

RUSSIA.

Widespread Discontent Arising Among the Peasants.

An Interesting Secret Police Document Made Public by "Free Russia"—Shows that the Peasants, So Long Patient and Submissive, Are Being Reached by the Revolutionary Propaganda—An ill Omen for Russian Despotism.

A very interesting secret document has recently leaked out from the St. Petersburg official pigeon-hole. It is the confidential circular, No. 4,894, dated July 23 of June, 1898 (6. 8.), and addressed by the Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to all the Provincial Governors. It runs thus: "According to information received by the Ministry of Internal Affairs it is noticed that in certain provinces, principally those of the South and South-West, a series of disorders has lately arisen among the peasants. These disturbances have taken the form of systematic damage to the landowners' fields and meadows, to which the peasants' cattle were taken for pasture under guard of the villagers armed with sticks, stones and forks—also attacks on the landlords' guards and patrols, and of extensive pillaging of the landlords' houses accompanied by fights with the peasants. On the seizure of the peasants' cattle by the patrols the inhabitants of a whole village sometimes combine for its recapture, and make armed attacks on the houses and farms of the nobles, devastating agricultural buildings and even dwelling houses, causing bodily injury to and mutilating the servants and watchmen. Similar acts of violence have been accompanied in certain cases by armed resistance to the authorities who have come to quell the disturbance, the police were beaten and wounded, while in the province of Voronezh, in the month of May (1898), a shot was fired by some unknown miscreant at a farmer and the Stanovoy Pristav, who had taken part in putting down the disturbances (which had arisen on the ground of a misunderstanding between the peasants and the farmer) whereby the official was killed. Besides this, another case occurred in which a landowner was cruelly handled at a market place by a crowd of people, in consequence of some dispute as to the terms of payment for field labor, and threats were used of obtaining in future satisfaction by similar means on other contractors. "In the above-mentioned instances of violence and license by the peasants the local authorities were helpless, and in most cases, from fear of violence to themselves, took no means to repress the disorders. "Such acts of license on the part of the peasantry, whereby private people are deprived of an assurance of safety for their persons and property, bear witness to the fact that the quiet and regular course of public life is insufficiently secured, and this must in a certain degree be attributed to the fault of the local administration and police authorities whose duty it is to take measures towards a timely removal of all misunderstandings which may arise, and to firmly safeguard public order and peace. "Recognizing, in consequence of this situation, the urgent need of putting an end to such undesirable conduct of the peasants towards the landlords, I have the honor, Sir, to beg that you will direct the authorities under you, that they should take the most decided steps to avert and crush any manifestations of violence on the part of the peasants and to bring to justice all those guilty of violence and taking the law in their own hands. With this aim in view, the District Commanders, permanent members of the Crown Boards for the Administrations of the Peace and the Arbitrators of the Peace and all officers of the police force should be ordered:— "1) That increased observations be kept on fairs, markets, and generally on all places where the peasants and working people congregate. (2) That close attention be paid to the reciprocal relations of the peasants to the landowners and farmers, and steps be taken in time to remove any cause of disagreement and collision in those places where, owing to economic conditions, such disagreements may occur. (3) To watch closely rural advocates; also new-comers who have no fixed occupation, or agitators who were administratively removed from other districts; likewise to keep an eye on vicious people and those of the local peasantry who, owing to their turbulent and unsatisfactory behavior, are inclined to acts of violence and whose influence on their fellows may be pernicious. In cases where it is shown that such persons are instigating disorders among the peasants, they should immediately be arrested in view of the Statutes for the State of Siege; at the same time a short report of their proceedings should be furnished to me, so that they be removed from any given locality. (4) In those places where the rural population may be in a state of ferment it should be notified to the peasants that violence cannot be justified by any reasons or causes whatsoever and that the authors will be held severely responsible. Whereupon, if the agitation assumes a threatening character, your Excellency should at once send to the spot trusty persons or the Vice-Governor, in order to make the peasants hear reason. In more serious cases you should go yourself, and if the necessity arises the troops should immediately be called out, so that an agitation which might otherwise result in violence and rebellion may be nipped in the bud. In case of open disorder breaking out, measures should at once be taken for promptly and decisively crushing it, and in still more serious infringements of the peace it is imperative that the Vice-Governor or your Excellency should be in command on the spot. In addition to this it is incumbent for the administrative authority to immediately arrest the ringleaders and participants in the disturbance before the arrival of the judicial authority on the base of the Statutes for the State of Siege, and a most careful investigation of the circumstances causing the tumult, so that the judicial powers may have at their disposal all the information necessary for a preliminary investigation and a successful prosecution of the guilty persons. After such persons having completed the terms of the punishment, inflicted on them by the law courts your Excellency should consider the question of the advisability of temporarily removing the said persons from localities where their pernicious influence had been manifested, as a means of preventing new disturbances; then this question should be recommended to my attention for my decision. "In those cases where the acts committed are not of such a character as to bring them under the jurisdiction of the law courts, your Excellency should act in the manner as prescribed by section 3 of this circular. "Whilst placing the timely prevention and stopping of disturbances on the personal responsibility of the Provincial Governors, I consider it indispensable to add that in all cases where disorder, violence or rioting may take place in any locality, the Ministry will pay a stern attention to the question of responsibility of those persons whose duty it was to ascertain and prevent these outbreaks. "Signed in the original by Gorenyskin, the Minister for Home Affairs; countersigned by the Director, Zvolynsky."

