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# TRUSTIFICATION.

THEE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS IN 1899 AND 1900.

pate and Figures That Nail Certain Lies The Journal of Commerce, Intended Breadcast Circulation by the Cani-Het Press Among the Stupid Middle

There was a time when the private of high standing in manufacture commerce, with their retinue of job and brokers, constituted a class or opinion had great weight in public thirs. The New York "Journal of Comwas "honestly" then voicing their reliroad monopoly,' looked with suson on great corporate schemes and delently denounced the trustification ment. But with the growth of cor parations this class gradually declined in tire, and it finally lost all its influence den the "trust," by absorbing its wealthest members and casting the others far bek into the shade, became the commandin power. At every step of capitalism e its fated journey, the position of the "Journal of Commerce" became therefore ere difficult. In fact, there never was but once in American journalism, a case embarrassing, and that was when the Volkszeitung," deeming itself threatened h its existence by the very growth of det revolutionary Socialism whica it had been instituted to promote, undertook the impossible task of carrying, on its ders, five buckets of water, respecty labeled "Socialism," "Anarchism," de-Unionism Pure and Simple Middle Class Taxation" and "Beer."

at the editor of the "Journal of Com-o" is not a fool. He soon learned to straddle on barb-wire fences, to do the tight-rope dancing act bet-even than the Democratic party; for a that party lost its balance and feliof the ballet box in attempt to carry Bryan anti-trust whiskey in silver bucket on its South-west shoulder, ad Delmont-Croker trust water in a gold acker on its North-east shoulder a tin can on its one and only head erves its middle class subscribers and mps a crop of plutocratic advertisements.

In its "fin-de-siecle" number we as treated to show of statistical legerdemin. It is there proven in mammoth type and by actual figures, that "the con-idiation craze is declining," that "new competition is increasing," and that "except in special instances the threat of in testrial monopoly is being rapidly reters," or stupendous "fake," will be daily apital'st press throughout the country. may take the trouble of looking into a little more closely,

In the first place we are told that "durby the year 1900 the aggregate capitali-945,000,000, as against over \$2,500,00, et a conclusion; but among busy people retation of a fact and the consequent ression it leaves upon the memory is stated. If the form he wrong, the seattleng impression is false, and in least cases it may be lasting. Observe, then, that we have here a cunning subthat we have here a cunning sub on of the comparative for the DATIONS OF RECENT YEARS, TO CAPITALIZATION OF \$945,000,-Does this show a decline? Again, are that this last figure is in itself ciently considerable to dispose of the impression, plainly intended to be reyed by the "Journal of-Commerce," t there is in espitalistic circles a re tis safe to add that it would have still larger if the industrial cap ons of previous years had not so great as to now leave but little comparatively, for further progress the same direct on. Of course it were the same direct on. Of course it were title remark, that when all the innoties shall have been trustified there Neither Munchausen nor ever Now the fact is that in manufac alone the trustification is close that the products of the remaining

the second place we are presented a list of small corporations, formed 1000 in a few of the industrial fields by iron and steel) already occupied the reful truts. And this fact is d to us as a revival of com-

yet attract the trustifier.

establishments are for th part of a sort and of a value that

petition; nay, as conclusive evidence that "except in special instances the threat of industrial monopoly it being rapidly removed." We have taken the trouble of adding together the capitals of those so-called competitors and found that they fost up the insignificant total of about sixty millions as against a great field of petition; nay, as confoot up the insignificant total of about sixty millions as against a grand total of sixteen hundred millions for the trusts in the corresponding, branches of industry. Observe, furthermore, that most of them have a capital of only one million or less, probably not fully paid; that if they are "independent" they must compete not only against the trusts, but against each other; and that unless they have some special advantage—a valuable patent, for instance, or a superior locapatent, for instance, or a superior loca-tion, in which case they will quickly be bought out by the trust-they are obviously bound to fail.

Lastly we are told that although the great trusts in kindred branches have each a way defined field of operation, there are certain points of continct ar which their interests begin to clash; and a few exserests and faithfully reflecting their amples are given of the mutual encroachments. It consequently warred against tween some of them. But what of it? The Socialists foresaw long ago that such would inevitably be the case until the frustification process had reached its ultimate end. Of course, we never imagined for a moment that this ultimate and could be as the "lournal of comend could be—as the "Journal of com-merce" effects to believe—the restoration of competition. On the contrary we pre-dicted with the utmost confidence that the inevitable result of war between trusts would be a more extensive trustification. It falls indeed under the sense that the dozen great financial interests, for instance, that have apprortioned among themselves the different branches of the iron and steel industry, must some day amalgamate, and that it will be far easier to consolidate twelve such gigantic con-cerns into one national body, than it was to fuse several thousand distinct indus-trial establishments into twelve financial We went even further, and predicted with not less confidence that -- barring out the Social Revolution -- the barring out the Social Revolution—the day would of necessity come when the great capitalists jointly owning the various trusts would amalgamate them all financially into a "Trust of Trusts"—a King Trust—regardless of the wide technical differences between the industries or services brought under their sway, and respectively carried on by competent respectively carried on by competent stipendiaries. This is, in fact, the work upon which such mighty trustifiers as Pierpont Morgan and Rockefeller are already engaged. ready engaged.

In the meantime the "Journal of Cotamerce" is manufacturing knock-out drops to be retailed under its widely known trade mark and administered to the middle class by great and small capitalist organs in doses to suit the temperament of their respective localities. But the extent of its own belief in the revival and beneficence of competition is shown in the following extract from its editorial comments upon the message is snown in the following extract from its editorial comments upon the message of the Governor of New York: "The incorporation laws should be drawn with a view to facilitating rather than obstructing all useful consolidations of capital."

special instances the threat of intermonopoly is being rapidly reaction movement of England. We lately observed that in this respect Great Britain was far in the rear of the United States, but that under the pressure of Marerican inroads she was awakening to the necessity of coheentrating her own means in order to successfully oppose the enormous masses of capital which the American trusts can now use as trip hammers to flatten out their foreign rivals. Her present financial situation, however, is not favograble to the progress. 545.000,000, as against over \$2,500,00.

500 in 1890; and this is impudently represented as a "decline." To be sure it scale and with the speed obviously requires no great amount of reflection at the speed obviously required. No doubt the purely industrial and commercial continuous of British can be and commercial continuous of British can be applied to the purely industrial and commercial continuous of British can be applied to the purely industrial and commercial continuous of British can be applied to the progression of this sort on the purely industrial and commercial continuous of British can be applied to the progression of th need of prompt and italism realizes the vigorous action; but it can do nothing of importance without the aid of that other portion which consists of "invest-ors"; and it looks as if these patriots had more confidence in American stocks than in their own industries. The largest consolidations so far reported have taken place in the textile and iron branches; but none of them can compare in size with the American trusts. The prospect stire form, which would be as folstire form the following beautiful to the fol long duration. The result must seen be a lack of work in foreign lands, a decrease of purchasing power on foreign markets, a consequent decrease of our exports, and a word-wide crisis. We LUCIEN SANIAL

> The "Coming Nation" rises up to heave a brick at the retreating figure of Eu-gene V. Debs. Not that the "Coming Nation" has a right to throw bricks at Debs because he is a "traitor." It hap-pens, even, that it flid not support him for President. It threw its mouth in favor of Bryan, but that does not prefavor of Bryan, but that developed the vent it from being most horribly "socialist'c," and of "repudating" Dells, his acts, and his wiles. Now since the "Coming Nation" was the efficial organ of the Nation" was the official organ of the Ruskin free-love association, it has had most serious trouble. Not the least of them has been to find a market for itself. The Socialist Labor Party long ago threw it aside as vile and worthless, and the S. D. P. had not the money to buy it. The Beyanites have no use for it, and it is seeking shelter. Its attack on Debs shows that it has no hope from his in the stays five took pity on the fellow. Debs shows that it has no hope from his party, so it gets down and tries to crawl into the ranks of the Kangaroos. It is in worthy company, and will no doubt be able, some time, to return to its old Ruskin ways, and the little sins that gave it life.

