

THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN PROLETARIAT

A REVIEW, BY FRANK BOHN.

The only remarkable feature about American contributions to Socialist literature is the very large quantity of material published, when this is contrasted to the small permanent additions made to Socialist thought. We have books marked with the red label of "Socialism" in which it is contended that religion and Socialism are identical. "Historians" of the movement mix up their personal antagonisms of the present with their account of the past. Now the standards of science demand that an author either discover to the world something of importance hitherto unknown, or that he collect and organize many known facts into a systematic whole. Applying this standard, it will be readily admitted that the number of really efficient Socialist writers in America is limited. Not counting many who, while writing brilliantly on history and the class struggle, are not avowed Socialists, but can surely be counted on the fingers of one hand. Of these no well informed person will deny that the author of "The Rise of the American Proletariat" is one. And this not because of his latest book, but in spite of it.

The field of this bold effort is already vast. For three centuries an ever growing American proletariat has wriggled about in its painful efforts, individually or collectively, to remove the hook from its gills. It is a long and involved story, this one which may well make the cautious scholar hesitant.

To begin with, there are as yet almost no monographic materials dealing with the subject. Furthermore, before we can have a history of the American Proletariat and Labor Movement, we must have a history of American industry with especial reference to capitalism.

An outline of the history of American capitalism is what our author has really written. Such should be the title of his book. The chapter headings show this. The first three (I. The Growth of Industrial Organization; II. Instruments of Production, and III. The Factory System) are a general theoretic statement of the capitalist system. In this preliminary, covering 71 of the 213 pages of the volume, the development of the English Industrial Revolution is described. The reason for this springs from the opinion of the author that American capitalism is an offshoot of that of the English system. In this he is quite mistaken. When he states, (p. 72) "The United States is the child of the Industrial Revolution," he avers the very opposite of the fact. The democratic, individualistic American of 1776 and 1820 was the direct product of the one hand of American commercial interests and on the other of the individualistic rural life of the country. Of the same piece is the statement (p. 74) that "the earlier American system was largely a facsimile of that of the British Isles prior to the great industrial revolution prior to 1760. The agrarian system of the South was, on the other hand, a product of the surviving English feudalism."

In the Northern and Middle Colonies the farmers owned the land they used, whereas, there being more arable lands than could possibly be cultivated, only tenants would have paid rent. In England, landlessness, then as now, was prevalent. Thus, economically and socially, the two systems were widely divergent. And as for feudalism, the one hopelessly foolish attempt to plant it, following the utopian schemes of John Locke in the latter part of the 17th century, ended as every practical socialist anticipates it would end. Feudalism is a form of landlessness. The slave system of the South was not an "offshoot" of feudalism. Systems a century and more dead and buried don't shoot. Southern slavery was the natural social fruit of sugar cane, indigo, tobacco, rice, and later, cotton. The legal and political machinery of America may be traced, in part, to English forms—but not the economic processes of the Colonies. These were molded in the crucible of climatic and physiographic conditions, and to these political and social forms were soon adapted. Of all capitalist countries, the United States has been most peculiar in its development. The steamboat and the cotton gin, the former producing an empire and the latter rendering it, were both the product of local problems.

—Turn from Engels' "The English Working Class in 1844" to Mark Twain's "Life on the Mississippi," and we are clear on this point.

Besides the handicraftsmen necessary to a farming community, who lived on terms of equality with the farmers, the early American proletarians were shipbuilders and sailors. These worked for the commercial capitalists, because, sea forests standing close to spacious harbors, ships could be built cheaper than in England, even though wages were higher. It is to be regretted that the opening chapters of "The Rise of

the American Proletariat" throw little light on their history. The first three chapters of the book are interesting reading, however, and would make a good introduction to a history of English industrial capitalism.

At the beginning of Chapter IV, (Early Industrial History of the United States) we come across a couple of paragraphs which illustrate a peculiarly unscientific frame of mind from which but few of even the best trained Socialist writers are exempt. The author, flitting himself on the wings of fancy, transports himself, with all his 20th century scientific conceptions, Socialist political opinions and class antagonisms to the belfry of Independence Hall and there, as judge, jury, prosecuting attorney and high sheriff ensemble, he sits in judgment of the men, the principles, the ethical standards, and the historical results of the time.