FEDERATION.

Nineteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

The Convention Lasts a Long Time, But Accomplishes Little—Socialism Comes in for Its Share in the Discussion—A Meaningless Resolution on Trusts.

The Nineteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was opened at Detroit, Michigan, on Monday morning, December 11. In the absence of President Gompers, the convention was called to order by Second Vice-President James Duncan. An address of welcome was read by Mr. Grivell, on behalf of the Detroit Central Labor Union; it was full of the usual fine phrases about "this great republic" and "justice and equality," and declared that the workers are to solve the labor problem "without loss of life or property," with particular emphasis on the "property." The Committee on Credentials reported a list of over 180 delegates, the largest ever recorded at an A. F. of L. convention. The British organizations were represented by Alex. Wilkie, of the Shipwrights, and Jas. Haslam, of the Miners; the Canadian by D. A. Carey. While the Committee was acting upon protests, Delegate Duncan read a lengthy annual report from President Gompers. The report of Secretary Morrison followed, pointing to great gains made by the Federation during the past year, due, no doubt, to the improved conditions of industry. The income showed an increase of \$17,862.98 over that of last year, of which \$5,230.61 was derived from the two per cent. assessment levied by the last convention to defray expenses of organizers in the Southern and Inter-Mountain Districts. Total receipts were over \$40,000; total expenses, \$30,000—an increase of \$11,400; balance on hand, a little over \$9,000. The heaviest single item of expenses was that of \$4,373.68 for organizing purposes, of which two-thirds was spent in the Southern and Inter-Mountain Districts. The total increase of membership was stated at 144,282. New unions numbering 2,264 were reported as organized during the year. The "Federationist" showed a deficit of \$900; total expense of publication, a little over \$4,000. President O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, read his report as fraternal delegate to the British Congress at Plymouth. He said that the majority of the delegates there were not in sympathy with socialism, although they favored independent political action. J. H. Sullivan, fraternal delegate to the last Canadian Trade Union Congress reported that that body passed a resolution favoring independent political action and repudiating the capitalist parties, which resolution was then sent to a referendum vote. The Tuesday morning session was largely occupied by the introduction of resolutions and by the report of the Federation Council. This report dealt at length with the attempt to lobby for labor legislation in Congress—generally unsuccessful. It dealt also with the troubles of the organizations of brewers and the coopers, the painters, the woodworkers, the bartenders and hotel and restaurant employees, the metal polishers, the Typographical and Machinists' Unions, and others. It recommended closer connection between the A. F. of L. and the national and international unions, especially that no boycott should be declared by local unions, but that all difficulties be referred to the A. F. of L. for preliminary adjustment, and that only on the failure of such attempted adjustment a boycott should be declared by the Federation. The Committee on Resolutions recommended that the resolution on the Idaho outrages be referred to the Council. The recommendation was adopted. Thus the first attempt to side-track this question succeeded. At the afternoon session, a Mr. Kennedy, claiming to be a delegate of the "International Farmers' Union," appeared, but was refused admission. Most of the afternoon was spent in a wrangle over the admission of a delegate of the Omaha C. L. U., hinging on the fight between rural painters' unions. Susan B. Anthony addressed the Convention, asking it to give its endorsement to a petition to Congress for a woman's suffrage amendment. The request was referred to the Resolution Committee. On Wednesday morning, Delegate Fahay of Tennessee made a plea for greater efforts to organize the South, pointing out that the unions in the South were helping to abolish the color line. This point was loudly applauded. The painters' fight was continued, but not settled. In the afternoon session, Mr. Wilkie, the British fraternal delegate, spoke a great deal about international organization and independent politics, but paid particular attention to the Socialists, insisting, in the time-honored phrase, that "there is no short cut to the Millennium." A resolution was passed, boycotting the Chicago "Record" and "Daily News." In the Thursday morning session, the New York "Sun" matter came up and a strong resolution was passed, condemning the "Sun" and endorsing the boycott. In the discussion, Comrade Hayes pointed out that the "Sun" fight was only the beginning of a general attack by the publishers upon the printing organizations, and that a victory against the "Sun" would be the beginning of the downfall of these powerful

unions. He then drew the attention of the delegates to the underlying cause of the trouble, that the working people have voted into power representatives of the capitalist class, who are using all means to crush the organizations of labor. To resist effectively, we must back up our unions with a fight against the "Sun" with a united and intelligent fight at the ballot box to place in power men representing our own interests. A resolution was passed condemning the use of Federal troops to enforce injunctions against organized labor and declaring against the increase of the standing army beyond the regular quota of 25,000 men. Another resolution protested against the contract labor slave system in Hawaii and demanding its abolition. Another pledged the support of the A. F. of L. to the seamen in their effort for an amendment of law that will allow seamen to quit work when they desire.

STICKERS.

Middleton, Conn., Dec. 13.—Killed while trying to break into a bank. Justifiable homicide. This epithet, made by a Coroner's jury here to-day, may be the only one that is ever written for a burglar, the top of whose head was blown off by the mortar of Harry Tyler, night watchman of the Deep River Savings Bank, while the fellow was trying to break into that institution. Poor, poor fool, burglar. Had he been properly brought up in the way he should go, he would have known that the proper way to rifle a bank is not to break into it at night, but to be a cashier in it in the daytime, to have "confidence reposed" in you, be a highly respected deacon of the church and superintendent of the Sunday school, "move in good society," and then move off with all the millions in it. The fellow would not dare to blow the top of your head off; to blow the top of your head off would be murder—most "unjustifiable homicide," for which the shooter would be hanged. If caught you might be put into prison for your sake, but you would have sympathy and flowers, and a "pardon" before your time was half up. Young man, don't be a vulgar, fool burglar; it is bad form, and exposes you to having the top of your head blown off. Learn to be polite, suave, and pious. You will find you can get on in the world much better and get off with the swag much pleasanter.

