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**THE A B C OF SOCIALISM**

**SOCIALISM—A NEW WORLD MOVEMENT**  
 By Ernest Untermann,  
 Associate Editor "Appeal to Reason."

Socialism is a science, a political movement, and an ideal. The science furnishes the mental weapons for the political movement. The political movement is the means of attaining the ideal, the co-operative commonwealth.

The science of Socialism outlines the elements of human development. It is the philosophy of evolution applied to the human race. It shows that the economic conditions determine the political, legal, religious and moral ideas of a nation. It points out that the struggle for existence, since the introduction of the principle of private property, has been carried on between the different members of a nation in the form of class struggles, and by nations against nations in the form of wars of conquest for the control of new economic resources.

The political-Socialist movement of modern times is a struggle of the working classes against capitalist classes of the different nations for political supremacy. The political party of the working classes of all nations is the International Socialist Party, with headquarters at Brussels, Belgium. Its aim is the organization of the majority of the working class of each nation into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all capitalist parties, for the purpose of making the working class the ruling class in politics.

The consummation of this political aim marks the beginning of the ideal society, the co-operative commonwealth. This ideal society will be inaugurated by the transfer of the essential means of production—land and the machinery of production, transportation and distribution—from the hands of private corporations and individuals to those of the working class. When the working class will thus get control of the economic and political power, they will use their supremacy for the benefit of all, by abolishing all class rule and transforming production for private profit into production for common use. Humanity, freed from economic and political oppression, will then enter on a new stage of development in peace and freedom.

**Socialism as a Science.**  
 Economic history, as first taught by Socialists, traces the economic development from earliest times to the present day. It shows by indisputable historical facts that social customs, laws, religious ideas and family relations have undergone a transformation with the great economic changes that mark human progress. The historical records, viewed from this standpoint, prove that to this day various peoples living under different economic systems also have different social institutions and morals. In general outlines, human history appears as a development from a stage of primitive communism in production and distribution, under which groups of blood relations formed large families with economic and political equality of both sexes. After thousands of years of development, we find humanity in a state of patriarchy, in which production is still carried on in large family groups, but in which the men have deprived the women of economic and political equality. In consequence of a division of labor which gives the men control of the economic resources and confines the women to the household. During this stage the further enlargement of production by the help of inventions and discoveries leads to the complete dissolution of the great families and to the transfer of the commonwealth from the groups to single men. Then follows a new stage, in which local division takes the place of blood relationship, and men and women, from the most remote corners of the earth, intermingle and form new social systems, founded on private property and production for private profit. The advent of this stage marks the dawn of our present civilization. This civilization is distinguished from the preceding stages of savagery, barbarism, and patriarchy, by the exclusion of women from social production, division of society into classes with divergent material interest, and by the formation of states in which the economic masters make laws for the enslavement and exploitation of the economically dependent.

The earliest civilized states are found to be built on chattel slavery, which partly survived through all the ages up to the present day. When in the further march of events chattel slavery became unproductive, a system of feudalism arose and survived for many centuries. The progress of invention and discovery of new continents led to the downfall of the feudal barons and to the ascendancy of the merchant class, which developed the present system of capitalism.

**The Modern Proletariat.**  
 Capitalism rests on the expropriation of the independent artisans and other small producers from their means of production and the creation of a class that has no other means of existence than their labor-power. This

**Why Are There Scabs?**

Why are there men ready to become scabs? Surely, no one likes to be called a scab, and to be despised by his fellows; no one likes to work long and long hours. Then why do they act thus?

Now in considering this question we must not permit emotion or sentiment to influence us. We can not overcome obstacles by condemning them or ignoring them. Here we have an indisputable fact, a fact that hampers union men every time there is a strike, therefore let us look at the matter practically.

**A Decent Living.**  
 We find that it is becoming more and more difficult to secure a decent living, and that in order to retain their jobs, men have a tendency to "go down" to the employers. The country seems full of people wandering from place to place in search of work, ready to take any kind of a job on any terms. These are the men who become scabs when other men go on strike; they seem only too glad to accept the terms that union men refuse. And even when there is no strike on they will go to the boss and offer to work cheaper than those that are working.

Why do these people do this? Is it because they like to work long hours for small pay? Surely not! No one likes to do that. No one likes to be looked upon with contempt and hatred by his fellowmen. Then why do they take the union men's places?

