



CHIMERAS

That Should not Deceive the Present Generation in America.

CO-OPERATION AND CO-OPERATION.

The Co-operative Commonwealth is undoubtedly pushing its way forward in Europe "Regardless of Governments and Standing Armies," and so it is here; but it does so by fighting both Governments and Standing Armies in the Open Field of Socialist Political Action with the Trusty Bullet of the Socialist Ballot, not with the Silly Straws of either Bourgeois or Utopian "Co-operative" Concerns.

The Terre Haute, Ind., "Railway Times" reproduces with approving headlines and comments, and as evidences of Socialist drift, an article from the Boston "Herald" on "Co-operation in Europe" that is substantially erroneous, and dangerously misleading.

The article is a review of private associations in England and the continent, some of them banking associations that have sailed generally under the title of "co-operative." Etymologically speaking, the adjective "co-operative" is not misapplied in these instances; nevertheless, the co-operation carried on there is sharply distinct from "co-operation" in the social-economic sense, in which the term is used by the international Socialist movement.

By "co-operation" Socialism does not mean simply working together. If simple working together were what Socialism was after, the Socialist movement might disband; its purpose would not need to be pursued, because it is already an accomplished fact. Production is not, to-day, carried on individually, as a century ago; it is carried on by the co-operative labor of the working class. A modern factory, where hundreds of workers work together and are fleeced, certainly is not a sample of Socialist "co-operation."

Nor is the "co-operation" that international Socialism pursues the equitable apportionment of profits among private investors. When individual capitalists pool their capital and divide among themselves, co-operatively, the spoils that they have carried away from the toilers, they have, in the strictest dictionary sense of the word, undoubtedly "co-operated"; but this sort of "co-operation" is not the "co-operation" that the Socialist programme embodies.

Nor yet can the Socialist sense of "co-operation" be applied to the simple sense of working together, and of the people who thus work together sharing equitably in the total product of their joint labors. The monasteries in the middle ages were mostly "co-operative" establishments. Their inmates worked jointly, and jointly shared their product. But the "co-operation" there put in practice differs in many essentials from that that Socialism strives for. Let us point out one of these essential differences. It is suggested by the opinion of the "Railway Times" that the "co-operation" concerns which it speaks of "have attained in Europe the character of a solid economic fact." The term "economic fact," solid or otherwise, is not applicable to concerns whose object is to withdraw or run from the economic or social struggle that is going on at the time. "Economic facts" face the fray; they have in them the germ of future power, and they know it; their posture is that of aggression. The monastic system that once prevailed throughout Europe was essentially an instance of this "running away." People who had been trained in the then rough-and-tumble of society, and all those whose breasts were not the "breasts of the controversy," and who felt themselves unequal to the struggle, withdrew behind the walls of the monastery, or hid themselves in secluded nooks of the forests. Outside of them and of these institutions rushed the strong stream of "economic facts"; inside of these institutions the refuse of the "economic facts" sought and occasionally found temporary shelter. The symbol of these monastic institutions, or of the hiding places of the recluses, would be appropriately a camel sheltering his head in the sand while the scorching blast of the simoom is sweeping over the desert. The attitude of the camel is not one of aggression; he does not seek to overcome the simoom; he seeks protection from it. If it blow over soon enough, before he loses his breath, he shakes his head out again and waddles forward; if the blow outlasts his breath, he breaks down and drops lifeless. Just the reverse with the Socialist movement. Its head does not bend to the social storm, nor does it seek to avoid it. It faces the storm squarely, and purports to overcome, to bridle and subjugate it. Socialist co-operation is aggressive. It lays its foundations on principles that are subversive of the existing system. The "co-operative" concerns that the Boston "Herald" writes about, and that the "Railway Times" copies, fall under one or more of the three heads just above enumerated.

Whether they are middle class attempts to show that tide of civilization that demands the largest possible concentration of productive powers, which, during the transitory period of capital-

ization, works the mischiefs we all know of; or They are particularly monastic, and flee altogether from the social issue. In these days, accuracy of terms is, above all, necessary, if one wishes to shorten the period of agony which our people are traversing. It is a biologic fact that nations, like individuals, must go through all the experiences of their ancestry. It is in this that the human intellect is called upon to perform its most valuable mission. The poodle of to-day has to go through the same experiences as the poodle of a thousand years ago. The less intellect man brings to bear upon the social question the nearer he is to the poodle, and, consequently, the more arduous is his development. The further, however, man is from the poodle—that is to say, the better equipped he is with the stored-up experience of the past—the more rapid will be his course across the several stages of previous development. Our country is young. As it is not given to nations, any more than to individuals, to bound forward with one bound from inexperience to the stage of ripe experience, we now find all the phases of social development that were seen in older countries cropping up, and all their blind gropings of inexperience repeating themselves here. Unfortunately for those older civilizations, they could not draw for their guidance upon the experience of still older ones. Hence their development was slow. But we have their experience to guide us, and should not overlook it if we desire to move with the rapidity that our sufferings demand. "Co-operation" was early discovered to be the sign of victory. But, untutored by experience, much that was diametrically hostile to the co-operation that civilization aims at, and to its tactics, was taken for the real article. The sufferings of Europe through this error of accepting a counterfeit for the genuine movement toward co-operation cannot be easily described. We need not incur the error. When monastic "Socialist communities" crop up here we should know enough to let them alone as runaways from the fight; when Utopian and scheme plans like the "Brotherhood of Co-operative Commonwealth" turn up, the fiasco of innumerable such others should remind us not to waste our energies; and when "co-operative" plans are advanced that are substantially based upon the theory of resistance to the concentration of productive forces, our noses should be sufficiently experienced to smell the bourgeois—that is, the anti-Socialist breath.

We recommend to the "Railway Times" that it look carefully into the alleged "co-operative" concerns of Europe which it mentions. If the "Railway Times" looks into the facts it will realize the absurdity and harmfulness of its headline to the effect that those co-operative concerns of Europe are "introducing the Co-operative Commonwealth regardless of government and standing armies." It will realize that these concerns are essentially on the side of the "governments and standing armies" in that they act as spokes thrust into the wheel of the Socialist Commonwealth; it will then no longer fall into the trap laid by such capitalist sheets as the Boston "Herald," and, by reproducing favorably articles from such sheets, unwittingly promote their purpose of delaying progress by spreading ignorance.

There is much enthusiasm in the camp of the class-conscious upper or goldbug capitalists over the prospect of Mr. Lyman J. Gage's appointment on McKinley's cabinet. This is as it should be. Mr. Gage was one of the World's Fair Directors, and as such he contributed his ample share in demonstrating the capitalist class' utter recklessness of the life of the proletariat. It is certain that no Juggernaut can ever crushed out, on any one or hundred trips, half as many lives as the World Fair killed workmen. The contemptuous disregard by the directors of simple precautions against accidents to the workmen who raised the buildings and toiled on them has gone into history as one of the leading exhibits of the occasion.

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Furthermore, Mr. Gage is one of the secret plotters against the suffrage. Our readers may remember the article "Just the Reverse" in our issue of last December 13th, quoting a remark made by him, and tearing the mask from the face of this supercilious Money-Bag.

Class-consciousness, wherever found, deserves admiration. The pirate class, though inherently stupid, has an instinct so true that at times it almost resembles genius. Right they are to whom it up for Gage.

But what of those who are not exactly, or not at all, of the pirate class, and yet join in this and similar whoops? They stand on the same level of intellectual helplessness and moral imbecility of the wretched gladiators, who, knowing full well they were about to be killed for the sport of the Roman patricians and plebs, marched to the front of the Emperor's carpet-decked stand with the words:

"Hail unto ye, Caesar; we who are about to die, salute you!"

The Social Revolution for the emancipation of the proletariat and of man must beat its way through the combination of class-conscious pirates and class-unconscious pirate-admirers.

Among the things we would like to know is the names of the Kansas Pops who stood by Harris, and of the 15 who stood by Breidenthal for U. S. Senator.

A COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT.

Imperial Coal Company.

Table with columns: No., 1/4 of, 1896. Rows: COAL, RENT, SMITHING, STORE, CASH, DOCTOR, CASH TO BALANCE, TOTAL. Includes handwritten notes like '1.50', '0.2', '50', '2.5', '7.03', '27', '34', '34', '2.27'.

The account of a Pennsylvania miner with his employer: In two weeks, he earns nominally \$2.27; of this grand total he is plucked \$2.02, and is left with 25 cents. The miner who does not join the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor party is but food for the big capitalist vampire and the labor fakir horse fly.

SELF-CONVICTED.

The Class Struggle Demonstrated by a Capitalist's Admissions.

At one of the recent "Tariff Hearings," a Capitalist Who Had First Displayed Much Love for Labor Gives Away his Case—Would have Sacrificed Even "His Own his Native Lan."

Socialists are sometimes told, by the man who believes in some sort of Socialism which is prefixed by such words as "pure," "anti-German," "Christian," etc., that they lay too much stress on the class conflict. The capitalist, they say, is a good man, his heart is all right; just appeal to his reason—with a tremendous accent on HIS, as though the capitalist was the only one endowed with reason—and you will "get" him; but your assertion that the capitalist class is cold-blooded and doesn't care for those who produce its wealth is wrong. They also claim that the Socialist assertion that the capitalist class is hypocritical, when it claims to be "patriotic," generous, charitable, etc., is false. I enclose a report of a meeting of the ways and means committee which explains itself:

"The first manufacturer to be heard was Mr. William Rutherford, of Oakland, Cal., who said that in California they were engaged in making twine, yarn and cloth in a great many varieties. The first of these mills was started there about thirty years ago, and within that time the business had increased largely. They now wanted a reasonable protection to run their mills, and he suggested such changes in the tariff as were considered necessary for the purpose.

"The manufacturers of California, he said, in the last campaign had given their votes for protection, thinking this the quickest way to give employment for the idle; protection for themselves, and revenue for the government. The mills of the United States had been active in keeping down the price of these goods to the farmers. Up to the passage of the Wilson bill a fair duty had been given the industry.

"Between 1893 and 1895 the imports of jute and burlaps more than doubled. Under the clause is the free list admitting cotton bagging and certain goods made of burlaps, importers were bringing in cloths of various kinds, including horse and carriage robes.

"This was not fair nor the intent of the act, but the words 'all such material' used in the act enabled the goods to be brought in. The makers of mixed goods and cotton goods suffered from this. He had called the attention of the customs officers to it, and he understood that they now had the matter under consideration.

"One of the oldest plants in the United States, established at Black Point, Cal., during the war, had been taken down and transferred to Japan.