"In reality," he says, "its revolution was made in terms of money and trade. It was carried through with the most pompous announcements of human liberty which hardly veiled the real designs of its instigators.—The cynicism of that first treason to its publicly advertised theories has persisted in its people until the 'mocking devil' in their blood has become a by-word among the nations." Among what nations? Capitalist England, perhaps, of whom, Heine said, "The Old Man of the Sea would make a mouthful, if sickness at the stomach would not result." Perhaps German Junkerdom, after the "liberty" war of 1813-15.

Carl Schurz, in his autobiography, tells of desperate deeds and hair breadth escapes galore in the cause of German capitalist liberty in 1848. But nothing he endured was so terrible as imprisonment with a young thief, in Paris. Think of it! To associate for a day or two with a boy who had committed a crime against the sanctity of property rights! Schurz and Kinkel, Washington and Jefferson, Cragwell and Hampton—these were all of the same flesh and blood. Feudalism, despotism, capitalism, Socialism, with all their politics, religion and morals—those who push forward these various systems and ideals in time of revolution are not "instigators," but the strong material of which history is made, and who make history. The historians, whose work is to discover and state facts, should engage in no criticism of moralities.

Chapters VI, VII, and VIII (VI, The Rise of the Greater Capitalism; VII, Oligarchy and Imperialism; VIII, The Period of Corruption) are a discussion of the trend of American Capitalism in the immediate past, and of current events. This is by far the most satisfactory portion of the book. These chapters include a real discussion of the proletariat. The Labor Movement of the past generation is correctly analyzed. The system of disgraceful craft divisions of the forces of labor is exposed. The hopelessness of pure and simpleism is described in uncompromising terms. These features of the American Federation of Labor are traced to capitalist influence and to the petty, ignorant selfishness of the "aristocrat of labor." Of craft unions the author says:

"Under the old guild system, when the economic condition was almost static, such distinctions might have survived, and, as a matter of fact, did survive, but under the highly fluid state of labor in the present system, where the skilled labor of to-day becomes the unskilled of to-morrow, they are simply absurd. The result was that the old methods of the strike and the boycott were again and again resorted to and the working class was driven, by its method of fighting into minor disturbances and collisions in which they had only their bare hands to oppose the weapons of the military. The capitalist class was firmly entrenched in the economic position from which the forces of the trades union were unable to dislodge it and, in addition, the capitalist class possessed a weapon in politics of which it did not hesitate to make use and such advantages as the trades unions did attain were rendered practically valueless by means of a hired legislature and a dependent judiciary." (p. 138-7.)

In England, continues the author, pure and simpleism resulted from the fact of the disfranchisement of the workers. No such conditions obtaining in America, the adoption of the English system "threw away the advantage which the possession of the ballot gave him, and under the cry of 'no politics' bred in the unions a brood of the most loathsome and corrupt petty politicians." (p. 138-9.)

Under the caption, "The Period of Corruption" this most remarkable feature of the American Labor Movement is again touched upon: "The working class has so far produced few leaders

worthy of the name, and such as have stood out for the rank and file have in many cases shamelessly and unconsciously abandoned their work and have accepted political perferment even if they have not taken actual money from the hands of the enemies of their class. The history of organized labor in the United States has so far, it must be confessed, shown little superiority to that of organized capitalism. It is in both cases a sordid and dreary tale, and, in the case of organized labor, is unrelieved to a disappointing degree by the heroism and sentiment which have played such a conspicuous part in the labor movements of other countries. The cynicism of a civilization based on cash seems to have found its way into the bones of both capitalist and proletarian."

Refreshing indeed is this portion of a book published by a Socialist Party institution. Ex-Mayor Schmitz, Samuel Gompers and John Tobin merely cause us to excrete the capitalist unionism of which they are the ripe fruitage. It is when avowed Socialists, for position or votes or popularity, support a system of organization so criminal in character as the A. F. of L., that we feel disposed, after calm and scientific analysis of their make-up and activities, to characterize them as either stupidly ignorant or morally degenerate. The portion of "The Rise of the American Proletariat" to which we have just referred, possesses the strength to call all but the most unregenerate Socialist sinners to their repentance. In fact, so wholesome an effect would most surely follow had the author's careful analysis of the A. F. of L. continued, while discussing the Socialist Party. The hitherto successful efforts of the A. F. of L. in controlling the Socialist Party organization should have been laid bare. However, the reviewer will be considerate. It is altogether likely that the incisive description of capitalist labor unionism above noted had exhausted the writer's powers, thus leaving him without sufficiently keen dialectics to undertake the climax of his narrative.