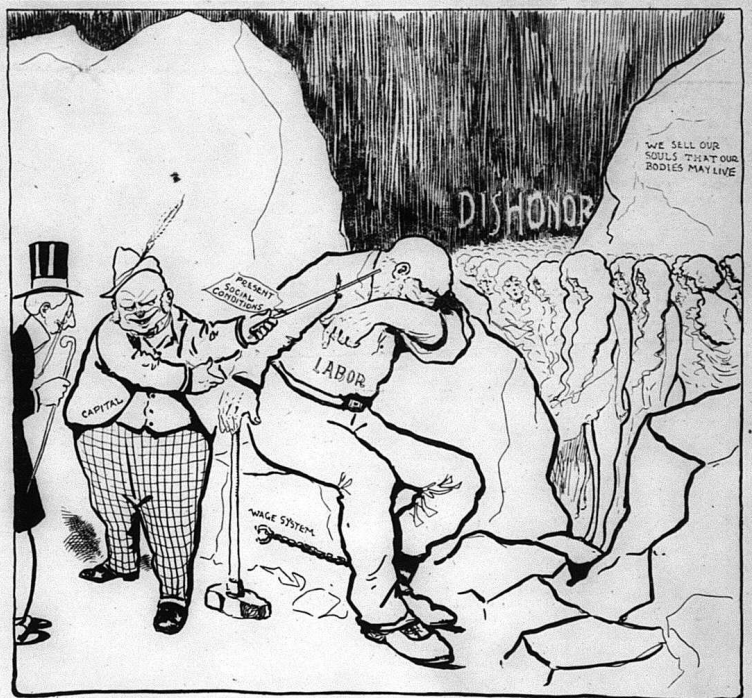
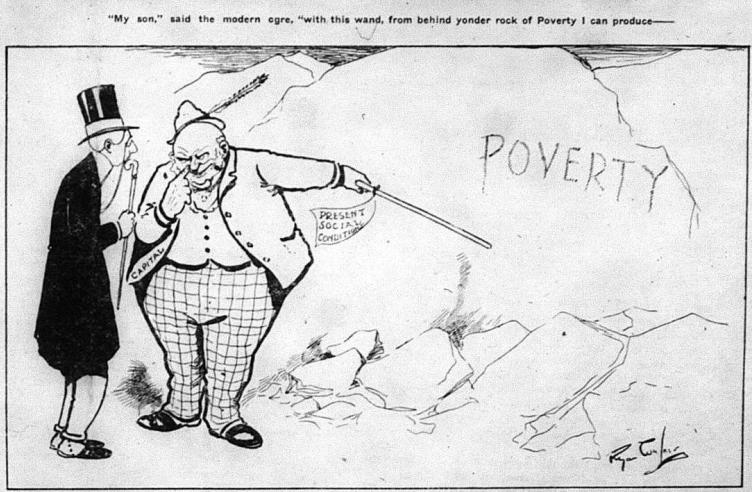
**The Census Reports.**  
 The census report of 1890 showed that there were 2,523,720 persons in the United States unemployed at their regular occupations during various portions of the census year; 1,818,865 were unemployed from one to three months and the others from four to twelve months of that year. These figures are furnished by the Census Bureau.

From other sources we find that the total membership of trade-unions in the United States in that same year was 1,049,096.

**The Industrial Revolution.**  
 During that year then, the unemployed were far more numerous than the union men. The question then arises—what is the cause of such a vast army of unemployed? The cause! Simple enough—there has been a complete change in the methods of industry. For generations Human Society has been going through a process of evolution. From primitive barbarism man has developed to modern civilization. His weapons have evolved from the club and the stone axe to the bow and arrow and the javelin, and from those to the Maxim gun. His clothes have evolved from the untanned skins of animals to the beautiful fabrics of today. His tools have evolved from the knife made from a chip of flint, to the marvelous machinery of today driven by triple expansion engines or electrical dynamos.

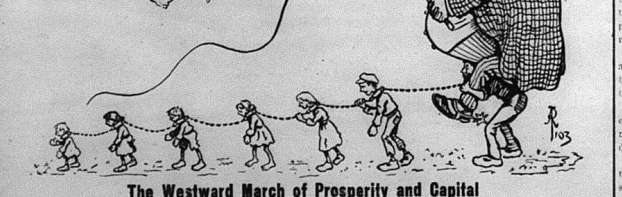
**One Better Than a Thousand.**  
 Now the productive power of modern machines is really wonderful. With modern power looms one person can produce more cloth than 1,000 men could produce in 1760. It would require 300 presses, 600

**REAL FAIRY STORIES No. 3**



young girls for your lust who sell their bodies for bread. Have no fear of our Giant, they are his daughters but he can do nothing as long as I touch him with this wand."