## THE FRATERNALIST

CURRAN WOULD NOT ATTACK WRONG DOERS-FAKIRS MAY BE INNO-CENT. OF INTENT.

Believes the English Methods Productive of Good - Would Not Fight Individuals But the System-Scenes and Incidents of the Meeting.

On Friday evening January 4. DAILY PEOPLE reporter interviewed Peter Curran, the English fraternal dele-A. F of L. convention, at Arlington Hall where Curran was to speak.
Mr. Curran was discovered surrounded.

by a half dozen sorry looking Kangs. He is a bullet-tended gentlemen with the shifty deceitful eye of the typical labor fakir and possesses the physique of the bon vivant. The first question fired at Mr. Curran was:

"Do you believe it is possible tobuild a political movement in England on the present form of trades union organization existing there?"

"Yes. We are doing it now." have elected two members to Parliament at the last election."

"Is it not fact that these fellows (and Burns and Hardie) are not Socialists and that they were not elected by trades unionists?"

Mr. Curran thought that they were Socialists and that the unions helped to elect them.

"What do you think of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance?" was next asked. ... "I do not believe in it. I do not believe

in attacking men and calling them labor fakirs and political scabs as you S. L. P. men do."
"Do you believe in attacking scoun-

drels who plant the working class it front of the guns and policemen's clubs?

that a labor leader who runs on a capitalist ticket blaces the capitalists in possession of the club of political power, so that he can stave in the heads of the workingmen?

Mr. Curran woke up then and admitted "Well, if you now admit this is so, why

don't you lash with whips of fire the traitors to the working class in the British House of Commons?" "I don't know of any traitors to the

working class in l'arliament," said Mr. about Burts. Pickards.

Holmes, Burns and the rest of that crowd; would you attack them?" "I would not attack John Burns be

cause he is a friend of mine, and I admire him very much. As to Pickard, I run against him in his constituency. As to Burt and the others, I could not attack them because they may be innocent men who do not know what they are

"In other words, if a fellow sells out to the capitalist class, has the workers slaughtered, stands, in fact, with his hands red with the blood of the working class, you refuse to attack him on the ridiculous plea that they don't know bet-ter? At they don't know any better why not expose their ignorance and kick them

Mr. Curran thought it was better to ducate than to fight them.
"Acting on that principle then you would not fight Mark Hanna if you thought he was acting innocently when he orders the miners shot? You would not fight the gang that builds Bull Pens said Curran with a smug smile.

"We believe in fighting the system, not the individual."

Mr. Curran was then informed by the DAILY PEOPLE reporter that such a cowardly and traitorous attitude might go in England but that in America we don't shield fakirs with abstract ideas of right and wrong.

That in the class struggle between

the works and their exploiters there can be no mercy shown to the betrayers of the proletariat.

reporter then asked Mr. Curran if the English trades unions would permit a capitalist to become cashier of the

Curran said af once, "No." "Well, then, what do you think of the United Mine Workers Union of Am-erica that has the dues of over 100,000 men stopped off in the offices of the coal

operators?

Mr. Curran instnatly replied that he "did not believe that any such thing occurred in America or any where else "Well," said the reporter, "here are

mense mine at Pointers' Kun. Allegheny.

vention of Organized Scabbery and amongst the workers off all degrees, and yet fails to learn this most striking fact of common knowledge to all, so he pro-ceeded to point that hie same system is in vogue amongst the shoe makers of | tended 2

VOLKSZEITUNG SQUEALS AGAIN.

The Sheriff in Charge in the Office For Costs.

If anyone has business with the Sheriff, he will have to call at the "Volks-zeitung" office, 184 William street. The Sheriff has been there in charge for the last couple of days, and will continue in charge for a couple of days more.

This is one of the direct results of the conduct of the Board of Directors of the Corporation in bringing a fraudulent action against Party members, so as to se cure possession of the Party's English Readers of the DAILY PEO-PLE have been made acquainted with the various stages of this performance; each resulted more disastrously than the previously one to the Corporation, until now the Sheriff is there, lodged.

This last event happened when the Corporation tried to dodge payment of about \$300 costs due on the appeal which it recently lost in the Court of Appeals. The matter was placed in the Sheriff's hands, and he is there now. The Corporation, then suddenly pretended that it days, -snatching at straws. The only resuit being that it will have to pay considerably more before the Sheriff will vacate the "Volkszeitung" office,-all of

which comes from trying Timbooctoo tricks outside of Timbooctoo. In view of this, the "Volkszeitung" issued yesterday a hurry call to a certain organization—"The Volkszeitung Conference"-which it uses for the purpose of squeezing moneys out of poor and uninformed German workingmen so as t have funds to pay its high-salaried collection of nincompoop "editors" and other officials. The "Conference" is to be frightened into givinng money to de fray the expenses of the blundering Board of Directors.

But this is not the only misfortune that has befallen that prostituted sheet of the Organized Scabbert last week, Readers of the DAIY PEOPLE know that some time ago several of the stockhold-ers of the Carporation applied to the Attorney General to revoke the charter of the Corporation. The grounds for the application were, besides the alleged bankrupt condition of the Corporation, the fact that the "Volkszeitung" belonged to Section New York, S. L. P., and that the Corporation was destroying the prop erty. As stated at the time, this was be preliminary and formal step necessary before the layal stockholders could pro ceed in regular form to demand that the concern be placed in the receiver's hands its affairs wound up and the property distributed. The Attorney General, as was to be expected, declined himself to put a quietus on the Corporation, but in his decision he points out that the lora sockholders can proceed before the courts and there obtain all that they can ask. This decision, accordingly, is tantamaunt to the starting of proceedings in the very courts before which the Cor poration dragged the Party, for the final dissolution of the Volkszeitung Corpora tion, a nest of the most poisonous tiles and intellectual noodles that have yet been gathered together to do the unsuspecting German workingmen and play a corrupt role in the American La-bor Movement.

Massachusetts. That where formerly man would be discharged for belonging to a union now he is discharged if he

All this was news to Mr. Curran, who will evidently go back to England as stupid as when he came.

The interview terminated at this point. Mr. Curran went on the platform.

Mr. Curran went on the platform.

Mr. Curran spoke for over an hour,
and during that time he strenuously endeavoured to say something. He failed to do anything but trot out the usua trite vaporings. He wandered from England to America; from New York to Chicago; and from St. Louis back to dear ole Lunnon. he forgot to tell the why or the wherefore of his itinerary, or what he saw or why he saw it. This also was probably a beautiful illustration of solidarity.

Mr. Curran commenced by saying that he represented two million workingmen, and the two mil lion workingmen were decorously ap-plauded. From that on the audience was like the sleeping beauty. They woke from their somnambulance only to leave the hall or to look dully around. The speaker droned on, his little, squeezed, fat voice making large incisions in the atmosphere.
The gist of his remarks was that con

ditions here were the same as in Eninion movement that would effect wonders. They also have a Socialist move ment that is going to effect wonders, and That it has not yet done so is not the of circumstances. When he was sent as fraternal delegate he told those who el ected him that he would go as a Social ist or not at all, and he went. There were in the hall, confronting him, men had fought with him the fight of Socialism twenty years ago.

When he commenced the audience was steadily filing out. When he finished most of the audience was gone. Ther the few who were left gave three rous ing cheers for international solidarity as represented by the 163 persons who assembled in the largest city in America. under the auspices of the Social Demo-eratic party, to greet a man who represeated two million men, and who came resented one million men. It was reall, a glorious event, but who would have thought it could have been so well at

# WORKERS' BETTERMENT.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, ORIGINATES THE per month. LATEST CAPITALIST BUNCO GAME.

