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VOL. IX.—NO. 45.

HENRY KUHN, Nat'l Sec'y, S.L.P.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 4, 1900.

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CLOSING LETTER.

On the Trial of the Miners at Vienna, Ill.

Reflections on Some of the Leading Scenes of the Trial—Craft-consciousness and Class-consciousness—The Duty of Bona Fide Membership in Organizations of Labor.

VIENNA, Ill., Jan. 31.

Dear Fellow Toller.—The trial is closed. The men have all been acquitted. They had proved perfect alibis.

This trial has proved the miners to be very craft-conscious. That is, they have become conscious of the fact that they cannot force from the capitalists a larger share of the wealth produced by the toilers except by united and concerted action. Never have I witnessed such fraternal feeling as that displayed throughout the trial. Every member of your union seemed to think himself equally charged with the offence alleged against the defendants, and equally bound to see them through. It seemed free from all taint of dollar-and-cent motive. It was a grand display of solidarity (within a solid body) of your craft.

It is not very long ago, John, since you used to talk long and loud about "free competition," and that you had a right to compete with your fellow miners in selling your labor for whatever price you thought best, just as you would in selling hats, toothpicks and socks. You have outgrown this foolishness, and become craft-conscious.

But—it is not a part of the capitalist class alone that we have to fight; it is not alone the owners of the mines, the shoe factories or railroads whom we must meet in desperate conflict. It is all the capitalist class, who are united in a solid body against all the crafts, I mean the wage class. There is not any one craft in the country that is strong enough to fight all the capitalists. Hence to meet the whole of the enemy, we must meet it with the whole of our strength. Any one craft is only a small part of the strength of all the wage class. Then if we are manly, and intend to meet the whole of the enemy, we must meet him, not as one craft, but as a collective body of all the crafts. That is, we must not only be craft-conscious, but above all we must be class-conscious, conscious of the strength and dignity of our class, the wage class.

It would be nonsense to talk of our strength and dignity if we were the minority. But you know we have grown into a good round majority. In other words, we are the only power in the land—the political power. Nevertheless, if we act in the future as we have acted in the past, by dividing and going over into the camps of the enemy, and losing our identity as a class, we will be simply absorbed by the little and big capitalists, and used in arraying one part of our class against the other. This is what we did in the last campaign by voting the two capitalist tickets of Democrats and Republicans. But if we go to the polls and display equal class-consciousness as the miners recently displayed craft-consciousness at the trial, we will capture all the instruments of production, and there would be no more capitalists to battle with.

Now, John, don't you think if your leaders and officials in your union are honest and intelligent, they should advocate these principles of class-consciousness? More, don't you really think they should devote all their spare time in teaching these principles? On the other hand, if they ignore these principles, and especially if they go over into the camps of the enemy (the capitalists), don't you think they are misleading the rank and file? If they do this knowingly, don't you think they are acting the traitor to their own class? And don't you think that if any of the rank and file fail to expose these so-called leaders, he, too, is doing his class a great injury? Don't you think he should show them up to be labor fakirs?

I deeply regret to report your brother, one of the defendants, to have ignored, and even spurned, his class. As you know, this brother holds a State office in your union. Suppose you wanted to establish your moral character, would you call upon the class that skins us to testify to your good character? Or would you call upon your own class, especially your fellow miners who worked in the bowels of the earth with you? Your brother shamelessly spurned our class by trying to establish his moral character through other persons than the middle class, or little capitalists.

You will remember that in one of my previous letters this trial exposed the middle class to be more brutal than the big capitalists. It was one of the most demoralizing incidents of the trial to see a batch of merchants and politicians brought into court room to swear to the moral character of your brother. He can never atone for it. He has not only repudiated his brother, but all his class.

Another sad incident of officially betraying our class was State Secretary Ryan's of your union. On the witness stand, he told of frequent interviews he had with the Governor of Illinois. How the Governor made him numerous promises to help the miners in their strike. How, on cross examination, he showed the Governor to be like all capitalist governors—failed to fulfill his promises with the miners by calling on the militia to protect "capitalist property."

No doubt you will see how the Governor will never fail to fulfill his promises with Ryan to pull the wires in getting him public pap, and he (Ryan) in return will never fail to steer a certain number of votes into the Governor's political shambles. At least, Ryan on the witness stand seemed to think the Governor all right, even if he did fail in all his promises with the miners. John, open your blinkers, and just think of the working class, who is the only class numerous enough to hold the political power, asking a class, who are nothing but a few political sick kittens. I say, just think of us asking favors of the sick kittens! You will recall how, in one of my previous letters, this trial showed Brush, the mine owner, to be a sort of monster in human shape. But this Brush never betrayed his own class like some of our labor fakirs betray our class, and, with traitorous designs, split our political power and cause us to fall prostrate before the capitalist juggernaut. If you had workingmen's politics in your union, there would be no capitalist pap for labor fakirs, and, of course, you would have no fakirs.

JOHN PROLETARIAN.

That "Advance."

A Strike Because of an "Advance of Wages."

LONSDALE, R. I., Jan. 20.—We are experiencing here the phenomenon of a strike because of an "advance of wages," or, to put it less paradoxically, we are here seeing illustrated the fraud of the recent "advance" boom.

Some six months or so ago, I wrote in THE PEOPLE regarding the "philanthropy of one Col. R. H. I. Goddard and his Lonsdale Co. In that article it was explained how the weavers employed by the company were "getting it in the neck" through the introduction of the Northrop loom. Since this company began to replace the old-fashioned loom by the labor-saving one, the men weavers have been receiving \$9.25 per week for running ten looms and the women \$7.75 for eight looms.

On December 24 this truly "philanthropic" concern posted up a notice to the effect that there would be an "advance in wages of 10 per cent." to take effect December 11, and the employees were pleased to see that their beloved masters were "following the noble example of their Father River brethren." The weavers running the Northrop looms expected to receive \$10.17 for ten looms, instead of \$9.25, as formerly; but to their dismay and disgust, when they went in to work on the morning of December 11, they found that some of their number were to be discharged to make room for those left at work, to RUN TWO EXTRA LOOMS, and to be paid by the cut or piece. Under the new schedule, 4 cents was to be paid for a cut supposed to be 60 yards long, but in reality a cut is nearer 70 yards. The looms will turn off but two cuts each per week, so it will be readily seen that a 12-loom weaver would receive \$9.60 for 24 cuts, and a 10-loom weaver \$8.00 for 20 cuts, or—an "advance" of 35 cents and 25 cents, respectively, for running two extra looms.

The weavers could not see the "advance" in the same light as did their philanthropic masters, so they decided to leave those "automatic machines which need no watching" alone. They came out on strike and held a meeting, appointing a committee to go and see the company. The committee met the agent, Mr. R. I. Gammel, who is also a large stock-holder. He advised them to go back and "give the new schedule a trial." Some of the weavers had been running the looms from four to six months, and were not slow in telling him that they were in a position to know whether or not his proposed schedule was a "cut down" or an "advance." The agent also pretended that he would not oblige the men to run extra looms, but the fact remained that weavers had been discharged that very day to establish the system. When asked what the old weavers must do, some of whom had worked thirty years for the company, he said he guessed they would have to seek employment elsewhere—the same old story of capitalism, the master caring not what becomes of the poor old worn-out slave whose blood he has sucked until there is nothing left but a poor, shrivelled up old carcass.

The weavers formerly ran five and six looms, and were paid 66 cents per cut, and could make as much wages per week as they can running the new looms, for having a smaller number to look after they could run them better, and, consequently, turn off more cloth.

Thus there is a strike on because of an "advance."

To The Point.

The Seattle Section of the Socialist Labor Party, at a business meeting on Jan. 17, voted to refuse the invitation of the Citizens' Non-partisan Committee, requesting the co-operation of the party in the coming municipal campaign. The following resolution was passed almost unanimously after a short debate:

"RESOLVED, That the Secretary be instructed to notify the Secretary of the Citizens' Non-partisan Committee that the Socialist Labor Party, representing the wage-working class only, is determined to obtain political supremacy in Seattle and to run its municipal government in the most partisan manner, and in the interests of the wage-working class only."

WHO OWNS THE SAVINGS?

Trenchant Figures that Demolish a Whole String of Delusions.

The Statements of Capitalist Mouthpieces, About the Large Amount of Money "Saved" by the Working Class, Exposed as False—The Overwhelming Majority of Depositors Shown to be from the Middle Class, and an Overwhelming Amount of the Savings Theirs—These Savings, Being Used by the Monopolists, Aid them in Driving the Middle Class Down to the Proletariat—The Notion of "Fighting Capitalism with Capital," or of Private Co-operative Plans Demonstrated to be Intensely Foolish.