WANTED—Immigrants, boys who can do the work now done by two Hoe typesetting presses and ten typesetting machines.  
 District No. 1, Co. 25 First Avenue, 25th Street, New York.  
 WANTED—Strong man with family of boys or girls to work in woolen mill. Work hard. Apply at mill or 111 First Avenue.  
 WANTED—Persons to be experienced and well paid. Apply at 111 First Avenue.



**The Westward March of Prosperity and Capital**

pressmen and about 5,000 persons—typesetters, stitchers, folders, etc.—to do the work now done by two Hoe typesetting presses and ten typesetting machines.

In a modern saw mill machinery enables men to do more than 200 times their number could do with hand tools.

With modern steam laundry machinery 100 persons can wash and launder more clothes than 500 persons could do by hand.

The header and thresher cuts, threshes and sacks grain, and with seven men can do more work than

1,500 could do with scythes and flails. And machinery is used in every industry, and every year it becomes more efficient and productive.

**Few Workers Needed Now.**  
 The simple fact is that by using modern machinery, labor is now so productive that comparatively few men are really needed to supply the needs of society.

And moreover, machinery, by reducing much of the work to a semi-automatic process of "tending to" machines, has enabled the capitalists to supplant the labor of men by the cheaper labor of women and children.

The entrance of female and child labor into the market not only reduces the wages of workmen, but also decreases the workers' power of resistance in strikes because it increases the quantity of labor at the disposal of the capitalists and available in case of strikes.

The capitalists do not use machinery for the purpose of reducing the hours of labor, but for the purpose of reducing expenses, for the less labor employed the less wages paid. It is therefore inevitable that the unemployed must constantly increase in number.

**Middle Class Bankrupt.**  
 Here then is the explanation of the phenomenon of the unemployed; they can not employ themselves for the reason stated; they have to work for the owners of capital or starve. The competition for work is so keen, and poverty, is so demoralizing that many of them will accept the most slavish conditions, and even endure the contempt and hatred of their fellows.—From "Tactics and Strategy" by Thos. Bersforth, 609 Stevenson St., San Francisco. Price, 15 cents.

# The American Farmer and the Socialist Party

A Running Debate Between Ernest Untermann, Associate Editor of "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kansas, and Hermon F. Titus, Editor of "The Socialist," Seattle, Wash. Debate to be Closed by Karl Kautsky, Editor of "Die Neue Zeit," Berlin, Germany. Published in "The Socialist," beginning May 3, 1903.

## THE RURAL PROLETARIAT

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

### Synopsis of Argument.

- I. Introduction.
- II. Comrade Kautsky's Position.
- III. How I stand.
- IV. Conclusion.

### II.—COMRADE KAUTSKY'S POSITION.

In his great work, "Die Agrarfrage," Comrade Kautsky has analyzed the economic processes that transform agriculture in the direction of capitalist production. Here comes to the conclusion: "We must not regard capitalist methods as the end of either farming on a large or on a small scale." It is out of the question that the small farmer should disappear from our present society and be completely displaced by great property in land. We have seen that a tendency toward reversion appears whenever concentration of great property in land is too far advanced, and that the state and the great land owners even facilitate this, if it meets with too great obstacles.

"But it is precisely this endeavor of the great landowners which shows that nothing is more fallacious than the assumption that the preservation of the small farms is a consequence of their ability to compete with the large farms. It is rather the consequence of their ceasing to be competitors, of ceasing to enter into competition as sellers of the agricultural products marketed by the large farms. They cease to play this role when farmed by a large scale develops by their side. They are then transformed from sellers into buyers of the products of which the large farms produce a surplus; but they themselves produce a surplus of that means of production which farming on a large scale urgently requires, viz. the commodity labor power.

"Whenever conditions reach this stage, farming on a large scale and a small scale do not exclude one another, but rather depend on one another THE SAME AS THIS CAPITALIST AND THE PROLETARIAN. THE SMALL FARMER THEN ASSUMES MORE AND MORE THE CHARACTER OF THE LATTER."

