friends but whose sublime gall and effrontery must have won applause of all the devils in the warmest sections of hell.

As men and revolutionists, let us be frank: What, may we ask, are the proletarian revolutionists of America to think when they find that they are not only grossly lied about and maligned in an official report of the Socialist party to the Congress now in session at Stuttgart, but that prominent members of that party who were also of the number who signed the Manifesto, now find it necessary for some unfathomable reason—unless it be a political one—to seal their lips and for nearly a year remain deaf, dumb and blind to the organization and movement which they were instrumental in promoting and to which they gave enthusiastic support.

What Are We to Understand.

We challenge them to speak as men and revolutionists. To do so is not necessary to wait for a conference or convention. The occasion to speak is not next year or next month; it is here and now, and the opportunity is presented in the columns of this paper. We throw our space wide open to them. Let them at least explain their silence in the paper established by the revolutionary industrial unionists of America. The writer of these lines may know, in part, why certain of the signers of the Manifesto are silent and non-committal. But what do the thousands of revolutionary industrial unionists, in the W. F. M. and I. W. W. local unions, know of the causes for the paralysis of activity which is to them so apparent? Why should the workers be left to conjecture and false conclusions, if there is any information or argument to dispel their doubts and misgivings? Do the former advocates of revolutionary unionism propose to leave the workers to arrive at false conclusions? Are they indifferent to the consequences of continued silence? Do they seriously propose to let the workers conclude that they accept the malicious falsifications of the Madison street clique and the Socialist Party clique and endorse the unscrupulous and dishonest methods of both, in the entirely fatuous belief that "harmony" and "unity" will thereby be promoted?

Are they willing that their silence shall be construed by the proletarian revolutionists of America as their individual condemnation of the I. W. W.? We are nearly 30,000 strong, do you, the signers of the Manifesto, want to have it understood by your silence that loyalty to revolutionary principles and a revolutionary organization is a crime, that fakerism and denial of revolutionary principles are virtues? Are we to understand that a revolutionary vision obfuscated of personal likes or dislikes, individual loves or hatreds, is the correct sight for a revolutionist? Is this that we call "revolution" merely a pastime, or is it real working class business?

This issue can't be settled by evasion. The issue now is this:

Where do you stand as men and revolutionists? It is upon the point that we Industrial Unionists of the I. W. W., denying all connection with any others claiming the name, it is upon this that we want information. With no desire to put any man in a false position, we are, nevertheless, making history. To get it straight, to be sure that the record reflects truly the events, as well as the attitudes of individuals, this is our desire.

Let the Dumb Speak.

Where do you stand as men and revolutionists? To the members of the Western Federation of Miners a few words, then we are through: Those of you who have followed closely the reports from the I. W. W. on the one side and the Madison street clique on the other, are aware of the despicable methods adopted by the latter and every one of their

INCENTIVE NEEDED

A Chap Treats Socialism in His Graduation Essay—And Is Answered.

Reading, Pa., July 21.—Enclosed find two clippings from the Reading Eagle. This poor chap, Buermeyer, of course had to write a graduation essay. Feeling himself wise with the stupidity with which he had been crammed at school in the name of "history," and through the capitalist press in the name of "information," he essayed to overthrow Socialism. His essay showed so well the product of the "teaching" he had been subjected to that the teachers were pleased with their success, and of course "he received honorable mention." Seeing the substance of his essay quoted in the Eagle, I wrote an answer which the Eagle published, crippling it with only a couple of modifications which I have corrected on enclosed copy.

Silas Hinkel.
(Enclosures.)

"Socialism in the Light of the Colonists' Experience at Jamestown."

Laurence L. Buermeyer, 520 Greenwich street, received honorable mention for his essay on the theme, "Socialism in the Light of the Colonists' Experience at Jamestown." He says among other things:

"Socialism as a theory of political economy has never in its entirety been put into effect anywhere, and so an opinion as to the probability of its success must be founded largely upon the results of its doctrines when tried separately. After all allowances are made for differences in the conditions and general characteristics of the people affected, a tolerable accurate estimate of its practicability may be formed."

The essayist recalls that the charter granted by the king directed among other things that all property should be held in common, which is precisely what Socialism aims to bring about.

The conditions of the colony and its people are vividly described and the trials and tribulations which followed the communistic theories upon which the settlement was run.

"There was but a pretense at working, and each man did the least he possibly could. As long as these conditions remained there was no change for better. Later when each individual was assigned three acres as his own property, but was still expected to work for the public good, a considerable improvement was visible. Finally when the communistic element in the government was entirely done away with, all the evil practices ceased. Could there be a better proof of the impracticability of the basic doctrine of Socialism? And, if it was impracticable then, what can be said of it now?"

II.

Says He Confounds Communism with Socialism.

In a communication to the Eagle, Silas Hinkel, 1167 Cotton street, comments on the essay of L. L. Buermeyer, on "Socialism in the Light of the Colonists' Experience at Jamestown," which appeared in the Eagle on July 14, as follows:

"As the essayist confounds communism with Socialism, I desire to clear up the confusion he creates.

"He seemingly makes that error because land was held as common property by the colony, and because one of the basic principles of Socialism, as advocated by the Socialist Labor Party is: 'The collective ownership of land and all the means of production and distribution.'"

"He says, 'There was but a pretense at working, and each man did the least he possibly could.' Here we are shown that in that communistic colony there were those who shirked work, but he fails to state that they were enabled to do so because the product of the labor of the colony was held as common property. In other words, the shirkers

defenders; you know that whatever charges have been made against members of that clique, have not been mere verbal statements, but supported in every instance by documentary proof; you know that the W. F. M. is not now a part of the I. W. W., nor an auxiliary of the Madison street clique; you know that the "recent troubles" could not have arisen without adequate cause; you know that the cause that procured the "troubles" was adequate and we leave with you, and with all enlightened and progressive workers in the country, the final adjudication of the case, with this assurance, that whatever path you may follow the Industrial Workers of the World will stick to its revolutionary program and purpose, that we will "hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may."

CORRUPTION OF THE HONEST

THE "ORIGINAL ACCUMULATION" SWINDLE AS SEEN IN RECENT HAPPENINGS.

By F. J. Boyle.

A great deal is frequently said about the "original accumulation" that forms the basis of modern fortunes, and which is generally attributed to the exercise of one's thrift, ingenuity and forensic ability.

The Socialist, however, with the keen acumen born of close social-economic study, is so fully alive to the methods of wealth acquirement under the capitalist system that fortune yarns merely excite his wonderment at the gullibility of those who believe in them.

So numerous are the occurrences illustrative of the saturnalia of swindles fostered by Capitalism, that a chronicle of them would be a daily task altogether too tiresome and valueless unless accompanied by the Socialist deduction as to the underlying cause of such a social fester. However, a synopsis of the manner by which the "original accumulation" may be acquired as the basis of a future capitalist fortune may be here set forth, not only as an illustration, but as an object lesson to readers in warning them of the ever-watchful business "shark."

In one of the Boston papers recently appeared an advertisement that people were wanted to become actors through the "Standard School of Acting." One ambitious Alexander Divaux, being out of work, saw the "ad," and paying a visit to the "school" paid ten dollars for learning that he lacked voice, form, and ability, but that with a reasonable amount of cash security he could obtain a position at \$20 per week as utility man for a theatrical company connected with the school. Accordingly Divaux put up his roll of \$125 additional and awaited results from the theatrical company. No favorable reports being forthcoming, Divaux entered a complaint before the court, which resulted in the arrest of the two principals connected with the "school." Thus, with a little "ingenuity," "foresight," etc., it is not so very difficult to filch the "original accumulation" from the other fellow who has the "thrift," but lacks the brains.

Using the State House and the City Hall as their headquarters, the Old Home Week grand stands on the Common as bait, and the corridor just outside Attorney-General Malone's office as their mulcting ground, a pair of bold confidence men, believed to be political leaders, swindled Leonard F. Forni of Boston out of \$425 of his savings last week. Forni thought he was buying the grand stands.

For years Forni had been saving up to buy a little home, and has had his eye out to buy some lumber cheap. Accordingly, when he saw the stands on the Common he wondered if he could not buy them cheap.

One day last week he met a man who told him that he could "fix" it for him, and the two went over to City Hall, where they met another man just outside the Mayor's office. There they informed Forni that he could buy all the grand stands on the Common for \$425.

Forni got the money and the men took him up to the State House, and seated at one of the public writing desks made out a receipt signed "L. C."

work exploited the industrious by directly consuming what others produced. Now labor is exploited indirectly, by the capitalists, because labor owns neither the land nor the tools essential to production. The capitalists own them instead.

"Later, he says, 'when each one received three acres as his own, but was expected still to work for the public good, a considerable improvement was visible. Finally, when the communistic element in the government was done away with, all the evil practices ceased.'

"Thus we see that even in that communistic colony, labor became thrifty in proportion as it became secure in its product. The colonists got rid of the exploiters of labor, by making the product of labor private property. The Socialist Labor Party does not propose that one man shall produce wealth and another take it without giving in return wealth of equal value. The Socialist Labor Party by inaugurating Socialism, seeks to accomplish that which the Jamestown colonists accomplished, namely, make the exploiters of labor do useful work to support themselves, instead of working the propertyless. But since conditions are different from what they were in the Jamestown colony, different methods must be used to accomplish the desired result. To prohibit the exploitation of labor, it now is necessary to make the means (land and tools) essential to life, common property, and allow labor to retain the wealth it produces. Only by such a method can labor free itself from exploitation."

Fields." When Forni took the paper into the Building Commissioner's office he found out that he had been swindled. Thus, with the exercise of a little "ingenuity," "foresight," etc., one ought to be able to easily acquire his "original accumulation."