The Yarn of the Philadelphia, Pa., "Public Ledger" About the "Poor Growing Richer" Knocked Out, and its Figures, Purporting to Prove Large Savings by Workingmen from Savingsbanks Returns, all Knocked into a Cocked-Hat.

[From THE SOCIALIST ALMANAC.]

It is a stock argument of capitalist mouthpieces on the stump and in the press that the number of deposits and the amount deposited in the savings banks demonstrate that upon the whole the working class of this country is highly prosperous. Their assumption, of course, is that these deposits, or a large portion thereof, came from wage-working people; and, singular to say, this falsehood is generally accepted as unquestionable truth. In reply to several inquiries concerning this matter an article appeared in THE PEOPLE of November 29, 1896, which is here partly reproduced, and in which we showed clearly that at least nine-tenths of the deposits—and probably more—belonged to the middle class. The figures used in the article were for 1895, and therefore differ a little from those for 1897. But the changes that have taken place, far from impairing our arguments and conclusions of two years ago, emphasize them strongly.

In 1895, the number of depositors in savings banks, or, to be more accurate,

States.	Population.	Number of mfg. and mech. Workers.	Number of Deposits.	Sums deposited.	Excess of workers over deposits.	Excess of deposits over workers.
Ohio.	4,000,000	331,000	86,000	\$85,000,000	245,000
New Hampshire.	400,000	64,000	165,000	67,000,000	100,000

There are no statistics showing the employment of savings bank depositors. The case of New Hampshire however, immediately shows the absurdity of the prevailing notion—carefully nurtured by capitalist mouthpieces—that the wage workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries constitute the bulk of the army of depositors; for, if every one of the 64,000 mechanics and mill operatives of New Hampshire had a savings bank account, there would still be 100,000 depositors belonging to the other classes of people.

By one quarter of the 64,000 workers in manufacturing and mechanical employments..... 16,000 deposits, or 10 per cent. of the total number.
By persons belonging to other classes..... 148,000 deposits, or 90 per cent. of the total number.

New Hampshire, then, supplies us a maximum proportion, that we can safely use as a basis for the whole country in estimating the percentage of savings banks deposits contributed by the whole wage-working class. This percentage can only be 10, at the utmost, and may be considerably less. For, in the first place, due allowance must be made for the obviously gross exaggeration in the above fundamental supposition that one manufacturing or mechanical worker in every four saves money (since under that supposition all the savings bank deposits in Ohio would come from such workers); and, in the second place, it is safe to say that, with the exception

of domestic servants (besides superintendents, overseers, well-paid clerks, and such like, who consider themselves as members of the middle class, and are in thorough sympathy with it), very few of the wage workers engaged in other than manufacturing and mechanical occupations can save money; these being chiefly farm and common laborers, miners, teamsters, longshoremen and other freight handlers, sailors, office boys, messengers, "cash girls," saleswomen, etc., etc., who are all paid the lowest rate of wages.

In that proportion the savings bank deposits of the whole country would therefore be contributed as follows:

By the Middle class (90 per cent.).....	4,392,000	\$1,520,000,000
By the Wage-working class (10 per cent.).....	488,000	181,000,000
Total.....	4,880,000	\$1,811,000,000

Here are two contiguous great States—the greatest in the Union—that do not very largely differ in population or in the number of wage workers employed. The rates of wages paid in similar employments, the cost of living and the mode of life of the laboring people are substantially alike in both. Yet in New York the number of savings bank deposits is more than 6 times, and the amount deposited nearly 10 times as great as in Pennsylvania.

Manifestly, no possible difference in the conditions and habits of the laboring classes of those two States can account for the enormous difference in their savings banks returns. But if the condition of their respective middle classes are considered, the difference in New York is readily explained. In New York City, which, including its immediate suburbs, comprises nearly one-half of the population of the "Empire" State, there is a very numerous and active middle class, that is still upon the whole, quite prosperous, despite the inroads made upon it by concentrated capital. It is, at any rate, far more numerous, active and prosperous than

the number of "deposits" (as in many instances the same depositor had several deposits in different banks), was in round figures 4,880,000, and the total amount deposited was \$1,811,000,000 (eighteen hundred and eleven million dollars).

In these grand totals, the State of Ohio, with a population of 4,000,000, figured for only 86,000 deposits, amounting to the aggregate to the comparatively insignificant sum of less than \$85,000,000; while New Hampshire, with a population of 400,000 (or one-tenth that of Ohio), showed very nearly 164,000 deposits, aggregating about \$67,000,000 (or almost double the number and amount of deposits credited to Ohio). Mark, furthermore, that the number of wage-workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries was (in 1890) 64,000 in New Hampshire (or 100,000 LESS than the number of deposits), as against 331,000 in Ohio (or 245,000 MORE than the number of deposits).

To facilitate perception I tabulate as follows:

States.	Population.	Number of mfg. and mech. Workers.	Number of Deposits.	Sums deposited.	Excess of workers over deposits.	Excess of deposits over workers.
Ohio.	4,000,000	331,000	86,000	\$85,000,000	245,000
New Hampshire.	400,000	64,000	165,000	67,000,000	100,000

Again, on the other hand, if every one of the 86,000 Ohio depositors was a shop or factory worker, there would still be in that State 245,000 such workers (or 3 in 4) without a savings bank account; in other words, under this extreme supposition only 1 in 4 such workers would save money in Ohio, where the conditions of labor are certainly, on an average, no worse if not better than in New Hampshire. Applying to New Hampshire this MAXIMUM (and obviously exaggerated) proportion of 1 in 4, we would find that the deposits in the latter State were contributed as follows:

over workers in the first State, and the great excess of workers over deposits in the second State, obviously afforded a wider and therefore more correct basis to work upon in order to arrive, through arithmetic reasoning, at an approximation of the distribution of savings bank deposits between the wage-working class and the middle class. But similar contrasts, not less suggestive, exist between other States, as, for instance, between Pennsylvania and New York, which compare as follows:

Prohibitionists.....	77
Socialist Labor Party.....	252
Democrats.....	1,212
Republicans.....	1,973

In 1898, the total vote for Governor was 6,445, divided as follows:

Prohibitionists.....	78
Socialist Labor Party.....	483
Social Democrats.....	816
Democrats.....	467
Republicans.....	3,311

Above figures indicate that the Democratic leaders saw their finish approaching, and that speedy action on their part was necessary. What then should suggest itself more readily than a fusion between themselves and their step-brothers of the Social Democracy? Two points were to be gained thereby, to wit: to crush (?) the S. L. P. and to place the Democrats in power by proxy. Hence the result in 1899.

In the city election:

Social Democrats.....	1,700
Democrats.....	400

The game of flim-flam is complete, the Social Democrats have swallowed the Democrats—only that the Democrats are on the outside.

The Democrats having helped Step-brother Social Democrat to elect a Mayor, will now ask for their reward, and that means undivided support of the Democratic party in national affairs. Here is where the fun commences for the Socialist Labor Party. Step-brother will get bounced, and Mr. Democrat will continue the firm as of old—alone.

The election figures of 1900 will also be the obituary of the once famous (?) Socialist (?) Social Democracy of Haverhill and surrounding villages.

M. RUTHER.

The receipt of a sample copy of THE PEOPLE is an invitation to subscribe.

against \$35,000,000 in the "Buckeye" State.

If all the above statements were not deemed sufficient to show the absurdity of measuring the welfare of the working people by the returns of savings banks, I might further observe that by this measure the wage workers of New York State would be 102 times as well off as those of Wisconsin, which, with a population of 1,900,000, has only 1,439 deposits aggregating less than \$180,000; or that in Austria-Hungary, where the reported savings are \$885,000,000, the workers are better off than in Great Britain, where the savings are only \$815,000,000; and so on, ad infinitum.

But the point of importance, which I think I have made quite clear, is that the bulk of savings bank deposits in this country is supplied by the middle class, to the extent of at least 90 per cent. of their amount. And right here, before passing to the next consideration, I might also remark that the large and growing deposits of the middle class in such States as New York and Massachusetts are by no means an evidence of its permanent solidity and safety. This fact rather betrays a sense of insecurity, which impels the people of that class to lay by some money for their wives and children in the fear of possible failure or of death under circumstances that would make a settlement of their affairs somewhat uncertain in its results. A Gould, a Vanderbilt, a Rockefeller, or any such, does not deposit money in a savings bank or take an insurance policy, unless, perchance, he desires to "boom up," for his own purposes or to oblige a friend, the concern which he may thus patronize.