"He had been advised to transfer his plant to Yokohama, being told that he could get his labor at FROM 6 TO 12 CENTS A DAY, and his coal for about 90 cents a ton. BUT HE HAD FOUND THAT FOREIGNERS COULD NOT HOLD PROPERTY IN JAPAN, AND THEREFORE HE HAD TO GIVE UP THAT IDEA."

How nicely Mr. Rutherford started out. The manufacturers, were so very solicitous for the welfare of their employes that they had voted for protection. Then they had kept down the prices of their product for the benefit of the consumer. Then he showed what bad people importers were, how they rob the government by making false returns. Up to this he had covered himself with glory. He had shown his "patriotism," also his "generosity," and thoughtfulness; he had also shown how easy it was for one section of his own class to forget their reputation for probity and honesty, when it was to their own benefit to do so. So far, so good. But what follows: As Mickey Dugan says, "he run himself down," gave himself and his class a backhanded slap, and at the same time showed how little sense he and his class really possess. What a chance there was for the gentle-

(Continued on Page 4.)

A CRITICISM.

Of a Pretentious Pro-Capitalist Article in the Chicago "Record."

The Difference that there is Between Feudal and Capitalist Exploitation—The Motive of Capitalist Production—"Robinson Crusoe" Again on the Tapis—Labor's Plight.

In the Chicago "Record" there was recently an article, entitled "Unconscious Social Action," over the signature of "Nueva Vista." The author makes several statements that should be challenged. Although I am but a workman, I shall prove his ignorance or perfidy.

His first statement is that "in tearing down the barriers which we inherited from the middle ages, we have gained immensely in personal liberty." I deny this. Under the old feudal regime the appropriation of the fruits of other men's labor was open and undisguised. Under the capitalist system it is disguised under the form of "free contract." The proletarian knows very well that he is obliged to accept whatever his employer sees fit to allow him. He knows very well that he is not free to quit work and go somewhere else. There is not a single laboring man in this town that would dare quit work in the mill where I work. What would they do if they did quit work? They have no money to look for another place to work; they cannot remain idle for very long at a time; their families are depending on their labor. The capitalist knows this very well. There is no limit practically to his power of inflicting misery and want, and it will always remain so as long as the tools of production are in the hands of the capitalist. If, for any reason, his profits are not sufficiently large to suit him, he closes the doors of his factory, knowing that in so doing he is depriving hundreds, often thousands, of their only means of obtaining a living.

Further on I find this: "We have any amount of unemployed factories and tools, and there is plenty of food. This is capital. Why does it not seek employment?" It is very plain to me why it does not. No man would be so insane as to maintain that capital would long remain idle if a sufficiently large profit were assured upon its investment. Then it is plainly to be seen that the reason why our factories and also our capital is idle is that the profits are not large enough to suit the capitalist. No factory ever limits the production of whatever commodity it may be engaged in manufacturing to the actual demand made upon it. The production is always in excess of the demand. There is a small brick factory in this town that will serve as an illustration. During its most prosperous days the daily orders averaged 20,000 brick, and the average daily production was 100,000. It finally reached a point when it had produced bricks enough to meet the then demand for the next three years, even granting that the demand would not decline. Then came a spell of depression; the bosses shut down, and kept shut down three whole years, and still the bosses now have left brick enough on hand to last ten years at the present demand. If they were now to run at all they would be producing bricks in excess of actual demands. No capitalist will ever invest his money unless he is assured that he can make a big profit. After he has invested his capital in a factory, he will run the factory just as long as his profits are large enough to suit him, and when he stops his factory, he does so knowing that he is depriving those who work for him of their bread. They cannot buy, for they have not the means; that was taken away from them when the factory was closed, and while they were working they received such a small share of their own products in wages that they could not lay by any.

In another place the author speaks thus: "A Robinson Crusoe would not act unconsciously in providing for his daily wants. He might suffer from fire, tempests and famine, but he would not have forced upon him that idleness which steadily accompanies the mechanism of modern industries. So long as he could conceive new wants and had the ingenuity and physical power to satisfy them, he could always be at work." There is no possible way that a "Robinson Crusoe" can be compared to the modern laborer. There is nothing in common between the two. The Robinson Crusoe of the story had nothing to do but supply his own personal wants, and whatever he might produce he had the whole of it. But it is otherwise with the modern proletariat. Out of the very abundance that he produces he is allowed to retain just enough to supply his actual wants from day to day. This supply he receives only as long as he works; the moment he quits work he is deprived of his daily bread, even though he may have produced enough to supply all his wants for years to come.

The workman is idle, half clothed and hungry through no fault or wish of his own. He is literally robbed of the food necessary to sustain his life. Robinson Crusoe would be in a similar position if some power over which he had no control were to take all he produced, allowing him to retain only just enough to keep body and soul together while he was producing; then, if there should come a day when that power would say, "I have got enough; you starve," then Mr. Crusoe would find himself deprived of the means of producing a single thing. That is exactly the condition of the modern proletariat.

This writer seems to favor an industrial insurance, for he says that "An industrial insurance would set in motion all the forces of production at our command." I must confess that I am unable to see what good this would do the proletariat. This same author says that we could insure against all legitimate failures, and this would "bring about full activity all over the land." To begin with, full activity could not continue for very long at a time. With the development of the capitalist system, machinery is more and more perfected, for to neglect improvement is to succumb in the struggle; the improved machinery renders labor superfluous, which is accordingly thrown idle and exposed to starvation. But as the technique improves, the productive power of industry increases, and continually extends more and more to surpass the available needs of the market, wide as it is. The consequence is that the market tends to be overstocked even to the point of absolute depletion. Goods will not sell, and a commercial crisis starts, in which we have the remarkable phenomena of widespread panic, misery and starvation resulting from a superabundance of wealth—crise pléthorique," as Fourier called it—a crisis due to a plethora of wealth. Therefore there must be a time when "full activity" must end. Then you have deprived the market of its only support, then the workman cannot buy because he has been deprived of his only means of support. No amount of insurance nor any other sugar-coated pill could stop competition between capitalists, each one striving for the possession of the market. The wants of the people are limited while the powers of production are practically unlimited, and the whole capitalistic world staggers under an Atlantean weight of ill-distributed wealth. This condition will continue until the Co-operative Commonwealth is an established fact. Let us hope that the star which has so long shed its blasting influence on our lives will some day make a revolution to the nadir.

M. A. H.

Thomson, Minn., Jan. 21.

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson has returned from Europe, where, as she says, she "spent six months in the interest of sociologic investigation." The result of the lady's investigation is, to quote her again, that "The Fabian Society is the organization I admire most for its PRACTICAL WORK in educating men and women in Socialism."

Mrs. Perkins' opinion forcibly reminds one of the opinion of the United States that some of the South American delegates to the Pan-American Congress expressed when they returned home. They had been driven here through the length of Fifth avenue in New York, Euclid avenue in Cleveland, and some other such streets in a few other cities. Whereupon they declared that "the United States was a country of palaces."

Fortunately for the rest of Europe, the "Fabian Society" has limited its efforts to Great Britain with the, for capitalism, very PRACTICAL result, that there the Socialist movement is weakest. While on the Continent Socialism fills the air and shakes the thrones, a giant in power, in England it is a dwarf.

HELPLESS.

Pitiable Plight in Which "Pure and Simpledom" has Left the Motormen.

A TELLING PAGE OF HISTORY.

The Philadelphia Motormen Furnish an Instance of How the Fakir Leader "Teaches the Men to Think"—Takes their Buses and Leaves them in Utter Darkness—Ignorant of the Way out of Wage Slavery, the Men Appeal to Others to do What They Admit they are Unable to do for Themselves—Overthrow the Capitalist System.

The employes of the Union Traction Company of Philadelphia have issued an appeal to the public that should be preserved for all time as a page in the history of capitalism at the period immediately preceding its decline. Here it is:

"The condition of the motormen on the Union Traction system is worse today than ever. Our employers have realized our utter helplessness since the loss of our strike, and are taking advantage of it at every turn. The time-tables are so arranged that the men must make fifty miles in the morning, then take their dinners, then fifty miles more to finish their day's work. Others have to make sixty-two miles and go eight hours without partaking of food, and then they finish their day's work. The men on the 'grippers' start in at 5.30 a. m. and remain on duty until 9 p. m., and receive for their services the meagre sum of \$1.10 to \$1.55 per day. Many of the 'extras' hang around the depot six hours before they get a car, and their earnings barely enable them to pay their board bills. It is often the case that men remain on the extra list for 18 months before they become regulars. We have to do as much work this winter as we did last, and receive 12 per cent. less. Formerly they allowed us two minutes to fix the fenders, and get ready for the next trip. Now they allow us only one minute. Prior to the introduction of the trolleys, it was injurious to the cable, or harmful to the horses, when many stoppages were made; there is less consideration shown for human beings, and we often have 3,000 stoppages a day. 'We have no time to listen to complaints,' said the superintendent to a motorman; 'there are sixty men outside waiting for your job'; and whilst he was talking a waiter from a neighboring restaurant brought in a meal, the cost of which would have provided an all-day feast for the entire family of one of the poor freezing devils on the outside. It is stated by the officials that the employes are perfectly satisfied; this is a deliberate lie. Men who are refused the time to eat, sleep, and are often overworked and underpaid, who half the time stand on one foot, while the other is on the gong-brake, who work 12, 13 and 14 hours per day, in the cold, wintry weather, entirely unprotected from the elements, and who live a life opposed to nature, are certainly dissatisfied individuals. The Union Traction Co. exploits its employes more than any other similar enterprise in the United States. The strain upon those who earn \$2 per day is so great that few can work more than five days per week. Now, what do we demand? That ten hours shall constitute a day's work, and that our wages shall be \$2 per day, and that the front platform be enclosed. To stand on the front platform for hours, directing a car, travelling at a rapid rate through fog, rain, cold and snow, is severe punishment. Will you help us? Your assistance is needed. We are helpless."

Many are the documents extant that illustrate the cruelty and grinding methods of the capitalist class; and not few are those documents that, on the other hand, reveal the condition of utter degradation and mental and physical helplessness in which the "pure and simple" ignorant and rascal labor leaders have left their confiding followers and supporters, the rank and file. In the above document, both these phases of our social antipodes are immortalized. We have there, well drawn, the extreme of hardship the capitalist class will force upon the workers to grind profits out of them, and also the depth of mental impotence to which misguided labor can sink if it persists in following the absurd idea that its existence can continue despite the existence of capitalism.