General Gates (who recently was defeated at St. Paul) is what is known as an "office general," and it was tacitly admitted by the authorities of the War Office that he was selected in order to provide a sop for the clique of which he forms a unit. He has seen little active service in the field under the conditions which the British troops have to face in the present contest, and it was freely prophesied in London, when the war began, that disaster would overtake any commander under his command.

General Merriam's signature to the proclamation makes him a party to the permit system.

Mr. McKinley told his callers he understood Democrats were very much opposed to government by injunction, and all they asked for was an investigation—one of the members, losing his self-control, said: "Then the only thing for us to do is to go and begin a public agitation and call the attention of the country to the conditions existing in our land."

To this Mr. McKinley responded: "OH! NO, DON'T DO THAT. LET ME HAVE A LITTLE TIME, AND I AM SURE WE WILL ARRANGE THE MATTER TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE."

Since that time nothing has been done except to make a military despatch more and more stringent.

A "Whitewash" for Idaho. Evidently the Standard Oil capitalists and their servants, the State authorities of Idaho, have private assurances that the Congressional investigation will be a "whitewash," as anyone who knows anything of such affairs may expect. The Auditor, Bartlett Sinclair, who applied for the Federal troops, who devised the Bull Pen, and who wrote the infamous proclamation that Merriam countermanded, has issued the following statement: "The State administration of Idaho will welcome a thorough Congressional investigation of the Cour d'Alene riots of April 29, wherein two men were shot by the rioters and a concentrator, valued at \$250,000, was destroyed. The State would be pleased to have the investigation go back as far as 1892. "We will do all we can to induce Congress to make the investigation. "The investigation should embrace the conduct of the State authorities in quelling the disturbances and prosecuting the rioters as well as the necessity for the declaration of martial law."

The New York "World" sent a man to interview Sinclair and get his side of the story—as if his side were not the only side that has been heard until the labor papers, and particularly the Socialist papers, forced the issue upon public notice. The "World" correspondent says:

No fewer than twenty newspapers in Pittsburgh have been compelled, during the last few days, to print a story, in consequence of the fact that the labor papers, and particularly the Socialist papers, forced the issue upon public notice. The "World" correspondent says:

"I found Mr. Sinclair—like so many other men of great force of character and indomitable will and courage—in manner, dignified, polished, personally simple in taste, quiet and temperate in words, and honest in his avowed sentiments. He is a lawyer and a graduate of Columbia College."

A Fort Scott, Kansas, dispatch, of December 13, says: "John P. Reese, National Commissioner of the United Mine Workers of America, who was recently released from the Federal jail in this city, where he was confined on a thirty-day sentence for contempt, by addressing a strikers' meeting in Yale in violation of a Federal Court injunction, this afternoon and to-night repeated his act of contempt in a defiant manner by addressing large meetings of strikers in the same hall where he spoke before. "National Committeeman Boston, of Duquoin, Ill., District President Ross, who is also under injunction, and Attorney Boaz, who defended Reese in the contempt case, were also speakers at the meetings. One of the general attorneys for the Big Four coal companies, who prosecuted Reese, came to-night that the companies had a stenographer at the meetings. "He had requested to report from there, but if Reese repeated his act of contempt, the Federal Court would be immediately asked to cite him again. "The meeting was a formal violation of the temporary release of Reese, who is out under a \$1,000 bond, pending the hearing of an application for his permanent release on a writ of habeas corpus by the Federal Court of Appeals. He served notice on the court and on the coal companies, before his release, that as soon as his liberty was restored he would resume his work in the interest of the strikers in defiance of the Federal Court, and immediately upon his release all union strikers were ordered to abstain from four days to permit the miners to join the strikers in a series of meetings to be addressed by him in different parts of the district, and the court held that his going there constituted non-union mining. This afternoon and to-night a vast crowd assembled there to hear him. His remarks were chiefly a criticism of Judge Williams and Federal Courts in general, and the miners were boisterous with enthusiasm. "Judge Williams was denounced as a traitor to justice, a tool of corporations and more dangerous to the country's welfare than all the anarchists, if Reese's other meeting intimidated non-union miners, today's gathering and the utterances of the speakers more than intimidated them. "Reese's meetings are announced three days in advance. He will be at Writ City to-morrow, at Plending Friday, and an effort is being made to get the 3,000 strikers and 5,000 union men together at Beaumont Saturday. Meanwhile all union mines will be shut down. The coal companies cannot get a report of his speech to-night. They are expecting serious trouble and are preparing to institute a wholesale lot of contempt proceedings. "Judge Williams is now at Little Rock, Ark. He was substituting for Judge Hook of Kansas when he sentenced Reese, and the strikers are now out of his jurisdiction. National Committeeman Boston was even more bitter in his remarks than Reese."