The cesspool of ordinary capitalist corruption, their regular purchasing of legislatures and courts and constant swindling of one another, is ably dealt with. The author's excellent command of English with his ability to generalize, combine to make this portion of his work readable and instructive.

But on the whole, Austin Lewis is capable of much better work than this volume indicates. As to facts, it contains nothing original. Not a single footnote directs us to the sources of information. And the first demand of the careful reader is to know "where he got his facts." Perhaps no American is better informed on the history of the International Socialist Movement than Austin Lewis. Nor do we know of anyone who can talk and write more delightfully when giving the Movement a setting in the depths of political science, philosophy, and European history. But the reader lays down his latest volume with the feeling that the author has applied his general political and economic concepts to information derived from a couple of college text books on American history.

This conclusion seems evident from the number of misstatements of fact which touch elbow through the narrative. Such, for instance, as "The English settlements, begun on the Atlantic Coast, had progressed until by 1760, they had about 4,000,000 of people." (p. 72.) They had then, in reality, not more than 2,500,000.

Likewise, "Hon. Quincy Adams is perhaps the most prominent statesman from whom we can gather the feeling of the leading classes of the North during the early part of the century. This cold, calculating man could not be said, even by his most devoted adherents, to have been impressed with any great moral wrongs in slave-holding itself, as an institution." (p. 97.) Now, John Quincy Adams was not at all, especially during the second period of his career, an ordinary respectable American citizen. He was an uncompromising in spirit, as vehement in expression, as ardent in his devotion, to the anti-slavery cause, after that cause became a social movement, as Phillips or Garrison. The principle of the economic interpretation of history cannot be so mechanically applied as to exclude high ideals and devotion to duty as historic causes.

Once more: "The election of Lincoln signified the triumph of the manufacturers,—the defeat of agrarianism and the victory of commercialism." (p. 103.) Now, Seward was the nominee of the Eastern capitalist wing of the Republican party. Lincoln was the frontier farmer candidate of the farmer class. There were scores of farmers to each capitalist and so Lincoln won out. Of course it was the capitalists who finally gained complete ascendancy through the war, but at first they were the hesitant element, fearing, of course loss of trade and high taxes.

Finally: "Lincoln had seen the growth of the great corporations during the war and had prophesied that the next trouble

THE RISE OF MERCANTILISM

CHARLES FOURIER'S BRILLIANT SATIRE ON THE ORIGIN OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE MERCHANT CLASS.

This is a subject worthy of an epic. Muse, recount to us the exploits of the audacious innovators who have vanquished our old and time-honored philosophy—of this new sect, the Economist, which, springing suddenly into existence, has dared to attack the revered dogmas of Greece and Rome.

The true models of virtue, the Cynics, the Stoics, all the illustrious lovers of poverty and mediocrity, have been discomfited and now cringe before the Economists, who combat in the cause of wealth and luxury. The divine Plato, the divine Seneca, are driven from their thrones. The black broth of the Spartans, the turpids of Cincinnatus, the rags of Diogenes—in fine, all the panaceas of the moralists—have become powerless, have all vanished before these impious innovators, who permit the love of splendor, luxury and the vile metals.

In vain have the Rousseaus and the Mablys courageously defended the honor of Greece and Rome. In vain have they preached to the nations the eternal truths of morality.

Useless appeal! Nothing has been able to resist the onset of the new doctrines. Our corrupted age breathes only of commercial treaties, balances of trade; dreams of nothing but dollars and cents. The Porch and the Lyceum are deserted for chambers of commerce and "associations of the friends of commerce."

In a word, the eruption of the Economists has been for the moral sciences but another day of Pharsalla, by which the wisdom of Athens and Rome and of all classical periods has suffered an irreparable defeat.