Beantifying the Slave Pens-Cheapening Labor By the Introduction of Baths, Libraries and Dinners-Suggestion Boxes That Yields Thousands to the Capitalists and Nothing to the Laborers.

CLEVELAND, O., Jan. 6 .- Just at present the cutside world is being regaled with beautiful tales about the improved conditions of factory life in this city. To such an extent have our manufacturers here exploited this so-called betterment, that I deem it wise to make known to DAILY PEOPLE readers, just what this latest capitalistic philanthropic scheme

Last October the Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee of "prominent" business men to investigate and report on plans for the industrial benefit of the city, i. e., the manuftcturers. This committee, after examining reports and work in other cities, recommended that employers of labor should de vise plans for the betterment of the con ditions surrounding the work-a-day life of their employees.

In other words, in order to boom the business of the town the manufacturers were advised to exploit the sentiment of 'justice to the workers" by adopting certain methods, which, while costing nothing, would, they were told, pay handsomely. To such an extent has this scheme grown that we now have an In-dustrial Committee, the chairman of which acts as adviser on "social betterment" to those firms desiring its assistance.

We have thirty or forty factories and stores that are working this "improvement of workers' conditions" method of

For it is upon the advertising features of the scheme that its chief value depends. but more of this further on. These conthought of bettering their employees by increasing their wages. Nay, nay, the experiments at "co-operation" are for the purpose of increasing the profits, not for the purpose of allowing the workers to

share them, be it ever so little.

But to proceed. The social betterment of the workers plan proceeds upon the principle that all that is needed to be done is to make the conditions surround ing the daily work life of the employee more beautiful and comfortable.

The Cleveland Hardware Company is one of these "mutual interest" concerns They provide a lunch-room, kitchen, etc. and serve their 350 employees at "cost. While the prices are low and the food fairly good, the fact remains that ac cording to the Company's own acknow ledgement the affair does not cost them anything.
Another "feature" at this factory is

the library, but it has developed that it never cost the company a penny, having een established as a branch of the city library by the city. In this connection i is interesting to note a scheme that this concern worked very neatly. They wrote to prominent men and women all over the country asking them to donate to a private factory library one book each with signa ture of the donor on the fly-leaf. The got three hundred volumes through this

Everyone of the improvements adopted by the company redound first to the benefit of the company and may in some cases incidentally benefit the men. In the rolling-mill, for instance, prostrations frequently occurred. A change was made in the time-schedule. For shifts of 12 hours were substituted three of S hours each. The result was, to the men, better health and fewer prostrations; to the company, greater without added expense. By means of airshafts over the furnaces all prostra-

time-schedule again went into effect.

And yet in spite of all these heavenly onditions the men are not satisfied. Some philantropists are horrified to hear tha some of the men regard the restaurant as a money making scheme. And last there was a strike of the machincompany, when asked about ists. The it, said that the men were reluctant to go out, but had to obey the union's order At the Sherwin Williams Paint Com

pany factory they furnish the noon mea at cost, 6 to 8 cents is the average ex-penditure of the employes, the whole bill costs but 17 cents-wages are cor-responding lower here. Work in a paint mill is attended with great danger from lead-poisoning. At one time 20 per cent of the men were continually ill, and the average, time of service in that departtailed economic expense to the Company They solved the problem by providing clean clothes daily for the men by put ting in baths and making their use

compulsory.

The company was surprised at the benefit it derived from these measures Sickness and poisoning are a thing of the past.

Another scheme is worked in the factory of the Cleveland Window Glass Company. A discussion takes place once a week upon some topic of business in terest. Written questions are handed in advance to the employees. The answers enable the company to judge of the efficiency of its working force. They indicate also the possibility of educating men from the ranks to positions as fore-men and salesmen, thus obviating the One workingman

necessity of relying upon outside assistance. Here is one of the fairy tales they tell about this plan: Two years ago k young man was taken into the emploof the company at a salary of \$12 per month. Soon the company needed a salesman. Largely through information of the company needed a salesman. tion obtained in these discussions he was enabled in a short-time to fill the posiion of salesman at a salary of \$25 per week instead of \$12 a month.

Occasionally the employees found diffi-culty in knowing where to go for information upon topics proposed for diswith the boys. The company suggested attendance on night schools. Last year wenty boys attended them.

The Cleveland Twist Drill Company is another concern that has joined the ranks of the improvers. They have the dining-room, smoking-room and reading-room

One feature of special interest in the factory is the system of paying for suggestions tending to improvements in pro-One of the first suggestions was adopt-

ed. The drills made by the company are straightened before they are sent out. A drill is laid on a block of metal whose upper surface is smooth and nighty polished. By looking toward a strong light and rolling the drill back and forth, the inaccuracies, if any exist, are discovered. This work requires great accuracy and close application, and it is aard upon the eyes. Formerly the work was done in a large room which had a aumber of windows. An employe sugzested that the difficulties might be overcome by partitioning the room, painting everything green and having green shades. They tried his plan, found it worked, paid him \$50 and in return they found that with half the original root they increased the work of that department 15 per cent., and are thereby ing thousands of dollars additional profit. The company, finding that their "philanthropic" scheme had worked so well, looked around for other departments to experiment upon.

They found that the employees at work in the tempering room had to work in front of redhot furnaces ten hours a

The company introduced shower-baths. compelled the men to use them during the day to the extent of a total of thirty ninutes. The result was that the men di more and better work in 914 hours than had done before in ten hours.

But they still are employed ten hours-one-half hour at bathing for the benefit of the company, and they have not had an increase in wages. This company has looked out for the "betterment" of its workers to such an extent that the output of the company has been increased ie quarter without one cent increase in Wages. But in case anyone should loubt this I bring the best testimony that I know of to bear me out. On August 21 last the company, to forestall any contradiction of the rosy picture it sent out broadcast, had the pure and simplers in its service address the following to the company:

"We, the undersigned, in the employ of the Cleveland Twist Drill Company, grateful for the many comforts and conveniences so thoroughly and conveniently furnished by this firm, take this methed of expressing our thanks for them together with a sincere wish for the continued prosperity of the company."

Formerly in cases of accident sickness the men looked to the men looked to the for assistance, and it was company But the plan proved unsatis-it caused dissatisfaction. given. factory. The companies claimed that some of the men pretended illness and shirked their work. One company then proposed a Benefit Society. The idea ship of State through the troubled was, of course, promptly adopted, and such a society was organized. The company contributed \$100 to start the fund pany contributed \$100 to start the fund carnestness of innocent youth.

Asked if he knew of the Socialist Lagrangian and the said no. He was not accompany to the said no. employs no one who is unwilling to join

the society.

The benefits to the company are these it is relieved of all responsibility for sickness or disability; it is not accused of unfairness or injustice in distributing bedefits; and the men in accepting the from now on. selves pay, do not consider themselves objects of charity.

But aside from the cheapening in pro

duction, the value in advertising tha arises from the "betterment of the working life of their employees" is incalculable. The printed matter sent by these concerns lauding themselves is something

And aside from the fact that the "betterment of the worker" cheapens prices, the beautiful pictures which illustrate their literature are calculated to the sentimentalist, and induce him him to buy from such a fair source.

Here, for instance, you see two girls idly looking out of the factory window upon scenes that rival our fa sed Euclid avenue in beauty. Then, again, you will see them wandering care free in the factory flower-garden, gathering nose gays as they loiter.

Again, we have them in the "rest-

room," where, amid beautiful hangings, surrounded by tropical plants, we see them reclining at their case reading the latest Pictures of the dining rooms de pict a fairy seene which words cannot The smoking room for men shows a

in none of them do you see more than two or three persons enjoying the advantages.

#### "SOCIALISTS." COLUMBIA '

INTO THE GROUND. .