Now, if the maximum contribution of the wage-working class to the sums accumulated in the savings banks is only at the very utmost, 10 per cent. (which upon the basis of the latest returns would foot up \$180,000,000), how foolish is it to imagine that this class, with that sum of "savings" as "capital," could, through co-operation, free itself from the yoke of capitalism!

To be sure, \$180,000,000 is a formidable sum; but it is formidable only, (1) when concentrated in a few hands working together for some special object, and (2) on condition that the object shall not be opposed by the infinitely greater mass of other capital.

1. The very purpose of "saving," which in the sense here considered is to lay by money for immediate use in case of emergency, would naturally forbid any combination—not only between the 480,000 depositors of the working class, but between the 4,392,000 depositors of the middle class—through which their money might be tied up in commercial, financial, or manufacturing ventures. Necessarily limited in their operations by this purpose, the savings banks invest their money chiefly in mortgages on first-class improved real estate, municipal or State bonds, and loans strongly secured, that can be called in on the shortest possible notice. They keep a large amount of cash on hand, in their own coffers, and their deposits in banks are subject to immediate withdrawal.

2. Were such a combination possible it would, as soon as attempted, immediately be met with the combined opposition of all the great capitalistic forces, for which it would be mere child's play to break it down and wipe it out. Not only the \$180,000,000 of the working class, but the \$1,600,000,000 of the middle class, if those two classes entered into the combination, would promptly disappear in the huge maw of the forty-billion-power plutocratic octopus.

LUCIEN SANTAL.

Correct Forecast.

HOLYOKE, Mass., Jan. 29.—In addition to that excellent analysis by S. S. Boston, of the political flim-flam game now going on in Haverhill, Mass. I wish to add a few figures to clinch the point, and to hold up to the wondering gaze of our Comrades the contemptible rôle those "me-too" Socialists play under the leadership of Carey, Chase, et al.

In 1897, Haverhill polled 3,513 votes for Governor, divided as follows:

Prohibitionists.....	77
Socialist Labor Party.....	252
Democrats.....	1,212
Republicans.....	1,973

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COLUMBUS, O.

Municipal Ticket; Snappy Platform Declarations.

Socialist Organizations Have not Assumed the Contract of Saving People Who Fold their Arms, and do not Aid in the Work—God Helps those Who Help Themselves—No "Palliatives" Without Final Goal.
COLUMBUS, Ohio, Jan. 21.—The Socialist Labor Party held a city convention, adopted resolutions and placed in nomination a city ticket to be voted for at the election in April. Theodore Adams was elected chairman and James Lloyd secretary of the convention. Oscar Treer, W. R. Hensel and James Lloyd were elected members of the City Committee.

THE TICKET.
For Judge of Police Court:
E. F. MARZ.
For Justice:
THEODORE ADAMS.

The convention was conspicuous for the absence of hoodlums, fakirs and municipalizers who expect the Socialists to furnish the thunder for their great salvation scheme for bankers to loan money on, while they pose as martyrs to buying city utilities.

Our city is said to be full of poverty-stricken people—all "Socialists," of course, but waiting for an outstretched arm to save them. We have thrown the responsibility where it belongs. They must, if they want help, co-operate in helping others. It must be understood that a few poor self-sacrificing Socialists who bear the expense of a Section have not assumed the contract of saving people who fold their arms, and find fault that not enough is being done, and this, that and the other thing is not right. The following was adopted as our

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of Columbus, Ohio, in convention assembled, reaffirms and endorses the principles and programme of the National Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance as an economic factor in the class struggle. We charge this (and every other city government in our country) in conjunction with the dominant system of "organized labor" with, and condemn and hold them responsible for the awful condition through which the country is passing; we congratulate the "pauper labor of Europe" for its good judgment in electing Socialists to the administration of their city affairs, and for having a system of organized labor acting in co-operation with the Socialist political body, and thus continually progressing with the end in view of establishing the co-operative commonwealth.

We do not charge our city government with any crimes not inherent in the law of capitalism. It is a capitalist government, and acts to that end; when this is understood it must be recognized as an unfortunate and a condition not to be endured.

In the surplus value on profit, which is now more than eighty per cent., and which the capitalist class congests in its hands by squeezing it out of the workers, is found the secret of the "dogs of war" being turned loose to hunt "new fields for investment" and exploitation, and an indefinite period of wars is precipitated. Thus the wage workers of cities become a principal factor of responsibility for wars and their own degradation by not acting as an economic and political body to the end of operating the industries of the land in such a way as to supply the necessities of life instead of the present capitalist class way to produce profits that go to one class only.

In order to smooth the sharp corners and make it possible to exist until a reorganization of industries can be effected we submit the following platform:

1. Protection to workers in case of strikes, including their maintenance.
2. Employment of unemployed.
3. All work for the city to be done direct and without the intervention of contractors.
4. So levying taxes as to protect the home.
5. The city to build houses to be rented to the poor people at a rental basis on covering repairs and incidental expenses.
6. The establishing of coal yards to supply the home with fuel at cost.
7. A pension for old people so regulated as to protect the city from imposition.

In submitting this platform, we also call upon the wage workers and all honest citizens to organize Branches of Section Columbus in the various wards, in conformity with the rules of the Socialist Labor Party, in order to have an effective organization so as to be in position to instruct, advise and control candidates and representatives.

Exploited by the big capitalists, deceived by their labor leaders, left in the lurch by the preachers, the mine-workers have reached a condition from which nothing but the revolutionary inspiration of Socialism can raise.—See adv. "Tragic Pages," on 2d page.

The English translation of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx's picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply, Labor News Co., 147 E. 23d st., N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Socialist Vote. Includes years 1888, 1890, 1892, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1899.

Why do they prate of the blessings of Peace? We have made them a curse, Pickpockets, each hand lusting for all that is not its own...

TENNYSON.

SPECIFICATIONS.

A letter or two that have run in since the item in last week's Political and Economic column on the way President Seth Low's "general observance of the eight-hour law" works...

Say a manufacturer employs 100 men, 10 hours a day, producing \$400 worth of wealth. The agitation for the eight-hour day begins; the manufacturer keeps on resisting until he has extracted all he can from his ten machines...

Pure and simple trade unionism, as often shown in these columns, is the legitimate child of England. Strained through the loins of British conditions, the "pure and simple" mind carries the stamp of the habits of thought and of the mental characteristics of its exploiting and dominant British class.

Such perseverance in stupidity, such utter disregard of experience on the part of the old style, or "pure and simple," or British trade unionism in its struggles with the Capitalist Class was a mystery, puzzling to the observer.

Two weeks ago THE PEOPLE published the application of Section New York to the Attorney-General of this State for the dissolution of the "Volkszeitung" corporation; last week a part of the opposing affidavits of the corporation was published and commented on; this week there will be found on the fourth page two supplementary affidavits in support of the application for dissolution.

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Employer and fakir work hand in hand for a while, then the fakir's misdeed boomerangs back upon his head, and, instead of kicking himself for his stupidity, or repentfully smiting himself upon his chest, he seeks to throw upon the hungry out-of-work man, the man whom he sought to ignore, the man whose sufferings were nothing to him,—upon that man he seeks to throw the odium, but in vain.

Thus Nemesis overtakes the guilty. For a while the manufacturer profits; but he profits only by the fakir, because it is thanks to the fakir that the unemployed remains helpless. Time comes, however, when even the manufacturer is overtaken by Retribution. The workers' eyes open, and they proceed intelligently, kicking both fakirs and manufacturers overboard by voting the Socialist Labor Party in and all others out.

WHAT ELSE THE CANNON IN THE TRANSVAAL IS SAYING.

Engels or Lasalle observed somewhere that the exploiting, labor-fleecing class in a community does not dominate only in the sense of oppressing the bodies of the working class, but also dominates the minds of the workers in the sense of placing upon these the stamp of its own habits of thought or mental characteristics.

The Idaho horrors were promptly swooped down upon by the "Volkszeitung." Day after day it revelled in articles on the subject, and—of course, issued a call for contributions "to relieve the distress of the strikers." Moneys came in,—credulously, confidently.

Nor is this an isolated instance. When the recent strike in Denmark was on, the "Volkszeitung" also hastened to announce its anxiety to receive funds "for the distressed strikers"; funds did pour in,—but were held here, and not forwarded until a full month after the strike was over, and when "questions began to be asked."

or twice by the same stratagem, would be apt to become wary, learn from experience. Not so with the British officers in command. Caught twice, they learned nothing; did not even learn from the third experience; walked blindly into the fourth; and, with the confidence of inexperience, have just tumbled into the fifth trap, spread out before them in the identical way with all the previous ones, and been mowed down at Spion Kop. Surely such persevering in and total disregard of experience, or incapacity to improve by it, cannot be accidental; it denotes, it is a trait of character.