That the "astute" business man is not immune from the wiles of the schemer is evidenced by a swindle recently worked in Lowell.

A man who succeeded in making people believe that he was "Charles N. Benson" of Boston, was permitted to deposit a worthless check for \$11,500 in the Traders' National Bank of Lowell, from which he received \$4,700 in cash on account.

Going to the office of Attorney Corbett, a director of the bank, "Mr. Benson" explained that he had come to Lowell for the purpose of buying a liquor business in the city, and intended to make other investments with a view of a permanent residence. "Mr. Benson" requested Attorney Corbett's kind offices in securing an introduction to the Traders' Bank, to which Mr. Corbett readily assented.

Blandly depositing his "check" for \$11,500, upon which he received \$4,700 on account, "Mr. Benson" passed around a few cigars with his compliments, and then departed with his nucleus for a future senatorship.

After "Mr. Benson" had gone the officials of the bank bethought to verify the check, and to their blank amazement were informed by the State Street Trust Co. of Boston that the check was a forgery. Thus, with the exercise of a little "foresight," "ingenuity," etc.—but why repeat the same old story of the "original accumulation"?

So common are such cases that their commission is looked upon as part of perverse human nature, and not combatable by Socialists. The Socialist, however, argues that under an economic system that closes the door of honest opportunity man must resort to shady methods if he would live. If, through conscientious scruples he permits himself to starve or commit suicide the world calls him a coward and consigns him to Hell. If he begs he is arrested for vagrancy. If he loves life he will live some way or other, and since the motto of the business world is "Get money, no matter how, get money," he will naturally follow the trail of the business world.

Under the caption of "solid, representative business men," he sees arrayed the food adulterator, shoddy manufacturer, land grabber, beef packer, stock-market manipulator, legislative boddler, insurance grafter, and the thousand and one members of the same tribe, each with his own petty scheme of defrauding the public, and all maggoting upon the putridness of the capitalist system, reared upon the private ownership of the means of production and distribution.

A homely though apt maxim declares that "he who touches pitch shall be defiled." Is it any wonder then that the average man in the business world becomes defiled by his contact with the besmirching methods that prevail in every branch of modern business, the success of which is measured by the ingeniousness of the chicanery employed? What clerk is in a position to refuse to sell the adulterated merchandise of his employer, when his job is his sole means of earning a livelihood?—and once the first twinge of conscience is over with, stultification assumes full sway.

So it is in all walks of life under the capitalist system of private ownership. Will any defender of the present economic system inform us how swindles in any form would be possible under the social production and ownership of commodities as proposed under the Socialist form of government? Let us study Socialism and learn how to supplant the age of chicanery by the golden age of opportunity, equality, and fraternal brotherhood synonymous with Socialism.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,584
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

United States, 50 cents a year, 25 cents for six months;
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1907.

The education of people is made through their revolutions.
—LAMARTINE.

TORIES OF 1907.

In November, 1774, Frederick Smyth, the last provincial Chief Justice by authority of the British Crown in New Jersey, made a speech which called down upon his head the spirited denunciation of the Grand Jury of the County of Essex for that term. In making his charge to the Grand Jury, the Tory Justice spoke of the troubled state of the times, and observed that "the imaginary tyranny, three thousand miles distant," was less to be feared and guarded against than the "real tyranny at our own doors." For that speech the Grand Jury rose in its dignity, and acting under their instructions the foreman delivered to Justice Smyth a scathing address of rebuke which made his royalist flesh tingle.

To-day, trembling on the verge of another revolution, America again has its Tories and its Tory mouthpieces, who strive to turn aside attention from the "imaginary" tyranny of capitalism, and to focus it upon the "real tyranny" of the labor unions "at our own doors." Prominent among these is C. W. Post, President of the Citizens Industrial Union of America. Beginning four or five years ago with The Industrial Independent, now continued in The Square Deal, that gentleman has put up a furious fight for the deliverance of the poor capitalist from the "tyranny" of the workingman organized in unions of his trade and attempting thereby to combat the encroachments of capital upon his wage. All are concerned, says Post, "to see that the Labor Trust in its selfish pursuit of its own purposes does not do harm to the well-being of the whole people. We must stand a solid wall of might to insure to every man his right to work free from TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION from any society or trust of labor."

Another prominent Tory of 1907 is Jas. W. Van Cleave, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, who has just started an injunction suit against the members of the American Federation of Labor. In a speech delivered at Indianapolis last June, Van Cleave, speaking of the union rules for the restriction of apprentices, under cover of whom the bosses get men's work done for boys' pay, said, "We propose to banish this monarchical narrowness, TYRANNY, and vindictiveness."
A third luminary in this field is James A. Emery, Secretary of the Citizens Alliance. Owing to the temporary high demand for labor in San Francisco due to the reconstruction, the unions were able to raise their wages from the usual one-fifth of what they produced to perhaps two-fifths. Visiting San Francisco in May last, Emery's capitalist heart was unable to stand such a spectacle. In a letter dated May 31, accordingly, he took occasion to emit a plaintive wail against such "arrogant selfishness and blind class DOMINATION" on the part of the unions.

In Nevada last February and March, vitriolic were the tirades hurled by L. C. Branson, proprietor of the Tonopah Sun and the Goldfield Sun against the "TYRANNY," "OPPRESSION" and "DOMINEERING" of the I. W. W., all interspersed with the epithets "Curs," "Assassins," "Cowards," and "Low-Browed Thugs," applied to St. John, Smith, Preston, and others.

Several months ago Justice Greenbaum of New York and just recently Justice Falconbridge of Toronto, issued injunctions against the I. W. W. and W. F. M. Both injunctions pat themselves on the back as coming to the rescue of their respective localities from the "TYRANNY AND COERCION" of the labor unions.

As Justice Smyth's utterance in 1774, so are the utterances of these Tories of 1907 dictated by their immediate material interests. The object of both is to stem the tide of an oncoming revolution, in the interests of a dominant class.

Smyth was fittingly rebuked by the Grand Jury whose intelligence he insulted; Post and his colleagues will be rebuked by the working class when, its industrial and political organization accomplished, it establishes the Socialist Republic.

"GETTING A RAISE."

"Getting a raise" is one of those questions which to the worker is a never-failing source of anxiety. The bare fact that the workman should be perpetually in need of higher wages, and that he should at all have to demand them from his employer points to some pretty serious flaw in the theory that the interests of both are the same. If that were so the wage increase should come without asking, the same as increased dividends now do to the stockholders. Still more serious flaws in this theory are pointed out by the methods to which the workman is driven in order to secure an increase in pay.

"How to hit the boss for a raise" has been the subject of a recent symposium in one of those capitalist magazines which make their living on the class spirit of the workers. There the brigand character of capitalism is unerringly portrayed by the workers themselves, in their descriptions of the various tactics they are compelled to employ in order to obtain from their masters a slightly larger crumb of the wealth which they themselves produce.

In this symposium, the pretense of identity of interest between employer and employe is freely cast aside. So far from the employer always being on the lookout to see and reward faithful and industrious labor, the fact is everywhere betrayed that the employer is anxious to keep wages as low as possible and squeeze out all the work possible, regardless of wages. In fact, by most contributors asking for a raise is considered a ticklish affair, to be approached with caution and calculation, and then only when you are ready to take your job in your hands. As one writer expressed it: "Just ask the boss for a raise. But do so at a time when he cannot do without you if you wish to stay."

But as, with increasing years and responsibilities, and a soaring cost of living, the necessity for a raise is felt even by the least revolutionary workman, raises must be demanded.

One contributor to the symposium wrote as follows: "I believe in demanding twice what you expect, hoping to get half. So when I needed more money, I asked my foreman for \$4 a week more I got \$2."

Another said: "The best way is to declare your intention to quit unless the demand is granted. I asked for a raise and was told 'in about six months. Instead of waiting I hunted up another job and told the manager I was going to quit. The manager advised me to wait till Saturday and see what happened, \$2 a week more happened."

Several other methods are recorded, such as using other men's pay as leverage and working hard for a time to prove one's "value," but the two letters above quoted typify the vast majority. All tell the same tale. The master class lies like the dragon of the Rhinegold, coiled around the wealth of the world, the wealth produced by the working class alone. Every added farthing which goes to Labor's share is got, not as a free gift from a brother, as the capitalists would have the workers believe, but as a right, snatched by the sword of economic pressure. The time is approaching when the working class, risen to hero stature by its political and industrial organization, will smite to death the dragon capitalist class, and restore to itself the wealth of which it is now being robbed. Then will "getting a raise" no longer be necessary, for all will receive the full product of their toil.

THE POLITICAL ISSUE.

Nothing is more important to the capitalist than the selection of the political issue. Governor Hughes, in his Chautauque address, said, "In a democracy, stability depends upon the reign of reason." The governor must have been borne away on wings of fancy, for had he been speaking of matters of to-day he should have said, "In the maintenance of an autocracy in the name of democracy stability depends upon the exercise of cunning."

Capitalism is rocking and tottering toward its grave. It is a serious matter to the rulers what they shall make the issue of 1908. The diplomats erred in 1904. Great care they took, it is true, that whichever party won the interests of the capitalist class would be safe. But there wasn't sufficient deceit in the draught they mixed that year for the workers. The workers took little interest—they weren't lured away from their own affairs by the issue, and as a consequence Socialism gained wonderfully during and since 1904. On the other hand, the diplomats must not err in the opposite direction. They must not lead the workers on as they did in Colorado with the eight-hour and other labor laws, for then when the day of reckoning comes, promises and laws must be

broken and the workers will turn back upon their own resources and revolutionary spirit will grow big in their hearts, as it has in the Rocky Mountain States. Thus it is that the diplomats turn to politics, and although speeches have been delivered and there has been much rumbler heard from the capitalist editorial mill, they have not yet announced their issue for 1908.