In his well-known pamphlet, "The Proletariat," Kautsky furthermore says, page 5: "The superior power of capitalist production on a large scale over small production is evident. \* \* \* To strip of all property a considerable number of small farmers and industrialists \* \* \* to merge with the mass of the proletariat." And again, on page 23: "In all countries, the bulk of the population has sunk to the level of the proletariat." Still further, on page 26: "There is no little truth in the saying that the wage earner of today is better off than the small farmer or the small industrial producer. \* \* \* As to the small farmer, for whom it is impossible to stand up against capitalist competition as a farmer, he is forced either to take up some industrial pursuit in his home as the employe of capital, or he is bound to hire out either himself or the members of his family as wage workers to the large farmer. What has become of his independence? His sole property is the only thing that distinguishes him from the proletarian, and it is this very property that prevents him from taking advantage of the best opportunities to labor; it rivets him to his household with the result of making him more dependent than the wage workers, who are wholly proletarian."

Again, on page 27, we read: "The usurer who has a mortgage on a farm has a stronger claim upon the labor of the farmer than the farmer himself. The usurer must be first satisfied, and only what is left falls to the farmer; whether this remainder suffices to support the farmer and his family, does not concern the usurer. Accordingly, the small agricultural and industrial producers work as absolutely for the capitalist as does the wage worker. The only difference established between them by private property of the farmer is that the wages of the propertyless workmen are, in general, controlled by their needs, while in the case of the small property holders, there is no limit downwards. \* \* \* If the poor devil who holds in his pocket a lottery ticket were to imagine himself rich because of it, he would be considered a fool. And yet this is exactly the mental condition of but too many small agricultural and industrial producers. They carry themselves as capitalists, yet they are not one whit better off than proletarians." I can only add that some American Socialists go them one better; for when the rural proletarians awake to class-consciousness and join the Socialist Party, some of our day scientific Socialists object to their company on the ground that they are dangerous capitalists.

In the "Communist" of the late Comrade Schoonhank, we find, on pages 22 and 23 of the German edition (there is no English translation in existence to my knowledge), the following statements: "Thus the proletariat grows incessantly in numbers, in ethical force, in intelligence, in solidarity, and in indispensability. It becomes a power that inspires an ever-growing fear in its opponents. Its own self-reliance and hopefulness grow in proportion, while its enemies, full of fear, are losing confidence in themselves. But once the proletariat has become such a power, then it no longer remains single. Recruits then join it also from the ranks of other exploited classes, intellectual proletarians, little bourgeois and small farmers, that so long followed the conservative and liberal fags. \* \* \* If we furthermore consider that the ties of affinity between the farmers and little bourgeois on one side, and proletarians on the other, become ever more intimate, in proportion as individual farming and handicrafts lose their golden future, and in proportion as the sons and daughters of farmers, the petty bourgeois men are forced to hire out as wage workers, then we must not be surprised to see proletarian ideas penetrating more and more into the other strata of the lower population, and that they are becoming ever more inclined to join the proletariat in its fight against exploitation."

Hence Kautsky concludes, in a recent article in the "Neue Zeit" (1903, No. 22, page 687): "We once hoped to succeed in rallying the united farmers to our standard for the common fight against the great capitalists and the great land holders, expecting one part of them to follow us, because they were already proletarians, and the other because they were threatened with being reduced to the position of proletarians. Our expectations have not been fulfilled. We rather see the proletariat dividing into two camps: one of them semi-capitalist and exploiting wage laborers, the other semi-proletarian and not living from the proceeds of their farm alone, but also from wage labor. It becomes more and more our practical duty to support the latter and the rural proletariat proper. The greater our success will be in the performance of this duty, the more pronounced will become our antagonism not alone against the great land holders, but also against those farmers

who are economically independent and employ wage labor. Hence our interference in rural conditions can not aim to win the whole rural population, but only to develop the class antagonisms in their midst and strengthen the proletarian and semi-proletarian element."

But Comrade Kautsky does not stop there. He is too clear-sighted, and too analytical, not to detect the difference between the European and American farmer proper, that is, the farmer who is neither a proletarian nor a great capitalist. His position, and the general position of the Socialist Party as he sees it, toward these farmers is summed up in an article, "Bauernagitation in America" (Neue Zeit, 1902, vol. 2, No. 15), in which he reviews the excellent treatise of Comrade A. M. Simons on "The American Farmer." Kautsky there concludes, page 461 to 463: "In industrial Europe, we have the great antagonism between the consumers of products and raw materials and the farmers who produce them. Whether they sell grain or wine or butter or hops or cattle, is immaterial. They are all interested in high prices, while the proletarian wants low prices. This antagonism is sharply defined in Europe today.