Now, turn to the conduct of "pure and simple" trade union labor leadership. What is seen there? The identical perseverance in and total disregard of experience that characterizes the conduct of the British officers in South Africa. Labor revolt after labor revolt has flung itself against the trenches of capitalism, and has each time been resisted and crushed by the identical capitalist strategy. Indeed, as monotonously identical as the Boer traps are, are also the capitalist traps into which the working class has fallen, and been routed under "pure and simple" trade union leadership with the regularity of clock-work.

The illusion of fighting capital with capital, the illusion of holding the interests of the Working Class to be identical with those of the Capitalist Class, the blindness to the fact that the Labor Movement is essentially a political question, the resulting principle of leaving the political power with the Capitalist Class or of even deliberately placing that decisive and deciding power into capitalist hands,—these are the lures with which Capitalism has for the last generations regularly entrapped the workers, and with which "pure and simple" trade unionism continues to be lured to successive massacres.

Such perseverance in stupidity, such utter disregard of experience on the part of the old style, or "pure and simple," or British trade unionism in its struggles with the Capitalist Class was a mystery, puzzling to the observer. The talk of the cannon in the Transvaal is dispelling the mystery. One now understands how the thing comes about.

Pure and simple trade unionism, as often shown in these columns, is the legitimate child of England. Strained through the loins of British conditions, the "pure and simple" mind carries the stamp of the habits of thought and of the mental characteristics of its exploiting and dominant British class.

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Employer and fakir work hand in hand for a while, then the fakir's misdeed boomerangs back upon his head, and, instead of kicking himself for his stupidity, or repentfully smiting himself upon his chest, he seeks to throw upon the hungry out-of-work man, the man whom he sought to ignore, the man whose sufferings were nothing to him,—upon that man he seeks to throw the odium, but in vain.

Thus Nemesis overtakes the guilty. For a while the manufacturer profits; but he profits only by the fakir, because it is thanks to the fakir that the unemployed remains helpless. Time comes, however, when even the manufacturer is overtaken by Retribution. The workers' eyes open, and they proceed intelligently, kicking both fakirs and manufacturers overboard by voting the Socialist Labor Party in and all others out.

WHAT ELSE THE CANNON IN THE TRANSVAAL IS SAYING.

Engels or Lasalle observed somewhere that the exploiting, labor-fleecing class in a community does not dominate only in the sense of oppressing the bodies of the working class, but also dominates the minds of the workers in the sense of placing upon these the stamp of its own habits of thought or mental characteristics.

The Idaho horrors were promptly swooped down upon by the "Volkszeitung." Day after day it revelled in articles on the subject, and—of course, issued a call for contributions "to relieve the distress of the strikers." Moneys came in,—credulously, confidently.

Nor is this an isolated instance. When the recent strike in Denmark was on, the "Volkszeitung" also hastened to announce its anxiety to receive funds "for the distressed strikers"; funds did pour in,—but were held here, and not forwarded until a full month after the strike was over, and when "questions began to be asked."

same crimes. Such a man, he was told to his face, was a blot to a labor organization, and, if occupying a position of trust and confidence, was a danger-spot that could not be too soon cast off; and cast off he was in short order. Such a blot and danger-spot the "Volkszeitung" has long been, in the sacred temple of the Labor Movement, it has long piled its harlotry; the ulcer cannot be too promptly and thoroughly cauterized; and cauterized it shall be.

Let none look lightly upon the documents that are being published in the case of Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, against the "Volkszeitung" Corporation. They should be read with attention; they are invaluable. Agitation for Socialism is not enough; knowledge of economics is not enough; one must also know and thoroughly understand the sort of obstacles that rise in the path of the Movement of Labor. As a knowledge of the stars is not enough for the navigator, but he must also know the locations of the sunken reefs, so is the science of Socialism not enough to the militant; he must be posted upon the character of the reefs that rise and are apt to rise in his path.

Canadians, disfranchised in their own country, are rushing to arms to prevent the Boers from keeping the franchise from the propertyless Uitlanders. Is not this a case parallel to that of our own Americans, "reconcentrado" in the large cities by American Capitalism, rushing two years ago to arms to prevent the Spaniards from "reconcentrating" the Cubans?

By a vote of 29 to 8, the South Carolina Senate killed the bill making twelve years the minimum age at which children can work in the cotton mills of the State. The argument was: The mothers are the best judges. The argument meant: First purgerize the parents, and then let us shelter ourselves behind the distress that we ourselves create, and then use that to intensify more profit-producing distress.

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POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

The New York "Journal" has simplified the art of definition down to a minimum. "What is Socialism?" Some one asks it; and the answer comes like a flash: Socialism is the science of improving social conditions. Throwing off British control and governing ourselves was Socialism. Freeing the slaves was Socialism. Declaring that a black man has as much right to liberty as a white man is Socialism. The word "Socialism" is misunderstood by its enemies and also by those who imagine themselves "Socialists."

Following the simple system of this definition, if the question is asked, what is dentistry? The answer would be: Dentistry is the science of relieving pain. Giving a man with the belly-ache a purge relieves his pain and, therefore, is Dentistry. Paring off a man's corns relieves his pain and, therefore, is Dentistry. Cutting a cancer out of a man's stomach relieves his pain, and, therefore, is Dentistry. The word "Dentistry" is misunderstood by its enemies, and also by those who imagine themselves "Dentists."

Leave yellow journalism alone, and it will turn everything into the jaundice. A pamphlet entitled "United States Merchant Marine on the Oceans" has made its appearance in Cleveland, O., and is extensively circulated "where it will do most good,"—Washington, D. C., especially. Its purpose is to boom the scheme of the "Ship Subsidy Bill" (the Hanna-Payne bill), in other words, it is intended to promote the policy of paying money out of the public treasury to carry on a private industry.

Is this "a step towards Socialism?" We may almost be prepared to be told so by the elements made up partly of people who seek private profit from ideas that are growing to be popular, and partly of people who are so ill-balanced as to be duped by such schemes. Of course, the Ship Subsidy Bill is not a step towards Socialism any more than municipalization is la Glasgow. What it is in reality is one more evidence of the false pretences of capitalism that it stands upon individual efforts, and that its State is not a means for capitalistic business.

The Capitalist State, the State in the hands of the Capitalist class, is nothing but a concentrated club for capitalist exploitation. It is the pivot upon which the Capitalist class revolves. It is the citadel of Capitalist power. All the declamations that Capitalism indulges in against Socialism as a system of "Paternalism" stand exposed by this Ship Subsidy Bill. Under Capitalism, the State is a stepfather, cruel to the masses, good to the few. Under Socialism the State, being the people's property, could not be turned to private use.

This Ship Subsidy illustrates the point Under Capitalism, wealth produced by the working class is appropriated by the exploiting class, through the State, in order to place in the hands of the exploiter still greater exploiting power. Under Socialism, ships being needed, the co-operative labors of the people would produce them, leaving them in the hands of the people to be turned to the people's advantage.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

"CATCHING FLIES."

By ARTHUR KEOP, New York.

At Waterbury, Conn., last December, while at dinner, a gentleman at the head of the table leaned towards me and, examining my S. L. P. button, said, "A Socialist, eh? I am always glad to meet a Comrade." Then he said a few more things, among which was the following: "Bad split we had in the Party, wasn't it?"

"Oh I don't know," said I; "it was a mighty good vomit."

That made him open his eyes as wide as a misfit pair could open, but while evidently surprised at the answer, he came back to the fray, saying next: "How is THE PEOPLE getting on?"

"It's doing well; fine as silk," said I. "It's a fine paper; best paper in the country," said he, "but it's too harsh, too harsh."

"Yes, too harsh for crooks," said I. "Oh! well," he said, "you can catch more flies with molasses than you can with vinegar."

"Yes," I said, "if you are out to catch flies."

At this the gentleman pouted, hinted mildly at "billingsgate"; so, as he had worn out my patience, I thought I'd tell him some homely truths, and I did so after this fashion: "Did you," I asked, "ever think about who it is such expressions as 'catching flies'? Does not that expression belong in the vocabulary of the sharper, bunco steerer, three-card monte man and fakir along with its relatives, such as 'catching suckers,' 'playing chump,' 'working 'em,' 'skinning the jays' and the old, time-honored tale of 'Will you walk into my parlor, said the spider to the fly'? Who are those who use such expressions but those who are out to 'do' someone? Only those who want to 'catch flies,' not for the flies' sake, but in order to kill them, care about giving them molasses; only those who want to disassociate someone from his property in a sneaking way, without much risk to themselves, use such expressions. It is only those who prey off ignorance who talk that way."