Populist Vagaries. The Populist papers, and particularly Ignatius Donnelly's "Representative" are giving much attention to the showing up of the fact that prosperity exists only for the Trusts, and is, therefore, not a prosperity for the people; and the for the farmer the present conditions, even with big crops, are no better than in recent years, as farm products are generally lower in price and the manufactured articles that the farmer uses are generally higher in price this year. But now comes the Omaha "Nonconformist" with an "I told you so" article, in which it declares that the present prosperity is due to the fact that there is now more money in circulation per capita than in 1898, and that prosperity has increased in proportion to the increase in money circulation, and that the latter is the cause of the prosperity, and further says that this present condition upholds the Populist theory that plenty of money would make the people prosperous. "As all the Populist organs are special pleaders for the farmer, how do they come out on this line? "Mr. Populist, if more money makes plenty of prosperity for the Trusts and does not make the condition of the farmer, where are the advantages for the farmer in the quantitative theory of money?—The Clear Struggle."

THE "BULL PEN" INVESTIGATION.

The Shameful Abuses in the Cour d'Alene Forced Upon Public Attention.

Even the Yellow Dailies Beginning to Exploit the Outrages—McKinley Frightened by the Threat of Publicity—The Investigation by a Congressional Committee Evidently Intended for a "Whitewash"—A "Polished Gentleman"—Troubles in Kansas Continued.

Now that the truth about the capitalist outrages in Idaho has been forced upon public attention, the great sensational dailies, after half a year of silence, are beginning to pose as champions of liberty. We know what estimate to place upon their liberality, when they, so eager for "scoops" and the very latest news, wait five months before giving us this report of the interview granted by His Imperial Majesty William McKinley to a delegation, of which Edward Boyce, President of the Western Federation of Miners, was the spokesman:

The President asked what the delegation desired.

Mr. Boyce answered: "We desire that the United States troops shall be used only to preserve order and not to destroy organized labor."

The President insisted that such a thing as the latter could not be possible. To him was quoted then a speech by Brigadier-General Merriam, commanding the United States troops in Idaho, and delivered soon after his arrival at Wardner. In this speech Merriam said:

"It seems to me since the trouble arose originally in hostile organizations of men known as labor unions, I should suggest a law making the formation of such unions or kindred societies a crime. Surely, history furnishes argument sufficiently in favor of such a course."

The President was also shown a set of the applications for labor permits, and his attention was especially called to a proclamation drawn up by the attorney for the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines (the Standard Oil mines) and signed by Bartlett Sinclair, with this addendum:

"Examined and approved, H. C. Merriam, Brigadier-General, U. S. Army."

Merriam Approved Permits. This proclamation, addressed to the mine-owners of Shoshone County, declared that certain organizations existing in the county had shown themselves to be criminal in purpose, in inciting destruction of property and life. No organization was named.

In the second paragraph it directed the mine-owners to refuse to give employment to any man who did not bring a permit issued by Dr. Hugh France (an employee of the Bunker Hill mine) or his deputy, and the conditions under which these permits were to be issued were stated, including a pledge that the applicant would not belong to the Miners' Union.

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port submitted the following, relating to Trusts:

"The President makes some timely and truthful observations and your committee agrees in his opinion that the Trust should be considered by the labor movement as a major outside commercial activity. The evil influence resulting from concentrated capital can only be met by fully realizing that the State cannot successfully legislate against this so-called 'growing evil.' It is, therefore, manifestly the duty of the State, as well as of the labor movement, to meet this situation and to treat the subject as a natural development which can only be alleviated and finally cured by remedies taken from the industrial garden. Organization of labor free from all anti-combination laws gives full freedom to use its own natural weapons and the thoughtful and earnest support of all lovers of industrial freedom will meet this evil and overcome it in the natural evolutionary way. We, therefore, ask from the legislatures not anti-combination laws, but the sweeping away of those now in existence, to the end that the Trust may not have at its command the judicial, executive, and military machinery of the political State."

Consideration of this remarkable document was postponed till Tuesday. On Tuesday, a large number of resolutions were passed upon, mostly relating to affairs not of general interest. The recommendation of the Committee on President's Report was then taken up. Comrade Max Hayes, delegate to the Cleveland C. L. U., moved to amend by adding:

"And, furthermore, that this convention call upon the trade unionists of the United States and workmen generally to carefully study the development of Trusts and monopolies, with a view to nationalizing the same."

This practically places the Federation in the position of endorsing the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, or, at least, opening the door to that principle. Delegate Hayes made a short speech on the question, in which he declared that the time had arrived for the trade unions to take a step forward and encourage their members to educate themselves upon the logical and scientific solution of the labor question. The speaker was warmly received and his amendment was adopted almost unanimously.

Another remarkable passage in the report, referring to industrial crises, cannot be given now, but will be presented next week, in the Galathea, in the report of the delegates. But there is no teaching fool, and I suppose Gallifet would try it again if he had the chance.

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The New York "World" sent a man to interview Sinclair and get his side of the story—as if his side were not the only side that has been heard until the labor papers, and particularly the Socialist papers, forced the issue upon public notice. The "World" correspondent says:

"I found Mr. Sinclair—like so many other men of great force of character and indomitable will and courage—in manner, dignified, polished, personally simple in taste, quiet and temperate in words, and honest in his avowed sentiments. He is a lawyer and a graduate of Columbia College."