Mr. Horatio Harper, the "Harper Magazine" man who recently had the effrontery of charging Socialism with foul intents against the purity of the family, and who was one of the guests at the recent "Seeley Dinner," can now breathe free. The District Attorney of our "Reform Municipal Government" has thrown the Reform Shield over this precious Harper reformer. He has caused Seeley and a few others who arranged the indecent affair to be indicted, but announced that "the guests could not be held responsible because they did not share in the arrangements." Mr. Harper will no doubt come forward next November on "Reform Platforms" as a pillar of white-washed social purity. Do so, by all means, precious lump of purity; the sight will be rich.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table showing Socialist vote in the United States for Presidential years: 1888 (2,068), 1890 (13,551), 1892 (21,157), 1894 (33,153), 1896 (36,563).

No matter what the form of government may be, as long as one class owns as their private property the land and the instruments of labor, from which all mankind derive their subsistence, that class will always have it in their power to plunder and enslave the remainder of their fellow creatures.

Irish Socialist Republican Party.

SENATOR GUY'S CRUEL JOKE.

At the election of a United States Senator from New York, on the 18th instant, State Senator Guy, a Tammany man of the Purroy wing of that organization, bolted the nominee of the Democratic caucus, David B. Hill, and cast his vote for Henry George.

In the recent campaign Mr. George rendered heroic service to the Democratic cause, uniting the labor interests in the support of Bryan.

The ridiculous claim that the "labor interests" were "united in the support of Bryan" deserves not much consideration. The working class are the overwhelming majority in the land.

But it is undeniable that the Bryan campaign stirred deeply certain layers of the working class; and it is also safe to say that many a workman who never before voted the Democratic ticket, was drawn to it in '96.

Whatever labor enthusiasm there was for Bryan came through the denunciation of the Courts and the arraignment in the Democratic platform of judicial iniquities. The working class in America has received its deepest wounds at the hands of our prostituted Judiciary.

Not yet, nor ever, will the working class of this land forget the infamy with which Henry George eternally covered his name in September, 1887. The innocent victims of Gerry, Grinnell and Bonfield were awaiting the execution of the death penalty in Chicago; in every worker's mind there was a settled conviction of the men's innocence.

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life, innocent life being in danger, stood up in full sight of the whole country and bowed ostentatiously before Law. "A crime has been committed," he declared, "the Courts have spoken; we must respect the judgment." Two months later the Chicago judicial massacre was put through. Henry George blew into the nostrils of the butchers the assurance of impunity.

RESOLUTIONS 2 AND 3 AGAIN.

"With a view to the immediate improvement of the condition of labor," and until the complete overthrow of the capitalist class, the Socialist Labor party is pledged to promote nationalization and municipalization of industries under certain conditions.

The co-operation that is found in private capitalist concerns has a serious flaw. It is only co-operation of toil, none of regulation or system. To such extent is this so that the workers are considered no more than horses harnessed in a team.

Co-operation, however, as intended by socialism, contemplates the co-operation of human beings, not of animals. The workers shall co-operate not in labor only, but also in the direction of their labor and the conditions under which they labor.

This is the ultimate aim. But to an ultimate aim no intelligent movement would sacrifice measures which, though in form they may not fully square up with it, yet are substantial gains.

Resolutions 2 and 3 enable the party, should the thing be found feasible, to lift the burden of wage slavery from the toilers of some industries, while it marches onward to emancipate the rest.

"SOCIALIST TYRANNY."

A Point that Might as Well be Cleared up once for All.

Our esteemed friend, the Co-polis, Miss, "Grander Age," has, under the title "What Party?" this admirable article:

"It seems curious that at this stage of the struggling of the people for political independence such a question should be asked.

"In the recent election, the Prohibition party practically went to pieces on the money question; the National party, that was established to take its place, made poor progress; and Populism was swallowed by Democracy.

"Any thoughtful person would have supposed that those who were really seeking victory for the people would, after crawling out from under the wreck of any one of the various political crafts, that went to pieces in the November gale, have gladly got aboard a staunch craft that had not only weathered the storm, but without taking in a sail had landed by far the largest cargo (of votes) in her history.

"While many have done this, others with all sorts of hobbies to ride, are flooding the country with calls for the organization of NEW parties.

"One circular that reaches us calls for the organization of a 'Public Ownership' party, as though public ownership were not the main idea for which Socialists stand.

"Another call is made for a party to be established that will bear aloft the Coxy non-interest bearing bond bill and—public ownership; as though bonds of any sort would be needed when we get public ownership of the means of production and distribution.

"It occurs to us that it is time for those who are working to bring about a better condition for the people—if they ever expect a political victory—to stop 'monkeying,' quit chasing after will-o'-the-wisps, and come together in one party, where their combined efforts will amount to something.

"But," write some of our friends, "the leaders of the Socialist party are tyrants." Well, we have not noticed this but an echo of charges made by the enemy. If, however, these charges be true, the matter can be very easily settled.

"If the time is not already past it has certainly arrived when the people should work together unitedly."

The charge of "tyranny" against the Socialist Labor party, as a body, or against its officers more particularly, is nothing new. The ears of the Socialists are accustomed to it as they are to the capitalist contention that the Socialist Labor party in general, or its alleged "leaders" more particularly, are "impractical."

1st. If it is "tyrannous" to maintain and to stick to the principle that the cause of the toilers' misery is the capitalist social system, which places in the hands of a small and idle class the nation's machinery of production; that, in order to end the evil, the land and the machinery with which to work must be placed in the hands of the people, to be operated collectively by them for public use and no longer for private profit; that the time has gone by in the United States when one thing at a time could be gained, or when the capitalist class could be coddled into making any concessions worth having; that there is now nothing left for the toiling masses, the working class, but to conquer the public powers; and that nothing can bring and hold them together in sufficient numbers, with sufficient intelligence, and animated by the bravery requisite to carry the revolution through, but their organizing politically and economically under the folds of International Socialism, upon the above economic and political principles;—if to maintain and to stick to this view is "tyrannous," how can those, who hurl the charge, escape condemning themselves out of their own mouths, when one finds them as firmly denying any or all of these principles, and sticking to their denial? By what process of reasoning can John charge Dick with "tyranny" for insisting that he (Dick) is right, when John is equally persistent in maintaining that he is not wrong?

2d. It is not an impossible thing that an organization may be perfectly sound in principles, aims and tactics, and yet have fallen into the hands of objectionable men, of men whom, for good and valid reasons, others—good, decent and intelligent people—refuse to work or associate with. In that case what would be the conduct of these good, decent and intelligent people? Would they be found advocating unsound principles, aims or tactics? No. Indeed! Meaning to promote sound principles, aims and tactics they would be found setting up an organization founded on these essentials, but with the bad men, who have seized the other, scrupulously left on the outside. Do we find that? No!! All these people, who claim to be Socialists, but object to the composition of the Socialist Labor party, bob up with all manner of schemes that are either wholly or partly at variance with the principles that an ample experience has demonstrated to be irrefutable science, and that the S. L. P. pursues un-

swervingly. When such people charge the Socialist with "tyranny," what they mean is that the Socialist sees through them, that he is too clear-headed to fall into tomfoolery, too brave to take stock in the suicidal tactics of cowardice in politics, or too honest to be lured by prospects of immediate success—for himself. Of these people some are uninformed on social science, others lack the manly fibre that the times need for the fray, and others, not a few, are crooks seeking a job, who believe they can "get there" by being all things to all men.

With charity for the well-meaning but ignorant reformer, who ventures in waters far beyond his depth; with pity for the weakling, who dares not stand up for his own convictions; and with scorching contempt for the crooks, who seek to dwarf the Social Question into the small dimensions of their own private pockets, the Socialist Labor party pursues its undeterred career, spreading knowledge with all its might, instilling courage with all the means it can think of, exposing the cormorant class of self-seeking "reformers" with unflinching severity, never swerving from its course, never losing sight of the magnet needle on deck or of the loadstar overhead, and with its eyes firmly set upon the goal—the unqualified overthrow of the capitalist system of tyranny, and thereby the emancipation of man.

It is its loyalty to science, this faithfulness to principle, and this firmness of purpose in the noble ideal that he pursues, that has earned for the Socialist the stigma of "tyrannous." He carries the stigma as a badge of honor—the best testimony he can hold that he is paying his debt to mankind, the most precious jewel he can bequeath to his posterity.

The "tyranny" of the Socialist Labor party is the earnest of its assured victory.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Eureka, Cal., "Western Watchman" is alarmed about:

"Plutocracy's attempt to destroy the State of Kansas, a sovereign State of the Union."

The story is told of Cæsar that, at one of his battles in Africa, he saw a Roman soldier run away. Cæsar took hold of the fellow, and, turning him around, said:

"You are facing the wrong direction; there is the enemy."

If the "Western Watchman" will allow us, we would turn its face around, away from plutocracy, and towards the Popocracy in Kansas itself. That is the enemy Kansas has to fear, and that will destroy the State, if ever it is destroyed.

A lot of cat's paws for the silver mine barons, and who, in turn, use the Kansas workers to get into political jobs, and who know no better than to swap a Peffer flatulence for a Harris flatulence, are enough to destroy anything that is allowed long to remain in their hands.

Plutocracy surely is destructive; but what is Popocracy but aspirant yet thwarted Plutocracy?

The London "Spectator" (goldbug free-trade) admits that "Prosperity" has not arrived in the United States, and points out quite well why it won't arrive. And thereupon it has the impudence to proceed to read the country a free-trade lecture. The "Spectator" should look at home and keep its zeal for home consumption. If it keeps its eyes upon English conditions it will know that in its own parasitical free-trade England 1 out of every 4 people who pass the streets of London die of the effects of poverty. Free-trade is the twin sister of protection, both the daughters of the capitalist system that oppresses the toilers.

The Charter Towers, Queensland, "Eagle" has evidently to do with a lot of pulpsters very much like the lot we know of here. Apropos of a recent severe spell of heat, when the Queensland parsons, who uphold the hellish conditions created by capitalism, set up prayers for cooler weather, the "Eagle" gives the crew this dig:

"A party parsonical Wanting to chronicle How he can manage the climate to cool, Makes the ironical Anti-canonical, Rather inclined to the opposite school. Yet it's a dodge I call, Perfectly logical, Praying for change when the heat is severe; If for futurity He gives security— Why can't he help us escape the heat here?"

We desire to prescribe to the Aberdeen, S. D., "Dakota Ruralist," a dose of its own medicine. It quotes the following new item:

"President McKinley will be inaugurated in a suit of clothes made in America by American workmen from American wool. And inside of the suit will stand as true an American as ever lived."