"But in America this is less conspicuous. The American farmer is largely dependent on the export of his products. The prices which he receives are not fixed in the home market, but in the world market. On the other hand, farmers and wage workers of the United States have today the same interest in free trade. The protective tariff increases the cost of production for the exporting farmer; and the industrial wage worker has nothing more to hope from a protective tariff. The industries do no longer need the protective tariff. It only promotes the interests of the most dangerous opponents of the proletariat, the cartels and trusts. In Europe, the tariff policy of the farmers and wage workers is antagonistic; but in America, farmers and clear-sighted Socialist wage workers advocate the same tariff policy.

"While the antagonism between producing farmers and consuming wage workers is thus marked that in Europe, they on the other hand have a common opposition which is missing in Germany, the railroads in this country (Germany), the railroads are overwhelmingly run by the state. But in America they are in private hands and form one of the most powerful means by which the great capitalists exploit the farmers. The owners of the railroads are the very men that oppose the miners and steel workers, those most important branches of wage labor. Therefore the nationalization of the railroads is a demand which is in the interest of both classes. The realization of this demand might, indeed, become very dangerous, if it did not correspond to a thorough form of the state and national administrations. As long as the present corruption continues and every public office becomes a poll of the party in power for the reward of its holders, every increase in the public revenue and in the number of public offices means an expansion of the corruption fund, out of which the victorious party pays its voters. But in this question of administrative reform, the farmers and wage workers have also the same interests.

"Finally, the antagonism between these two classes is less marked in America, because wage labor in agriculture plays a less prominent role in that country. In the German empire, we counted in 1895 2,302,227 independent persons engaged in gainful agricultural occupations, and 5,528,708 wage laborers on farms. But in America, the proportion is almost reversed. In 1890. There were then only 3,094,061 agricultural laborers to 5,281,557 farmers and independent agriculturists. There were, indeed, also 1,912,372 day laborers, many of whom would have to be counted among the agricultural laborers. But at any rate, the number of independent farmers predominates, especially in the West. In the northern central states, for instance, there are only 778,926 agricultural laborers to 2,284,625 farmers. While the number of farmers in the Union is 64 per cent of the total sum of farmers and agricultural laborers, it rises to 76 per cent in the northern central states. Even if we were to count all the day laborers as agricultural laborers, the percentage of farmers in the northern central states would be 61. in the whole Union 53, but in Germany only 32.

"In view of these facts, it may well be assumed, that in large regions of the United States, the conditions will be more favorable for a temporary co-operation of farmers and wage workers than in most parts of Germany. An agitation among the farmers, simply aiming to make them more friendly to us and to persuade them that we are a lesser evil than the capitalist farmers, may count on good results. But I should not wish to see a great danger, to repeat the short-lived attempts of the greenbackers, single taxers, and populists, and to weld farmers and wage workers together in a party and to adopt the program and tactics of our party to this purpose. \* \* \* However, we need not fear that there will be a second edition of such an attempt."

So far Kautsky. I have purposely quoted him thus fully, not only to show precisely where he stands in this question, but also to reveal to some of our critical friends, many of whom were born and raised on American soil, how deeply he, the outsider, has grasped problems which they have only skimmed on the surface.

(Continued Next Week)

### COMMENTS ON "KAUTSKY'S POSITION."

I.—Kautsky's Views Have Changed.

For what does he write only last February, less than three months ago? ("Die Neue Zeit," quoted above by Untermann.)

"WE ONCE HOPED to succeed in rallying the united farmers to our standard for the common fight against the great capitalists and the great land holders, expecting one part of them to follow us, because they were already proletarians, and the other because they were threatened with being reduced to the position of proletarians. OUR EXPECTATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN FULFILLED. We rather see a peasantry dividing into two camps, one of them semi-capitalist and exploiting wage laborers, the other semi-proletarian and not living from the proceeds of their farm alone, but also from wage labor. It becomes more and more our practical duty to support the latter and the rural proletariat proper. The greater our success will be in the performance of this duty, the more pronounced will become our antagonism, not alone against the great land holders, but also against those farmers

who are economically independent and employ wage labor. Hence our interference in rural conditions can not aim to win the whole rural population, but only to develop the class antagonisms in their midst and strengthen the proletarian and semi-proletarian element."