There is another token, however, by which to select the political issue, beside that of choosing the best slogan with which it is safe to mislead the working class. Consider social injustices to be corrected and social possibilities to be attained. Turn to the country and the first sight that greets you is the capitalist class. Some of them are complaining, but the truth appears at a glance that, far from suffering injustice, all of these people are favored with the extraordinary privilege of having delivered to them the product of the toil of the millions. On the other hand, it is apparent that no social possibility can be fostered by helping this class, inasmuch as most of the wealth they now have is squandered in ostentation or employed for corruption.

No issue, therefore springs from consultation of the affairs of the capitalist class.

Now, listen to the crying of the middle class, the small business man. Here you will find many who are really in need, and many, no doubt, deserving. But a glance at the pursuits of these people reveals the fact that they perform no bona fide function in society—they use old out-of-date machinery and methods, and consultation of statistics shows that all of their labor results in the production of only about 3% of the total of manufactured products. This reveals the further secret that these men have not engaged in the middle class pursuits for the purpose of production, but have slid themselves into those grooves either as an escape from wage slavery or with the intent of finally worming themselves into the position of masters and exploiters of wage slaves. No social advantage, therefore, can flow from the raising of an issue in support of this defunct middle class.

At last you come to the rank of America's population, the wage working class. Their needs cry for deliverance from slavery and from poverty. Their character marks them as worthy to have their wrongs redressed. Their numbers, making up the body of the people, and their toil, producing over 95% of the nation's wealth, designate them as the class whose interests must dictate the political issue. The issue of the working class is selected, and that issue is Socialism.

CHANGING HUMAN NATURE.

Hardly had the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart closed its sessions on the 24th instant, when, seizing upon the justifiable and natural warmth of some of the debates there as a pretext, the capitalist press began to belittle the work of the Congress and, through it, the Socialist movement itself. The arguments launched against Socialism from this vantage-ground of quicksand are of old and well frayed out stock. "Socialism will fail," they run; "it seeks to overturn human nature; it would make angels out of men; that cannot be done; ergo, Socialism is idealistic, and cannot get along."

Those whose memories are longer than their noses will smile at that argument. Shortly over a year ago, during the church and state troubles in France, this same capitalist press printed letter after letter from Parisian correspondents, showing how all the disturbance was due to the wicked Socialists, who were, in the end, doomed to defeat. "Socialism will fail," the plea ran then; "it is based and grounded on the lowest instincts of the human nature; it would keep men at the level of barbarians; that must not be done; ergo, Socialism is materialistic and can never win its goal." Mutually these arguments of the capitalist press knock each other out, leaving the truth clear as a pike staff for him who will see.

Socialism seeks to make no change in man's nature. Were man less than man, Socialism would be impossible; were he more it would, perhaps, be unnecessary. Socialism, based on the nature of mankind as it is, seeks merely to establish a system of government and industry which will assure to all a life of healthful, productive labor, with plenty for every one and poverty for none. Based on the nature of man as it is, Socialism seeks to found the Cooperative Commonwealth, where biting want and surfeited luxury will alike be unknown.

The idea that man must first become not-man in order to attain this ideal of peace and plenty is a relic of a false and exploded philosophy. Looking down the ages, the Socialist sees that the tendency of the human character is ever upward. That character at base is good. Man is not fallen from a high estate, but is ever lifting himself, by that basic goodness, further and further above his quadruped ancestry. The

cruelties, the villainies, the crimes, both big and little, which he commits along his upward march, spring not from a debased nature. They are the tortured acts of a spirit aspiring toward good, but wrenched away by a hostile environment. The most pious voyager has been known to turn cannibal under stress of shipwreck; the hardened criminal, emigrated to a new land with equal opportunities for all, has become an upright citizen. Realizing this sociologic fact, the Socialist dreams not of turning men into angels. He says, on the contrary, put man in an environment where he can exist in peace and comfort without the exercise of his lower qualities, and he will himself discard them, as he has discarded them all through his history when they were no longer needed or called into play. None but the veriest falsifier can hold that the hope of this development is a hollow idealism. Even more absurd would be the charge that it is equivalent to holding mankind down to the level of barbarians. It is, instead, the logical and noble unfolding of the true character of humanity. Capitalism, by embittering the struggle for human existence, withholds this ultimate development from the race. Socialism holds it out to mankind as the glorious promise of the future.

Every great movement drags at its skirts a host of little minds, incapable themselves of understanding, and therefore violently determined none others shall understand, the grandeur and significance of the onward surge of thought which itself gives them vitality. "There are not wanting among us printers who will be busy in spreading specious falsehoods," wrote Tom Paine in 1775, describing these genies. The pamphleteers and space-fillers of the anti-abolition movement of 1860 earned the stinging rebukes of Garrison and Phillips. The capitalist press of the present year of grace are no improvement upon their predecessors; but they do occasionally serve by their own blunderings to make clear the truth.

A WALL STREET FISH STORY.

A fish story of more than usual interest is now going the rounds of Wall Street. A Wall Street broker, runs the yarn, returned from his vacation along the trout streams of Maine, with no fish to show for the time. When rallied on his poor success, he replied, "Oh, I caught plenty of trout, but as I wasn't sure whether they were within the legal length I threw them all back into the water. I gave the law the benefit of the doubt."

The startling character of this fish story, surpassing as it does all previous attempts, from Jonah down to Baron Munchausen, should assure it a place in the repertoire of every camp fire story teller; but that is not its chief value. Its chief value lies in the fact that it is an unmistakable index of the integrity and honesty of our great and glorious capitalist class, and a check forever to the scathing indictments of the pestiferous Socialists. Some of the little capitalists, it is true, may not be bred to such nicety of honor and legality as this Wall Street broker; but the evidence is overwhelming that all the leading capitalists, all the leading corporations, are not a whit behind him in homage to the law.

Take for instance the Consolidated Gas Trust. What punctilious regard for law it displays in continuing to charge \$1 per 1000 feet after the Legislature of New York State decided on 80 cents as a fair rate, and ordered the price reduced.

Take the Interborough-Metropolitan traction trust. Observe how its forehead almost touches the ground as it bows before the law compelling it to furnish a seat to every passenger, and to issue transfers good for twenty-four hours.

Take the Southern Railway, of North Carolina. Note how humility fairly oozes out of every pore as it bends low to the law making 2 1/4 cents the legal passenger rate in that State, even allowing its ticket agents to be sentenced to prison in the law's behalf.

Take the Barber Lumber Co. of Idaho. See its attitude of wrapt reverence for the law as it refuses to produce the records which might incriminate it in those gigantic land frauds which caused the indictments of Senator Borah, the imprisonment of Senator Mitchell, the assassination of ex-Governor Frank Steunenberg and the suicide of his brother A. K. Steunenberg.

Take the Standard Oil. Behold its eyes light up with fanatic devotion to law as it forms forbidden combinations of companies under the cover of independent names and accepts rebates which net a fine of over \$29,000,000.

Take any of the large corporate concerns of the land. No soldier of Mohamed ever let himself be sabred by the infidels with such blind adhesion to law and duty as each and all of these institutions display as they give up their most cherished financial schemes, their most profitable fleecing partnerships, their most profitable strokes of enterprise at the shrine of the goddess Law. Did not the

DIVIDING UP

A QUESTION WHICH GREATLY WORRIES THE OPPONENTS OF SOCIALISM.

The question most frequently put to a Socialist by capitalists is: How will Socialists divide the wealth they produce; is each to have an equal share; or how?

"Division," that is the thing that sticks in the very marrow of the philistines, like a veritable leprosy. Their whole conception of Socialism begins and ends with that word. Indeed, even among the most cultured, the idea is quite prevalent that the object of Socialism is to divide the whole wealth of the nation among the people.

That this view still prevails, despite all protests and proofs on the part of the Socialists is to be ascribed, not only to the malice of the enemies of Socialism, but also, and perhaps to a greater extent, to their inability to understand the social conditions that have been brought on by the development of large production. Their horizon is still, to a great extent, bounded by the conceptions that apply only to the system of small production. Indeed, judging from the standpoint of small production, the only form of Socialism possible is division. From the start of production for sale in antiquity it has happened innumerable times, as often as a few families had heaped great wealth and had reduced artisans and farmers to dependence, that these plotted for the expulsion of the rich and the division of their property. They succeeded in this for the first time during the French Revolution, notwithstanding, or perhaps just by reason of, its emphatic assertion of the rights of private property. Peasants, artisans, and the class that was about to develop into capitalists, divided among themselves the church estates. Division is the Socialism of small production; it is the Socialism of the "conservative" ranks of society; it is not the Socialism of the proletariat.

It needs time, but the feat will yet be accomplished of ramming into the heads of the so-called luminaries of our social system that Socialists do not propose to divide; that, on the contrary, their object is to concentrate in the hands of society the instruments of production.

But this does not yet dispose of the question of division. If the means of production belong to society, to it must belong, as a matter of course, the function of disposing of the products that are brought forth with the aid of these instruments. In what way will society distribute these among its members? Shall it be upon the principle of equality, or according to the labor performed by each? And in the latter case, is every kind of labor to receive the same reward, whether it be agreeable or not, hard or easy, skilled or unskilled?

To many, the answer to this question seems to be the central point of Socialism. Not only does it greatly preoccupy the foes of Socialism, but even the early Socialists devoted the greatest amount of attention to it. From Fourier to Weitling, and from Weitling to Bellamy there runs a steady stream of the most diversified answers, many of which reveal a wonderful degree of acumen. There is no lack of positive propositions; many of them are as plain as they are practicable. Nevertheless, the question is not of the importance that is generally ascribed to it.