And it bestows the following comment thereupon:

"The above is going the rounds of the G. O. P. press and is a good sample of their duplicity employed in the grand confidence game. Each and every President for a number of years past has been presented with a very fine suit by this same clothing firm, and they are remunerated by the modest and extensive free advertisement of their wares amongst the fashionable snobs and coupon clippers."

True, very true. But suppose Bryan had been elected, and some P. O. P. paper had said:

"Mr. Bryan will be inaugurated in a fine suit paid for by silver dug out of America by American workers; and inside of the suit will stand as true an American as ever lived."

Would there be any essential difference?



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Uncle Sam—Jonathan, what have you been up to? What mean those black rings around your eyes? What means that sad, dejected face you have on?

Brother Jonathan—It means a pile. Ever since the last talk I had with you I have felt unexpressibly distressed. The more I have thought upon what you said, the deeper have I sunk into the dumps.

U. S.—What I said?

B. J.—Yes. Don't you remember you explained to me the Law of Wages?

U. S.—I do. Does that throw you into the dumps? It should, on the contrary, give you hope and inspiration.

B. J.—"Hope and inspiration" be hanged! I conclude from that Law of Wages that there is no salvation for all the working men. That the best can be done is to save some. And that the only way of saving these is to drown the others, as you do superfluous puppies.

U. S.—Why, no, man. You are off. Cheer up!

B. J.—Did you not say that labor was a merchandise like any other?

U. S.—Yes; 'tis that under the capitalist system.

B. J.—Did you not say that the price of merchandise is determined by the supply of the demand for it; the larger the supply and the lower the demand, the lower was the price?

U. S.—So I did.

B. J.—And that the supply of the merchandise labor was outstripping the demand for it by reason of labor-displacing machines and the concentration of capital?

U. S.—Exactly.

B. J.—And that the price of the merchandise labor, to wit, the wages of the workingman, was getting and of necessity had to get lower and lower?

U. S.—Just so.

B. J.—"Just so?" And yet you snicker about "hope and inspiration"?

U. S.—If, as I cannot deny, the supply of labor in the market is growing more and more in excess of the demand, those for whom there is still a demand won't be able to keep up their wages unless the superfluous ones are killed off, killed off as fast as they become superfluous.

U. S.—I see, I see.

B. J.—Ain't I right?

U. S.—No, my boy. My presentation of the Law of Wages last week was correct as far as it went, tho' it was not complete.

B. J.—Complete it quickly, if there is "hope and inspiration" in it!

U. S.—The expression "supply and demand determines prices" is correct enough, but it is a superficial statement. Look here. If ten years ago you could turn out 20 pairs of shoes in one week, and to-day you can turn out with the machine 40 pairs, has not the supply increased?

B. J.—It has so.

U. S.—And is there not in these 40 pairs as much labor as in the 20 pairs of ten years ago?

B. J.—Yes; they are both produced in equal time.

U. S.—Does it not then follow that the value of 40 pairs is now equal to that of 20 pairs before?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And consequently 1 pair, to-day, is equal to half the value of 1 pair before?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—To condense all these in short sentences, we have this law:

The value of merchandise depends upon the amount of labor that, at a given time, society needs to produce it;

The larger the quantity of an article, the less is the labor needed to produce it;

Consequently, when the supply is large it is an evidence that the labor needed to produce the article is comparatively small;

Improved machinery renders work more fruitful; the more improved machinery becomes, the larger is production, and the smaller is the quantity of labor in each article;

Consequently, machinery lowers the value of merchandises;

The price of a merchandise is the cash it fetches in the market; a number of causes may affect the price, sending it up above or down below its value; but in the long run "price" and "value" will equalize; and both tend downwards by reason of the decreased quantity of labor that improved methods of production require in each article;

B. J.—I be hanged if I can see where you are driving to.

U. S.—Postpone the hanging; there is always time for that. In the meantime, if you want to learn the important Law of Wages, you will have to pay close attention. It requires closer attention than the reading of how Corbett landed a "roaster" on Fitzsimmons' "smeller"; and withal it is of infinitely greater value than that you do learn it; it may save your neck. Did you understand me as far as I went?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—What did I say?

B. J.—The substance and gist of it was that the value and price of goods went down because their value depends upon the amount of labor required to produce them, and improved machinery steadily lowered that amount of labor, because such machinery increased the quantity of goods that can be produced in a given time.

U. S. (slapping B. J. heartily on the shoulder)—You are an apt scholar; I don't think you will need to hang or drown. Now listen further:

Under capitalism, labor is a merchandise;

The fate of all merchandise is the fate of the merchandise labor;

Machinery lowers the value of all other goods;

The reason that it does so is that it requires less labor to produce the goods;

Labor, that is to say, the power to work, needs goods to keep it up; it needs food, clothing, etc.; to use a broad expression, goods, wares and merchandise are needed to produce labor-power;

The cheaper the value of these goods, wares and merchandise becomes, the cheaper must also become the value of the labor-power which they produce;

Consequently, the merchandise labor-power is bound to decline in value step by step with the decline of the value of all other goods;

B. J.—You are getting me mixed up; first you talked "labor," now you have switched off to "labor-power."

U. S. (chucking B. J. under the chin)—Keep up the character I gave you for an apt scholar, and don't shoot off your mouth. I was coming to your question; listen carefully:

The capitalist is the holder and seller of all merchandise but one;

The exception is the merchandise "labor-power"; he does not sell that he only buys it;

The holder of the merchandise "labor-power," the power to work and produce, is the workingman;

But this merchandise differs from all other merchandises in many particulars;

One particular is this: All other merchandise is OUTSIDE of the body of the holder, the capitalist; the merchandise "labor-power" is INSIDE of the body of its holder, the workingman;

Accordingly, the merchandise "labor-power" is part and parcel of its holder and seller, the workingman, while no other merchandise is part and parcel of its holder, the capitalist;

It, J.'s eyes begin to swim.

The merchandise held by a capitalist may burn down and the capitalist need not burn with it; but if the merchandise held by the workingman, his "labor-power," is consumed, he perishes along with it;

And conversely, a capitalist may die of overfeeding, and yet his goods, wares and merchandise remain free from the affliction, they may fetch big prices and fulfill their mission undisturbed; but if a workingman dies of starvation or is prostrated by overwork or otherwise, his merchandise "labor-power" becomes useless, unavailable, unable to fulfill its functions;

For all practical and economic purposes labor and "labor-power" are one, the workingman and his special merchandise are inseparable.

The fate of the owner of the merchandise "labor-power" is the fate of the merchandise itself: As the merchandise "labor-power" is bound to decline in value step by step with the decline of the value of all other goods, so is the price, or wage, for which a workingman has to sell himself to the capitalist, along with his "labor-power," bound to go down;

And now get ready for the final summing up:

IT FOLLOWS FROM ALL THIS THAT EVEN IF THERE ARE NO SUPERFLUOUS WORKINGMEN IN THE MARKET, THE PRICE OF "LABOR-POWER," THAT IS TO SAY, THE WAGES OF THE EMPLOYED WORKERS, WILL GO DOWN.

The presence of an excess of labor in the market over and above the demand simply aggravates the evil; an oversupply of labor will and does push wages below even their declining value. But the oversupply is not the original cause of the decline of wages; the original cause is the merchandise quality of labor. If you drown all the superfluous workers, and as fast as they are displaced by machinery, you simply would be removing an aggravating incident; the original cause would continue, and with it the steady decline in the earnings of the worker, which is equivalent to the steady increase of his misery and dependence.

B. J. (shaking his fist at U. S.)—The devil take you! You call that giving "hope and inspiration"?

U. S.—And consequently I pair, to-day, is equal to half the value of 1 pair before?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—To condense all these in short sentences, we have this law:

The value of merchandise depends upon the amount of labor that, at a given time, society needs to produce it;

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The price of a merchandise is the cash it fetches in the market; a number of causes may affect the price, sending it up above or down below its value; but in the long run "price" and "value" will equalize; and both tend downwards by reason of the decreased quantity of labor that improved methods of production require in each article;

B. J.—I be hanged if I can see where you are driving to.

U. S.—Postpone the hanging; there is always time for that. In the meantime, if you want to learn the important Law of Wages, you will have to pay close attention. It requires closer attention than the reading of how Corbett landed a "roaster" on Fitzsimmons' "smeller"; and withal it is of infinitely greater value than that you do learn it; it may save your neck. Did you understand me as far as I went?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—What is the difference? The workers won't drown themselves to please the capitalists. So long as they imagine they can catch up some sort of living arrangement with the capitalist class, they will uphold the capitalist system and continue slaves; but just as soon as the truth shall have sunk through their skulls that there is no choice but between dying or killing off the capitalist system, you will see them stand up as men; they will refuse to continue to be a merchandise; they will overthrow the system that makes them such; they will nationalize the instruments of production and the land, and they will establish the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth. That is the "hope and the inspiration" that we Socialist workingmen gather from the Law of Wages.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

H. V., N. Y.—The question will be answered shortly in the Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan column.

"Charles Welfare," Brooklyn.—The pages you point out in your book, "We Want a Living," indicate accurately your central idea. It is Coxy's idea. That has been thoroughly considered in all its phases, and refuted in three successive editorials, entitled: "Coxyism—Dodging Socialism," "Coxyism—Helotism," and "Coxyism—Irish-bulism," in THE PEOPLE of last February 9th, 16th and 23d. Look them up.

Pittsburg, Pa., Section.—We had no Presidential ticket in Tennessee. The first Section there was organized after election.

P. C. F., New York.—That Rev.'s outcry is very cheap goods. He would be among the last to get off the workers' backs.

"DIVISION OF PROPERTY."

Who Divides, Who Has Divided, Who Wants No Division.

In the French Chambers, a capitalist Deputy having recently charged Socialism with being "nothing but communism and a general dividing up," Comrade Jules Guesde made the following answer on the spot:

"As far as I know, we are not now living under a communistic regime, and yet 'division' goes on and is daily practiced. The Deputy who made the charge cannot be suspected of being a communist, and yet he himself declared that 'division' is a social necessity, and that the most that could be done was to increase the share of some and decrease the share of others. With the view, however, of fastening upon the Socialists the principle of 'division,' the Deputy has hauled up the conspiracy of the Equalizers of the French Revolution, and he has sought to entrench himself behind a phrase of Babeuf."