The Rev. Alphabet Bliss Organized the Club-Pure and Simple Trades Unionists as Lecturers - Coaching Students to Steer the Future Ship of State.

The Reverend W. P. D. A. Bliss has perpetrated another "Socialist" club. The roped in innocents this time are students in Columbia College. A DAILY PEOPLE reported visited

Columbia yesterday and interviewed the president of the Socialist (?) Club, Mr. Arthur Caldwell; he said: Yes, wa have organized a club for the purpose of studying Socialism. The Reverend Mr. Bliss started it. We are not a propagandistic body; our organization is purely informational in its character, We are going to have lectures from time to time. The lecturers will be union men belonging to the Cigarmakers'. Tailors', Bakers', and other trades unions. We expect that we can become posted on the question of Socialism by attending these lectures and the class on Socialism in this college.

Do you mean to say you have a class on Socialism in Columbia?

Oh, 'yes. We have a class every Tuesday and Thursday. Professor Clark in our teacher. Does Prof. Clark accept the material-

istic conception of history? I don't know. (In a manner that sug-

gested Mr. Caldwell did not know but that the M. C. of H. was something good to eat.)

Does he teach the Marxian theory of value?

I don't think so.

Does he recognize the class struggle.

Really, I cannot say; you see Professor Clark is non-committal. All he does is to take the writings of the communist and socialist leaders for the pest 100 years and lay them bufure us. He does not endorse their views, merely explains them. For instance, he rells us what the plans and schemes of the new

society are. Does he tell you of the plans of the

modern Socialist leaders? Oh, yes (confidently).

Mention one.

Well, he has not developed it yet. Is this class attended by members of

the faculty? No, and no student need join unless

he desires. The class is an elective one. What did Mr. Bliss say when he organized you?

He pointed out that one of the worse features of modern society lies in the fact that our leading men of to-day knows nothing of sociology. He also said that we would have a great crisis in modern society in about three decades. We young men will be the people who will handle affairs then, and consequently it is our duty to inform ourselves now

hor Party he said no. He was not acquainted with the DIALY PEOPLE either but promised to read it and thus increase his store of Socialist knowledge. The information was also tendered that the college paper—"The Spectator"—would have Socialist news and notices

The young men who attend professor Clark's Socialist (?) class are bright in-telligent youths, altruistically inclined, but in clarger of having all their lofty ideals run into the ground through the unscientific, unsound and untrue teachings of Messrs. Clark and P. D. Q.

chinery department of one of the estab-lishment when asked how he liked the improved conditions said: "These things make no difference to me. No matter what beautiful things may be seen from the windows, I must keep my eyes on the machine. Of what use is a bath to me here when my family at home have none? As for their lunch, there is but little variety in the bill of fare, and it often contains food I cannot eat. When you have but a half-hour for dinner, you will find you don't get much chance to sit in the smoking room, and play billiards or do anything else. From my observation all these things are but show places, they are fakes. Why, not one of these features cost the company one cent. You see that beautiful stretch of flower bed see that beautiful stretch of flower bed out there; well, the work was done by the men employed here. They did it in their own time. The company offered a The smoking room for men should the men employed here. The piano as one of its features. Another the men employed here, the men employed here, pieture shows a factory billard and card their own time. The company offered paltry prize, and the foregan of the paltry prize, and the foregan of the partment encouraged all his men to try for it."

Summing up. this workman said: "Say or three persons enjoying the advantages.

The dining rooms are empty, and the other pictures have just enough life to give them interest.

One workingman employed in the ma-

# JAURES' SPEECH.

ILast week the speech was published with which Guesde answered Jaures at the Lille debate. The speech of Guesde was complete in itself, both as to where experienced and, consequently, straightforward Socialism camps, and where inexperienced and, consequently, slippery Socialism is sliding down to. The speech by which the debate was opened, Jaures speech, stating the case for inexperienced and slippery Socialism, is now given below. If Guesde's speech is an inspiration, Jaures' speech must be a warning for us in America. The two make up an invaluable guide for all those who are laboring in the field of the Social Question with an homorable purpose, and with a proper sense of the seriousness of the situation that capitalism is at any time capable of creating.]

ary and of the capitalist who wishes to hold him down in subjection.

Here we have the first element in the Class Struggle. The condition of fact that forms its groundwork and determines it is the capitalist system of private property and note well, seeing that here the issue is the means to work and, consequently, the means to live, the question is an essential, a fundamental one to man; it affects private life, it affects every-day life. Consequently, and property-loaders and property-load in the capitalist who wishes to hold him down in subjection.

Here we have the first element in the Class Struggle. The condition of fact that forms its groundwork and determines it is the capitalist who wishes to hold him down in subjection.

Here we have the first element in the class Struggle. The condition of fact that forms it affects private life, and not one man; it affects private life, it affects every-day life. Consequently, and property-loaders and property-loaders is not a superficial one. It goes to the very roots of society,

CITIZENS-The greatest pleasure you could give us is, not to applaud us, but plause.)
to listen to us. It is a great honor to But, the Socialist party to institute debates like this. I believe I may say there is like this. I believe I may say there is to be such antagonism between interests no other party with sufficient faith in If the proletafiat, if the workingmen did the power of its own principles to thus institute a political debate among its

We have nothing to concest. We are the party of discipline in action. ready to subject our conduct to the order-ly decision of the organized Party. But we are at the same time the Party of freedom, always on the alert upon the best measures to emancipate the prole-

I propose to explain myself here with-

THE START OF THE DISSENSION.

Whence was born, when and how, the dissension between Guesde and myself? And when I say Guesde, it is well understood that the question is not some miserable personal quarrel. The dispute, the disagreement between us, is a good the disagreement between us, is a good deal mobler, and also a good deal more serious, seeing that the trouble is not one of those old and hateful rivalries one of those old and dateful rivalries what our common enemies speak of, but a disagreement on tactics and on methods, which it is our duty to submit to the Party, and which the Party will pass upon sovereignly. [Cheers.]
Well, then, when was this disagree-

has been said, it has been repeated. that the trouble began with the entrance of a Socialist into a bourgeois cabinet. Indeed, that event aggravated, it goaded the differences as to methods that al-ready existed. Upon this subject I shall touch later. But that event did not create the differences. The differences already existed; they had already mani-fested themselves with regard to the Dreyfus affair.

u will remember how, while sever-You will remember how, while several of my companions in that struggle, all of my companions in that struggle, together with myself, were engaged in that battle, resolved to carry the matter to the end, there appeared during the month of June, 1898, a manifesto of the National Council of our comrades of th Labor Party. That manifesto warned the workingmen, warned the proletariat, not to go too far in that strug-gle, to reserve their energies for the class struggle.

Later, when there appeared the re-

sounding manifesto on the morrow of Millerand's entrance into the Cabinet, the manifesto declared that it was the duty of the Socialists not only to halt before this particular event, but also to correct the false steps, which, according to the manifesto, began two years earlier. This was an additional condemna-tion of the tactics that several of us had pursued in the matter of the Dreyfus

And more recently, in the course of the apeech that he pronounced at Yautier Hall, on the occasion of the death of Liebknecht, coming back upon this omi-nous question, Guesde declared once more that we were wrong in entering into a combat, undertaken in an ill-advised manner,-that we had thus served iness of the bourgeoisie to repair the wrongs done by bourgeois eociety; and finally that, by this conflict, we had deserted the field of the class struggle. I am, accordingly, justified in saying. without fear of contradiction, that the differences as to methods among us did not start with the question of Millerand. that they started with the Dreyfus

CHAIRMAN DELORY-Come, citizens! You have been requested to make no interruptions. Listen. You will then be free to pass upon the method that you

from that moment .- (A

JAURES-I believe my words can hurt no one. I have accurately summarized the accusations directed against us by our opponents, and I have added: Seeing that on the occasion of that conflict that moved the whole of thinking human ity, and in which we thought it our duty to take a hand, not only to defend as outraged human being, but in the very interest of the proletariat: seeing that on the occasion of that confict it was said that we had abandoned the field of Sothat we had abandoned the held of so-cialism, the field of the class atruggle; seeing all that, I hold that the first ques-tion we must determine is this: What is the Class Struggle? What is the meaning of that principle, so frequently in voked, and so rarely defined?

### THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

To my mind, comrades, the idea of ne Class Struggle is made up of three

elements, of three ideas.

First of all, at the very root, there is aist system, the system of private prop erty in the means of production, divides mankind into two categories. It divides the interests into two vast gorups, nec essarily and violently opposed. On the one side, are found those who hold the instruments of production, and who are thereby able to dictate the law to the having, owning only their labor and unable to utilize that, ex cept through the instruments of pro-duction held by that very capitalist class, stand at the discretion of this capitalist

Bewteen these two classes, between these two groups of interests there is an incessant struggle, the struggle of the wage-earner, who wishes to raise his sal-

one. It goes to the very roots of society to the very roots of life. (Loud ap

But, citizens, it is not enough that there be a Struggle of Classes for there not conceive the possibility of a different social system; if, at the same time that they recognize the dependence in which they are held the precariousness of exsocial system and a juster; if they be-lieved, if they could believe in the eternal necessity of the capitalist system which by degrees imposed itself upon-them;-then would they renounce the attempt to redress a system of injustices. Such a task would not seem possible to them.

CHAIRMAN DELORY-No interrup ons, citizens! If there continue to be interruptions, I shall be compelled to call upon the ushers to make the interrupters leave the hall. (Applause and renewed interruptions.) Citizens! Don't you realize that it is worthier for you not to interrupt the two men who are to speak to you? If you interrupt, you will look as if you think Guesde is unable to answer Jaures; if you interrupt Guesde you will appear to believe the same of Jaures. I believe that the two men whom we have before us have enough talent to explain the two theories that confront us, without there being interruptions, which, as I stated before, can only disturb the discussion. (Ap-

JAURES Accordingly, in order that there be traly a Class Struggle, in order that the whole organized proletariat join battle with capitalism, it is not enough that there be antagonism of inearners; it is requisite that the wage earners expect by virtue of the very law of the evolution of history, the arrival order, in which property, of a new ing to be monopolistic, ceasing to be private and individual, shall become ac producers participate both in the direc-

It is. s coordingly, necessary that the facing one another, become of themselves, conscious of interests being, if may use the expression, two opposed social systems suggered in mutual struggle: one, modern society, inscribed in the title of bourgeois property; the other, the society of to-morrow, in-scribed in the brains of the proletariat.

This is the struggle of the two social systems in modern society that constitutes a necessary element in the Clas-

Finally, there is a third condition for the existence of the Class Struggle. I the proletariat could await its liberation the capitalist order into the collectivist or communist order as the award of a neutral authority, an arbitral authority raised above the interests in conflict, then it would not itself take into its own it would not itself take into hands the defence of its Cause.

This, you know, is the theory of the "Christian Socialists" -- some of whom recognise the existing duality, the an tagenism of interests,—but who say to the people: "Don't rise in rebellion; don't organize; there is a beneficent and celestial power, the power of the Church. that will cause fraternal justice to descend upon you without your knowing

Indeed, if the workers believed in that, they would abandon themselves to the guidance of that power on high, and VOICE: "Three cheers for Guesde." there would be no Class Struggle.
OTHER VOICES: "Silence! Silence!" Neither would there be any Class Struggle if the workingmen could ex-pect their liberation from the capitalist class itself, from the privileged class it-self yielding to an inspiration of justice. You know, citizens, that so long as

there lasted the period that Marx and Engels named "Utopian Socialism, the Socialists believed that the emancipation of the preletariat would be achieved

Robert Owen, the great English com munist, in order to realize social justice appealed to the powers of the Holy Al ance", in session at the time at Vienna Fourier, our great Fourier, expected every day the hour he had marked out, the arrival of the generous giver, who would carry to him the requisite capital to found the first community; and the expected that the mere example of this radiant community, propagating it-self from circuit to circuit and thus ex-tending the circles of organization and

harmony, would suffice to emancipate and render man happy.

And later, from another view-point, Louis Blaze imagined that it would be the capitalist class-provided only it could return to some of the inspirations of 1783-that would be able to emancipate the proletariat. Towards the close of his "History of Ten Years," he in vited the bourgeois class to constitute it-self the guardian of the proletariat.

So long as the proletariat was in the frame of mind to await such guardians -celestial guardians or bourgeois guard-ians; so long as it was in the frame of

. The Holy Alliance was a formed immediately after the downfall of Napoleon I., by the sovereigns of Rus-sia, Austria and Prussia. Almost all or Asposeon L. by the sovereigns of Rus-nia, Austria and Prussia. Almost all the other European monarchs joined soon after. The ostensible purpose of the league was the defense of Chris-tianity; its actual object was to prop up the thrones by resisting the latent infinences of the Eventh Bendalth other powers than its own, there was no Class Struggle.

day when, by the light of the experience made during the June days, the proleonly in its own forces, in its own or

Thus it is that the principle of the Class Struggle-a principle that pre-supposes society divided into two large ufflicting categories of property-holders and property-less; a principle, that, consequently supposes the proletarians as having become conscious of the oncoming social system and of collectivist exper ience-, thus it is that the principle of the Class Struggle was completed by the conviction, acquired by the proletariat, that it had to emancipate itself, and alone was capable of emancipating itself. (Prolonged applause; cheers.)

THE QUESTION OF TACTICS.

Thus, citizens, it is that the Class upon that point there can be no differtain that, after you have thus analyzed impossible for you to use it in such way the tactics to be pursued from day to day the method of every day.

Yes; the principle of the Class Strug-

gle compels you to cause the proletariat to feel its dependent position in modern society. Yes; it compels you to explain to them the new order of collectivist property. Yes; it compels you to organvourselves into Trade Unions, into political bodies, into co-operative labor organizations, in short, to multiply the

But it is not possible for you, by the mere idea of the Class Struggle, to decide whether the proletariat should take a hand in the electoral struggle, and under what conditions it must do so; whether ditions it should or could interest itself in the conflicts of the different capitalist fractions. It is not possible for you to Class Struggle alone, whether it is peralliances, or whether you are bound to repudiate all alliances entered into.

That principle, so general, gives you a

deduct from it the tactics to be observed you to know the general direction of the the motions of each tree, the tremor of

ach leaf in the woods.

Likewise, it would be vain for you to know a general's whole plan of campaign. It would be impossible for you, with the general knowledge of that pian of campaign, to determine in advance the fence, of advance or retreat, which would tical units that go to make up the army.

Consequently, in the name of the Class Struggle, we can agree among ourselves upon the general directions of the battle that is to be fought. But when the question shall be to determine in what n ure we shall engage in the Dreyfus affair. or in what measure Socialists may pene-trate into public office, then will it be impossible for you to decide the question if you limita yourselves to invocation of Class Struggle.

In every separate case, you will have to look into the distinct interests of the proletariat. Accordingly, the matter is question of tactics. And that's all we ay. (Prolonged applause.)