"Division" is the Socialism of Reaction.

Time was when the distribution of products was looked upon as wholly independent from production itself; seeing, moreover, that the contradictions and ills of the capitalist system of production manifest themselves first in its peculiar method of distributing its products, it was quite natural that both the exploited classes and their friends should have located the root of the evil in the "unjust" distribution of products. Of course, these people proceeded, obedient to the views that were prevalent at the beginning of this century, upon the supposition that the existing system of distribution was the result of the ideas of their days, i. e., of the popular understanding of right and wrong. In order to remove the unjust system of distribution, all that was needed was to invent a juster one, and to convince the world of its advantages. The just system of distribution could, of course, be none other than

Federal Government recognize this several years ago by passing a law establishing the immunity bath for officials or stockholders who testified against themselves!

Truly the Wall Street broker who threw back all his trust is typical of his class. Legality beams like a sunburst from all their visages. What a pity the working class is no longer dazzled by the rays, but insists on overthrowing the power of these law-loving gentlemen and itself assuming control over industry.

just the reverse of the existing one. Among these people, some reasoned thus: "To-day there reigns the crassness inequality; the principle upon which distribution should be based must be one of equality." Others followed another line of thought; they said: "To-day the idler rolls in wealth while the laborer starves, consequently, let the principle be, 'To each according to his deeds.'" Yet a third set raised objections to both principles, and they set up a third formula: "To each according to his needs." The early Socialists spent much time upon this subject. For the same reasons that they did so, to wit, their imperfect comprehension of the social mechanism, not a few ideologists right here in the United States have tangled themselves in the meshes of a profitless discussion upon this comparatively unimportant subject.

Modern Socialism, basing itself upon economic science, takes the stand that the distribution of products in a community is determined not by the prevailing conception of right and wrong but by the prevailing system of production. The share of the landowner, the capitalist, and the wage-worker in the total product of society is determined by the role which land, capital and labor-power play to-day in the modern system of production. Sure enough, in the Co-operative Commonwealth, the distribution of products will not be left to the mercy of blind laws, which can never be well understood by those concerned. The same as to-day, in the interior of a large industrial establishment, production and the payment of wages are matters that are carefully considered and well regulated, so likewise in a Socialist commonwealth, which is nothing more than a single gigantic industrial concern, the same principle must prevail. The rules according to which the distribution of products is to be carried out will be established by the parties concerned. Nevertheless, it will not depend upon their whim what those rules shall be; these will not be adapted arbitrarily to this or that principle, however sonorous it may sound; they will be determined by the actual condition of society, above all, by the condition of production itself.

For instance, the degree of productivity of labor in any given time exercises a great influence upon the manner in which distribution is affected. Without any excessive strain on the imagination, we can conceive a time when science will have raised industry to such a high level of productivity that everything wanted by man is produced in great abundance. In such a case, the formula "To each according to his needs" would be applied as a matter of course, and without much difficulty. On the other hand, not even the profoundest conviction of the justice of this formula would be able to put it into practice if the productivity of labor remained so low that the proceeds of the most excessive degree of labor could produce only a bare necessity. Again, the formula "To each according to his deeds" will always be found inapplicable. If it has any sense at all, it presupposes a distribution of the total product of the commonwealth among its members. This notion, the same as that about a general division and the military form of Socialism, springs from the modes of thought that are peculiar to the modern system of private property. To distribute the products at stated intervals would be equivalent to the gradual reintroduction of private property in the means of production.

Socialist Distribution.

The very essence of Socialist production limits the possible distribution of products to only a portion of these. All those products that are requisite to the enlargement of production can not, as a matter of course, be the subject of distribution; and the same holds good with regard to all such products that are intended for common use, i. e., to the establishment, preservation or enlargement of public institutions.

Already in modern society the number and size of such institutions increases steadily; it is upon this domain especially that large production crowds down small production within the circle of household duties. It goes without saying that, so far from being checked, the development will be greatly stimulated in a Socialist commonwealth.

The quantity of products that can be absorbed by private consumption and, accordingly, be turned into private property, must inevitably be a much slighter proportion of the total.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I must have been dreaming all my born days.
UNCLE SAM—Are you making discoveries?

B. J.—It almost looks that way to me. Just think of it: When I struck with my fellow switchmen in Buffalo to uphold the ten-hour law, Governor Flower, the Democrat, swooped down upon us with the whole militia of the State and gave the victory to the bosses who were grinding us down.
U. S.—So he did.
B. J.—Then I went to work as a long-shoreman on the Erie Lake, and Mark Hanna, the Republican, cut our wages in two; and when we struck he knocked the stuffings out of us with policemen's clubs.

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

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

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

U. S.—That's very loving.
B. J.—And the identical Republican politicians who shot us and helped the bosses suck us dry are holding the same language.
U. S.—The love of these people for the working class seems to bloom like the rose in June.

B. J.—And aren't you puzzled?
U. S.—Whereat?
B. J.—At so much love pouring forth from quarters that otherwise only pour down oppression upon us!
B. J.—Not a bit.
U. S.—Well, which is which? Are these Republicans and Democrats our real friends or are they our enemies after all?

U. S.—Don't you remember that Scotch terrier that snapped and growled at you yesterday when you called at John Jones'?

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

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

(Continued on page 5.)

CORRESPONDENCE

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

THEIR DRAWING CARD.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Isn't it about time, Mr. Editor, that those only practical stars of that only practical Labor Movement, the A. F. of L., trotted out some other organization than the bricklayers, when singing their praises? Or, are we to conclude that after all of the organizing effort of the A. F. of L., it can only point to the bricklayers as the one shining example in all its history? Why not point to the seventy cents per hour of the textile worker, or of the mine workers, or of the steel workers, or of the machinists, or of the carpenters, or of the railway workers, or of the "L" and subway workers, or of the clerks, waiters, bartenders, teamsters, longshoremen, seamen, and the numerous other occupations? Why? Will not the Robinsons answer? Perish the thought that these A. F. of L. performers have only one trick to spring. Perish the thought that no one else could go and do as the bricklayers have done. There is only one reason why all we other unfortunates are not in on the good thing; we've never organized, ain't it, Mr. Editor? At least Brother Robinson will tell us so. W. A. P. New York, August 29, 1907.

CONCRETE ILLUSTRATION OF WHAT CORRECT PRINCIPLES LEAD TO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—To give a concrete illustration of what correct agitation on the economic field will result in, I will give you an incident in the telegraphers' strike here in Goldfield.

The telegraphers' union, of which there are very few members here, sent a communication to Local 220, W. F. M. (or I. W. W., as it is often termed here), asking what their position would be if the telegraphers were called out here. After some discussion, in which was brought out the traitorous action of all the A. F. of L. in our troubles here in Goldfield (the telegraphers being an A. F. of L. union), it was decided by a unanimous vote that Local 220 would give them all the moral, financial and physical support within their power. The sense of the meeting was that regardless of the past traitorous action of the union in our trouble, it is the duty of any bona-fide labor or revolutionary organization to uphold any body of men who are in a battle with the master class. Since that meeting it has been proved that our activity is not all talk. When the master tried to import scab telegraphers and strike breakers, there were more miners, and I. W. W. men at the depot to persuade them from coming in and taking the places of the striking telegraphers, than were A. F. of L. men—the latter were conspicuous by their absence.

The master plumbers also thought that the I. W. W. would retaliate on the striking plumbers, but the I. W. W. did not know there was a plumbing shop in town, regardless of the pressing invitations to come and organize their shops in the I. W. W. So, you see, it pays to hew to the line at all times, and the A. F. of L. is learning a lesson in unionism.

Wm. J. Oberding. Goldfield, Nevada, August 22.

THE MILL CHILDREN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—"I have often thought, How can the cloth be sold for the price it is, at a profit, when it has so many processes to go through? but I know, now that I've seen children of the age of that little fellow helping out in the process," said the engineer.

We were in the finishing room of a concern in the Pawtucket Valley, a dirty, ill-smelling, badly ventilated, damp chamber. The rolls were turning out yards upon yards of material. A poor, ill-fed, little boy, who smiled up at us through the dirt of his face, was guiding the stuff into the calendar. He could not have been over ten years of age. There he sat, patiently toiling ten and three-quarter hours every day to help eke out the bare living of father, mother and sisters.

Would that my pen could portray the picture he made. The dark, damp stuff, the noise of shafting and machinery, the glare of the lights, the horrible sameness of his work—there sat a child who should have been out in the sunshine, at play with his fellows. But what chil-

dren are there at play in the "Valley"! Only the mill agents' offspring. The workers' children are needed in the mills. The knights grow fat by the toil of these helpless creatures. They are born and reared for the mill, and they know nothing but the mill, and they expect to die in the mill.

How can men apologize for a system that stands for the murder of the infants? How can women passively witness the slaughter? Prosperity! Ye Gods! How little is expected. Let's hasten the revolution, comrades. Let's save the children, our children.

Fraternally,
E. A. See.
East Providence, R. I., August 24.

FALSE REPRESENTATIONS USED TO GET STRIKE BREAKERS FOR MINNESOTA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—This evening four men came to this construction camp and showed us employment tickets issued by the J. Hoffler's Labor Exchange, 192 Third Street, New York City, N. Y.

The employment ticket reads about like this: "Employer, United States Steel Co. Destination, Duluth, Minn. Day's work, 10 hours. Wages, 20 cents per hour. Remarks: No strike."

These men understood that they were coming here to do railroad work. When they came to Duluth they were herded into a special train of the Duluth, Missabe & Northern Railroad Company with a guard at each end of the coach. Whether they were armed or not could not be seen. From Duluth the special went direct to Hibbing. From there the men were taken over by armed guards and marched to one of the mining camps. Two of the strikers managed to get into camp and tell those men that there was a strike on, and they had better leave next Monday. They all left, except a few Italians.