A Fort Scott, Kansas, dispatch, of December 13, says: "John P. Reese, National Commissioner of the United Mine Workers of America, who was recently released from the Federal jail in this city, where he was confined on a thirty-day sentence for contempt, by addressing a strikers' meeting in Yale in violation of a Federal Court injunction, this afternoon and to-night repeated his act of contempt in a defiant manner by addressing large meetings of strikers in the same hall where he spoke before. "National Committeeman Boston, of Duquoin, Ill., District President Ross, who is also under injunction, and Attorney Boaz, who defended Reese in the contempt case, were also speakers at the meetings. One of the general attorneys for the Big Four coal companies, who prosecuted Reese, came to-night that the companies had a stenographer at the meetings. "He had requested to report from there, but if Reese repeated his act of contempt, the Federal Court would be immediately asked to cite him again. "The meeting was a formal violation of the temporary release of Reese, who is out under a \$1,000 bond, pending the hearing of an application for his permanent release on a writ of habeas corpus by the Federal Court of Appeals. He served notice on the court and on the coal companies, before his release, that as soon as his liberty was restored he would resume his work in the interest of the strikers in defiance of the Federal Court, and immediately upon his release all union strikers were ordered to abstain from four days to permit the miners to join the strikers in a series of meetings to be addressed by him in different parts of the district, and the court held that his going there constituted non-union mining. This afternoon and to-night a vast crowd assembled there to hear him. His remarks were chiefly a criticism of Judge Williams and Federal Courts in general, and the miners were boisterous with enthusiasm. "Judge Williams was denounced as a traitor to justice, a tool of corporations and more dangerous to the country's welfare than all the anarchists, if Reese's other meeting intimidated non-union miners, today's gathering and the utterances of the speakers more than intimidated them. "Reese's meetings are announced three days in advance. He will be at Writ City to-morrow, at Plending Friday, and an effort is being made to get the 3,000 strikers and 5,000 union men together at Beaumont Saturday. Meanwhile all union mines will be shut down. The coal companies cannot get a report of his speech to-night. They are expecting serious trouble and are preparing to institute a wholesale lot of contempt proceedings. "Judge Williams is now at Little Rock, Ark. He was substituting for Judge Hook of Kansas when he sentenced Reese, and the strikers are now out of his jurisdiction. National Committeeman Boston was even more bitter in his remarks than Reese."

Populist Vagaries. The Populist papers, and particularly Ignatius Donnelly's "Representative" are giving much attention to the showing up of the fact that prosperity exists only for the Trusts, and is, therefore, not a prosperity for the people; and the for the farmer the present conditions, even with big crops, are no better than in recent years, as farm products are generally lower in price and the manufactured articles that the farmer uses are generally higher in price this year. But now comes the Omaha "Nonconformist" with an "I told you so" article, in which it declares that the present prosperity is due to the fact that there is now more money in circulation per capita than in 1898, and that prosperity has increased in proportion to the increase in money circulation, and that the latter is the cause of the prosperity, and further says that this present condition upholds the Populist theory that plenty of money would make the people prosperous. "As all the Populist organs are special pleaders for the farmer, how do they come out on this line? "Mr. Populist, if more money makes plenty of prosperity for the Trusts and does not make the condition of the farmer, where are the advantages for the farmer in the quantitative theory of money?—The Clear Struggle."

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Published Weekly
At 184 William Street, New York.
By the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association.
Telephone Call: 302 John.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.
Invariably in advance.

One Year	50c.
Six months	25c.
Three months	15c.
Single Copies	5c.

Bundle Rates:
100 copies for \$10.00
500 copies for \$45.00
1000 copies for \$85.00
2500 copies for \$175.00
5000 copies for \$325.00

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y. Post office April 6, 1911.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,544
In 1898	82,204

NOTICE.
As will be seen by the report of the National Executive Committee, it has been decided to change the date of meeting of the National Convention from Monday, January 22, to Saturday, January 27.

ANNOUNCEMENT.
A beautiful and artistic New Year's Greeting has been prepared for The People and will be ready by the time this issue reaches its readers. It is a well conceived and neatly executed picture, with appropriate reading matter, suitable for the adornment, either of the places of meeting of Socialist and other labor organizations, or of the homes of workmen. The price of the souvenir is placed at 10 cents. Orders should be addressed to The People, 184 William Street, New York.

"NO HOPE FOR THE MASSES."
Under the head, "Socialism Will Get Little Help from the Workers or Trade Unions," our alleged Socialist contemporary, "Commonwealth," reprints the following extraordinarily lame and foolish article by Robert Blatchford, editor of the "Clarion," adding the note: "The situation so plainly stated by the 'Clarion' editor in the foregoing article applies equally well to the present state of affairs in the United States."

The tendency of modern development is toward the degradation and impoverishment of the workers. Steadily as the capitalists play their game, settling the workers to underseal and ruin each other, the wealth and the power will come into fewer and fewer hands and the masses will be reduced to a state of abject poverty. All that will be needed then to undo the slavery of the masses permanent and complete will be a general conception by means of which the workers will be made to cooperate with each other and defend their rights. All this is coming upon the workers, and I see no hope of its being averted.

Some of us have tried to awaken the masses to their danger, have tried to convince them of the immediate necessity of prompt and united action. The masses will not listen. A horse race or a jingo song interests them more.

This is not cheering. One thinks of the women and children, and of what further horrors they will have to bear, and one finds it hard to respect the workman or to believe in his wisdom and devotion.