Then I left the gentleman to ponder over what I had said and went my way rejoicing as does a man who feels satisfied with himself over a job well done.

Walking along the main street I happened to look in a store window and, before I knew it, found myself contemplating the photo of the very gentleman of the dinner table, posed in an attitude of pensive meditation, on the face an overgrown smirk of self-complacency, arrayed in garments the upper half of which appeared to belong to a Cowboy from the Bad Lands and the lower half the remains of a tramp-tailor's trousers. Underneath the photo, in display type, I saw this:

STUART REID.

followed by this, "Hear the Machinist Orator." The whole was so redolent of sawdust, peanuts and pink lemonade that I had only to close my eyes and see a one-ring circus in a country town, and that which stood out as the most prominent feature was the "Barker" for the side-show working his little game of "catching flies."

A gentleman, now dead, named P. T. Barnum, holds the chief niche in the temple of notoriety as a fakir. He it was who said "There's a sucker born every minute;" also did he say "The people want to be humbugged."

Stalking through this land of ours are a number of cheap imitators of the Master, who, where Barnum wanted to catch thousands, are willing to catch one or two and in their desire to emulate the great and only P. T. become caricatures. Such are the Stuart Reids, who ape the advertising and yawn the talk of the prince of fakirs.

In the childhood of man the incantationist, the wizard, and the medicine-man with their tall hats, bells, flummery and fairy tales may have been a power; the present day incantationist, tom-tom beater and strolling fakir is as out of place and as much of a monstrosity as would be the monkey in the council of man. Away with them!

We are men, and fight a man's fight; we are out to MAKE MEN and not to "catch flies."

Too long and too often have we of the working class been "played" by the Reids and their ilk. Let us understand once for all that we are not flies and that he who wants to "catch" us shall be incontinently caught by the neck himself and thrown into the oblivion he deserves.

Fairy stories told to children are perhaps but fairy tales; told to men, they are lies, and the liar should be whipped out of the society of men.

We are "blazing the way" for the proletariat; let us mark every tree along the route, cut deep too, so that those who follow may follow easily, and thereby do our duty as MEN.

Those who spread molasses do but clog our steps, and compel us, like flies, to stick in our tracks, and thus cause us to be easily killed. We are not flies, and can tell molasses when we see it.

Keep off the fly paper and hurl out of the path the fellow with the molasses. Only men can attain to the dignity of the Socialist Republic. Therefore, MAKE MEN.

Milwaukee, Wis.

A grand prize mask ball is arranged by the "Union Pleasure Club" for Saturday, February 17th, at the Vorwaerts Turner Hall, corner Third street and Reservoir avenue. As the club has decided to turn over the entire surplus to Section Milwaukee, S. L. P., all Comrades and "readers of THE PEOPLE" are cordially invited to attend. Handsome prizes will be given to the best individual masks and groups. Admission, 50 cents for gentlemen and 25 cents for ladies. Tickets bought in advance, 25 cents for gentlemen and one lady's ticket free with each gentleman's ticket. Tickets for sale in advance by janitor of Vorwaerts Turner Hall; Henry Kroeger, 967 Third street; Henry Thielges, Shooting Park; John Ziel, N. W. corner Third and Galena streets; Becker's saloon, cor. Third and Lloyd streets; Milwaukee Printing Co., Third street, opposite Schlitz's Brewery, and by all Comrades.

THE LABOR FAKIR.

The Characteristics of these "Heilers" for the Capitalist Class.

The labor fakir is a modern product, an evolution of the last days of capitalism. To the uninitiated the term may require a little elucidation, in order that its true significance may appear, and that elucidation may best be had by comparing the labor fakir with other fakirs. Take the street fakir, for example. A few days ago one of them stood on a box on a street corner and got off the following song:

Now, gentlemen, I am going to perform one of the most marvelous feats known to the art of necromancy. You see this chain I have in my hand; it is a large chain, and is technically known as a "log chain." It is five feet long, and contains forty pounds of the hardest iron that ever lived. Now, gentlemen, I am going to swallow this chain for your edification. How am I going to do it, inasmuch as the links in the chain are larger than my mouth? That is for me to determine. Now, gentlemen, do you digest it? That is my concern. All that should interest you is the fact that I am going to swallow the chain. But before I perform the marvelous feat, gentlemen, I have here a few boxes of my own specially-prepared ointment for corns, ingrowing toenails, bunions, and all other afflictions of the pedal extremities. I have just 50 boxes of this ointment here, and when these 50 boxes are sold I shall swallow the chain.

The street fakir then hung the chain on a hook, and proceeded to sell ointment until the crowd began to dwindle, when he again took up the chain and told the wondering simpletons that he was about to swallow it.

The labor fakir mounts the platform and sings this kind of a song:

Walk right up, fellow workers. We are all horny-handed sons of toil. We have been working with our mouths for the last thirty years. We have sacrificed our lives on the altar of the working class. We are going to organize the workers into pure and simple unions. Then we will perform great feats. We will bring the capitalist down into the mire; we will push him into the gutter. We will hold him by the throat by his ears, and make him give us better wages. But before we perform this marvelous feat we have a little business to do; we are short of money, and we have to go to the capitalist down into the mire? That is for us to determine. How are we going to hold him there after we get him there? Again that is our business. You pay the dues, we will do the rest. How and Why of Strikes.

Then the faithful fakirs get to work raking in the dues until the enthusiasm begins to wane and the crowd of gullibles dwindles away, whereupon they again bring out the chain and profess to be able to swallow it.

A street fakir is a fakir who claims to be able to perform marvelous feats, and who makes a living out of the gullibility of those who believe he can do what he says.

A labor fakir is a fakir who claims to be able to benefit the working class with a trade union of the type of those belonging to the American Federation of Labor.

And if one wishes cumulative evidence to the rascality of the fakirs, one has but to read "Tragic Pages: A Study of the Labor Fakir," by Thomas A. Hickey. Mr. Hickey takes the United Mine Workers' Union as a type, and, by examining its recent history, the history of its strikes, shows that "the miners lie naked in the storm, while their labor fakir leaders revel and riot in debauchery."

The contents of the book are especially suggestive:

- Proletarians organized for their Own Slaughter. Miners strike in the Storm while the Labor Fakirs Revel and Debauch in Riot. Partnership Between Hanna and the Officials of the United Mine Workers' Union. After Robbing the Miners by an Iron-clad Contract Hanna, the Gold-standard Republican Mine Owner, is Endorsed by the Precious Silver Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers' Union. Labor Legislation Exemplified by Laws in Favor of the Workers: 1. "Run of the Mines" Law. Unconstitutional. 2. "Checkweighman" Law. Unconstitutional. 3. "Run of the Mines" Law. Unconstitutional. 4. "Run of the Mines" Law. Unconstitutional. 5. "Run of the Mines" Law. Unconstitutional. 6. "Run of the Mines" Law. Unconstitutional. 7. "Run of the Mines" Law. Unconstitutional. 8. "Run of the Mines" Law. Unconstitutional. 9. "Run of the Mines" Law. Unconstitutional. 10. "Run of the Mines" Law. Unconstitutional.

Only Tramp.

(Written for THE PEOPLE by Cora Tornek Arroyo Grande, Cal.)

[About two years ago there appeared in some of the coast papers a short account of the wreck of a freight train, in which a tramp who was "stealing a ride," was very badly injured, and was suffered to remain amid the debris, while the crew of the wrecked train were engaged in saving the freight. When the tramp was finally released, he had but life and strength enough left to ask for a piece of bread, and immediately expired.] "Is only a tramp," 'tis said; Only one of the many dead; One more life that's sealed; One more buried in Potter's Field. "Is only one more proletariat, Whose brief life of care, Shaded by need, O'erwhelmed him indeed. His was the labor soldier, Yet another his place filled; A hopeless wanderer he, Displaced by Modern Industry. 'Twas said the life he led, Wandering in search of bread, Till on a night of rain, Escorted on a freight train. He dreamed of hunger stifled At a banquet of his guild. Bright visions round him play Of an earlier, happier day. Then came a terrible shock: The whole train seemed to rock— Then a downward plunge and a roar, And life for him is almost o'er. For weary hours he lies, Amid the wreck on broken ties, And in wild delirium raves, While the train hauls the freight saves. "Is only a tramp," they said, Not care he be living or dead, Though crushed and bleeding he lies, Till, opening his dying eyes, A pitying stranger he decries, To whom he feebly said: "Please, if I like some bread," And then fell back—dead.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan—There was a socialist meeting the other day that should damn the Socialists forever in the eyes of the workers in this country.

Uncle Sam—Did it fire bombs? B. J.—No; it favored the importation of pauper labor.