The Western Federation of Miners are out on strike in the United States Steel Company's mines (or the Oliver Iron Mining Co., as their name is here.)

When men are shipped out here, things are misrepresented to them. I would like to have these facts given the widest publicity.

The last few days, a special train has gone up each day with four coaches of men. The most of the men appear to be Italians.

Yours for the Revolution,
Oscar W. Nelson.
Burnett, Minn., August 18.

CARRYING ON THE PROPAGANDA CALLED FOR.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Please find enclosed money order for \$6.50, and on the separate sheet a list or club of new subscribers. I have thirteen already, and I think I can get another this evening.

I have been doing a little propaganda work in this little town for the last few months, and I am now reaping the harvest in the shape of subs for the Weekly People, which I know will be a great help to me in trying to wake up the working class out of their long slumber, and also help them to realize the class struggle going on all around them.

I have a pretty good supply of S. L. P. and I. W. W. books, and I am using them for all they are worth.

The working class has got to be educated to the fact that there is no community of interest between the working class, which is a producing class, and the capitalist class, which is an idle and exploiting class. It is a hard task to make them see things in the right light, but it can be done if every member of the S. L. P. does his duty.

I had been a member of the S. P. until about three months ago. I got disgusted with it and joined the S. L. P.

It seems strange to me now how any member in the S. P. that is honest and class conscious, can be so blind as not to be able to see which one of the two Socialist parties is the right one. We now have here an organization on the economic field, founded on the class struggle which teaches the workers that they must emancipate themselves by organizing on the political field as well as on the economic field, and while the Socialist party, which claims to be working for the emancipation of the working class and the overthrow of capitalism, still advises the workers to join that miserable craft union under the wing of the Civic Federation, and Sam Gompers, the S. L. P. rightly tells the working class they will never throw off the capitalist yoke by simply voting to remove it. The workers must use both the political and economic weapons, and when the workers have cast an overwhelming vote and the capitalist class refuses to count our vote, straightway we will do

our own counting, and taking and holding.

Ever yours for the revolution,
Thomas M. Hitchings.
Falk, California, August 18.

ADVANTAGES TO CAPITALISTS OF "DEALING WITH HEADS OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find a clipping from the Glasgow (Scotland) Weekly Mail, issue of August 3.

The Mr. Bell mentioned is the same Member of Parliament Bell, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railroad Servants, whose compliment from the Board is given attention on page 36 of "Two Pages from Roman History." It will be noticed from the enclosed clipping that Bell is still "lending a color of labor to capitalism," still as capable as ever of "seeing that a question has two sides."

R. Mackenzie.
Minneapolis, Minn., August 17.
[Enclosure.]

THE RAILWAY DISPUTE.

Lord Claud Hamilton's speech at the half-early meeting of the Great Eastern Railway Company this week was, to say the least, very provocative, and will not tend to a speedy settlement of the dispute. As was to be expected, the speech has been severely criticised by the railwaymen's leader, Mr. Bell, M.P. That gentleman has described Lord Claud Hamilton and Mr. Bonson as "incubators for Socialism," although that is a part which we may be sure they had no intention of playing. Mr. Bell, in the course of an interview with a pressman, conveyed a timely hint of the need for moderation and discretion on the part of those at the head of our great railway companies.

Lord Claud Hamilton, in dealing with the contents of a pamphlet issued a month ago by the executive committee of the A. S. R. S., entitled "The Railwaymen's Charter," remarked that "a more untruthful document I have never read," and concluded that the Great Eastern Railway Company had considered the alternative before them, and they did not intend to recognise the A. S. R. S. The directors of the North Eastern Railway have followed a more conciliatory policy. They have decided to recognise the men's union, and we believe that if the other companies did the same the other matters would be easy of settlement. Railwaymen are reasonable. It would be suicidal for themselves to make demands that would tend to cripple the railway companies. Mr. Bell has more than once promised that if it could be clearly proved that the demands he was making on behalf of the men were likely to seriously injure the companies concerned and render it impossible for them to pay a fair dividend on the capital involved, he would withdraw them. That being so, surely it would be no great hardship to give the men's society the recognition asked for. Other large employers of labour have seen the advantage of dealing with those at the head of labour organizations, and in view of the fact that railway returns tell of diminished receipts and increasing expenditure, we believe the agitation among the men would soon cease if only the companies recognised their society and its officials.

LABOR AND THE TRUSTS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Under the above heading the Ohio State of August 25 published the enclosed letter. O. F. (Enclosure.)

Editor Ohio State Journal:

Some eminent person of the Orient is quoted as criticising the Western world as being reckless and not giving proper ethical consideration to their institutions and actions in relation to general effect and accusing them of putting in motion forces over which they have no control. This criticism upon the institutions of the Western world seems to be a statement of facts that should cause serious reflection and direct attention to the necessity of more ethical culture of mind and the weighing of actions that have a general effect upon the mass of the people. No sooner had the feudal slaves of Europe gathered sufficient strength to free themselves from the bondage of the nobles than they became as bad as their former captors and entered the same business that they had shed their blood for centuries to get free from, and embarked under the modern dignified banner of business, captured their weaker brothers, yet in tribal society, and brutally sold them, as any commodity is sold in the markets of the world; later, when it became demonstrated that labor saving machinery was a better investment than property in slaves, that institution was substituted by wage slavery without responsibility for the being and welfare of the wage slave, and thus turbulent, unthinking people abolish one evil to embrace another.

We now seem to have reached a crisis in the impersonal thing called the Trust. This game bird is seemingly without a friend, and at which maledictions and

execrations are hurled from all sources—press, pulpit and statesmen. People in high and low walks of life all join in a mighty chorus against this monster that withstands it all and laughs even at the courts and turns with a threat of ruin, panic and distress to the people. This new and unique creature that is able to defend itself against all the world without a scratch, is at least a feat that should challenge the admiration of its worst thrashed enemy and denunciator, and should stir mental reflection and an inquiry as to the nature of all this struggle and learn if there is not a mistake, that they are again flying off at a tangent and expending their energies before something they know not what, nor how to utilize, manage or control! Is it not time that new tactics should be the subject of consideration?

These people who are so frantic in their attitude toward the trust surely, if they are honest and are not playing for the applause of the gallery, can remember back to the latter part of the seventies and early eighties and will recall that all the cry was against the ruinous competition, "that competition has run its course and had become a devouring element, and that something had to be done or grass would grow in the streets." Capitalism had reached the forks of the road, and it was either a trust to save the business, or return to handicraft manufacture, when Rockefeller and others saved us from retrogression. If there was any other way to save the situation than that which was taken, why did these fellows not demonstrate it? Why did they not let the world have the benefit of their wisdom? Simply because they had no other plans. This matter is not a deep, profound and unknown affair.

The course of the evolution of capital has been from zero, or the individual doing business not capitalized to the co-partnership or to the corporation and finally reaching the trust, and the more perfected trust.

There is nothing in all of this to alarm the wage earning class. On the contrary, they always being in possession of the tools, may hold the strongest position and the attitude of a supplicant.

An illustration for this point may be useful as a key to the situation. In the settlement of a strike recently, the strikers got an increase of 15 per cent. and one hour less work per day. The effect of this was reflected in the stock market with a 40 per cent. falling off in the stock. This followed to finally will leave but the inventory of the plant and machinery, leaving nothing for John D. but his day's wages for managing a job that he will not make any contest to hold as a legal right, there being no more profits.

This policy and tactics of dealing with the trusts we submit as being the only feasible and promising one. This policy being a fixed one of the working class it will bring continually better conditions and a final opening to new fields of progress.

Oscar Freer.
Columbus, O., Aug. 23, 1907.

JEREMIAH DEVINE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—At Harper Hospital, Detroit, Michigan, at 2:30 A. M., Sunday, August 25, Jeremiah Devine died.

Comrade Devine had been ailing more or less with stomach trouble during the past year. The trouble culminated in severe cramps while he was at work on Thursday evening, August 22, at about 5 P. M.

As a Socialist Devine was well and favorably known by the fifteen hundred, or more, of wage workers employed by the Burroughs Adding Machine Company, where he also was employed. They were quick to start a subscription list, but the company hearing of the case took the matter up and notified the city undertaker (to whom the body had been turned over), to remove the body to Akernkamp's, which was done, and they (the company) will pay all expenses of the burial.

L. M. Cunningham.
Detroit, Mich., August 26.

DIVIDING UP.

(Continued from page 4.)

product in a Socialist than in modern society, where almost all products are merchandise and private property. In Socialist, differently from capitalist society it is not the bulk of the products, but only the residue, that needs distribution.

But even this residue Socialist society will not be able to dispose of at will; there, too, the requirements of production will determine the course to be pursued. Seeing that production is undergoing steady changes,

AS TO POLITICS.

[The following is the introduction to "As to Politics," the latest pamphlet issued by the Labor News. The new pamphlet is one which should be carefully perused by every student of the Socialist movement. For prices see advertisement elsewhere in this issue.]

The contents of this pamphlet is a discussion that took place in the columns of The People, under the head "As to Politics," during the months of November and December, 1906, and January and February, 1907.

The discussion consisted in letters written to The People by correspondents who advocated the dropping of political action altogether, and reliance exclusively upon revolutionary, class conscious Industrial Unionism; and The People's answers. The letters are published in this pamphlet together with the answers given to each by The People, combating the error. An important part of the discussion consisted in a number of questions asked and answers to them by The People. These are also included, closing with an editorial from The People entitled "Supplemental" to the subject, and answering the last question put.