For that reason you may not introduce the principle of the Class Struggle by saying, as our adversaries frequently do, hat the Socialist Party must always be a party of opposition. I hold such a for is singularly equivocal, and singularly dangerous,

Yes; the Socialist Party is a party of sustained, profound opposition to the whole capitalist system. That is to say, that all our actions, all our thoughts, all rected towards the suppression, as rapid as possible, of capitalist iniquity. But from the circumstance that the Socialist Party is thus fundamentally, essentially a party of opposition to this whole social to make any difference whatever between the several capitalist parties and the several capitalist governments that suc-

ceed one another. .
Oh, yes! Modern society is divided into same time, this social system is threatened by the offensive reaction of all the forces of the past-by the offensive reaction of feudal barbarism and of the omnipotence of the Church. It is thus the duty of the Socialists, whenever re-publican liberty is in danger, when freedom of conscience is menaced, when the tates, together with the atrocious religious quarrels of centuries ago, threaten to be rekindled .- it is then the duty of the fraction of the bourgeoisie that does not want to remain behind. I am truly astonished at having to re-

call these elemental truths, that should be the patrimony and the rule of conduct of all Socialists. It is Marx himself, who wrote these words, admirable for their "We, revolutionary Socialists, we are with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and with the bourgoisie against the feudal lords and their parons." (Loud applause.)

A 'VOICE—That's not true.

CHAIRMAN DELORY—Citizens, it is

to be regretted that such an interruption that I have mentioned.

cemrade who addressed those unkind words to me. I limit myself to telling You will verify with your friends, we shall verify together the accuracy of the quotation that I made; and if correct, I shall demand of you only one thing in reparation, and that is that at one of our next meetings, you loy-ally attest the fact from this very platform. (Cheers.)

\*Allusion to the revolution of 1848. when, in June, the working class insurgents were slaughtered wholesale by the very capitalist class, who had claimed very capitalist class, who had claimed to make common cause with them, and who had used them as pawns to fight

for the Socialist proletariat—unless it is untrue to all its duties, all its traditions and all its interests-, to fail to dis-tinguish between these beargeois fractions that are most violently reactionary. and those that at least wish to sar. som restige or some element of freedem, so likewise is it impossible, particularly to the Socialists elected to office, to fail to distinguish between the several bour-

geois governments. revolutionary sense of the people itself distinguishes between the Cabinet of M: Meline and the Cabinet of Mr. Bo :: eois; it makes a distinction between the Cabinet of today and the jingo com binations that are nagging it. I need no further proof than the unanimous well of the Socialist group, that, a few day

A VOICE (satiracally)-For Chalon?\*
JAURES-Look out! You think you can emparrass me by flinging that word

CHAIRMAN DELORY-Citizens! A low me to address myself to an old com rade, a founder of the Parry, that is to say, one who has been in our ranks over be the first to have patience and to wai know the consequence of interruptions; Party. Let them be careful not to en starting these interruptions. (Applause.

JAURES-I say, coming to the end o what I had in mind: There are hours when it is to the interest of the proletar int to prevent a too violent intellectua class itself. That is why, on the occasion the several bourgeois fractions the strug gle that you know of. Accordingly, whe a small minority of the capitalist class

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR.

despite the combined forces of unbridled calumny, sought to raise the cry of justice and to cause truth to be heard. it was then the duty of the proletarit, no to remain neutral, but to go over to the side where truth was suffering, to the side where humanity was crying.
Guesde said in Vautier Hall: "Let

those who admire capitalist society busy themselves with redressing its wrongs let those," said he, "who admire the sur of capitalism, apply themselves to wipe out its spots." (Great and prolonged ap-

Very well, let him allow me to tell him: The day when a crime is commit ted against a man; the when that crime is comm by the hand of the capitalist class have prevented the crime, it would not then be the capitalist or bourgeois class alone that would be responsible. The proletariat itself would then share the responsibility for the act. the proletariat, that, by falling to arrest the arm of the butcher, ready to strik becomes the butcher's accomplice. It darkens the declining sun of capitalism, rising Socialist sun. We have not wantof Socialism.

What is singular in all this, what the whole Socialist Party of Europe should know, is that at the very start of this great drams, it was the revolutionary So cialists who encouraged me most, and who pressed me most to enter the strug-

You should know, comrades, h the question was raised before the So-cialist group in the last legislature. When that question rose for the firs

time, when we had to ask ourselves what position we should take, the Socialist group found itself about equally divided. On the one side, there stood those whose names you will allow me to men tion.-these were then called the erates." It was Millerand, it was Viv inni, it was Jourde, it was Lavay who then said: "Here is a ticklish question,

On the other side, there stood those who might then have been termed the revolutionary left wing of the Socialist Party. On that side were Guesde, Vail-lant and myself. We said; "No, that is

battle that must be fought."
Oh. I recall the admirable accents Guesde when Zola's letter appeared. Our moderate comrades of the Socialist group said: "But Zola is no Socialist; Zola, after, is but a bourgeois; is the Social-ist Party, to be placed in the tow of a

ourgeosi writer?"
And Guesde, rising as if he were suf focating at the sound of such language went and opened the window of the room in which the Socialist group was deliberating, saying: "The letter of Zola is the most revolutionary act of the cen-tury." (Applause.)

tury!" (Applause.)
And, subsequently, when, encouraged by his words as well as hy my own convictions: when I went to testify in the Zola trial; when, in the presence of the assembled colonels and generals, whose crimes began to be suspected, before they had been thoroughly explored. I began to testify, to depose, and I returned to the Chamber, Guesde spoke to me these words, which I shall remember as long as I live: "Jaures, I love you, because with you, the act always follows the thought." (Prolonged sensation.)

And, seeing that the cannibals of the General Staff continued whetting their fangs in the flesh of their victim. Guesde come, what shall the Socialists do with a humanity so debased and vile?" And he continued with bitter eloquence: "Is the human elements be rotten when it will be our turn to build our house?"

Now, then, why, after such words, why after these declarations, did the National Council of the Party, a few months later, in the month of July, seek to cause the proletariat to withdraw from that great battle?

myself more than once—the revolution-ists thought that we tarried too long in that struggle, that we spent there too much of our strength, and of the strength of the people.

\* Chalon is one of the places where workingmen on strike were treated to the rifle diet without remonstrance from the Cabinet of which Milerand is a mem-

Where will the revolutionary energy be found in man on the decisive day, if, after a battle like this is engaged against all the powers of calumny, aginst all the powers of oppression, we do not keep on until the end?

As for me; I wished to continue, I wished to persevere until the venomous beast was compelled to spew out its venou Yes. It was necessary to pursue all the all the traitors. It was necessary to pur-sue them at the point of Truth, as if at the point of the sword, until they should have been compelled to confess their crimes, the ignominy of their crimes, in face of the whole world. (Loud ap plause.)

And note well, the manifesto by which we were told to abandon this battle ap peared in July. It preceded by a few weeks the confession, which by persevering, we forced from Colonel Henry. Well, then, allow me to congratulate

myself for not having heard the bugle call to retreat that was sounded at our ears; for having placed the mark of the Socialist proletariat, the mark of the Revolution, upon the discovery of one ever committed against Humanity. (Ap-

It was not lost. While those crimes vere being uncovered, while you were learning to know all its shamefulness, all its calumniousness, all its machina tions, the prestige of Miltarism declined in the spirits of men. Keep in mind that Miltarism is dangerous only by reason of its being the armed guardian of Capital. It is dangerous also in that it seduces the people by a false image of grandeur by I know not what frauduent pretence of devotion and self-sacri-

When this idel, so gloriously painted, and so superb, was seen to demand for the service of its monstrous appetite that whole generations be sacrificed; when it was found out to be rotten; and that it contained only dishonor, treason, intrigues and calumnies .- then Militarism received its death blow, nor did the Social Revolution lose thereby, (Loud applause.) A VOICE-"Three cheers for Galli-

JAURES-Accordingly, I held that the proletariat fulfilled its duty doubly to-wards itself. It is because, in this battle, the proletariat fulfilled its duty to wards itself and towards humanity; it is because the proletariat carried its class action so high that, instead of taking the bourgeoisie for its guardian, as Louis crisis the guardian of capitalist liberty. which the capitalists were incapable defending; it is because the proletariat filled that decisive role in that great social drama that the direct participation of a Socialist in a capitalst cabinet was made possible.