This is in entire accord with the following words of Kautsky in his last book, "The Social Revolution" (Simons' Translation, p. 87):

"The Revolutionary circles today represent in reality only one class, the proletariat, to which not only the whole body of the exploiting class, BUT ALSO THE GREAT MASS OF

Now, with respect to Kautsky's position, notice three points.

First, Kautsky has changed his former views.

Second, His present position with regard to European farmers is exactly that of "The Socialist."

Third, All that he suggests with regard to the American Farmer is a "temporary" alliance.

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THE FARMERS, and a great majority of the intellectuals, stand opposed. Only a fraction of the intelligentsia, headed by Henry George, Jr., devoted to a recent note in "The Socialist," headed "Socialism in Three Questions." We hope to have room next week to reply to Mr. George.

The first number of "Labor and Capital," the organ of the National Economic League, contains as its leading article the splendid A. B. C. statement of what Socialism is by Ernest Untermann, which we publish this week. It also contains as its second leading article the excellent address of W. M. Kollong, D. D., Ph. D., of Mt. Wash., Wash., late of Seattle. This gentleman has challenged the Socialists of Seattle to meet him in debate as the representative of the National Economic League. He writes to "The Socialist" that we must select our men. He wants no mean opponent. We suggest that a manual worker be selected and all the workmen in Seattle be invited to hear the debate in the Alamy. Since Capital selects a Christian clergyman as its champion, let Socialists also select a typical representative.

The Omaha Socialists celebrated International Labor Day on May the first, and the great May Day strike in that city and the city outside, all in one, by the publication of a first-class four-page paper, edited by National Secretary Clark, and entitled "The May Day Strike."

Result, over 2,000 Socialist votes in Omaha last Tuesday! That's also the workers' answer to the wholesale arrest of Socialist speakers in that city, which we reported last week.

O. yes, "the way to fight is to fight."

Comrade Boomer, "Uncle Sam," met Sunday night in Seattle at Carpenter's Hall. Give him the hall, he is worthy of it. Fresh from lecturing in the East, as national committeeman.

Put "The Socialist" in the hands of every farmer of your acquaintance, beginning with May 31. We have kept extra copies on hand to fill orders.

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NOTES.

"Boyer's Weekly," beg pardon, "The Decoy Weekly," of Chicago, has an editorial by Henry George, Jr., devoted to a recent note in "The Socialist," headed "Socialism in Three Questions." We hope to have room next week to reply to Mr. George.

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This debate on "The American Farmer and the Socialist Party" is just the thing to teach the farmer economic science.

There is quite a call for the reproduction of Ryan Walker's cartoon of the soldiers shooting down the workers. We expect to have it printed on a separate dollar, \$1.00, to sell for a dollar a thousand; if we get orders enough to make it pay, it will be a strike in any city. This dollar will be a great educator, and should be distributed by thousands.

The result of the national referendum in the state of Washington gives 124 for Chicago and 123 for Omaha, but 114 for the Chicago League Quorum to 90 against.

On the other hand, 156 for Omaha to 92 against, is, on the whole, a very good result.

The vote is, of course, only in the way of taking referendums. For instance, the result in this state would give Omaha for headquarters and Local Quorum from the vicinity of Chicago, a hopeful bonus, and might probably be sufficiently decided in favor of Chicago to avoid any absurdity.

WOMEN IN VICTORIA.

Victoria B. C. May 6, 1903.

Dear Comrades in this Class Struggle: Enclosed please find subscriptions to "The Socialist."

We had a successful May day, no cert and banquet; over 200 women and many ladies were present. The ladies are coming on to the front. It augurs well for the movement. They can do a power of good. Comrade Hawthorthwaite, Socialist member for Nanaimo in the local legislature, was present and addressed a large audience. A very pleasant ending terminated by the singing of the Marseillaise.

Fraternally yours,  
HAROLD BURNEY

The meetings at Carpenter's every Sunday night are very interesting. Do you attend? National Committeeman Boomer next time.

Drop into headquarters, 509 the avenue, when you are down town. We are always glad to see you.