The average trade unionist is not a hopeful person. He is narrow, and shallow, and selfish, and he objects very strongly to the trouble of thinking and to the effort of understanding. His idea of political activity is to elect some person or persons to do his work for him. What he wants is a secretary, or a committee—he is very fond of committees—who will make his union, pick out his candidates, tell him how to vote, and almost carry him to the poll.

Again he takes too little interest in his own welfare, and no interest at all in the welfare of others. He is an egoist, and he is languid about the hard conditions of the millions outside his own union. He will not fight for the general good. He will not think for the general good. He seldom thinks of the general good. Therefore I have hope for him.

All the old feuds and animosities; all the smart journalists and dignified legislators; all the grand new laws and big, ambitious programs—what have they done for the women at the south? What have they done for the masses; all the manifestoes and strikes; all the labor members; all the speeches and subscriptions—what have they done for the women of the slums, for the children of the streets, for any of the friendless, helpless, homeless poor?

Do you think that the trade unionists of Lancashire or London ever lift a hand for those poor women and children, ever give them a copper, or a thought?

Now to me the question and Socialist leaders before all the rescue and salvation of the women and the children. It is of the lowest and of the poorest I think first. But the trade unionist: he thinks first of himself, and I fear, he thinks LAST of himself. Therefore, I say plainly that I have a very poor opinion of him, and I express very little help from him, and I cannot feel very deeply interested in him, and I very little will be accomplished by men who think only of themselves. I cannot raise a word of indignation at the decision of the workmen to run a candidate in Southwest Ham. When I see the first spark of anger flash out of the trade unions before the specter of Englishmen, I shall begin to think there is hope for Englandmen. As things are I regard all these false promises of a great labor party with suspicion. If the trade unions are to be judged by their leaders or by their own past actions, they will not elect Parliament by the next century. Christ will be in heaven, and God will be very different from a belief in old-age pensions and an eight-hour day. I would rather have one William Morris on my side than a million of half-hearted, half-wakened workmen.

If Mr. Blatchford "cannot raise a spark of enthusiasm," it is his own fault. The trouble with him is that there is no such "I" in his Socialism, and the workmen expect to be the glorified "I" of his Socialism.

It is too thin, supported by party that put Steuenberg to rule Idaho,

fact that it is the men in the ranks and not the leaders who really count. Mr. Blatchford is disappointed because HE cannot raise enthusiasm. Let him understand that there are thousands of men in the labor movement in Great Britain who, for their quiet, untiring, unheard-of work, deserve greater recognition than he. It is his part to applaud them, not theirs to applaud him.

It is true, the unions in England and in America, fall far short of being what they might be and ought to be. But it is simply false that the average unionist is as "narrow, shallow, and selfish" as the men of the middle class whom Mr. Blatchford admires. Leaders who understand the labor movement and who have the courage of their convictions (as Mr. Blatchford evidently has not, judging from his recent jingoistic turn of face on the question of the South African war)—such leaders have no cause to complain of the narrowness, shallowness, selfishness, or sluggishness of the working people.

As for "Commonwealth," it is astonishing that this publication should endorse Mr. Blatchford's statements. Great are the shortcomings of America as a nation, there is not one well-established union in the land that has not some a thousand times more for the education and disciplining of the workers than "Commonwealth" ever has done or ever will do, while it adheres to its present timid, trimming, inconsistent policy.

PIOUS FRAUDS.
The New York "World" exploits in a three-column, front-page article, with cuts and glaring headlines, the misery of a mother and son in this city, who have to eke out a living on an average income of \$1.20 a week—and that earned by hard, long-continued labor. Now the case is not an isolated one. It is typical of the misery of thousands in this one city. As such, it deserves publicity. But what is the motive of the "World" in making it public? Is it to expose the infernal system which allows millionaires to live upon the wretchedness of such widows and orphans? Is it to propose a remedy? No. It is simply to advertise the kind and charitable "World," which is getting up a "Christmas Tree Fund" for the poor. Shame on such "charity"! Shame on the dirty commercialism which turns "all the evil that is done under the sun" merely into free advertising for yellow journalism! And shame on the workmen who, forgetting all self-respect and class-feeling, buy such a paper and so support it in its vulgar career! The "World's" great exploit is a most gigantic indictment of the system that the "World" supports. It ought to bring a blush to the cheek of every workman who sees it drag the sufferings of his class into the light only to offer them the mockery of a Christmas tree.

The same issue of the paper announces that "Dr. Felix Adler is to lead the forces of a mighty crusade against vice on the East Side," and devotes two columns to the explanation of his plans. The spectacle of a yellow journal as a champion of virtue is enough to make the Sphinx laugh. But enough of the "World." How about Dr. Adler? Adler is a well-informed man; he is supposed to be able to think a little; he is probably a very well-meaning man, too. But what a monument of stupidity and actual, if not conscious, hypocrisy he makes of himself, with his crusade against vice. Does he imagine that the degradation of the East Side has no cause—that by stirring up the police captains, he can end it? Does he not know that if he closes the dives of the East Side, he will simply start dives in other places—the cause remaining untouched? Does he not know that prostitution is one of the inevitable outgrowths of wretched poverty, of unearned wealth, of class rule, of profit-grinding capitalism? If he knows these things, he is a conscious hypocrite. If not, his crusade is simply an example of the ignorance which the environment of the "better class" produces, even in the intelligent and sincere members of that class.