The subject-matter of the discussion, besides being of deep interest, is timely. True to the Marxian observation that, contrary to the law of bourgeois revolutions, the law obedient to which the revolutionary movement of the proletariat acts, is to "criticise-itself constantly; constantly interrupt itself in its own course; to come back to what seems to have been accomplished, in order to start over anew; to scorn with cruel thoroughness the half measures, weaknesses and meannesses of its first attempts; to seek to throw down its adversary only in order to enable him to draw fresh strength from the earth, and again to rise up against it in more gigantic stature; to constantly recoil in fear before the undefined monster magnitude of its own objects—until, finally, that situation is created which renders all retreat impossible, until the conditions themselves cry out:

"Hic Rhodus, hic salta!"—true to that Marxian observation, the Labor Movement of America is to-day thoroughly criticising itself. No more important subject of criticism can there be than half measures—one time purely of physical force, another time purely of political action—which the movement has in previous years, pursued. No more important subject to be clear upon than the proper tactics of the movement. Means and ends supplement, they even dovetail into each other. No clearness as to ends, is well conceivable without correctness of means; no correctness of means can well be hit upon without clearness as to ends. This principle is peculiarly applicable to the ends and the means thereto of the Socialist or Labor Movement.

The publication, in pamphlet form, of the discussion conducted during those four months in The People is intended to furnish in compact form the information whereby to arrive at the correct tactics wherewith to reach the goal of the Socialist Commonwealth.

so likewise will the forms and methods of distribution be subject to manifold changes in the Socialist Republic.

It is a Utopian idea to imagine that a special system of distribution is to be manufactured, and that it will stand for all time. On this field, as little as on any other, is Socialist society likely to move by leaps and bounds, or start all over anew; it is bound to go on from the point at which capitalist society ceases. The distribution of goods in a Socialist commonwealth might possibly continue for some time under forms that are essentially improved developments of the existing form of wage payment.

At any rate, this is the point from which it is bound to start. Just as the forms of wage-labor differ to day, not only from time to time, but also in various branches of industry and in various sections of the country, so likewise, may it happen that in a Socialist commonwealth the distribution of products may be carried on under a variety of forms corresponding to the various needs of the population and the historical antecedents of the industry. The conception of the Co-operative Commonwealth as a rigid, cut-and-dried, uniform institution held by hard and fast rules is mistaken. It is, on the contrary, that system that not only opposes least resistance to, but aids immeasurably the course of evolution in all its manifold branches.

(Concluded next week)

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

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

L. V. EDWARDSVILLE, ILL.—The reports of all the organizations represented in the Stuttgart Congress have been published in French in two 500-page volumes, price fifty cents each; can be had of the International Socialist Bureau, Maison du Peuple, Brussels, Belgium. We know of no German edition. No English edition was brought out.

W. R. P., COEUR D'ALENE CITY, IDAHO.—It is only fair to give the Review an opportunity to publish before matter is put in The People.

F. B., NEWPORT NEWS, VA.—Do not send in reports of S. E. C. meetings or other correspondence written on both sides of paper.

S. R., NEW YORK, N. Y.—First—It is true that the Socialist (Social Democratic) party has run candidates on its ticket who were also and at the same time candidates on Democratic as well as Republican tickets. A few years ago this occurred very frequently in the S. P. A great number of such instances of Socialist Party fusion were recorded and the record published by the Labor News

Company in a leaflet entitled "The Difference."

Second—A notable instance was the case of Social Democrat Morris Eichmann, who, in the spring of 1901, ran for office in West Hoboken, N. J., on the Republican, the Democratic, the Citizens and the Social Democratic tickets, with the knowledge, consent and approval of his Social Democratic organization.

S. U., CHICAGO, ILL.—In order to get a duplicate of your lost citizenship papers, you must make out an affidavit that you had such papers, stating when and by what court issued, and that they are irrecoverably lost. Have your signature to this affidavit attested by a notary public, and send the affidavit, together with your application for duplicate citizenship papers, to the clerk of the court by which the original papers were issued.

F. J. B., REVERE, MASS.; S. A. S., NEW YORK, N. Y.; P. O'R., MEDFORD, MASS.; S. B., DENVER, COLO.; M. S., NEW YORK, N. Y.; F. P. J., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; L. M. G., HAMILTON, CANADA; F. G. K., MILWAUKEE, WIS.; E. B., COLUMBUS, O.—Matter received.

Woman Under Socialism

By August Bebel

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN OF THE THIRTY-THIRD EDITION BY DANIEL DE LEON.

The Woman Question is not a question by itself; it is a part of the great social problem. Proceeding along this line, Bebel's work is an exhaustive analysis of the economic position of woman in the past and present. Despite the boasts of Capitalist Christianity the facts show that under Capitalism woman, especially of the working class, is degraded and dwarfed physically and mentally, while the word home is but a mockery. From such condition of parenthood the child is stunted before its birth, and the miasmas, bred from woman's economic slavery, rise so high that even the glided houses of the capitalist class are polluted. Under Socialism, woman, having economic freedom equal with man, will develop mentally and physically, and the mentally and physically stunted and dwarfed children of the capitalist system will give way to a new race. The blow that breaks the chains of economic slavery from the workingman will free woman also.

Cloth, 400 Pages, Price \$1.00

New York Labor News Co.,
28 CITY HALL PLACE, NEW YORK.

"The Concentration of Wealth"

By HENRY LAURENS CALL

Read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Columbia College, New York, December 27, 1906.

In this noted contribution to economic science, Mr. Call has shown not only the startling degree and growth of wealth concentration in the United States, but also the means by which this wealth concentration has been brought about. He has further demonstrated the justice as well as the necessity of society reclaiming all the instruments of production precisely as are "confiscated" the burglar's loot, the counterfeiter's coin, or the pirate's ship.

Some of the subjects treated are indicated by the following chapter headings:

1. A Half Century of Wealth Concentration.
2. The Growing Poverty of Industrial Society.
3. A Reign of Corruption and Plunder.
4. Industrial Society Spid Into Bondage.
5. The Modern Corporation a Monstrosity.
6. The Corporation Should Be Social, Co-operative.
7. Nature and Justice of the Required Remedy.

In this pamphlet Mr. Call has, in short, laid bare the whole industrial, financial and political situation. In the words of the New York World (applied to a former work of Mr. Call's) it is "a scientific, cold-blooded, mathematical analysis of modern industrial society, in which the tangled web of economic falsities, inconsistencies and anomalies is shown with the clearness of demonstration of a professor of anatomy."

PRICE: Paper, Ten Cents, to Sections in lots of ten or more copies at Eight Cents, Cloth, Fifty Cents, postpaid. For sale by

New York Labor News Co.,

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Paul Augustine, Acting National Secretary, 28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, W. D. Forbes, 472 Wellington Road, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
as City Hall Place, N. Y. City.
Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

A regular meeting of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee was held at 28 City Hall Place on August 25. Present: Seidel, Walters, Weisberger, Chase, Woodhouse, Romary, Malmberg. Absent: Vaughan, Katz, Wilton, Mueller, McCormick, Neuhaus, Teichlauf, Chairman, Walters.

The minutes of the previous meeting were approved, after the following corrections. (1) Section Passale Co. was wrongly recorded on the matter of raising the price of Weekly People, no vote on that matter having been received. (2) The mention of Section of Seidel, Woodhouse and Chase to Press Committee was omitted.

Communications: From Schade, Newport News telling of election of S. E. C. for Virginia, and from Muller, Virginia, to the same effect. Moved by Woodhouse, seconded by Weisberger, "that both communications from Newport News be placed on file." Carried.

From Wilton, Section Richmond Co. in answer to call for funds for party plant. This section voted to suspend publication of Daily and Sunday People, and that contents of Weekly be devoted more to matter for beginners in Socialism. Moved by Chase, seconded by Seidel, "that the correspondence from Section Richmond Co. be received and placed on file." Carried.

From S. E. C. of Pennsylvania, answering why it charged 15 cents for due stamps. Moved by Romary, seconded by Malmberg that "the communication of Pennsylvania S. E. C. on price of due stamps be filed." Carried.

From D. E. Gilchrist, Pennsylvania, voted to publish minutes of N. E. C., desired to know on behalf of Pennsylvania S. E. C. the amount of notes against the Party property, by whom held, and contracts and agreements of same, and other indebtednesses. Moved by Chase, seconded by Romary "that the request of Comrade Gilchrist for financial information be referred by letter to the N. E. C. with the recommendation that the general information asked for be forwarded to Gilchrist, but that the details asked for be not given." Carried.

From the New York World asking the National Secretary if there were reasons why a United States President should have a third term, if his first term was served by virtue of being vice-president. Moved by Romary, seconded by Chase "that the 3rd term proposition be filed." Carried.

From Reno, Nevada, report of Gillhaus, expected to work around Tonopah, Goldfield, and vicinity for some weeks; good field in Sacramento, Cal. Moved by Weisberger, seconded by Woodhouse "that letter of A. Gillhaus be received and placed on file." Carried.

From Section Louisville, 10 votes against raising the price of Weekly, none in favor; J. H. Arnold, N. E. C. member for Kentucky, moved that semi-annual assessments of 25 cents be levied by business manager to cover deficit of party plant. Moved by Seidel, seconded by Chase, "that we inform Arnold that this proposition is in the nature of an amendment to the party constitution and as such must take the course of any regular amendment. Sec. Art. V, Sect. 14, par. h." Carried.

From A. C. Holmes and S. Brearcliff, Washington, letters on party matters out there. Referred to special committee elected at last meeting.

From Section New York Co. claiming violation of party constitution inasmuch as Chase remains on the Sub-Committee while being employed on Daily People. Moved by Malmberg, seconded by Romary, "that the acting National Secretary be instructed to correspond with section New York Co. and inform them that Chase was appointed as acting editor temporarily as a member of the Sub-Committee in the absence of the editor." Carried.