"Our enemies imagine they can back and hinder Socialist propaganda by confounding us with the communists; they greatly deceive themselves. We never have repudiated, and never will, the communists of other days. If, passing for a moment by the followers of Babeuf, our enemies seek to identify us with the 'Republic of Plato, the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, the City of the Sun' of Campanella, we feel honored in having these great geniuses made part of our own history. We claim as our prehistoric tradition the great communist ideal of all those who, whether by brain or hand, have striven for the well-being of mankind. We hail the memories of these men, and we respect them all the more in view of the fact that, bent upon a 'glorious attempt,' Babeuf and his heroic accomplices carried their heads to the scaffold. (Applause from the Extreme Left.)"

"We look upon and cherish the memories of all those who have given their blood to the emancipation of man, not as far-away precursors of our own, but as our own fathers; though they are not our intellectual progenitors, they are our illustrious exemplars; men who have generously given away their lives, as we are ready to do to-day, for the redemption of our brothers in toil and in misery. (Renewed applause from the same benches.)"

"But what we cannot tolerate is that, driven by the straits of their own polemics, our enemies seek to misrepresent the conspiracy of Babeuf's Equalizers, and, besides that, try to dishonor the man who knew how to die for his ideas. (Applause from the Left.)"

"The spokesman for our enemies spoke of Babeuf as of a fraud. Yet the same gentleman knows, or ought to know, that though Babeuf was sentenced, he was rehabilitated by a decree of the convention that annulled the process on the ground of its having been an excess of power and unjust."

"It is not decorous on the part of a foe, separated by a full century from an adversary, to pick up a calumny and throw it upon the corpse of one before whom have bowed such men as Ranc, Janclard, Blanqui and Voyer d'Argenson, some of whom will be an eternal honor to French Democracy."

"If, in his manifesto, Babeuf spoke of distributing the property of the conspirators among the loyal citizens, among those who were aiding the revolutionary movement, he only followed the practice adopted by the victorious capitalists, the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution. It was not an idea that sprang up with Babeuf that of promising the property of the emigrant French nobility to those who were willing to march to the frontier to defend the nation and the republic. (Applause from the Extreme Left.) To decree to that effect was given by the Convention. It was not Babeuf, but St. Juste, who later on decided that the property of the suspects be divided among the propertyless, among the poor. It follows, accordingly, that what has been claimed here as typical of the conspiracy of the Equalizers belongs to that period that may be called 'bourgeois,' and it was born in that bourgeois Convention, one of whose abominable acts was the decree of death upon any one who spoke of 'agrarian laws'; the same convention that carried its defense of individual property to the extreme of swearing, upon the motion of Danton, and before proclaiming the Republic, that private property in land and moveables was to be forever sacred. We see that it was that bourgeois Convention that introduced the policy of the division of the property of the suspects, of the emigrants, and of the enemies of France and of the Revolution."

"Why, then, does the spokesman of capitalism in this Chamber seize the phrase 'division of property' in his assault upon the Equalizers and their Republic when that very phrase conflicts with the very spirit of the conspirators of Babeuf? The gentleman has read the manifesto of the Equalizers; he cannot deny that their aim was to 'establish general well-being by means of common ownership in property,' and that neither a division of property, nor yet any scheme of 'agrarian laws' ever crossed their minds. Unfortunately, this 'division of property' had been made before them and against them; it was made against the rural and the industrial France of those days. Look back to Avenel's 'Revolutionary Mondays.' This title sounds somewhat subversive; but you will recover your calmness when I remind you that these historic pages, from which I am about to quote, and which are the best extant on the French Revolution, were recently printed in a journal that was in no way Socialist. That journal was 'The French Republic,' whose owner was not yet M. Melne, but Gambetta. Here is what Avenel said in his 'Revolutionary Mondays':"

"Our patriotic writers have narrated, or rather sung, the French Revolution from a purely idealistic point of view. They took only flitting notice of the property of the nation; they flashed through the subject like the lightning, satisfying themselves with a few minor details which they tricked up with general observations. In that subject they saw nothing but the spoiling of the clergy and the nobility. They applauded this without stopping to consider into whose hands the spoils were flowing; none of those chroniclers, who were so careful in taking down speeches, decrees and constitutions, in short, all those things that make a noise and pass away, deigned to investigate the great question of material interests that was

actually the most important one in those days. Yet this was a matter that they could easily have discovered by following step by step the series of feverish, furious, revolutionary sales that were going on incessantly during several years—sales or rather thefts by the millions, a species of veritable territorial orgies carried on by the capitalists."

"At that season, 1793, a solemn promise was made to the defenders of the fatherland. The Convention decreed that, as a just reward, 1,000 millions worth of the national property should be reserved for these. Thus they were to be enabled to go to the frontier and do battle without fear."

"Nor yet was this all. Fresh promises were made to the proletarians. On the 8th of Ventose, Saint Juste decrees the making of a list of all indigent patriots for the purpose of indemnifying them out of the property of the enemies of the Revolution. But this decree, couched in vague and uncertain terms, was simply a bait to catch guinea-pigs."

"Accordingly, when the 9th of Thermidore came around, the proletarians had received neither crumbs from the Church estates, nor the shares promised to them from other sources; nor were they later to get any. In some places, a few shreds of the national property were distributed among them; but after that there were no more distributions held. But what they lacked in goods they enjoyed a superabundance in promises: They were theoretically the owners of 1,000 millions in lands as the defenders of the fatherland, besides being the theoretical proprietors of the whole property of the suspects which was promised to them, but which was no longer there to be distributed, it having already been seized by other hands."

"Yes, the great capitalists of those days did not stop to divide; they grabbed it all. (Applause from the Extreme Left.) When the estates of the Church and of the fugitive feudal lords were declared 'National Property,' these gentlemen only concealed with the mask of the national interests their own private greed."

"At any rate, I shall not prevent those of my fellow Deputies in this Chamber who desire to do so, to pronounce themselves one with that part of the bourgeoisie of the last century, who, during our Revolution, gave themselves over to the stock-jobbing of the national estate, and had only one object in view, to wit, to divide the spoils among themselves. We, the Socialists, whose aim is solely to redeem mankind and to rescue the sacred memories of those who before us have laid down their lives for human freedom, we are ready to draw the line and mark the distinction between the two elements that combined in making that Revolution. Yours be those who robbed the nation of the property that you restored to it only for a moment and then only nominally 'Hear! Hear!' from the Extreme Left; ours be those, who, like Babeuf and his companions, saw in the Revolution only a means by which to reconstruct the common patrimony of man." (Violent applause from the Left.)"

OBJECT LESSONS FOR THE MILLIONS

Furnished to the Watchful, Who Are out for Work in Pittsburgh, Pa.

PITTSBURG, Pa., Jan. 27.—One hears so much about the necessity of furnishing the workers with "object lessons," I think I might as well bestow my experience upon others upon this subject."

The Socialists here—those who are really that, and those who wish they were and think they are—were at one time much exercised over the question what literature should be spread here to set the workmen aright in the movement for emancipation. It was in 1892, THE PEOPLE was thought too "scientific" too "dry." In that year, Wing, the Socialist candidate for President, polled here 113 votes. After that the "Coming Nation" made its appearance here. It posed as a "Socialist paper" that was calculated to teach Socialism to the masses. It was so considered by many. In a short time its subscribers numbered something over 300. Now, with such a circulation in a city like this, and the many more bundles that were distributed by confiding Socialists, we expected a big increase in our vote in 1893 in this district; instead of an increase our vote went down to 20 in this district. The "Coming Nation" had done its work. The Pittsburgh proletariat that had begun to move forward dropped into by-paths. The literature of the "Coming Nation" and the literature it recommended to them made them easy preys for moonshine. They went into the Democratic, the Republican, or the Populist party according as the politicians in any of these held out promises of "object lessons."

After that and beginning with 1894 we had here a succession of papers patterned after the "Coming Nation," and these were followed or accompanied by another class of "object lessons" scheme: Taylor came around with his "Industrial Co-operative" scheme; the "Topolobambo Colony" scheme got a spurt; a "Bellamy Co-operative Association" put in its oars; and probably a dozen, surely six different "Co-operative stores" bobbed up. All this was not yet "object lesson" enough for the "object-lessoner" fraternity. The Coxey movement dashed through here and fired not a few, and last, not least in mischief, up turned Mr. Burrows, of Sharpsburg, with a neat panacea of his own—the "Labor Exchange." Is it any wonder that with so many "object lessons" our Pittsburgh proletarians should get off the track or switch off into all possible directions? When our votes were counted in 1895 we had 129; we hung our heads. We had increased only 16 votes in three years."

But enough of us did not leave their heads hang long. We had enough of the "object lessons" tactics. Immediately after the elections in '95 we organized a fighting Socialist Labor party Section by English speaking workmen; early in '96 the Section ordered THE PEOPLE sent to each member. Our literature and our agitation struck the fasciades and their advocates square in the face; the freaks—Labor-Exchange, Single Taxists, Co-operative Colonists, Co-operative Socialists, Free-coinagists—who, like flies, hover around the labor movement and pollute it, were driven off, their arguments knocked to pieces with the arm-and-hammer knock-out blows of Socialist science. Light dawned. In less than 9 months

(Continued on Page 4.)

REVOLUTIONARY ADDRESS

Issued by the Philadelphia S. L. P. to the Voters of the 33d Ward.

Whether in ward, or municipal, or State or national politics, there is but one real issue before the American people to-day—the issue between the capitalist and the working class; the question as to which class shall rule and administer the government. This issue cannot be evaded or compromised, or smothered over, patched up or put down in any manner whatsoever. Nor is there any halting-point. Either the rule of the capitalist class, or the victory of the working class, is to be complete. The tyranny and oppression of capitalist government, the incapacity and corruption of public officials under capitalism, hard times becoming ever harder, constantly recurring panics and general destitution, with all concurrent evils, will at last show to the blindest "reformers" the foolishness of expecting "grapes from thorns and figs from thistles," demonstrate the senile and reactionary character of the middle class parties and issues, and finally compel the most stiff-necked and indifferent to take one side or the other in the class struggle—to choose between freedom under Socialism or slavery under capitalism."

Recognizing this truth, the Socialist Labor party makes use of none of the devices of capitalist parties for the purpose of securing votes. Fully appreciating the magnitude of the task set before us, we do not promise to perform miracles in the event of a few of our representatives being elected to office. Knowing full well that the abolition of chronic and universal poverty may only be accomplished when its cause is understood, and that the cause will be removed only by those who suffer from it, Socialists seek first of all to enlighten the workers as to the real nature of capitalism, and afterward to organize them into a class-conscious political army—the Socialist Labor party—determined to oust capitalism from every seat in government, and abolish all pauperism and social wrong by using the public power to destroy wage slavery and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth."