U. S.—You are mistaken; what it did was to denounce the new anti-immigration movement humbug.

B. J.—What is the difference? U. S.—A good deal. This anti-immigration scheme is a fraud on the people.

B. J.—Do you call it a fraud on the people to relieve the labor market? U. S.—That would not be a fraud; but to make believe one wants to relieve the labor market, and in that way gain the confidence of those in whose interest it is that the labor market be relieved, and armed with their confidence acquire power to overstock the labor market some more—that is the fraud.

B. J.—In what way do these anti-immigration movements do that? U. S.—The labor market is overstocked to the compositors; did immigration do that?

B. J.—No; type-setting machines did. U. S.—The labor market is overstocked to the cigarmakers; did immigration do that?

B. J.—No; the numerous machines did it. U. S.—The labor market is overstocked to the weavers; did immigration do that?

B. J.—Why, no; the steam and automatic looms did it. U. S.—And so we may go through the whole gamut of the nation's industries. Machinery, born in the country, overstocks the labor market in one day more by displacement than immigration does in a month. Now, anti-immigration laws cannot, in the very nature of the thing, be enforced, and their violation is hard to detect; on the other hand, the injury done to labor by privately owned machinery could be remedied by the popular ownership of it. When a pickpocket wants to rob your right side pocket he tips your hat on the left; he thereby throws you in your guard on the right and has free play. These anti-immigration bills of that nature. In the first place, sounds plausible to impute the hardships of labor to immigration; on the other, the way to save all the good there is in the machine, and at the same time prevent its ravages among the workers, is not so clear. It is therefore the veriest imitation of the pickpocket's trick to beat the alarm against immigration. By doing that, even if immigration were wholly stopped, capitalist exploitation would continue unabated through the displacement of labor by the machine. The capitalists would have engaged the attention of the workers with a question that amounts to nothing, and would thereby draw their attention away from the real issue. Don't you see the fraud?

B. J.—But doesn't immigration do some harm? Won't you take half a loaf rather than nothing? U. S.—I would take a quarter of a loaf rather than nothing; but I refuse to accept two lumps of stone as large as a loaf each and called loaves for a loaf of bread. Who are the people who bring in the immigrants? Is it the workers?

B. J.—No; the capitalists. U. S.—That being so, just what do they fool you with a stone that they call "half a loaf"? These very capitalists who want the immigrants are in the ones to keep them out! They want the whole loaf of genuine bread that consists in your ballot, and they give you a law which, according to you, it is in their interest not to enforce. You are a fool, and they know it, and that's why they keep on with their tricks to trick you out of your ballot.

B. J.—Looks crestfallen. U. S.—Not the foreign laborer is the enemy you should guard against, the enemy is the capitalist class. The workers of all lands are your brothers. Vote the capitalist class down and out.

Lectures.

- FEB. 2.—Frank Campbell, "The Labor Fakir," Headquarters 13th A. D., New York. FEB. 3.—Thomas A. Hickey, "Bridging the Brooklyn Capitalist Politics for Workers," Schiellens Assembly Rooms, corner of Vermont and Atlantic avenues, Brooklyn. FEB. 4.—James Farthing, "Experiments in Colonization," Labor Occum, 1820 Champs street, Denver, Colo. FEB. 4.—A. S. Brown, "The Struggle for Freedom," Club Rooms, 525 E. 11th street, New York. FEB. 4.—R. Katz, "Trade Unionism," 48 W. 71st street, New York. FEB. 4.—Melko Meyer, "The Class Struggle," 218 Gratiot ave., Detroit, Mich. FEB. 4th, 8 P. M.—Arthur Keop, "The Socialist Labor Party, its Aims and Objectives," Wurrier's Hall, 315 Washington st., Brooklyn. FEB. 4.—John F. Malloney, "State Organized Colonization," Labor Occum, 1820 Champs street, Denver, Colo. FEB. 5th, 8 P. M.—Thomas Hickey, "Unions, promising Socialism," Washington Hall, Myrtle avenue, Brooklyn. FEB. 7th, 8 P. M.—Julian Pierce, "Capitalism and Socialism," Club Rooms, 414 West 9th street, New York. FEB. 11.—Thomas Curran, "Objections to Socialism," Textile Hall, Olneyville st., Providence. FEB. 11th.—T. Silverman, "The Survival of the Fittest," 414 E. 71st st., New York. FEB. 11th.—Musical and Literary Entertainment, Labor Lyceum, 1820 Champs street, Denver, Colo. FEB. 11.—Julius L. Becker, "Capitalism," 10 Gratiot avenue, Detroit, Mich.

Package Party and Dance (For the Benefit of the Daily People) GIVEN BY THE Socialist Labor Party, 14th A. D. At 528 EAST 11th ST., N. Y. Saturday, February 3d, 1900, 8 P. M. GENTLEMEN'S HAT CURB, 10 CHAMPS. Ladies are requested to furnish 10 Cents.

AWAY WITH DERELICTS!

Second Shot Fired into the "Volkszeitung", Disproving its "Affidavits", and Proving its Insolventcy and Fraudulency.

IN THE MATTER

The Application of Eber Forbes, as Treasurer of the Socialist Labor Party, to the Attorney-General of the State of New York, to ask leave of a competent Court, having jurisdiction thereof, to bring an action against the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association to procure a judgment vacating its Charter and annulling the existence of said Corporation.

I.

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

CHRISTIAN PETERSEN, being duly sworn, says: That he is the owner and holder of a bond similar to the one annexed to the petition of Eber Forbes herein, which was issued to Hugo Vogt. That the said bond was issued to deponent on or about the 24th day of October, 1895, and that ever since said date, by virtue of said instrument, and by permission of the Board of Directors and Managers of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, the deponent was admitted to all the rights of membership therein. That deponent paid into said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association the sum of Five Dollars therefor.

That ever since deponent so held said instrument, he has voted at all meetings of said Association at which deponent attended. That when deponent received said instrument, it was upon the understanding that deponent was to receive no dividends thereon, or to acquire any property rights whatsoever in the property of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, but in any event, he could only receive the return of his said Five Dollars.

That on or about the year 1894, deponent was the book-keeper of the aforesaid Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association. That subsequently between the month of April, 1895, and the month of November, 1897, he was cashier of the aforesaid Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, and that from the month of November, 1897, to July 10th, 1899, deponent was the business manager of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, and was succeeded on the last mentioned day by Richard Bersick, one of the affidants in behalf of the opponents to the above entitled application.

That deponent is thoroughly familiar with all the financial and business affairs of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association up to July 10th, 1899, and that he is thoroughly familiar with all the property which the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association owned, and had acquired up to July 10th, 1899, and with all the liabilities that said Association was subject to up to the aforesaid July 10th, 1899.

That deponent has read the affidavit of Richard Bersick, verified the 10th day of January, 1900. That said Richard Bersick in his affidavit does not pretend to swear to the value of the assets alleged in his affidavit, but only assumes to swear that the statement in his affidavit is a true and correct statement according to the books of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association.

That one of the items of assets therein stated is "advertising account, outstanding, \$7,644.55." That deponent is familiar with this advertising account, and that during the time that deponent was business manager of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, it was about the same amount.

That nearly 50 per cent. of said advertising account is uncollectable, and that the aforesaid advertising account outstanding of \$7,644.55 is worth no more than the sum of \$4,000.

That deponent is thoroughly familiar with the items of assets designated as "subscription account outstanding, \$2,235.35." That said outstanding subscription account is for subscribers to the newspapers of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association who have not paid. That they are scattered throughout the United States, and that in December, 1898, said account was about the same amount, and that to deponent's own knowledge, 90 per cent. of this subscription outstanding is uncollectable, and that said subscription account outstanding as an asset is worth no more than the sum of \$250.00.

That deponent is thoroughly familiar with the "Carriers and Agents account" stated in the assets, the Almanac account, stocks, etc., and the New Year's address account and trade and rent accounts, and that during the time that deponent was business manager of the said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, they were about the same amounts on the books of said Association, and that to deponent's knowledge, they are uncollectable, to the extent of at least 50 per cent., and are not worth over 50 per cent. of the amounts that appear upon the books of the Association.

Deponent further says: That he is thoroughly familiar with the inventory account of the assets alleged in the affidavit of Richard Bersick, which includes the Potter press and six (6) Linotype machines, and which are set forth in the books of the said Association with \$23,365.24. That the said Potter press was purchased by the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association in 1887. That said machine is antiquated, old and worn, and of a peculiar shape, and permits but one style of paper to be printed thereon.