Financial Report: August 17, Receipts \$65.10, expenditures, \$34.10; August 24, Receipts \$41.55, Expenditures \$42.00. Moved by Romary, seconded by Woodhouse "that the financial report be accepted with corrections." Carried. The corrections suggested were to itemize an expense of \$15.00.

The acting-National Secretary reported that the prospect previously reported of leasing the lofts had fallen through. Moved that the action

of acting-National Secretary be endorsed in the matter of leasing part of the building. Carried.

The acting-National Secretary further reported having sent Gilchrist the information as to the Stuttgart report of the S. L. P. Upon motion by Weisberger, seconded by Romary "we concur in the action of the acting-National Secretary." Carried.

The special committee reported on the State of Washington matter that it should be referred to N. E. C. Motion made by Weisberger, seconded by Romary "that the report of the committee of investigation upon the Washington State Committee be received and forwarded to the members of the N. E. C. for their approval." Carried. The motion to change the meeting days of the Sub-Committee from the 2nd and 4th Sunday afternoons to the 2nd and 4th Friday evenings of each month, was taken up. Motion was lost, seven votes against, none in favor.

The meeting, after considering and taking steps to hasten the getting out of a financial report on the party plant, adjourned.

Edmund Seidel, Recording Secretary.

VIRGINIA S. E. C.

The State Committee of the S. L. P. of Virginia met in regular session at 235 Forty-fifth street, Newport News, with Kinder in the chair.

Present: Kinder, Buxton, Neff, Badger. Absent: Rudolph.

Minutes of previous meeting were adopted as read. Results of voting for State Secretary were as follows: Richmond—Schade, 0; McDowell, 11; Roanoke—Schade, 5; McDowell, 2; Newport News—Schade, 2; McDowell, 6; totals, 7 and 19.

McDowell was declared duly elected and took up the office of State Secretary.

Vote for member of the N. E. C.: Richmond—Schade, 0; Schmidt, 11; Portsmouth—Schade, 8; Schmidt, 0; Roanoke, Schade, 0; Schmidt, 6; totals, 8 and 7.

F. E. Schmidt was declared elected as member of the N. E. C. for the State of Virginia.

It was decided to write to Section Portsmouth and enquire as to their reasons for refraining from voting for nominees for office of State Secretary.

Communications.—From Frank Bohn, in re acknowledgement for \$11.00; also in re assessment stamps. From Bohn to Muller, in re non-election of S. E. C. From Paul Augustine, also on same lines and general party affairs. From Schade, Section Newport News, in re disposition of party funds by S. E. C. and non-existence of a governing body for the State of Virginia, and re-election of an N. E. C. member for the State. From Schmidt, Section Roanoke, results of voting for N. E. C. member and State Secretary. From Muller, Section Richmond, on general party affairs. From D. L. Munro, Section Portsmouth, enclosing money order for \$3.50 for Stuttgart Congress assessment stamps, and results of voting for member of N. E. C. for Virginia and matters pertaining to general party affairs. From H. Adolph Muller, organizer Section Richmond, on the question of voting for members of S. E. C. for Virginia and State Secretary, and the turning over of correspondence and seal of S. E. C. to the newly-elected body.

Financial report for June, 1907: June 1—To cash on hand, \$30.21; Roanoke, 20 stamps, \$2.40; Richmond, 20 stamps, \$2.40; Newport News, 50 stamps, \$6; D. L. & C. F. Munro, 10 stamps, \$2.00; Section Norfolk Co., 15 stamps, \$2.00; total, 121 stamps, \$44.81. Expenditures.—To N. E. C., 100 stamps, \$7.00; postage for 6 months, \$2.80; total \$9.80; balance on hand, \$34.92.

Stamp account.—On hand, 123; bought, 100; sold, 121; balance on hand, 102.

Financial report for July, 1907.—Cash on hand July 1, \$34.92; Stuttgart Congress assessment stamps, Section Richmond, \$3.50; Norfolk Co., \$3.50; Newport News, \$4.00; Roanoke, \$2.80; total, \$49.92.

Expenditures.—To N. E. C. Stuttgart Congress assessments \$14.70; balance on hand, \$34.92; stamp account.—on hand, 102; none sold.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Fred Buxton, Recording Secretary.

OMAHA, NEB., NOTICE.

All Omaha readers of the Daily and Weekly People and S. L. P. sympathizers are requested to meet at room 38, Crouse Block, on Sunday, September 8, to complete an organization of the S. L. P. Fred Kissel.

CHICAGO OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

SATURDAY, September 7, 8 p. m., 92nd and Commercial streets.

SUNDAY, September 8, 8 p. m., Madison and Aberdeen streets.

Good speakers will address all meetings.

APPRECIATE OBLIGATION

Men Enlisted for the Revolution Stand by the Party's Weapons of Warfare.

Appreciating fully the obligation that membership in the S. L. P. imposes upon them, Party members with a little cash to spare are helping out on the Party Press Operating Fund. Many sympathizers are also just as earnest as ourselves in support of the movement, and when the word reaches them and a convenient pay-day comes around we will no doubt hear from many of them also. Just at the time when our propaganda is so much needed the agencies for furthering it should not be allowed to stand idle for lack of the financial power required to keep things going. Let us hear from more of you out-of-town folks.

Contributions to September 3:

- Fred Bruene, Brooklyn, N. Y. \$1.00
E. Schade, Newport News, Va. .50
S. Thompson, New York .50
L. Meinecke, " .50
H. Kruse, Schenectady, N. Y. 2.50
Branch III, Essex Co., N. J. 2.00
Jape Roulston, B'klyn, N. Y. 1.00
H. Richter, Hamtramck, Mich. 1.00
J. Simon, New York .50
M. L. " " .50
S. Bruch " " .75
A. Rosenthal " " .50
J. C. Schablik, Chicago, Ill. 1.00

- A. Weiss, New York .100
S. W., New York .100
J. N. McPhee, New York .100
May Heyman, New York .100
W. M. F. Perillo, B'klyn, N.Y. 1.00
Janet D. Pearl, Manhasset, L. I. .100
Skramovsky, Elizabeth, N. J. 1.00
G. T. Petersen, Elizabeth, N. J. .100
city, New York .25.00
4th and 10th A. D.'s, B'klyn 5.00
H. J. Friedman, Chicago .2.00
A. Klein, New York .1.00
L. Pilout, New York .1.00
F. Loehr, Brooklyn .1.00
P. Jacobson, Yonkers, N. Y. 2.00
H. Warlett, New York .1.00
L. Pilout, New York .1.00
K. Georgevitch, New York 1.00
C. L. Larsen, Tacoma, Wash. 1.00
A. Grosshandler, New York 1.00
F. G. Maresch, Bellingham, Wash. .1.00
M. R. .50.00
Burkhard, New York .1.00
Jos. Fruth, Elizabeth, N. J. 1.00
P. Colditz, Paterson, N. J. 1.00

Total .127.25
Previously acknowledged .51.12
Grand total .178.37

CHILDREN'S HOUR

Dear Little Comrades:

Such an army of green, jumping grasshoppers! They surrounded me as did the rats the Bishop of Bingen. Only that I much prefer the grasshoppers to the rats, as well as my own conscience to that of the Bishop.

My happy little jumpers! I caught one big fellow and he immediately began his story. "I am trying to teach my comrades that summer lasts not for ever. They pay no attention to me. The story I told them was told to me by my grandmother, but they won't believe it." Here is the story:

An ant, seeing the light-hearted, easy, lively time we grasshoppers make of life, reminded us that summer was close on to the end of its journey, and that if the grasshoppers would stop long enough to think, they would stop hopping a bit and would lay up something for a rainy day.

"Oh, you had better stop digging a bit, Mr. Wise Ant, and join us in our frolic. Life is too pleasant in this tall grass to be worried. Hop and skip as we do."

Winter came. The grasshoppers had been forgotten with other summer experience. Only one or two grasshoppers were left.

They were cold and hungry. Suddenly they came across their summer friend, the ant.

It was comfortable and happy. "Oh, kind friend, give us some food; we are nearly starved."

"Oh, no!" replied the wise ant. "In the summer time you played while I worked, and now you may go without food. Perhaps you will think better of my advice next time." Poor old hopper! His lesson was dearly paid for.

Now, little folks, profit by this lesson. "Make hay while the sun shines." While you are young and do not yet wear the yoke of toil, and your minds are free from care, study and work for Socialism. There may come a time when you would give the world if you could again have those days of joy in which you could have learned so much of Socialism, and yet you, like the grasshoppers, thought of nothing but "a jolly time."

You will wish you had learned more about our Cause, so that you might be fit to help us in our work of emancipation of the wage-slaves. "Make hay while the sun shines." Begin work right now. Lovingly, AUNT ANNETTA.

"R. F. D." A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

By Mrs. Frank Lee.

[Every boy and most healthy girls enjoy stories of pioneer days, with their dangerous adventures.

Here is one which shows how—well, I shall let you find the lesson in it for yourself. You may thank Comrade Boyle of Massachusetts for it, as he sent it on, asking that it be printed in "The Children's Hour," for the lesson it carries. Personally, I thank Comrade Boyle for his kind interest in our work and also for the kind words of encouragement.]

In 1811, Cleveland was a frontier village on the shore of Lake Erie. It was, however, the centre of a wide

radius of country; twenty, thirty, forty, fifty miles away in the forest were small settlements, or the scattered homes of individual pioneers, to which the straggling village was the nearest depot of supplies and mail. Once a week, or a fortnight, as the case might be, individuals took their turns at going after the mail, and doing errands at the same time for the stay-at-home neighbors. It is with one of these volunteer mail-carriers that the present story deals.