Horace Boies, the Democratic ex-prophet of Iowa and erstwhile prophet of free silver, now announces that the silver question must be dropped as a leading issue in 1900, and that the campaign must be fought upon the issues of anti-imperialism and opposition to Trusts. Quite right, Mr. Boies. Your party has, for so these years, been a party of fake issues, having no other reason for existence than to keep the working people, disgusted with the openly capitalist Republican party, from uniting in any effective movement against capitalism. Free silver served very well us a false issue, a few years ago. But it is worn out. People see that there is absolutely nothing in it. So now you must have a new fake. Anti-imperialism, with its glorious opportunities for sentimental gush and oratory soaring to the clouds, is just the thing. And an anti-Trust plank is a splendid feature, too, giving the spell-binders a chance to weep crocodile tears for the poor workingmen. But the workingmen are learning, surely though slowly. Many of them are ready to say: "A plague of both your parties." Your anti-imperialism is too thin, supported by party that put Steuenberg to rule Idaho,

that has on its National Committee that same Senator Daniel who praised the Democratic President Cleveland for crushing the sisters of Pullman, that has openly or tacitly sanctioned the capitalist outrages of recent years. And your anti-Trust plank is rotten, because everyone knows that anti-Trust laws cannot be enforced and that, after all, the Trust brings us one step nearer to Socialism. Go on, gentlemen of the Democracy. Play all the political forces you can. But know that, whether Democrat or Republican goes to Washington next year, the hold of both parties upon the American proletariat will have been weakened and Socialism will have grown.

The New York "Times," like the "Post" is supposed to represent the relatively decent and respectable side of capitalism (as the "Sun" represents its class-conscious brutality, and the "World" and "Journal" its cheap and shoddy vulgarity). As we have said, before, in commenting on the "Post," a lie in the columns of a decent paper is doubly reprehensible. The comment applies to the following editorial saying of the "Times":

"We are aware that the new Socialism holds that wealth is culpable because it promotes business, which is a crime."

The editor of the "Times" knows very well that what he says is both false and foolish. It is foolish, because it is quite meaningless. It is false, for Socialists do not such foolish things. What Socialists do say is that "business" or capitalism consists in the legal robbery of the workers by the holders of capital—the lawful owners of the land, the mills, the railroads, and the other means of production. It is not "criminal" only because it is not unlawful. We do not, indeed, blame the individual capitalist. We know that the individual capitalist cannot abolish the system of exploitation, and merely takes his part in the inhuman game. We may take the individual capitalist as an example, showing how he is a non-producer, but a gigantic consumer, and therefore a social parasite. We know, too, that the individual capitalist, however good a man he may be, is to be counted as an enemy, unless he openly and unquestionably proves himself a friend, because he belongs to the class which is the enemy of our own. Blame and praise are quite out of the question. We count our fellow workers as our friends and the capitalists as our enemies, not because all poor men are virtuous and all rich men wicked, but because the interests of the two classes are opposed, because all men are and must be moved and guided chiefly by their interests, because the system forces upon us a class-war which can end only with the overthrow of the ruling class.

It is alarming to hear that over 70 per cent of the American people are homeless—conditions having gradually driven them away from the land. It is any wonder that our citizenship too often becomes venal and purchasable, and that corporations and monopolies drive men to the polls vote and pure atmosphere; secondly, by living within one's income, however small; and, thirdly, by eating plain but nutritious food, well cooked.

This Guggenheimer is the man who conceived the brilliant idea of gathering up the refuse at the back-docks of hotels, restaurants, and boarding-houses and converting it into "plain but nutritious food" for the poor. Doubtless the idea was suggested to him by the too common sight of men and women picking crusts of bread or apple-cores out of the ash-barrels to satisfy the gnawings of hunger. Mr. Guggenheimer belongs to the same class of practical philanthropists with D. O. Mills, who says:

The most wasteful and extravagant people in the world to-day are the poor of our American cities. As a class they have not the slightest idea of the value of savings. Years of study and observation have convinced me of that. Economy is the one great need of the very poor in the city of New York to-day.

Although the Coroner's jury did not mention Engineer John Riordan of Harrison, N. J., the engineer of the train that crashed into the Buffalo Express, at Paterson, N. J., killing seven persons, Prosecutor Emley of Passaic County, to-day caused a warrant for his arrest to be issued. He is accused of manslaughter. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, in an official statement, issued after the collision, held Riordan responsible.

Tarcoms, Wash. Dec. 14.—A dispatch to the "Ledger" from Carbondale, Wash., says that the Coroner's jury investigated the following verdict: "We find that the thirty-three men (giving their names) who were killed by an explosion at Carbondale, Pa., were killed by the explosion of a gas pipe in the mine free from gas for the safety of its employees, and has complied with the

There you have it, in a nutshell. The destruction of their lives demands an explanatory sacrifice. The engineer, conductor, and fireman are the most convenient victims. Did anyone ever hear of a railway president being indicted for manslaughter as the result of such a disaster—even where it was known that the engineer had been kept on duty till he was too tired and sleepy to perform his duties? Maybe there have been such indictments, but they are rare as angels' visits. But in the Carbondale disaster, the situation is quite different. The thirty-one men killed were merely employees, a part of the equipment of the mine. Of course, their killing was unfortunate and is deeply regretted. But there is no occasion to blame the owners of the mine. That would be very unjust. If these were isolated cases, exceptions to the rule, we should not take the view we do. But they are not isolated cases; they are not exceptions; they illustrate the general rule, which has very few exceptions, that capitalists can safely disregard the safety of their workmen, and that, where any attempt is made to fix the responsibility for such catastrophes, the blame is shifted upon employees.