#### THE MILLERAND QUESTION.

In whatever way you may judge the en trance of Millerand in the Waldeck Rousseau Cabinet; in whatever way you may judge the tactics thus inaugurated the results that flowed therefrom, you are all agreed, that at all events the entrance of a Socialist in a bour-geois, a capitalist cabinet, is a striking sign of the growth, of the power of the Socialist Party.

You will remember that that is what Citizen Lafargue himself said barely a year ago. Opposed from the start to the entrance of Millerand in the Cabinet, he nevertheless, declared that there was in that fact a conclusive symptom of the

growing force of our Party.

I remember that a few weeks ago, at the close of the International Congress when despite the stupid display of the Police by Prefect Lepine, the delegates of International Socialism were about to carry a wreath to the wall of the Federes.+ the German Socialist Singer,-hwho represents the extreme left wing of the German Movement, and who alone ahong his fellow delegates voted against the conciliatory Kautsky Resolution-said: "The entrance of a Socialist in a bourgeois cabinet cannot be approved blame the entrance of Millerand in not refrain from saying that, in view of the fact that thirty years ago bourgeoisle shot down the proletariat. the Socialist Party has grown so tre mendously that, in an hour of peril, in order to save elemental freedom, bourgeoisie finds itself compelled to ap-

peal to one from our ranks."

There cannot then be any doubt upon that point among us. Whatever judg-ment we may pass upon the formation of the affair, we would be found unanimous in proclaiming before all the bourgeois parties that the event attests the growing

force of our Party.

Is it, then, just; is it wise; is it in keeping with principle that a Socialist participate in a bourgeois government? Citizens! The hour has come, it seems to me, to discuss this question with calmness. Until now we have not discussed it but in the heat of tempests. As far as my experience goes-do not take me ill if I recall the fact.—when I think of the convention of December, a year ago,+ or more recent Congress, end of September,x I remember, true enough, to have heard arguments, but also constant cries

of "Gallifet," "Chalon," "Martinique." I suppose we have stopped discussing in that way. Remember, such procedure in a discussion by means of which it is thought to strike us, might wound your friends themselves. You have thrown the word "Gallifet" at our faces to imthe word "Gallifet" at our faces to imply that, by approving of Millerand's entrance in the Cabinet, we became so to speak, responsible for all the past acts of Gallifet.

Be careful, comrades, you who are making to me a silent sign of interruption, for which I thank you, because it warns me, without disturbing the order of the meeting,-be careful!
You, here in Lille, the workingmen

You, here in Lille, the workingmen of Li.e, two months after the entrance of Millerand in the Cabinet, you received him here, you feasted him here, you cheered him here. I reckon that whatever the collegue of Gallifet was at that time, you did not mean thereby to cheer Gallifet himself. Consequently, do not

· Gallifet was the leading military authority in the butchery of the Com-mune. He is a member of the Waldeck-Roussea Cabinet, in which Millerand is Minister of Commerce,

But let them allow me to tell them: shoot an arrow at us that must rebound

upon yourselves. (Cheers.)
And. now, I wish to say but a fev words touching the painful events of Martinique and of Chalon. But before painful events doing so, let me remind those of our comrades, who allow themselves to be carried away so far as to constitute thos events into a charge against us, that they

incur an act of grave confusion. When a cabinet is sustained in bour geois society, even a cabinet where a So cialist is a member, that does not imply that one has the childishness of expect ing of that Cabinet, or of any courgeoi cabinet, full justice and full deference to proletarian interests. We know full wel that capitalist society is the hot-bed of iniquity. We can get out of iniquity only by getting rid of capitalsm.

bourgeois society some enemies more hate-ful and more violent than others. In sustaining a cabinet, we do so, not be cause we love such a cabinet more, but bechuse we love the others and worse ones, that would replace it for sinister purposes, less.

Accordingly, it is a heinous injustice to reproach us with the faults, the error or the crimes of those whom we stand by only in order to prevent greater crimes As to Martinique, let me tell you that

hardly was the massacre of that place known in Europe, and while the first letters to our friends and first reports to the government were arriving, the Socialist group of the Antilles, assembled in Paris, called upon the Cabinet.

It asked these things of the Cabinet: it demanded the removal of the magis conduct towards the strikers: it demand ed the degradation, the strongest discip-linary punishment of Lieutenant Kahn,

he murderous officer.

A VOICE.—He ought to be shot!

JAURES.—And it demanded the mediate discharge from prison of all the proletarians who were sentenced for their participation in the strike.

officer has been punished; the judges have been removed; and the order has been issued by cable to discharge an the strikers who were sentenced. As to the strikes in France, I only say

this: 'The government adopted certain tactics by which, all that is said to the notwithstanding, in future, if they shall know how to insist upon them, the workingmen will be benefited: these tactics are to the effect that the municipal police shall not be superseded.
You know that the employers of Mar-

seilles, like Mr. Thierry, have complained to the Government that it did not take the police force away from the So Mayor of that city, our friend, Citizen Flaissieres

As to Chalon, it was the crime of the municipality that was the cause of the disturbance, and gave occasion to the murders that took place.

Despite all, because we know that the

workingmen will enjoy greater guaran-tees if the municipal officers, elected by themselves, living among them, shall have charge of the police force, it is our cue to persist in the demand that the Police shall be left in the hands of the municipalities.

And let me tell you: If, because we have stood by the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet against jingoism, against reaction, you should be right in accusing us know not what complicity in the crimes of Martinique and Chalon, what will you say of your friends themselves?

What! Here you find, assembled on this very platform-I demand leave to speak with full freedom-you find assembled on this very platform the Mayors of the Frenc'. For Party. Now, then, I ask you, if the policy of the Government may be justly characterized by Martinique and Chalon; if those crimes were the true and characteristic expression of the Government -what would you say of the municipal officers, who, having been elected, cepted as yours have done-and they were right-the invitation to break the bread of hospitality at the same banquet with these "murderous" Cabinet

What! The Mayor of Lille, Citizen Delory; the Mayor of Fourmies-of Fourmies, mind you, the assasinated town!--all these elected Mayors, all of them carrying in their person the responsibility of their city, go and sit down at the same table with Waldeck-Rousseau! And, when the Chamber is reconvened, when Parliament was again in session when there is an interpellation on the general policy, when the question is no Chalon and Martinique. longer Chalon and Martinique, but Sipidio, ignominiously expelled, but Morgari, dismissed:—when all this is up, such, nevertheless, is the power of things, such is the supreme interest of the proletariat not to deliver itself to the jings and clerical reaction, that all of you, elected ones, all, all, Zevaes, who is present, as well as Vailliant, all gave a vote of confidence to the Government

Be careful! If you say "Chalon" and "Martinique," it is not me alone whom you hit. (Loud applause and cheers.) We may then-raising ourselves above

these personal polemics and of these fratricidal quarrels—look into the ques tion of principle itself and by itself I make free to tell you, with, perhaps

the presumptious assurance that I shall not be belied by the years that are to come, I make free to tell you that every time when the Socialist Party of Europe since thirty years, has tried a new method of action; every time that it renounced its original abstention, styled mix with events,-always have there been uncompromising people who have blamed the Socialist Party in the lan-guage that some of you address to-day

· "French Labor Party" (Parti Ouv rier Français) is the official title of the organization of which Guesde is a member and which dissents from Jaures' pol-icy. "Socialist Party," "Labor Party," are vague terms frequently used to designate in a general way the French La-bor Party and all the Socialistic groups of France.

It was at Fourmies that, about

twelve years ago, a May Day parade of workingmen was shot into by the Army under revolting conditions, the sildiers having fired high, but the officers into the crowd. Many working people were killed. to the participation of a Socialie bourgeois government.