That the market value of said Potter press is less than the sum of \$500.00. Deponent further says: That he is familiar with the 6 Linotype machines, and that the market value of said machines is reasonable no more than the sum of \$1,000.00 apiece. That the parties who sold the machines to the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association placed the valuation upon said machines of the sum of \$1,000.00 apiece. That all the assets of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association which they possess to-day are not worth more than the sum of fourteen thousand dollars, and that said assets since December,

ber, 1898, of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association were never worth more than the sum of fourteen thousand dollars.

That deponent is thoroughly familiar with all the liabilities of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, and that, in December, 1898, the liabilities of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association amounted to the sum of \$20,000, and that at no time between December, 1898, and the 10th day of July, 1899, have said liabilities of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association been less than \$20,000.

That it appears by the affidavit of Richard Bersick that the books of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association show liabilities at the present time to the amount of \$23,741.71.

Deponent further says: That the "paper account" among the liabilities of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, as appears from the affidavit of Richard Bersick, amounts to \$3,681.07, and so amounted to said sum on the 10th day of January, 1900.

That said account represents indebtedness to the firm that supplies paper to the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association for paper, and represents an arrangement of paper bills for 23 weeks. That in the regular course of trade, said paper is sold by said firm to the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association to be paid on a credit of not more than 30 days.

The "business loan account" includes an amount of about \$125.00, which represents a collection made for the benefit of mine-workers in the State of Idaho, who were locked out. That the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association received said money as trustee, but has failed and neglected to pay the same to the beneficiaries, the locked-out miners of Idaho, up to January 10th, 1900, and has placed said sum in its "business loan account," as deponent is informed, and verily believes.

Deponent further says: That ever since December, 1898, the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association has been insolvent, has not had assets enough to satisfy its liabilities, and at various times has refused, neglected and failed to pay its obligations.

That during the year 1899 the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association has been sued by various individuals.

That one of the items of the liabilities of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association is the sum of \$215.00 owing to the Socialist Labor Party, for almanacs, and that it has been requested to pay the same, but has refused and neglected so to do.

That one of the liabilities of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association which does not appear in the affidavit of Richard Bersick is a judgment obtained against the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association by one Samuel Prince, amounting to the sum of \$635.12, which, deponent is informed and believes, has never been paid, and which is undischarged of record.

Deponent further says that he, in this affidavit, heartily joins with Eber Forbes in petitioning the Attorney-General to ask leave of a court having competent jurisdiction to bring an action against the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association to procure a judgment vacating its charter and annulling the existence of said corporation, and deponent further petitions, by virtue of the instrument which he now holds, and for which he paid into the treasury of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association the sum of Five Dollars, whether the same be a bond or a share, and whether deponent be a stock-holder or a creditor, that the Attorney-General maintain an action in behalf of the people of the State of New York to procure a judgment dissolving the corporation known as the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, pursuant to Sections 1,785 and 1,786 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

Deponent further says: That he has read the petition of Eber Forbes, and that as stated in said petition of Eber Forbes, and to deponent's own knowledge, on or about the 14th day of December, 1898, said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association began publishing in the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," matters diametrically opposed to the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, which said corporation was formed to have newspapers advocate, and that, after the 10th day of July, 1899, all the papers published by the said corporation ceased to be the organ of the Socialist Labor Party, and have in every manner contravened the tactics and policies of the Socialist Labor Party in violation of the Preamble of the Constitution of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association.

That the said corporation in its newspapers, published by it, since the 10th day of July, 1899, advised all voters at the last election not to vote for the regular candidates of the Socialist Labor Party, and that, ever since, said corporation has violated its Constitution in failing to co-operate with the Socialist Labor Party, and acted contrary to the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, it has lost the support of the members and voters of the Socialist Labor Party, causing its publications to lose a large number of subscribers, and will each week and each day of its existence contract additional debts and obligations in order to make up the deficit arising from the loss of its subscribers, advertising patronage and other sources of income.

That annexed hereto are the last reports issued by the corporation, the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, some of which are signed by deponent jointly with Richard Bersick and others, by Richard Bersick after deponent severed his connection with said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association.

That said reports verify the affidavit of Eber Forbes as to the continued loss of subscription receipts, and show the growing deficits of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association.

Deponent further says: That annexed hereto is a statement of the circulation of the New Yorker Volkszeitung, published by the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, for the years 1898 and 1899, including the daily and Sunday editions.

That it appears from said statement that the circulation of the Daily New Yorker Volkszeitung in 1898 averaged 43,179 per week, being 7,200 circulation per day, and that in the year 1899, its circulation averaged a little over 40,000 per week, being a circulation of 6,600 per day. That the Sunday edition in the year 1898 amounted to an average

of 8,300 per Sunday, but that in the year 1899, it averaged but 7,800 per Sunday. That this statement is up to May, 1899, and that since May, 1899, the circulation of the said New Yorker Volkszeitung both daily and Sunday has substantially decreased, as appears from the official reports.

Deponent further says that the men employed by the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association as editors, compositors, pressmen and in other departments do not contribute their labor to the corporation on any co-operative plan or scheme, but are regularly employed by the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association at regular weekly salaries, and draw said salaries according to the terms thereof, whether the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association earns any money or not, and that many of the men employed by the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, and so paid weekly salaries, are not members thereof or shareholders or bondholders, and do not claim to be members of said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association.

That never, since deponent has had any connections with the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, have the editors, printers, compositors and all the employees of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, or any of them, ever contributed any of their labor to said corporation on any co-operative basis, but have always been paid a weekly salary, irrespective of the earnings of the aforesaid corporation.

CHRISTIAN PETERSEN.

Sworn to before me this 25th day of January, 1900.

HUGO VOGT.

Notary Public, Kings Co. Certificate filed in New York County.

[STATEMENT OF CIRCULATION.]

Table with columns: Daily, Sunday, Sunday. Rows for March, April, May with various numerical entries.

II.

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

PETER FIEBIGER, being duly sworn, says: That he is a member of the Socialist Labor Party and of Section New York, and has been a member of the Socialist Labor Party since about January, 1888. That he then joined Section New York of the Socialist Labor Party, a regular, recognized Section of said Party, and that he subsequently joined Section Brooklyn, a regular, recognized Section of the Socialist Labor Party.

That in about the year 1890 he became the owner and holder of a bond similar to the one annexed to the petition of Eber Forbes herein, which was issued to Hugo Vogt, and that ever since said date, by virtue of said instrument, and by permission of the Board of Directors and Managers of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, the deponent was admitted to all the rights of membership therein. That deponent paid into said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association the sum of Five Dollars therefor.

That ever since deponent so held said instrument, he has voted at all meetings of said Association at which he attended. That when deponent received said instrument, it was upon the understanding that deponent was to receive no dividends thereon or to acquire any property rights whatever in the property of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, but, in any event, he could only receive the return of his said Five Dollars, and was admitted to membership because he was a member of a recognized Section of the Socialist Labor Party.

That during the year 1892 deponent was president of the corporation, the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, and that during the year 1894 he was treasurer of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, and that up to March, 1899, he was a director of said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association.

That deponent is thoroughly familiar with all the financial and business affairs of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association up to March, 1899, and that he is thoroughly familiar with all the property which the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association owned and had acquired up to March, 1899, and with all the liabilities that said Association was subject to up to the aforesaid date, March, 1899.

That deponent has read the affidavit of Richard Bersick, verified the 10th day of January, 1900. That said Richard Bersick, in his affidavit, does not pretend to swear to the value of the assets alleged in his affidavit, but only assumes to swear that the statement in his affidavit is a true and correct statement according to the books of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association.

That one of the items of the assets therein stated is "advertising account, outstanding, \$7,644.55." That deponent is familiar with this advertising account and that during the time that deponent was an officer of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association it was about the same amount.

That nearly 50 per cent. of said advertising account is uncollectable, and that the aforesaid advertising account outstanding of \$7,644.55 is worth no more than the sum of \$4,000.

That deponent is thoroughly familiar with the items of assets designated as "subscription account outstanding, \$2,235.35." That, during the year 1899, while deponent was a director of said corporation, said account was about the same. That said account, to deponent's knowledge, is uncollectable to the extent of about 90 per cent.

That deponent is familiar with the item of assets designated in the affidavit of Richard Bersick as "inventory account," including Potter press and six Linotype machines, amounting to \$22,365.24. That said Potter press, to deponent's own knowledge, was purchased in the year 1887. That said Potter press is not worth the sum of \$500. That the six Linotype machines deponent is thoroughly familiar with and that said six Linotype machines are not worth over the sum of \$1,000 a piece, according to the valuation put upon them by the manufacturers thereof.