Humanly speaking, civilization has changed phase. It has changed to the phase by which the commercial spirit reigns in politics exclusively.

This change has grown out of the progress of the nautical art and colonial monopolies. The philosophers, who always support a social movement after it is accomplished, chimed in with the spirit of the age and as soon as they saw the commercial spirit dominant commenced to extol it. Thus originated the sect of political Economists, and with it the mercantile controversy.

How happens it that the philosophers have changed their opinions after so many centuries and now come to meddle in the questions of commerce, which was the object of their ancient disdain? In classical antiquity they never ceased to ridicule it. Then all writers treated tradesmen with derision, and repeated, after the fashion of Horace, that the science of trade consisted in knowing that "A hundred francs at five per cent. yield just five francs!"

Still might it have been seen by the influence of Tyre and Carthage that the commercial power would one day over-master the agricultural power and control the destiny of the world.

But the event not having occurred, it therefore never could occur! Such is the logic of civilized politics—it sees nothing but the past. Hence future generations will represent civilization with head reversed and looking backward.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the speculative sciences fostered the old prejudice that treated commerce with contempt.

Witness the spirit that reigned in France in 1788. Then collegians in their debates often sneered at their adversary, calling him the son of a tradesman, and it was a cruel insult. Such would arise in connection with this new phenomenon." (p. 114.) A Socialist leaflet published during the campaign of 1804 attributed some such statement to Lincoln, and it was widely parroted. But Lincoln was not the author, and I am very sure, emitted no such prophesy.

This book has been discussed at such length and so bluntly with a purpose in view. The hope is entertained that it will exert a deterrent influence on able and valuable comrades who are constantly tempted to write books on subjects to the study of which they cannot give adequate time.

Since the publication of the first edition of the "Laws of Hamurabi," many books have been written. But only a few are chosen by the careful seeker for knowledge. The history of the American proletariat is a subject at once so vast and so vastly important as to demand the preliminary co-operative labor of many competent specialists, and finally the insight and synthetic grasp of a master.

New York City,

WHY WOMEN SHOULD ORGANIZE

BY MARY SOLOMON.

When the question is put to us women, either by ourselves or by others, what are we? we can say: We are women, women wage workers; because there is more than one kind of woman now: there is the "society" woman and the working woman.

A woman wage worker is the woman of our time, who is forced by circumstances, not as of old to spin flax or wool for her household, take care of the children and have the father, brother, or husband do the work outside, and be supposed to support her; but who has now to go out to compete with her former supporters in order to earn a living for herself. Women now go out from the time they are fourteen and sixteen years old to work, because they can no longer be kept at home by their parents, who, from the time the little ones are able to walk, begin to hope that when they grow bigger and the "school trouble" is over, they will also go out to work and help them along the thorny path of life.

Women work in sweat shops. We can see them taking out work for night, after the day's work is done, and carrying on their heads bundles of unfinished clothes, bundles in comparison to which they are like babes. When the work comes home, all get down to do it; the mother, the eight, ten and twelve-year-old children, who are by law forbidden to work outside. Nevertheless, they are compelled to work inside in order to help the mother earn enough to pay, first, the rent for the two small dark rooms which must be the working, eating, and sleeping place for all; then, for the kerosene oil for lighting the room when at work; and, lastly, for the food, for replacing of the power lost by the day's and half night's work.

Women also must work for much less than men, because they are supposed to be inferior to men, need less and be satisfied with less than men. That this is untrue, that women are not inferior to men is proven by the fact that as soon as women are granted the same rights as men to colleges and universities all over, they have in proportion been as successful as men. As for the women working in factories, the fact that hundreds of men previously employed in certain industries were replaced by women competitors who worked at a lower price and ran the factory the same as before, for the benefit of the owner of it, who prefers woman labor to that of man because of the low prices women work for, and also for being unorganized,—this proves that women are able to do as much and more than men. For when the woman leaves the factory, she has all the house work to do and must continue working home till late at night.