**LEITES' HUSBANDERY**  
GENT'S FURNISHINGS, HATS AND SHOES -  
THE LATEST, THE BEST, AT MODERATE PRICES  
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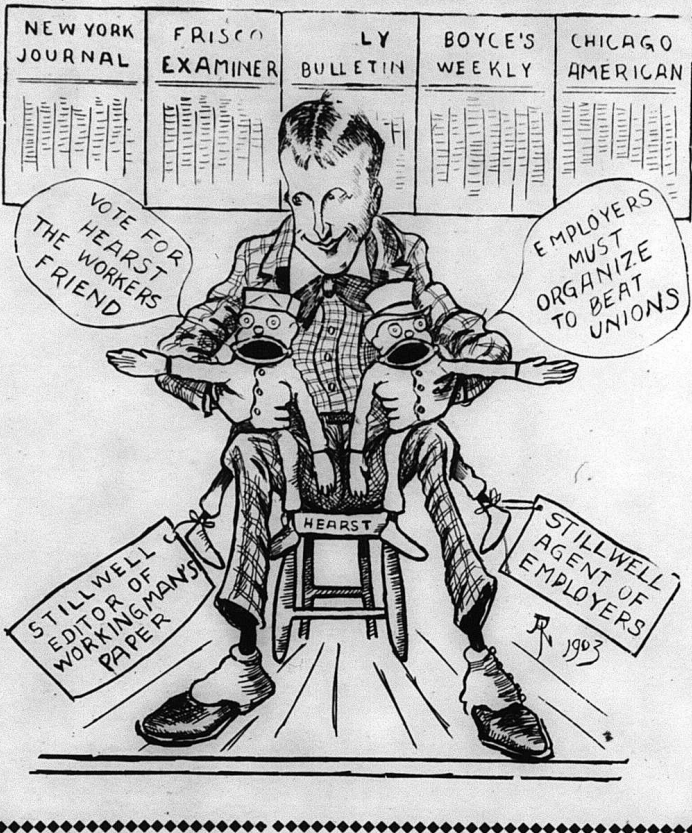
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# HEARST AS A UNION WRECKER

## The Champion Ventriloquist



HEARST AS A UNION WRECKER.

Seeks to Control Labor Papers. Recommends Detective Stilwell, "Labor Editor" Stilwell, Employers' Commissioner Stilwell. Full Account from Official Report to Journeymen Tailors' Union of Greater New York. Reads Like a Dime Novel. Entitled "The Detective Adventures of Hearst, or the Millionaire Labor Candidate for President of the United States."

The following account specially prepared by a New York representative of "The Socialist," will show capitalist methods of circumventing labor. The one great end of capitalist politicians is to cheat the United Workers and divide them at the polls. Hearst in the Democratic camp and Hanna in the Republican camp, are equally "Friends of Labor."

The only thing they dread is a United Labor Party. Such as the Socialist Party aims to be. A revolutionary sentiment among workmen, refusing any alliances with capitalist parties, scoring all attempts to reconcile labor and capital—is what capitalist fears as the Devil himself—or God himself, if Capital was God fearing.

All over the country are springing up Decoy papers to mislead labor. Here in New York this "Weekly Bulletin," really run by a Detective in the employ of the capitalists and having a letter of recommendation from Hearst.

What do Union men think of this? It is greatly to the credit of the Journeymen Tailors in New York, that they have unlearned this scheme, and brought out the true character of this capitalist Labor candidate.

"Boyce's Weekly" in Chicago, is another "Decoy Weekly," really working in the interest of Hearst and his kind.

Workmen get used to dealing with capitalist underhandedness through such fights as this.

Great show, Mr. Hearst. But we Socialists know that the only friend of the Workingman is the Workingman himself. Who are "onto you," Willie?

For some considerable time past there has been a great deal of discussion among the members of the United Journeymen Tailors' Union of Greater New York over the alleged treacherous character of the "Weekly Bulletin," a paper recently published in the interests of the United Journeymen Tailors' Union of Greater New York. The "Weekly Bulletin" is a paper recently published in the interests of the United Journeymen Tailors' Union of Greater New York. The "Weekly Bulletin" is a paper recently published in the interests of the United Journeymen Tailors' Union of Greater New York.

It was stated that a member of the delegate body of this union had urged that trade union papers should not be published through the hands of capitalist organizations. We beg to inform you that a members of the E. J. T. U. of Greater New York we have investigated this statement and found it to be wholly untrue. No such remark was ever made at any meeting of the delegate body. Late in the year, 1901, Mr. Stilwell, the publisher of the "Weekly Bulletin" (which was not published till June, 1902), waited upon the secretary of our organization and told him a long and tedious story, to the effect that a friend of his in London, England, was about to publish a paper devoted to the interests of the workers in the tailors' trade.

promised the publisher that he was going to help in our fight, by publishing articles and support in the Hearst paper. This promise was never fulfilled. The first of our mass meetings he was introduced, and on account of his supposed and alleged friendship for labor was given the privilege of sitting in our meeting. Then the paper was published, but it contained little more than blarney, and could not be said to adequately represent us by any means.