It will be readily seen, therefore, that to whatever position Socialist representatives may be elected, their attitude and action will be one of uncompromising hostility to capitalist interests. Only to the extent that these "interests" are detected, and exposed, and successfully opposed will there be any advance made toward good government, honest and capable administration, and improvement in the condition of the working class. The state of affairs existing in Philadelphia to-day is due to the fact that the working class has hitherto failed to distinguish between capitalist politics and working-class politics, and has acted in the belief that the interests of the two classes in government were the same. They are not the same; they are distinctly antipodal. What is good government for the capitalists and capitalist politicians will always be found to be bad for the people; whatever may be shown to be good for the people may quite as easily be shown to be bad for the capitalists and their political jump-up-jacks."

The following quotations from the platform of the Socialist Labor party, adopted in National Convention at New York, July 9th, 1896, will indicate the lines upon which Socialist Councilmen would act:

"3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water-works, gas-works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons."

"9. School education of all children under 14 years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary."

"12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation)."

We oppose the giving of city work of any kind to contractors. The work should be done directly by the city, with union hours and union wages for the employes."

We oppose the system of water-gas supply by private concerns. Our gas-works plant should be enlarged, and the use of water-gas stopped altogether."

We demand an immediate improvement in school facilities. The fact that many school-children can only secure half-time tuition, and others none at all, is a disgrace to Philadelphia."

We demand the immediate establishment of relief work by the city, so that the thousands of idle men may not be compelled to either beg or steal, and in such manner as will add to the permanent wealth and beauty of Philadelphia."

Citizens of the Thirty-third Ward, are you satisfied with the present state of affairs? Are you content to see our Councils but a voting machine for Traction and other capitalist interests? If you are not, but desire a change, give our candidates an opportunity of showing what can be done by them—vote for the Socialists. Respectfully yours, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, S. L. P.

15 Clinton street, City.

MORE QUESTIONS

Asked by S. L. P. to the Hon. Businessman John Wanamaker.

Sir:—Since writing my last letter an occasion has arisen for congratulating our business interests, and I make haste to do so. I see by to-day's paper that the Pure Food law, to which I made reference last week, was pronounced unconstitutional yesterday by Judge Hemphill. So the good work of cheating and poisoning the people must be constitutional. Hurrah for the honorable Judge! And hurrah for business!"

The strike of the motormen and conductors of Philadelphia last winter was another occurrence that will serve to illustrate the character of our business interests. You have not forgotten that episode, my Wanamaker, have you? I haven't. I know of no labor disturbance within the last twenty years that will better fix and show the real nature of our business interests than that strike. Let us briefly examine the issues of that affair."

On one side was the Union Traction Company; on the other, about 5,000 employes. The men asked for \$2 a day and a workday of ten hours. The company refused to accede to the request, with the result that a strike followed and local travel was impeded for a week."

Innumerable other unsuccessful strikes have had their failure assigned to various causes. Sometimes the failure was said to be due to the unreasonableness of the strikers' demands, and, the impossibility of complying with them and continuing business. In this case there was nothing unreasonable in the demands, and the company might have paid \$5 a day and still made more money than any other business in Philadelphia, in proportion to the amount invested. Other unsuccessful strikes have been explained by the fact that the men did not behave properly; they either did what they ought not to have done, or they failed to do what they should have done. In this case the behavior of the men was everything that could have been desired. Another common explanation of unsuccessful strikes is the fact that public opinion is either against them or indifferent. In this affair public opinion was thoroughly aroused in behalf of the men. Yet the Traction Company prevailed against their 5,000 employes and public opinion, notwithstanding the very modest demands of the men."

It may here be noted that the success of business interests demands the unconditional surrender of all other interests. No other interests have any right to exist, and shall not exist if the business interests can prevent it. For some time prior to the strike the Traction Company had employed a corps of spies and detectives for the purpose of preventing any organization of the men. Any man known to be a member of a labor union, or interested in creating such an organization, was promptly discharged. I presume this fact is well known to you, Mr. Wanamaker, although I have never heard you refer to it in any way. So it appears that if a Traction employe had any idea that his life, or liberty, or happiness could be made more secure by combining with his fellows, the business interests of the company demanded his discharge."

In these days of bad business, uncertain markets and great competition, reductions of wages have been forced in many instances by seemingly uncontrollable circumstances, and have been submitted to with good grace by the working people. But if a business that is making money hand over fist may not be expected to pay a living wage to its employes, in what direction may the working class look for the maintenance of a decent standard of living? You know, Mr. Wanamaker, that the Traction Company has three organs in Philadelphia, the "Ledger," the "Record" and the "Times"; that is to say, the individuals who own stock in these papers own stock in Traction. Not one of these organs, sir, gave any excuse for the refusal of the Traction to grant the request of the men. The "Ledger" simply stated that, in view of the fact that thousands of idle men were willing to work at the company's terms, it was foolish on the part of the strikers to continue the struggle. This fact was what determined the fate of the strike. And this, you say, was why you advised the men, in your Labor Lyceum speech, to go back to work."

Here again we get a glimpse of the real nature of our business interests that we don't catch every day. With regard to the rate of wages, they demand: (1) that there shall be no relationship between it and the amount of profits; (2) that any so-called standard of living shall not be considered in determining it; but (3) that it shall be determined by the amount of starvation, destitution and desperation existing among the unemployed. The more starvation among the unemployed, the nearer the approach to hunger among those still at work."

I am trying, John, to keep my temper, and trying to forget that you call yourself a Christian; you—who are so anxious that our "business interests" shall now be permitted to have full and undisputed sway, but I must ask you a question. I have referred to the fact that the business interests of Traction prompted that company to employ a number of individuals as spies and detectives. They still retain them. I have been told by employes that old ladies—old ladies, John, benevolent-looking, motherly old souls, like your mother and mine—because such persons would be the last to be suspected as "spotters," have been employed in that capacity."

The sole purpose of the employment of such individuals is the punishment by discharge of such employes as they may report. But it is not alone the reported employe who is punished. His wife and children, who are innocent of his offense, are punished also. They may have to suffer because of their father's wrong-doing—may have to endure cold and hunger."

Daily People Minor Fund. Previously acknowledged \$1,518 11 Jan. 23 F. Scrimshaw, Arlington N. J. 1 00 Jan. 25 Herm. Keiser, Fitchburg, Mass. 5 00 HENRY KUHN Fin. Sec.

Greater New York Convention. The next meeting of the Greater New York Convention will be held on Saturday, the 30th instant, at the New York Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street. THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Not long ago, Mr. Wanamaker, in Bethany Sunday-school, you said you knew of no higher ideal than the living of such a life as would assure to the wayfarer of earth the heavenly welcome mentioned in the Good Book. Now, this is the question I ask you: This detective—young man or old lady—whose business here has been spying upon his or her poor fellow mortals, getting them discharged, and, mayhap, causing their wives to grieve and their children to go hungry to bed, dies. Do you think, as this spy passes into the Valley, that to him or her will be said, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Do you?

Or perhaps you imagine that heaven will be full of spies, and business men, and "run" on business principles.

There is another matter involved in this question of wages. Upon the amount of wages depends the degree of civilization that the wage earner may attain. The home is the unit of society, and homes cannot be maintained on free soup and Sunday-school tracts. If our business interests are to be permitted to take advantage of the labor market to beat down wages indefinitely, the time is at hand when of two men—one trying to maintain a home, the other a cheap-lodging house sleeper—the latter monopolizes the work."

This state of affairs is nearly approached to-day in many cases. In fact, upon the street-cars of Philadelphia any observant person may note the difference in the character and general bearing of the men now generally employed and those who formerly did the work. There is a much larger proportion of young men and boys on the cars to-day. The same is the case on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, another notorious low-wage paying institution."

Our business interests demand, among other things, that the home must go."

So our business interests, so far as they were developed in the late strike of the street-car employes, demand that no organization of labor shall exist, that no considerations of justice or equity shall enter into the fixing of wages, and that the home shall go."

You don't like that analysis, Mr. Wanamaker? I can't help it; it's correct. And because it is correct I don't think your "business interests" are destined for a very long and glorious reign. S. L. P.

MACHINERY AND INVENTION.

Its Effect upon the Saddlery, Hardware and Harness Trades.

How often we have heard this remark fall from the lips of the workingmen generally: "Oh, it is impossible for machines to do that which we now do by hand," but as often as we have heard this remark we have seen how foolish have been those who made it."

Those engaged in the hand or close silver plating of harness mountings (a branch of the above mentioned trades) were, until a few years ago, among the loudest in their assertions that machines never had been and never would be able to do their particular kind of work. Of late years a decided change has taken place in this industry. Fully one-half the work has been taken from the men by the use of buffing and polishing wheels. Now the workman in this branch only does a part of the processes of a few years ago, and as a result of making him a specialist, as it were, he is enabled to do a considerably greater amount of work in a given time."

Again, the introduction of electricity as a motive power for street-cars, and the bicycle, instead of the carriage, cab, or buggy, has had the effect of decreasing the demand for the goods of the above named trades to such an extent that at the present time not more than 25 per cent. of the men can get employment."

To make things better, or worse, the "horseless carriage" is now pronounced a success. Compressed air is to be the motive power. The motors can be placed upon the cabs and carriages now in use, thereby depriving us poor mortals of a chance to make the carriages. The driver's seat can be folded up and the occupant act as driver by operating a lever from the inside. It is safe to say that the "horseless carriage" will be generally used in the near future. This necessarily implies the displacement of drivers and stablemen, the farm-hand who raises the horse feed, the men who make horse blankets, the harness maker, the tanners who make the leather, the bit-makers, blacksmiths, moulders, buffers, polishers, and platers of harness hardware. This new means of transit will drive thousands of men upon the streets to swell that already large army of unemployed. What of our pure and simple unions of platers, harness makers, coach drivers, and the like? As purely economic organizations they must crumble to pieces as soon as the "horseless carriage" makes its triumphant debut."

And yet, welcome to the horseless carriage and all such inventions. Let us have more of them. Although the machine is devoid of brain, it compels the displaced workers to use THEIR brains in solving the "out-of-work problem," and as a result they will ere long have to admit that nothing but socialism can give them an opportunity to work and a good living in return for their labor. H. CARLESS. Newark, Jan. 24.