The millinery, flower and clothing industries are run almost entirely by women. The manufacturers, in order to keep these women producing, and at the same time wholly dependent on them, have divided the work in "sections." There is the manufacturer in the center, extending ropes with different names to the working woman. Each of the women, anxious to hold on to one, becomes a member of the section indicated by the rope she holds on to. The capitalist in the center can either pull in

or extend these ropes of product how and when it is necessary for his own benefit, regardless of the injury done to the workers by displacement from work, or overwork.

Women, seeing the conditions they are in, begin to look for a remedy. They begin to read, think, get acquainted, and enthused with Socialism. Therein we find an answer to all these questions of to-day. We find that when at an early stage, the individual man, the head of the family, produced just as much of every thing as he and his family were able to consume. They produced their own furniture, clothes, and food. The women did their share of work and also consumed the product.

Later, when improvements were made in the tools of production, the people produced more than they could consume; and under feudalism, after they had paid what was due of them to the feudal lord, they still had some over; and this surplus, which was offered for sale, became a commodity. The implements and tools of production, being then poor and small, belonged to the individual producer who could use them at any time. With the introduction of machinery, individual production became impossible and instead we have social production. We can no longer produce a thing and know it to be our own work, but it has to go through many hands before it is finished.

The capitalists now come into existence. They appropriate all the inventions and improvements, and work upon the plan of knocking down the small producers, compelling them to submit themselves to them and become wage workers. The wage workers get enough to keep them in working order. What they produced before with little or no machinery was enough to support themselves to them and become wage workers, under the wage system is more than doubled by the inventions of modern machinery, but can no longer go to their wives and children. Instead, it becomes the profit of the owner of the machinery, of the capitalist class. Hence arise female and child labor.

Once aware of the fact that Socialism is not a discovery or an idealistic desire of one or a few persons, but that it is inevitable, being the issue of the struggle between the capitalist and the working classes, we workers must organize and be prepared for the time when capitalism is no more. We must prepare to take what of right should have always belonged to the producers of wealth, the land, the railroads, the mines and factories and machines, and all the means of production and place them in collective ownership for the benefit of all. Women, being the most miserable sufferers and victims of the system of private ownership, must, when once aware of the remedy for the system, organize and induce others to do the same. They must take interest in the movement that will not only bring about the emancipation of women, but will bring about the emancipation of the whole human race.

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F. C. B. Mineral City, O., June 28.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The International Socialist Bureau will shortly publish in two volumes the reports of the various affiliated Parties...

The first volume, to appear about July 1, will contain the reports to the Stuttgart Congress of the Socialist organizations of the United States...

Volume II, which will appear in the latter part of July, contains the reports of the Socialist Parties of Russia, including the Social Democrats, Socialist Revolutionists, the Bund, Lethish Social Democracy, Georgian Socialists, Armenian Social Democrats, Socialist Party of Poland, Social Democracy of Finland...

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The third volume, which will not come out till August, contains the explanatory text on the matters and resolutions submitted to the Stuttgart Congress...

For the International Socialist Bureau, Camille Huysmans, Secy.

NOT 'TOO HOT' FOR THIS PROPAGANDIST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I enclose \$4.50 for five yearly Weekly People subs, the result of my first week's effort at sub getting...

J. Reibel. Birmingham, Ala., June 26.

ACTIONS THAT SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—We note in the report of the doings of the Western Federation of Miners that Extra Meals Sherman attempted in his report to gain the sympathies and support of that organization...

move to have a general protest meeting. We invited all progressive organizations to send representatives to make arrangements and furnish speakers...

Last year the S. P. took the initiative for a like meeting but instead of inviting other organizations to participate they sent out invitations for them to "send representatives to report the meeting"...

Who is sincere and who is on the firing line? Press Committee S. L. P. Kansas City, Missouri, June 25.

HE WANTS TO KNOW.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I was in the Telegraphers' strike of 1882. Now I want to know what the Railroad Telegraphers are doing in regard to the San Francisco strike...

Now that the Standard Oil has got control of the B. & M. R. R. we will witness in the course of a short time, a cutting out of Telegraph offices here and there over the entire system...

Yours Fraternally, Telegrapher. Providence, R. I., June 27.

HE THINKS HE HEARD THINGS WORTH HEARING.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—After reading Hershmann's letter complaining of the lack of information given at the meeting held June 26 at Arlington Hall, it would be no improper conclusion to say Hershmann might as well have remained at home and raised his objections...