The Massachusetts cities which have been holding municipal elections this month applied the principle of the referendum to an important matter. The question was whether the eight-hour system should be adopted as regards all employees of the city government. It is not surprising to find that the proposition has been carried in every city, usually by an overwhelming majority. In many cases about three to one in the affirmative. Of course, "organized labor" has been behind this movement. Its theory is that the municipality will have a right to regulate private employers, and the fact that the Saturday half-holiday made slow headway until it was taken up by cities is in support of this theory. The only curious feature of the incident is that "organized labor" did not act upon this principle sooner. Undoubtedly it could have carried the eight-hour proposition in its present form years ago in any city.—(Evening Post.)

The "Post" forgets to say that organized labor had the stimulus of Socialism and the active support of Socialists in this agitation. But it is quite right in saying that what has just been done in the Massachusetts cities might have been done in any city years ago. When the workmen make up their minds to use the ballot for the advantage of their class, they can do what they will. Let the workmen of Massachusetts, however, not rest content with this victory. If they do, they will find the victory worse than a defeat. To have shortened the labor-day for city employees is a very small thing in itself. It is important only as "the application of the eight-hour system by the municipality will hasten its adoption by private employers." But this result will not follow automatically. It is the duty of the workmen to follow up their victory in this skirmish and to force the private employers to submit. And when that is accomplished, still only a partial victory will have been gained. It will be only a step in the work of complete emancipation of labor, which must end in the elimination of private employers, and of the wage system and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

The London School Board, by a decisive majority, twenty-seven votes to five, has refused to entertain the proposition to provide for the education of the children of the poor on the ground that the scheme is far too Socialistic in its character, and would only be a pretense to feeding all children in the public schools as well as educating them. The original proposition came from a special committee which reported that many of the poorer children came to school too hungry to learn, and that although some of them were fed by voluntary charity, this was but an uncertain resource, and that no decent artisan would be willing to have his children regarded as objects of charity. The whole subject was referred back to the special committee, with instructions to seek some plan which would not involve the expenditure of public funds.

The writer of that paragraph is mistaken in speaking of a "decisive majority." The majority, though large, was anything but decisive. Those five votes were on the right side and were not lost. The question is not settled. It will appear again and with more than five votes. And in the end the majority will be reversed. Our Socialist comrades in London are not discouraged at an expected defeat. The demand for assistance to the school-children of the working class "will not down." Hunger is a powerful argument.

Mr. Rudolph Steiner, in a recent interview in Vienna, expressed the opinion that the death of the Khalifa was equivalent to the instant and permanent pacification of the Sudan. He said that it was his conviction that all the European Powers are equally interested in the projected line of communication from the Cape to Alexandria. Until this great Trans-African road had been opened the inexhaustible natural resources of the interior of Africa would not be available for the trade of the world. He regretted that Austria had not taken any direct part in colonial competition. The Austrians, he thought, possessed qualities suitable for colonial life, although they might not have the energy, the initiative, the spirit of enterprise which characterized commercial circles in other countries. He was about among the Austrians. Perhaps, later on, it would be realized in Austria that some considerable amount of money for the purchase of land and the building of a road from the Cape to Alexandria might be

There is a more unequalled language than the "charity" organizations, it is the apostle of "economy."

We wonder if these gentlemen ever smoke a cigar or eat meat as often as once a day. But, of course, that is an impertinent question. They are not poor; they have a right to enjoy luxuries.

The capitalist class would be very well pleased to have the American workers adopt the Austrian—or, better still, the Chinese—standard of living. Wages could then easily be reduced and profits would be bigger. Fortunately, as Mr. Mills so sadly remarks, the poor are not likely to "learn the lesson of strict economy." They are growing more and more imbued with the idea that they, who produce the good things of the world, have a right to enjoy those good things.

Lassalle once said, in effect: "If there is one thing above all others that I wish to impress upon the German workmen, it is that they must want better living. So long as they are satisfied with cheap bread and bad sausage, so long they will have nothing better." He also pointed out that the "right" to a better life is of no value, unless it is backed by "might" and the will to use it. The time is coming when the Mills-Guggenheimer school will be shocked at the sight of an American proletariat rising to demand and enforce its right to enjoy the comforts and luxuries that its labor creates.

Mr. Edward Atkinson, by the way, is another redoubtable "economist." His panacea for all the ills that the working class is heir to is—good cooking. Just equip all proletarian house-wives with the Atkinson cook-book and gas stove, and the labor question will be solved. Really, it was very inconsiderate of the McKinley administration to talk of prosecuting Mr. Atkinson for treason on account of his anti-imperialist agitation, forgetting the great service he sought to do the capitalist class by teaching the workers to live on 40 cents a day.

The anti-imperialism of the Atkinsons, and, incidentally, of the whole "anti" combination, is a very harmless affair from the capitalist standpoint, and a very shabby affair from the standpoint of the workers. Someone has said: "What a beautiful thing is brotherly love—at long range." These gentlemen who denounce the crime in the Philippines and have nothing to say of the crimes daily committed against wage workers in Idaho, in Kansas, in Pennsylvania, in this very city of New York, are either very superficial or very insincere.

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