The shop of the one gunsmith of the place had its usual complement of customers, one morning in autumn. Whoever else might lack work, this artisan seldom did, though he might have a little spare time when the pioneers were plowing and cultivating the few acres they had wrested from the forest. Even then—for he could be blacksmith and wheelwright as well—he was still a busy man; and it was a wise farmer in those days who carried his rifle afield with him, for a rattlesnake might whir at his feet, a bear start lumbering from the thicket, or a foe, more stealthy than either, lurk in the edge of the forest.

Here in the shop of the gunsmith the original American race did not lack for a representative, for a dark-haired, stolid-faced person, wrapped in a soiled blanket, leaned against the log wall of the room, and had moved only his deep-set, black eyes since taking up his position there. The other occupants of the shop, besides the gunsmith and his assistant, were three men dressed in hunting-shirts and leggings of leather, with the almost universal "coonskin" cap on their heads.

A youth of about eighteen entered with the air of one in haste. Over one shoulder hung a powder horn; over the other a large leather haversack, or bag, which bulged to repletion, as did every pocket, and even his hunting-shirt, which pouched out in front like the blouse of the boy who has just come from a visit to the orchard in apple time. His appearance set three of the onlookers to chuckling; the Indian's face did not change.

"My word, Laddy," said one of the three, "tis hard to tell where you would carry another budget, unless it were on your head."

"He has one there," said another, reaching up to poke at the youth's cap—and there was a second cap!

"What bothers me the most," said the young man, joining in the merriment that his laden condition caused, "is whether I've remembered half the things they charged me with. If I have forgotten even one, my life will be a worse burden for the next se'night."

"There's the mail first, I reckon," said the gunsmith.

"That of course; it is in the bottom of the bag. If anything happens to that, I shall take to the woods. Let me see—this packet is for the McCarty's, this stops at Zeigler's. Timothy Drew's tobacco and his son's jackknife are on this side; Mrs. Cole's buttons and store tea are in my cap. Grandam Fuller's knitting-needles in the bag. There were my fingers twice over, and two thumbs besides. Is my gun ready, Tom?"

weapon, snapping the hammer several times.

(To be Continued).

A NEW BRANCH ORGANIZED.

Here is a letter that speaks for itself. I know the writer must succeed if the spirit of this letter is kept up. And it is the spirit of "I never die that succeeds in everything. It is that spirit that has kept up the people in every great movement started. Determination, persistence, spunk and "get there" bring about success in the things for which the Socialist lives.

"The Young Socialists of America" will teach the world its lesson. More! more! Let them come, and welcome! This letter will receive personal reply and all the help possible.

Cincinnati, O., August 20, 1907. I would like to join the Young Socialist Club. I have a good many friends in Cincinnati and Newport who will join with me. One of my friends and I are thinking of having a small branch Club in Cincinnati. With a little help I think we could manage it well, as we are both over 12 years of age.

Enclosed please find money order for fifty cents for dues, and kindly enroll me as a member.

From a Comrade, Louis Astrow.

NEW YORK STATE AGITATION FUND.

Receipts for this fund, from August 6 to August 31, have been as follows: E. Moonelis, New York, \$2

- and \$2 .4.00
Section Kings County .15.00
K. Georgewitch, New York 2.00
Branch Yonkers, \$3 and \$3.50 6.50
Section Richmond County .3.00
18 A. D., New York .75
John Lindgren, Brooklyn .2.00

Total .33.25
Previously acknowledged .43.44

Grand total .76.69

Collections for this fund should be pushed more energetically than has been the case so far so as to make certain the continuance of Comrade Carroll's tour until the close of the outdoor season. Collect at all times and wherever possible and send all moneys intended for this fund to the undersigned.

For the New York State Executive Committee, Henry Kuhn, Fin. Sec'y, 28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

R. T. SIMS.

Section Milwaukee warns and informs all party members that an individual by the name of R. T. Sims is a disreputable and unreliable character. While a member of Section Milwaukee, he paid four months' dues. He was expelled from the Social Socialist Democratic party, and A. F. of L. While a member of the S. L. P. he misrepresented the Party, if it was for his material interest. He left Milwaukee sometime ago, and to our present knowledge is agitating for the "Public Ownership Party" (alias Socialist Party) in Minneapolis. He was suspended by Section Milwaukee last May for non-payment of dues.

We again warn all Sections not to admit him as a member, if he applies for membership, which he might again do.

By order of Section Milwaukee, Norman A. Koolchinsky, Organ., Al. Schnabel, Jr., Record Sec'y, Milwaukee, Wis., August 27.

SECTION SEATTLE, WASH., NEW OFFICERS.

Organizer, D. G. O'Hanrahan; Financial Secretary, J. D. Weinstine; Recording Secretary, H. J. Hart; Grievance Committee, J. E. Sullavane, J. Kaegi, J. Walsh; Literary Committee, W. Redman, D. G. O'Hanrahan, P. O'Hanrahan; Program Committee, Abe Brearcliff, John T. Walsh, Anna Tewksbury.

ETTOR IN SPOKANE.

(Continued from Page One)

"The unorganized took the places of the union men that were out on strike for living wages and as many hours as a mule would care to work."

"The 'good' union men, engineers and firemen, by remaining at work, furnished motive power for the Farleyites to run the cars. The union teamsters hauled food and other supplies for the non-union men, and then assessed themselves to support the strikers."

"The Industrial Workers of the World by organizing all these workers into one union would do away with organized scabbing. The Industrial Workers of the World insist and are organized on the great fact that between the laboring class and capital there can be no identity of interests, and that there is an irrepressible class struggle going on between them."

"The American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, prates about the 'identity of interests between brother

THE WEEK BEFORE US

EFFECTIVE PROPAGANDA DEPENDS UPON EACH ONE DOING HIS SHARE AND STARTING AT IT RIGHT NOW.

Subscriptions were a little better last week, but nothing like the number that but one a month from each member would produce—that is an average of 500 a week. For the week ending Friday the 30th, we received 134 subs to the Weekly People, and 43 mail subs to the Daily People, a total of 177.

Those sending five or more were: T. W. Hitching, Falk, Cal., 13; V. F. Doblinski, Manchester, Mt., 9; H. J. Friedman, Chicago, 7; H. Jaeger, Chicago, 8; Press Committee, Boston, 10; D. G. O'Hanrahan, Seattle, Wash., 6; O. P. Stoner, Claypool, Ind., 5.

We would call the attention of those readers of the Weekly People desiring prompt news from the I. W. W. convention to the desirability of at once sending on their subscriptions for the Daily People. Send on 40 cents for a month's subscription, or, better yet, send one dollar and get the paper for three months. You won't regret the expenditure.

Now, comrades, it is time to arouse yourselves to action. Thousands of dollars you have expended on establishing your plant, and it became necessary to spend other thousands in moving it to new quarters. Liberally you have responded to the call of the movement to establish a weapon of propaganda that should be its own alone. But like any other such weapon it is of value only if used.

The value of the Party's Press cannot be measured alone by its circulation, it is true. Rather is its value in that it is the peace-setter of the movement. Nevertheless, its effectiveness as such must to a certain extent be measured by its circulation, in other words by the support. To make the Party Press fully effective it must have a wider circulation and this circulation can be secured. What the men on this week's "roll of honor" have done, all to some extent can do. You can at least get one subscription a month to the Weekly People. You can surely dispose of one pamphlet a week.

Thousands of workers are mentally starving for the literature of the Party and would eagerly grasp it if you but placed it within their reach. It is you that must do this work—you who have built this plant, it is you that must use it if the movement is to progress as it should.

We know of no reason why the Weekly People should not receive 500 yearly subscriptions each week. Now don't wait for some other comrade to do your share. If that idea prevailed nothing would be accomplished. All must pull together in this work, just as we have so often done before in other matters, and with such good results.

We want 500 yearly subscriptions a week to the Weekly People. How many will resolve to see that they are forthcoming next week's record will indicate.

labor and brother capital. Believing that it would be of interest to the laboring class of Spokane to have a plain and open discussion of these propositions, your body is hereby challenged to meet the representative of the I. W. W. to debate the subject: 'Resolved, That the best interests of the working class can best be served by the I. W. W. form of organization,' or to make it better for your representative. Resolved, that the American Federation of Labor is not a bona fide labor organization, and therefore incompetent in protecting the interests of labor.'

"It is understood by this letter that your organization may choose any one they wish to represent them, and that the Industrial Workers of the World will pay all hall and advertising expenses."

"Hoping your body will see its way clear in accepting this challenge, we are yours with best wishes."

"INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD."

"By Joseph W. Ettor, general organizer."

IN SCHENECTADY.

(Continued from Page One)

tion of the committee. There are about a thousand of those molders.

"When they went out for the reinstatement of the 43 men, Kehoe, First Vice-President of the Molders' Union, came to Schenectady. We spoke to the molders and told them Kehoe would sell them out, and they found it out. They were sent back. Some of them were given a raise of 25 cents per day, and the piece workers were given a cut; and a contract was made for them for a year.

"I met one of the molders," said Weber, "and he said 'Well, we won. We got 25 cents increase.' 'Did you get your 43 men back?' I asked him. 'No,' said he 'the company had a pretty good excuse on that. There was what they called a dog-shed had to be moved, and they had to lay off about 45 men.' 'Don't you know?' I asked him, 'that you sold out those men for a measly 25 cents a day?' The worst of it, or the best of it, is that all the men who got the increase are now being laid off and the work is being given to those who went back with the cut."

"The workers are learning in Schenectady."

I. W. W. CONVENTION.

THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD OPENS IN CHICAGO SEPTEMBER 16 '07.

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Industrial organization. W. J.