As to picking out the remarks of water selling for \$8 a barrel, it might justly be said that it seeks to imply that only such inconsequent matter characterized the substance of the speaker's remarks, an implication that is false.

The meeting in question was not an agitational meeting, it certainly was not advertised as such; the subject itself ought to have sufficiently explained the nature of the speech, and party members not only have expected to hear the kind of talk that they did hear, but also desired to listen to what De Leon would feel of his trip...

De Leon's experience with readers of the Daily People was no less worthy of note; and the point which he scored was timely and deserving attention. S. L. P. speakers, especially, cannot be too fully posted, but this holds good with members who are not speakers...

ment and conversion. This idea coupled with that other test which De Leon made of examining his audiences to see whether they desired to be entertained by jokes and stories rather than solid argument...

I did not go to the meeting expecting to listen to one of De Leon's striking comparisons of an event in biology with an instance in sociology, and therefore cannot say it contained new information on that head...

Edmund Seidel. N. Y. July 2, 1907.

GOOD FOR SEATTLE!

To the Daily and Weekly People:—During the last month The People and the I. W. W. Bulletin have been sold on the streets. The first week we sold 100 Bulletins and 250 People; last week 850 People, 100 Bulletins or all together for the past four weeks, 2,100 papers...

The A. F. of L. Newsboys' Union put the boycott on us. With all their boycotts, we sold the papers. The Newsboys' Union is not for the newsboys, but for the paper; it is an out and out capitalist organization.

All the capitalist papers of Seattle lie about Hayward. Yours for the Party, Wm. Redman, President. H. Warner, P. O'Hanahan. Seattle, Wash., June 25. P. S.—You will hear from us again.

TRITURATING A SLANDERER.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the New York "Worker" of recent date appeared an article from the pen of Mr. Benjamin Hanford. It is important from the fact, that, if carefully weighed by the wage worker, the methods that have been used for the past ten years by a certain element in the labor movement of America are shown up in all their ugliness.

The article referred to starts out with the proposition, "How many angels can dance on the point of a needle" and from the nonsensical conundrum the inference is sought to be conveyed that the S. L. P., through its official voice, De Leon, seeks to bring everyone who is "active" in the labor movement to a too strict accounting of their actions...

The article first states that it is inconceivable how any man can be a believer in De Leon. He must be a fool. If Hanford proves his case, fools are a great number here, but it remains to look at his case before coming to a proper conclusion.

The second statement is that De Leon's purpose is to disrupt the labor movement, economic and political. Hanford is lacking in facts to back up this bold assertion; it cannot be taken as a foregone conclusion because he is Mr. Benjamin Hanford.

De Leon's experience with readers of the Daily People was no less worthy of note; and the point which he scored was timely and deserving attention. S. L. P. speakers, especially, cannot be too fully posted, but this holds good with members who are not speakers...

is, and well Mr. Benjamin Hanford knows it, already a mass of disruption and corruption. De Leon is an upholder of industrial unionism which seeks to unite the wage workers in one solid front against the common enemy, the capitalist class...

Mr. Benjamin Hanford, you stand for the disconnected, hand them over in detachments, form of craft unionism, and taking your own line of reasoning you are the capitalist agent. You are the man who "like your master's ass gets nought but provender," while your close relation to Mr. James Farley demands a retainer of say \$10,000...

You insinuate that the W. F. of M. is the next prey to the disruption tactics of De Leon. Where are your facts, Mr. Benjamin Hanford? Can you state the facts of the last convention of the I. W. W. and then, like an honest man, say that De Leon was wrong in helping to clear the murky atmosphere that had gathered around the I. W. W.?

It is upon the action of the last convention that the str in the W. F. of M. has been brought about. It is not necessary for you at any time to state why you left the S. L. P. A man of your type would not last long enough in the air of that country. It is too clear. The air of Erebus was more suited to your writings and to Erebus you went to find a congenial group awaiting you and to assist in the welcome of that to come.

Your advice in regard to De Leon is good, "Do not judge De Leon by what he says, see what he does. Pay little attention to his phrases, closely watch his actions." De Leon has stood the test in the past in the application of this rule and the same rule will be used in the present and in the future to test the honesty of all those active in the march towards the emancipation of the wage worker...