Deponent further says: That one of the creditors included in the "loan account" is one Schaefer, which loan amounts to the sum of \$400, and which has not been paid although the same was demanded of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association in March, 1899, while deponent was director thereof. That said demand was made by the administratrix and widow of said Schaefer, and that said loan has not yet been paid, as deponent is informed and believes.

That in December, 1898, the liabilities of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association amounted to about the sum of \$20,000, and that the assets of the said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association in December, 1898, were not sufficient to pay the liabilities and have decreased up to the present date. That, as appears by the affidavit of Richard Bersick, the liabilities in January, 1900, amount to the sum of \$23,741.71.

Deponent further says: That he became a member of said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association purely as a representative of the Socialist Labor Party and to protect its interests and to see that the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party were carried out by the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association pursuant to the original contract entered into between the New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association and the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, which contract has been submitted to the Attorney-General herein.

That the following individuals are now the officers and directors of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association: John Nagel, president; Francis H. Koenig, secretary; Adolph Groehlinger, treasurer; Edward Behnke, Adolf Loewenthal, Paul Flaeschel, Hermann Weststrom, Maxim Romm and Reinhard Meyer, directors; Herman Schlueter, editor-in-chief.

That none of said officers and directors are members of the Socialist Labor Party at the present time and not members of any recognized Section of the Socialist Labor Party.

That, according to the contract under which they were admitted to membership and pursuant to the By-Laws of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, and pursuant to said contract aforesaid, they are subject to expulsion as members of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association.

That the aforesaid officers and directors and a number of their friends, none of whom are members of any recognized Section of the Socialist Labor Party, now manage, conduct and control the aforesaid Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, contrary to the intent and purpose of the aforesaid agreement and contrary to the intention and purpose of the men whose property and money constitute all the assets of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association.

That the aforesaid officers and directors claim to be members of an alleged Section of the Socialist Labor Party, but said Section is not recognized by the Socialist Labor Party, and will more fully appear by the affidavit of Hugo Vogt, verified the 27th day of January, 1900.

Deponent hereby joins with Eber Forbes in petitioning the Attorney-General to ask leave of a competent court having jurisdiction thereof to bring an action against the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association to procure a judgment vacating its charter and annulling the existence of said corporation, and deponent makes this petition either as a creditor or as a stockholder as the Attorney-General may construe the aforesaid bond, by virtue of which the deponent is a member of the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association or a creditor thereof, and also petitions under Section 1,786 of the Code of Civil Procedure, requesting the Attorney-General so to do.

Deponent further says: That the said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association has, in violation of its constitution and of the original contract between said corporation and the New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association, admitted persons to membership who are not members of any recognized Section of the Socialist Labor Party.

That at a meeting of said Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association, held on the 25th day of January, 1900, at which deponent was present, one Charles Entz was admitted to membership, although he was not a member of any recognized Section of the Socialist Labor Party. That deponent protested against the admission of said Charles Entz, but his protest was disregarded.

PETER FIEBIGER.

Sworn to before me this 27th day of January, 1900.

HUGO VOGT.

Notary Public, Kings Co. Certificate filed in New York County.

At a regular-stated meeting of Section Haverhill, S. L. P., held at its rooms, 120 Merrimack street, on January 31, 1900, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, in view of the loss we have sustained by the decease of our friend and comrade, Walter F. Gauvin, and of the still heavier loss sustained by those who were nearest and dearest to him; therefore, be it RESOLVED, That by the departure from our midst by death, we deeply regret that circumstances over which we have no control should remove from our field of labor one whose devotion to our noble cause, whose aggressiveness in antagonizing the mighty host of Error, which besets our pathway; whose clear-cut, sharply defined, class-conscious Socialism stands forth a shining beacon light to guide the feet of those down-trodden children of toil, who seek to escape from the cursed path of capitalism, has endeared him to the hearts of his Section members; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the death of Walter F. Gauvin this Section laments the loss of a comrade who was ever ready to proffer the hand of aid, that by his sympathy to the needy and distressed toilers, the victims of our present anarchistic capitalist system; an active member of the Party, whose utmost endeavors were exerted for its ultimate success and triumph; a friend a brother, whose dear to us all; a citizen, whose upright and noble life was a standard of emulation to his fellow members; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the heartfelt sympathy of this Section be extended to the relatives of our departed comrade by the secretary of this meeting.

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be made part of our records and a copy thereof be forwarded to our national official organ, THE PEOPLE, for publication.

ERNEST PEABODY, JEREMIAH M. BUCKLEY, MICHAEL T. BERRY, Committee on Resolutions.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kubb, Secretary, 61 Beakman street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Thomas Curran, Secretary, 64 Hanover street, Providence, R. I.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—A. B. Barter, Secretary, 860 Richmond street, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held, with A. S. Brown in the chair. The financial report for the week ending Jan. 27th: receipts, \$87.20; expenditures, \$21.37.

A letter was read from the manager of the Labor News Co., advising revision and bringing up to date of various leaflets. Referred to the Advisory Board of Labor News. Section Providence, R. I., reported the expulsion of B. L. Gershanik for giving support to Jewish Kangaroo paper. Section Bridgeport, Conn., reported expulsion of Giovanni Fescio, and Section Hudson County, N. J., expelled Edward Loewenthal for treason.

Section Milwaukee, Wis., sent a communication aiming at a change of constitution bearing upon the travelling expenses of delegates to the national convention, these to be borne by the Party at large. The Secretary was instructed to inform the Section that it must first secure the support of the number of Sections prescribed by the Constitution, and to point out, at the same time, that it would be impossible, in point of time, if for no other reason, to make so sweeping a change so short before the national convention of this year.

A. F. Moffatt, Box 123, Newtown, Conn., sent a letter stating that Chas. J. Mercer, of Bridgeport, the Secretary of the Connecticut State Committee, S. L. P., is to speak in that town at a meeting called for Friday night, Feb. 2d, in vacant store adjoining M. J. Quealey's saloon. The purpose is to organize a Section.

Nominations were received for delegate to Paris Congress from various Sections, nominating Comrades Sanial, De Leon and Keinard.

Further nominations for place of holding national convention of the S. L. P. were received as follows:

NEW YORK, by—San Francisco, Cal.; Milford, Conn.; Chelsea, Mass.; Essex County, N. J.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Butler and Collinwood, Ohio; Houtzdale, Pa.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., by—Pittsfield, Mass. BUFFALO, N. Y., by—Milwaukee, Wis.; Providence, R. I.; Chicago, Ill.; Lincoln, Neb.; San Antonio, Tex.

In last week's report, Milwaukee was reported as nominated by Providence and Chicago; this was a typographical error; it should have been: Milwaukee, Providence and Chicago nominate Buffalo.

JOHN J. KINNEALLY, Recording Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—A smoker and Entertainment will be given by Section Philadelphia on Saturday evening, February 3, 1900, at the headquarters, 1304 Germantown ave. All comrades and readers of THE PEOPLE are cordially invited with their friends.

WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE.—The Central Committee of Section Milwaukee will meet in the future on every second and fourth Saturday of each month at Kaiser's Hall, on Fourth street, between State and Prairie streets, at 8 o'clock P. M. sharp. Delegates will take notice.

RICHARD KOEPEL, County Chairman, 1035 5th street.

MILWAUKEE.—The Northside Branch of Section Milwaukee holds regular agitation meetings every first and third Friday of each month, at the Shooting Park (Front Hall), at 8 o'clock P. M. sharp. Good speakers are always present. Readers of THE PEOPLE are requested to attend.

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Directory

Of Organizations Represented in Section New York, S. L. P.

General Committee meetings, 2d and 4th Street, 8 P. M., at Club Rooms, 528 East 12th Street, Manhattan.

City Executive Committee meetings, 1st and 3rd Street, 8 P. M., at 23 Duane Street, Manhattan.

ASS. DIST. BOROUGHS OF MANHATTAN.

1st, 2d and 3rd—2d and 4th Monday, 8 P. M., at 251 Hudson Street.

4th—2d and 4th Friday, 8 P. M., Assembly Rooms, 177 East Broadway.

6th and 7th—Every Wednesday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 528 East 11th Street.

8th—1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 75 Ludlow Street.

9th—1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 P. M., 346 9th Ave.

12th—Every Friday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 24 Delancey Street.

15th—1st and 3rd Friday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 414 West 35th Street.

14th—Every Tuesday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 528 East 11th Street.

15th and 17th—1st and 3rd Friday, 8 P. M., at Club Rooms, 414 West 35th Street.

16th—Every Tuesday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 19 Avenue C.

18th—2d and 4th Thursday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 414 West 35th Street.

19th and 21st—1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M., at 2310 Broadway.

20th—1st and 3rd Thursday, at residence of M. Lutz, 211 E. 28th Street.

22d—