Daily People Minor Fund. Previously acknowledged \$1,518 11 Jan. 23 F. Scrimshaw, Arlington N. J. 1 00 Jan. 25 Herm. Keiser, Fitchburg, Mass. 5 00 HENRY KUHN Fin. Sec.

Greater New York Convention. The next meeting of the Greater New York Convention will be held on Saturday, the 30th instant, at the New York Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street. THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

National Executive. Regular meeting held January 26th, 1897. Comrade Reed in the chair. Resolved that the assistant secretary be instructed to notify all Sections in Greater New York that Comrade Franz has accepted the nomination as member of the National Executive Committee. Section Glendale reports expulsion of Max Reinlein, Louis Rother and H. Deubert. Charter granted new Section at Edwardsdale, Pa. CHAS. B. COPP, Rec. Sec.

National Campaign Fund. Previously acknowledged \$1,994 28 January. 19. Sec. Utica (Am.), balance on list 308 25 22. Sec. Louisville (Ger.), collected on list 105 5 10 23. Sec. Corona, collected on list 532 3 65 L. S. Vollmar, Cromwell, Conn., dona. for campaign of 1900 45 25. C. B. Copp, collected on list No. 2 63 60 Total \$2,067 33 HENRY KUHN, Sec.

Connecticut.

FINANCIAL ACCOUNT OF STATE COMMITTEE FROM OCT. 1, 1896, TO JAN. 1, 1897. INCOME, OCTOBER.

Cash on hand October, 1896 \$30 42 Sec. Bridgeport (Pol.) dues 70 Sec. Stamford (Am.), dues 1 40 Sec. Danbury (Hun.), dues 3 80 Sec. New Haven, dues 20 00 Sec. Hartford, dues 8 00 H. Kuhn 3 15 For State Campaign Fund, E. Howard 2 00 For State. Cam. Fund, Greves' employes 10 00 Subscription list No. 20 2 10 Subscription list No. 21 4 65 Subscription list No. 30 3 75 Subscription list No. 10 3 00 Subscription list No. 39 3 35 Subscription list No. 22 7 40 Subscription list No. 25 1 75 Subscription list No. 27 1 45 Total for October \$103 47

NOVEMBER, 1896.

Part proceeds of entertainment from Section New Haven \$67 00 Sec. New Haven, dues 10 00 Sec. Hartford, dues 5 00 Sec. New Britain, dues 5 00 Sec. Stamford, dues 3 00 State camp. sub. list No. 3 1 25 State camp. sub. list No. 4 2 00 State camp. sub. list No. 6 30 State camp. sub. list No. 72 1 50 State camp. sub. list No. 73 1 50 State camp. sub. list No. 74 1 50 Loan to State Committee 51 43 Campaign printing 12 00 Campaign print, Sec. N. Haven 8 00 Camp. Fund Com. Kralschek 1 00 From literature, Sec. Rockville 3 00 From literature, Sec. Waterbury 4 00 From literature, Sec. Meriden 1 00 From literature, Sec. Danbury 2 00 Total for November, 1896 \$169 48

INCOME, DECEMBER.

Sec. New Haven, dues \$10 00 Sec. Waterbury, dues 2 00 Sec. South Norwalk, dues 1 10 Sec. Middletown, dues 3 00 Sec. N. Britain (Pol.), dues 1 00 Sec. Danbury (Italian), dues 1 50 Sec. Meriden, dues 2 00 Total for December \$20 60 Total for three months \$293 55

EXPENDITURES, OCTOBER.

Geo. Ellis, for agitation \$17 25 John E. Jones, agitation 2 90 Myster Stodel, agitation 3 50 Gus. Fischer, agitation 70 Com. Fiszler, agitation 15 00 James Coffay, agitation 75 Wm. Laine, agitation 5 50 E. Goris, agitation 1 00 H. C. Daniels 1 75 F. Serrer, postage for Sept. 1 63 F. Serrer, for telegrams, etc. 4 75 Nat. Ex. for due stamps 20 00 John J. Kiernan, for printing 65 25 City Printing Works 2 75 L. Sohn, for hall hire 2 00 Total for October \$144 73

EXPENDITURES, NOVEMBER.

Com. M. M. Avery, agitation \$35 70 Harry Carless, agitation 8 00 Paul Zimmerman, agitation 1 50 Nat. Ex. for due stamps 20 00 H. Bussmann, legal services 1 00 F. Serrer, postage for Nov. 1 51 F. Serrer, stationery, R.R. fare, telegrams, loss of time, etc. 15 51 Total for November \$83 22

EXPENDITURES, DECEMBER.

Nat. Ex. for due stamps \$20 00 John J. Kiernan 4 62 F. Serrer, postage, R.R. fare 1 25 Total for December \$25 87 Total ex. for three months \$253 82

RECAPITULATION.

Total income for 3 months \$293 55 Total expenses for 3 months 253 82 Balance on hand \$39 73 JOS. MAREK, Treas. Conn. State Com.

Michigan.

DETROIT, Mich., Jan. 15.—On January 14th the Michigan State Committee of the S. L. P. was organized, with the following members: Herman Richter, Henry Ulbrecht, Stanley Kiehlendat, Henry Sievers, Charles Erb, Gustave Herzog, Melks Meyer. The following officers were elected: Herman Richter, financial secretary; M. Meyer, recording and corresponding secretary; H. Sievers, treasurer.

All Sections in Michigan will hereafter procure their stamps from the Michigan State Committee and not from the National Executive Committee, as formerly. Due cards and constitutions, however, they will continue to get from the National Executive. The price of the due cards is 40 cents per 100; of the constitutions, 50 cents per 100. M. MEYER, Sec. Mich. State Com., S. L. P., 361 Hendricks st., Detroit, Mich.

THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to January 27th, 1897.

\$3,020.

At the meeting of the Daily People Committee, held Sunday, the 20th of December, 1896, an important step was taken from which, if a daily Socialist

paper is at all possible within a reasonable time, the consummation will be reached. The committee adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, A daily PEOPLE has become an absolute necessity to counteract the false and falsified "news" that the capitalist press sets afloat, and to spread enlightenment in the ranks of the working class upon the Labor Question, and to prepare it to deal intelligently with the Social Revolution that is inevitable and is impending;

WHEREAS, The urgency of such a weapon of political and economic warfare in the English language against the plundering class of the capitalist is felt with increasing force, and the demand therefor becomes stronger by the day;

WHEREAS, The undertaking would result disastrously if not successfully put through;

WHEREAS, To make success certain, the paper must be able to survive two consecutive campaigns, that is to say, must appear daily during the period of at least thirteen consecutive months, absolutely independent, firm and uncompromising;

WHEREAS, The sum of not less than \$50,000 in hand is necessary to safely launch such an undertaking;

WHEREAS, Despite the general sense of the necessity of a daily English organ of labor, the collections for it have hitherto been slight; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that, so long as the foundation of such a paper seems indefinitely distant, the contributions will continue slight, while, on the contrary, if its foundation can appear prompt and definite it is likely that ample funds could be promptly gathered; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a call be issued to the stalwarts, friends and sympathizers, to pledge themselves in the number of 5,000 to contribute each the sum of \$10, payable between the issuing of this call and the 1st day of September, 1897;

RESOLVED, That, if by that date the sum of not less than \$50,000 is cash in hands of the DAILY PEOPLE Committee, a DAILY PEOPLE be started forthwith on October 1st, 1897;

RESOLVED, That this call be printed in the party press of all languages; that subscription lists, headed with these resolutions, be issued to all the Sections and all applicants; and that the names of the subscribers, together with the sum subscribed by each and the installments in which the same is to be paid, be promptly notified to the Committee for publication from week to week.

Are there in the land 5,000 stalwarts equal to be emergency, ready to step up and to mount that needed and redoubtable battery of the Social Revolution in America—a DAILY PEOPLE?

Daily People Committee, 184 William St., N. Y. City.

Table listing names and amounts pledged to the fund, including names like Henting Hansen, L. W. Block, L. Katz, etc.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

DELEGATE M. KRONIUMS, of the United Journeymen Tailors' Union, was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the Central Labor Federation (D. A. No. 1, S. T. and L. A.), and Delegate C. Finkelstein, of the Carl Sahn Club, was vice-chairman.

Credentials were received from the Ind. Bakers' Union, br. 1, for Brache, Monatsberger and Fossil, from the German Waiters' Union, No. 1, for H. Reich, Joe Herce and M. Sontheimer; from Waiters' Alliance, Liberty, for G. Weimers. They were seated.

The Organization Committee reported that they are making progress in organizing new unions. They also visited Ind. Bakers' Union, br. 1, and succeeded in inducing the same to be represented by three delegates in future. The committee is making a serious effort to organize the dock workers, and is of the opinion that if there are members in the Twenty-third Assembly District S. L. P. who can succeed sooner they are requested to assist this committee. The report was endorsed.

The Arbitration Committee reported, relative to the Cafe New York case, that they investigated the complaint of Waiters' Alliance Liberty, and found, according to Boss Heller's statement, that he had been influenced by the so-called Germania Waiters' Protective Association, to employ its members. He was angry at the members of the Liberty organization, but admitted that when he was a member of this union he had pushed the bosses also. The Germania crowd amuses itself by going to the union cafes and attempting to have its members employed. They have not been successful. Every union is urged to instruct its members to keep away from the said cafe, and force this former union (?) man to terms. The boycott was thereupon issued. Relative to the Cafe Starck, it was resolved that as the union itself made the recommendations relative to the Bartenders, the C. L. F. could not interfere at present.

The special committee which had visited the Journeymen Barbers' International P. U., br. 1, reported that it had visited last Tuesday's meeting of said union, and found that the delegate, William Bolter, had reported the proceedings of the C. L. F. entirely false, and violated the constitution of the S. T. and L. A. He had declared to the Barbers that it was ridiculous to labor upon the 10,000 votes of the Socialist-Labor Party, as the 150,000 (?) members of the C. L. U. were of much more account. The union must rely upon the economic movement and not upon the political. The committee also found that the blue union card had been sold by the members of No. 733 to the bosses

at 50 cents per card, from whom 10 cents dues were also collected, whether they employed workmen or not. The union had only 156 members, although 1,000 of the above card had been printed. This whole scheme proved that the union only cared to sell its card, irrespective whether union men were employed in these shops. A certain Stiner, organizer of the union, was an ardent supporter of Weissmann, and declared publicly that he was an Anarchist. A member of the committee recommended that charges be preferred against Stiner and Bolter for violating the constitution of the S. T. and L. A., and they be expelled from the union. Relative to the boycott on Cafe Domschatt, a member of the Executive Board stated that they were kept in ignorance by Bolter and Stiner as to what bakers' union was concerned in the matter, and did not, therefore, know of the Weissmann intrigues. Both of these people had industriously agitated against the Socialist Labor party. During the debate it was asserted that the union was responsible for the action of these two. A motion to expel the Barbers' Union for insubordination was amended, to give them another chance to abide by the resolution of the C. L. F. until next Sunday. The amendment was carried by 11 votes majority.