The trouble of watching your actions is a great deal of trouble saved. You and your school mouth the phrase "intelligence of the wage working class." You don't believe it, the slanders which you present as truth prove that to you they are "Doughnut brigade," "proletaire rabble," etc., etc.

Let us ask who are the fools and who are the knaves? Who are the character assassins, who? James M. Reid. Toronto, Canada, July 1.

PROPAGANDA PAMPHLETS.

Address on Preamble I. W. W. Burning Question of Trade Unionism Capitalist Class. Class Struggle. De Leon-Harriman Debate. Historical Materialism. Industrial Unionism. Mark, The. Mitchell, John, Exposed Reform or Revolution. Religion of Capital. Socialism. Socialism and Evolution. Socialism, Utopia to Science. Socialist Republic. Territorial Expansion. Trade Unionism in U. S. Trusts, The. What is Capital? What Means This Strike? Working Class. These are five cent books. In quantities, for propaganda purposes, the price is \$3.50 per 100 copies. NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., 28 City Hall Place, New York.

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA

British Capitalists Applaud the Murder Plot of Their American Brethren.

[From the Edinburgh "Socialist."] That section of the political public, whose views are usually characterized by the indefinite and indefinable epithet "advanced" are wont to point to the "Manchester Guardian" as being the oriflame of the forces of progress. We are told that it represents the best traditions of Liberalism; that it is democratic without being demagogic; trenchant but not rancorous; the friend of every advanced movement; the untiring opponent of militarism; the defender of weaker nations against the encroachments of plutocratic Imperialism...

In December, 1905, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, officials of the Western Federation of Miners, were illegally kidnapped from their homes in Colorado, deported into the neighboring State of Idaho, in defiance of all the legal and constitutional procedure of extradition, and charged with the murder of Steunenberg, ex-Governor of Idaho. From the very outset the capitalist press of America has assumed the guilt of these men, and has done all that was within its power to inflame public opinion against them...

When rogues fall out, honest men come to their own." The capitalist rogues who have been shrieking for the legal murder of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone have fallen out among themselves. Roosevelt, in the course of a quarrel with his former close friend and political associate, E. H. Harriman, the notorious trust magnate, made the following statement: "It shows a cynicism and deep-seated corruption which make the man uttering such sentiments, and boasting, no matter how falsely, of his power to perform such crimes, at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs, or Moyer or Haywood."

This is the deed which the "Manchester Guardian," in its issue of April 27th, greets with the rapturous applause of the anonymous liar who acts as their New York correspondent, and whose report is backed up by editorial comment. Indeed, as if to prove that the correspondent had not yet entirely exhausted the possibilities of lying, the editor, in the sheer wantonness of mendacity, includes Debs as being one of those charged with the murder of Steunenberg!

The date almost coincides with the anniversary of the Bloody Week, when the industrial disputes in Colorado the criminality and lawlessness had been entire-

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.

S. D. F., CHICAGO, ILL.—The S. L. P. will allow itself to be pulled from its sound pose neither by the clatter of the rattle-brained pure and simple physical forcists, nor by the phrasemongery of the visionary pure and simple ballotists. The S. L. P. rides no one-legged hobby-horse. It recognizes the fractional truth in both honest extremes; it unites these fractional truths into a complete truth, and thereby leaves no loophole for either dishonest extreme—the police spy or the shyster politician—to squeeze in.

W. A. S., SIDNEY, S. W.—Now to your eighth question—The "Socialist Clubs of Women announced in The People" are not affiliated with any political party. Their membership consists of S. L. P. women, of S. P. women, and of women affiliated with neither or any party.

E. J., WATERBURY, CONN.—Comrade Molineau of the recently organized S. L. P. section in New Orleans makes an observation that answers your doubts—said he: "It is not the non-Socialists that are leaving the S. P., it is the Socialists who are getting out." And he proved the point with the New Orleans experience as typical.

W. H., ROANOKE, VA.—"Industrialism" implies political action.

S. L. B., BUFFALO, N. Y.—1. There must be an end of discussion. People get tired of endless discussion. After a discussion has gone on some time its prolongation is useless. 'Tis so with the discussion "As to Politics."