Very soon some of us began to be suspicious of this very slick and slippery "friend of organized labor." He spent enormous amounts of money, and slipped all corners at the saloon bar, so many of our headquarters, for no other apparent reason than to ingratiate himself with as many of our members as possible, not only this, but we saw him going into the offices of our employers, and at least one of them subscribed for 100 copies of the paper which was to be distributed among the men in the shops free of charge. Now, our employer for free copies of a *low* labor paper for us, and the circumstances added to our growing distrust of Stilwell. When asked about it he said the employer had written to him and he had had some private business with him. A committee was appointed to inquire into the matter and the employer said that it had been represented to him that the paper needed financial assistance. In view of this, a further committee was appointed to find out what was behind the scenes.

It was discovered that there exists an "International Detective Agency," the address of which in New York is 23 Park Row, and the head of which is named Stilwell. It was not long before this detective was positively identified as our own capitalist publisher and editor of the "Weekly Bulletin." When this was reported to our union we felt not his honor from our meeting, but the having admitted that he was licensed detective, but "claimed to have transferred" his license to some personal and non-transferable (his license), he said, have the paper sent free of charge to every member for six months. Some of us were opposed to this being done, but he had managed to get our secretary on his side. No. 8, Vol. 2 of the "Weekly Bulletin" it was stated that a member of the delegate body of this union had urged that trade union papers should not be published through the hands of capitalist organizations. We beg to inform you that a members of the E. J. T. U. of Greater New York we have investigated this statement and found it to be wholly untrue. No such remark was ever made at any meeting of the delegate body.

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We have known two of Stilwell's agents for some time, being named Thompson and the other Thomas Root. We were not deceived, therefore, when named Thompson all except one of them—and some officials of the union in New York, who were especially tried to scare some of them by sending lawyers to their homes, and by having them watch their movements. Of this "shabby" work our members there is abundant evidence. We have known two of Stilwell's agents for some time, being named Thompson and the other Thomas Root. We were not deceived, therefore, when named Thompson all except one of them—and some officials of the union in New York, who were especially tried to scare some of them by sending lawyers to their homes, and by having them watch their movements. Of this "shabby" work our members there is abundant evidence. We have known two of Stilwell's agents for some time, being named Thompson and the other Thomas Root. We were not deceived, therefore, when named Thompson all except one of them—and some officials of the union in New York, who were especially tried to scare some of them by sending lawyers to their homes, and by having them watch their movements. Of this "shabby" work our members there is abundant evidence.

ed his purpose, we may mention that Mr. Hearst's White, General Secretary of the Street Workers' Union, was carefully watched against allowing himself to be drawn into our committee. Frank F. Deiner, to expose the whole scheme, and to bring the detective agency in the unions if possible, and the "Weekly Bulletin," we were a strong letter of recommendation of Stilwell and the "Weekly Bulletin," he with drew his efforts.

What Hearst's motive may be we do not know, we are dealing with facts. It may be that for political reasons he wishes to keep his private detective to join our unions to corrupt them, and that they regard his game. We repeat we do not know and we do not care to concern ourselves with it. The question is what can we do? We think of the kind manner in which the detective agency for organized labor of this matter? Can we not have a true one? We would like to speak to a bona fide, but we cannot be expected to do so readily what we may tell us. We need time to consider. The game is up. Mr. Hearst.

The new editor of the "Weekly Bulletin" is understood to have come here direct from Chicago. He claims "Chicago American," and so forth. The meeting held to protest against the outrages committed upon the Socialists, was a success, the collection netting sufficient to defray the expenses of a special issue of a four page paper, called "The May Day Strike." Ten thousand copies were distributed on May 1st, especially among the striking teamsters, white cloak makers and others who are out for higher wages and shorter hours. The waters are fighting to have the law enforced that provides against women working seven days a week, and only three restaurants have signed the scale. It is expected that the Socialist ticket will poll a large vote. The present mayor, who is running for re-election, has offered to sign a pardon for the Socialists who were arrested and fined, but the offer was promptly declined.

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