Bartenders' Union, No. 1, reported that its delegates will attend the meetings regularly in future.

Independent Bakers' Union, br. 1, reported that three delegates will attend the C. L. F. meetings in the future. On Wednesday morning a special meeting had been held, and a committee had been elected to visit the Branch 3. The said branch refused to admit them, stating that they were now a sick benefit society.

Independent Bakers' Union, Branch 2, reported that Boss Leopold promised to use the union label as soon as his private stock had been used up. As he had 2,000,000 of these printed, this would mean a long wait. The matter was referred to the Arbitration Committee. The Executive Board decided

D. A. No. 2 (United Hebrew Trades).

D. A. No. 2, United Hebrew Trades of New York and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, at a special meeting Wednesday, January 20th, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, A circular that appeared last week, and is addressed to "all comrades and the public in general," contains the following passage:

"We also decided to elect new delegates from the 'Arbeiter Zeitung Publishing Association' to the 'United Hebrew Trades' in the place of the present delegates, who belong to the 'machine,' and who have systematically corrupted and betrayed the movement; we decided to substitute these with others by electing in their stead men who would not use their office to protect any rascality, meanness and folly of every creature of the 'machine' who wanted to ride the movement."

Whereas, Amongst the undersigned on the circular there are also the names of such prominent comrades in the Jewish Socialist movement as Abe Caham and M. Zametkin;

Whereas, Abe Caham, while editor of the 'Arbeiter Zeitung,' the official organ of the United Hebrew Trades and of all Jewish Socialists of America, has always and continually defended the United Hebrew Trades against enemies, and has always characterized it as an honest labor organization;

Whereas, The said Abe Caham has been the representative of the United Hebrew Trades to the International Congresses in Brussels and Zurich;

Whereas, The New York Jewish Socialist Convention referred to in the circular, after roughly showing the door to the Jewish trades unions, was scared for the consequences of its action, and sent a committee to the United Hebrew Trades to apologize;

Whereas, The said committee was composed of no others but the above named, who eulogized the United Hebrew Trades as a progressive, honest and active labor organization, whereupon the United Hebrew Trades, with their spirit of solidarity, pacified the just wrath of the unions;

Whereas, Only two months ago Abe Caham, as the speaker at the last anniversary of the U. H. T., again characterized the body as a brave, honest and progressive labor organization, and did not say a word about "corruption";

Whereas, Eight weeks ago a conference of sessions was held under the auspices of the U. H. T., to discuss the present situation of the Jewish trades unions and to devise ways to improve them, and the above named and others of the signers of the circular were invited and attended, and did not, even there, where the place was the most proper one to point out corruption in the U. H. T., say a word on that subject;

Whereas, In the circular there is not a single fact stated to substantiate the charge of corruption in the U. H. Trades;

Whereas, The United Hebrew Trades, as a central body, has since its very beginning of its existence been the parliament of the Jewish proletarians, whose interests it has served faithfully and honestly, standing firmly on the basis of the class struggle and of honest trade unionism;

Whereas, The U. H. T. has been the very power that built up the Socialist movement amongst the Jewish workmen, and is morally affiliated with the Socialist Labor Party; be it

Resolved, That we condemn the statements in the aforementioned circular as a slander against a bona fide labor organization, which has been in existence over eight years; as an unpardonable insult against the organized Jewish workmen, and as an injurious and condemnable attack on the power of the entire Jewish labor movement;

Resolved, That we recognize that the delegates of the 'Arbeiter Zeitung Publishing Association' have always honestly rendered valuable services for the United Hebrew Trades and its affiliated unions;

Resolved, This resolution be published in THE PEOPLE, the 'Abend Blatt' and 'Volks Zeitung.'

A. SHAPIRO, Secretary.

Frog Clothing Cutters and Trimmers.

The regular meeting of the above union, held on Thursday, January 21st, 1897, in the Labor Lyceum, was fairly well attended. Two proposed candidates were initiated. The Executive Board reported that a committee from the United Brotherhood of Tailors had visited them, and requested the appointment of a committee to a conference to be held Wednesday, in No. 48 Orchard street, for the purpose of combining the tailoring organizations in a central. The Executive Committee's report was accepted and concurred in by the organization. The Finance Committee gave its last report of the last six months, but on account of some difficulty in one item, it was referred back to the committee, with instructions to hand in an itemized report by next regular meeting. The shop reports showed business picking up, and the out-of-work list substantiated this. With but a few exceptions, all the members are working. The per capita tax for September, 1896, having been overlooked by the financial secretary, was ordered paid to the S. T. and L. A.

THE SECRETARY.

A SERIES OF LECTURES.

By Lucien Sautal on Scientific Socialism.

Part 1—"Historic Introduction" (3 lectures).

These lectures will be delivered: In New York, at Webster Hall, 11th street, between Third and Fourth avenues, every Thursday at 8 p. m., commencing Thursday, January 14th.

In Brooklyn, at 515 Fulton street, every Sunday at 3 p. m., commencing January 10th; at the Labor Lyceum, 949-955 Willoughby avenue, every Tuesday at 8 p. m., commencing Tuesday, January 12th.

In Newark, N. J., at 76 Springfield avenue, every Sunday at 8 p. m., commencing January 10th.

In Paterson, N. J., at Town Clock Building, every Wednesday at 8 p. m., commencing January 13th.

In Yonkers, every Friday evening, at Labor Lyceum, over drug store, Getty Square.

N. Y. PAINTERS.

Meet Every Monday, 8 p. m., at 128 and 140 East 57th street.

(This paper will be mailed to every member free of charge by order of the organization, and will contain all such notices and information as are necessary.)

The last meeting of the N. Y. Painters, held on January 25th, had an average attendance, disposing of the routine business in usual time. As by the action of the body taken last week it had become necessary to fill certain vacancies for the remaining part of the term, the following members were chosen: John Jamour, in place of David Gentle, as treasurer; C. E. Collenburg and F. W. Cooper in place of James Smith and Aug. F. Toohill, as members of the Arbitration Committee.

The Investigation Committee, appointed some months ago, having fulfilled their arduous task, were discharged with the hearty thanks of the house for their faithful services.

The financial secretary read his report and explained many details in his branch, gave the strength of membership and their standing up to January, 1897; it was received, and the financial secretary instructed to drop all persons from the roll-book who are over 6 months in arrears, as per constitution.

The treasurer read his report, giving exact figures of the financial standing of the organization; the report was received.

One member was fined and put out of the room for abusive language and provocative conduct to the chairman. He was by vote of the house prohibited from the room for the next 3 months.

Several minor affairs were straightened and got rid of.

The delegate read his report of last week's labor and conditions of the labor market as found by him; it was received and filed, the delegate receiving instructions to guide in certain cases.

Three candidates were admitted to membership. Two accident benefits were paid.

THE SECRETARY.

SELF-CONVICTED.

(Continued from Page 1.)

man to cover himself with glory, if, instead of giving the reason he did for not going to Japan, he had continued in the strain he had begun, what a shining light he would have been among patriots!

Why could not the gentleman lay his not going to Japan to the intense love of country he was afflicted with? Why did he not lay it to his great love for his employees? He could have, as a last resort, given as his reason the fact that his wife didn't like the climate, or was afraid of the Geishas. Why did he not give any old thing as a reason except the one he did?

Of course the fact that he could get his labor for from 6 to 12 cents a day, and his coal at 90 cents a ton, did not deter him from going to Japan; what did he care about those things? He would not let a "little thing" like that stop him. No, the only thing that prevented his going was that he could not hold property "in trust for the Lord"—or his employees—as he could in this glorious country. When such gentry as Mr. Rutherford wish something said for them why do they not hire some "political economist" to talk for them, then they could lay any "slip of the tongue" to the P. E., and would not, perhaps, undo the work of those same P. E.'s who have for years striven to prove them the possessors of all the virtues such as love of country, honesty, acumen, etc., etc. If Mr. Rutherford could have done nothing else he could have at least kept his mouth shut; and then he would not have given another club to those wicked Socialists, who preach the class struggle, with which to demolish the arguments of the "professors" and others who have made the capitalist a "shining light" only second to God in all virtues.

ARTHUR KEEP.

Washington, D. C.

Object Lessons for the Millions.

(Continued from Page 3.)

we doubled our '95 vote: Matchett and Maguire polled 267, and had THE PEOPLE had the foothold that the "Coming Nation" then had, we would have gone up into the thousands.

Since then we are making remarkable progress. We have learned that the only "object lessons" worth teaching are the sound ones. Let all others who are still floundering in the quagmire learn by the object lesson that Pittsburgh teaches.

D. W.

Back Numbers of The People.

WANTED.

to complete a file for Comrade Chas. Matchett. Any reader having the following issues of Volume I (1891), 15, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, is requested to kindly send them to THE PEOPLE office at once, giving terms.

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Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meeting.

Branch 1 (American) S. L. P. Discussion meeting every first Friday. Business meeting every 3rd Friday at 64 East 4th St. Lectures every Sunday 3 P. M. at Stuyvesant Hall, 17th St., and Hudson Building, 37th St. and 8th Ave. 322

Carl Sahn Club (Musicians Union). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary, Fred. 358

Central Labor Federation of New York (D. A. No. 1, S. T. and L. A.). Meetings every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona fide trade and labor unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 258

Cigar-makers' Progressive International Union. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street—District I (Bohemian), 324 East 7th street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Fourth street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 1877 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 261

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 8 p. m.—Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 334

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the 1st Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield Ave. Newark, N. J. 189

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 211-225 East 33rd street, New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scandinavian Weekly, S. and A. Am. Anarchists.

Socialist Science Club. Meets at Webster Hall, 140th street and 2nd avenue, every 1st and 3rd Friday at 8 P. M. Also Free Lecture, every Sunday night, 7:30 P. M., preceded by entertainment at same hall.

Upholsterers' Union of New York and U. V. Union. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays evening at 8 p. m. in the Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present) composed of 120 local branches with more than 15,000 male members is rapidly increasing and workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.00 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$250.00 is granted for every man in any of the branches upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to earnings. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 25 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to Henry Braun, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3rd Ave., Room 25, New York City.

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