2. No precaution could prevent Orchards from entering an organization. That's granted. It does not follow that therefore no precautions could be taken against Orchardism in an organization. "Physical Force Only" not only invites Orchards, but affords them a chance.

J. F., PATERSON, N. J.—The lines of Butler cover the case of Lodge and the rest of the body of capitalist apologists:

"For he could coin and counterfeit New words with little or with no wit; And when with hasty noise he spoke 'em The ignorant for current took 'em."

E. J. B., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Art so innocent as to imagine that anything you write or say, or anyone else could say or write, could shake the faith of the capitalist in the exemplariness of his own career? Give up the trail: 'tis cold.

J. R., PLAINFIELD, N. J.—The economics of the S. L. P. and its sociology

are the economics and sociology of the I. W. W. Nevertheless, until the I. W. W. has gathered strength enough to reflect its own political party on the political canvas of the Nation, it is premature to pronounce any political party the reflex of the I. W. W.

J. M., SPOKANE, WASH.—Whether the I. W. W. should launch its own political party?—For that the I. W. W. is still too deeply in the process of its own formation. That the animosity injected by the S. P. into I. W. W. ranks is a hindrance, that is undeniable, but also unavoidable at present. As to what is to be done, read the article "As to Politics" in the Weekly People of last March 9th. One of the answers there given answers the question, What is to be done?

B. J., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Capitalism WAS right, inasmuch as Capitalism was the logical social sequence from Feudalism, and the necessary social stepping stone to Socialism. In that sense Capitalism WAS right, and now IS wrong. To-day capitalism is like a milk-tooth that refuses to make room for the permanent tooth that lies below—Socialism. To say that what is right is to say a thing open to many interpretations. Capitalism is not right in the sense stated above, but there is a sense in which capitalism IS RIGHT even now. So long as the Socialist Industrial Republic is not yet ripe for organization to take and hold the reins of government, Capitalism is needed. It keeps order. Progress is not via disorder but via order. Of course, the rightness of Capitalism in this respect is considerably qualified by the circumstance that it is directly responsible for the immaturity of the Working Class to take and hold. Capitalism spreads false information and disrupts Labor.

J. C., NEW YORK.—Don't fret about Vorwaerts-Volkszeitung falsifications—that is their business. As to what Moyer may have said, nobody cares. As to the reported words of Hayward they are false. How desperate the pure and simple A. F. of L. politicians are is made transparently clear by the passage of Hayward's letter which the "Volkszeitung" claims refers to De Leon. It obviously refers to Sherman. He it was who said, "The ballot is only a paper wad," it's him Hayward "despises." Don't fret. The field is ours.

A. M., DENVER, COLO.; H. F., CINCINNATI, O.; J. M. R., TORONTO, T. M., NEW YORK; S. G. L., BERN, SWITZERLAND; S. J., DETROIT, MICH.; M. H. S., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.; M. R., HOLYOKE, MASS.; L. K., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Matter received.

ly on the side of the mining capitalists. Neither does he see fit to disclose the fact that the publication of the Harriman-Roosevelt correspondence has unmasked this calumniator of the miners leaders, and has revealed him as an unscrupulous and discredited corruptionist, the dirty and incompetent tool of the trusts. The following letter is a typical specimen of this correspondence: "Personal."

"Oct. 1, 1904—My Dear Mr. Harriman:—A suggestion has come to me in a round-about way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do. "If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or any matter in which I could give you aid, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being, and then, a few weeks hence, before I write my message, I shall get you to come down to discuss certain government matters not connected with the campaign.—With great regards, sincerely yours, [Signed]

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT." Such is the man whom the "Manchester Guardian" delights to honor. With Roosevelt per se we in Great Britain are not directly concerned. We can leave this stage cowboy, this darling of the snapshot artist, to the tender care of the American Socialist press. The chief interest in this incident lies in the evidence it affords of the sympathy and support which capitalist villainy in one country receives from the capitalists of other nations.

As we write these words Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are being tried. The date almost coincides with the anniversary of the Bloody Week, when the industrial disputes in Colorado the criminality and lawlessness had been entire-

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