TACTICS

Oh, Citizens! During the last the oh, Citizens: During the last the years the Socialist Party has moved ward in the world. It has taken a in many events, in many institution in the world way for the control of the control of the control of the Socialist Party has been the Socialist Party. We discuss to day whether the Socialist Party may pe cipate, through one of its r a bourgeois Government. But we all agreed in saying that the Sotle Party must participate in Parlia

Do not, Comrades, run away with idea that it was always so. In history of the Socialist Party, there during these thirty years a time withose who advised the entrance of Socialists into Parliance of Socialists into Parliament were as violently, denounced as bitter we are to-day.

we are to-day.

Listen, I pray you, to what WH.

Liebknecht—the great Social Deservines death Socialist humanity
whose death Socialist humanity wept over-to what Comrade Liebts wrote in 1869. In 1869, at the f when, after two years of universal frage, the Parliament of the Confes tion of North Germany was c Liebknecht wrote a pamphle Socialists could and should do in

Not only did be object to their cupying themselves with reforms be the considered, that the parliaments ribune was useless, even for adden of pure propaganda. He said:

"Our speeches can have no direct le fluence upon legislation; we can be speeches, pronounced there, we can at throw into the masses truths that it is not possible to divulge in better fash

"Of what practical use are the speeches in Parliament? Of none To speak without a purpose, is the plantage of of imbeciles.

"Not one advantage.
"Now, see the disadvantages on the other hand: Sacrifice of principle; to basement of the political struggle, the basement of the political struggle, the same of the To impose upon the people with belief that the Bismarckian Parlie is calculated to solve the Sc

would be poltroonery and treason."
See how, in 1869, the very action, the treason of our present members decided. to Parliament, looked to the Social ocrats. I suppose you have rec in that, applied to a different so the condemnations that are made a us anent the entrance of a Socialist in bourgeois Cabinet.

A few years later, neverthele by the irresistible course of events, and only did Liebknecht remain a militant the Imperial Assembly, but he ent the Landtag of Saxony, whe loyalty to the royal and bourgeois

"I swear before God" (ironical clamations from several parts of

CHAIRMAN DELORY-Citisens, the itch to interrupt places the interrupt in a bad light. Jaures was only con-JAURES—Just see, Citizeas, to also extraordinary misunderstands prejudice lead to that we against one another. I had just we you that no one could enter the best without taking an oath of loyalty to the King of Saxony; I relate to you I

scribe to you the formula of the staken by Liebknecht in order to the Landtag of Saxony; and, beat Comrades, somewhat heated, who do not be the company of t hesitate to tax me with cleric

Keep in mind that it is Liebknecht 'I swear before God, of being unfatte ingly loyal to the Constitution; to see according to my conscience, by my proositions and my votes, the inseparation interests of the King and the Fatheries

So help me God."

There were, Comrades, at that i "purests," "uncompromising" men, was accused Liebknecht of having failed in wards the Social Democracy by taking an oath for the purpose of filling a single that the Landtag. Whereupon Lie knecht, the admirable revolutionist, swered well: "What of it? We we eternally the duper of the ruling if all they had to do was to throw our path the paper obstacle of the feet

And I, in turn, ask: When a crime ter's having accepted what I shall e the ministerial formality of seeming a darlty with his colleagues in the Co inet, is that formality more humiliati than was, for the revolutionary Sec-ists of Germany, the oath taken "befa

God" to remain loyal to the King?

I ask you whether we also should low ourselves to be arrested in our couply those obstacles of paper, before the bureau formalities, and whether we also heating, when our Cause needs it. throw one of our own into the forter of a hostile Government? ("No! No!

But that is not all. There is and and very delicate question. But I trespassing upon your time. Cithesa grieve to be so long. ("Go on! Go on! CHAIRMAN DELORY—You be have fifteen minutes more. Common we ask you to be patient. It is certified in a small length of that the question is smallelenty of that the question is sufficiently for us to sacrifice a few minutes of time. Comrade Jaures will now up as briefly as possible, so as to all Guesde time to answer. (Cheers.) JAURES—I said that as different

question confronted the German ists anent the participation in the tions to the Landtag of Prussis. There no universal suffrage here we find three classes of e

It is a veritable trap. The electoral tem is arranged in such a way that Socialist alone never could elect their own into the elective Assemble Prussia. They can do so only by a ing into alliances, compromises, as term it—compromises with the Louis parties.
In 1893, upon a report by B

Social Democrats of Germany made following declaration at the Colome "Whereas, it is contrary to

ciples, hitherto observed by the roto enter into compromises with the tile parties, because such conduct necessarily lead to demoralisation quarrels and to divisions in ear

the Cologne convention declares; is the duty of the Party members main to wholly abstain from partic-in the elections to the Landtag existing electoral system."
y were not long in perceiving bstaining from participation in

rgeoisie to be crushed by the roletariat the right of asso-ed organization were menaced. 1897, at Hamburg; in 1898, at Stutt-t, and in 1809 they began to allow the of Prussia to take a hand in ctions for the Prussian Landtag. that was not all. Finally, the Bebel, who, in 1893, had demanded Labor Party that it forbid all its for the Prussian Landtag,—that Bebel, understanding the mistake and been made, demanded in 1900, Mains convention, a contrary vote. this Mainz convention, seven years the prohibition, the German Sotalists to participate in the elections

yet, it was in the name of the Struggle, it was in the name of Poor tactics, that, in 1893, the German Schlists were forbidden from participat-in the elections for the Landtag. It was later seen that the Class Strug-

compelled the proletariat to defend its elemental liberties by coalesc-if necessary, with the liberal fraction the bourgeoisie. Where once "NO" been said, now "YES" was said; an order was issued. Will you acthem of having become traitors?

to you, without being new able the hour come when the unified er to one of its members to go and at himself in a bourgeois Government, as to control the mechanism of boursels society, so as to resist as much as smille the tendencies towards reaction, as to co-operate a much as possible the works of referm.

#### UNITY.

Citizens and friends: I have already abused your good-natured attention, and set I could not console myself for breaking off my presentation of the affair, for ng it incomplete, so as to yield the to Guesde, if I abstained from sayis that, after all, whatever the differay be, whatever may be the polemics, at, at a certain time, may break out man Socialists, they will come togeth-

We shall come together again no long to quarrel, no longer to dispute, but the purpose of jointly, like loyal com-rates, seeking the best way of serving the interests of the Party. Ah, the Party is told: "Remain isolated; stand of; do not mix in the governmental acrgeois state.

but I say to you that all the great resultions have been made in the world beause the new social order, before un-lader, had penetrated through all the

comis, and all the rootlets into the county and all the rootlets into the cound of the old order.

The other day somewhat in a satering way. Kautaky said to us:

"Do you imagine you will conquer the greening power of the State by concerning one Cabinet seat after another?

The a notion would be like if each another? h a notion would be like if, at the of the religious reformation, the testants had imagined they would conest the world by conquering one cardinal after another in the Sacred College."

I beg Kautsky's pardon. That which mustituted the force of heresies, of the clouce; that which, accordingly, consti-sted the force of the Protestant Reformaiss, was just the fact that it started by sing a portion of the power of the old barch itself; its force lay in the cir-matance that, during the XVI. Century. were was a time when the faithful we not certain whether their Cardinals, Bishops, or monks had remained with the Pops or had gone over to Luther.

The Church felt this so well; it undermod so thoroughly that the danger to be Order of the Jesuits, organized to der to penetrate everywhere, and of milf remaining impenetrable to all.

The Church saved itself for centuries shutting its doors to the influences new order. But that which the Church could, the burgeois democracy could, the burgeois democracy can It already allowed you to penetrate the municipalities.

Much is said about the responsibility tat a Socialist Minister assumes in a especia Cabinet. Do your elected muni-cial officers, perchance, assume no re-

Are they, perchance, no part of the resels State? The very universal tree through which they are chosen, Wes I inclined to triumph over the ld I not ring the changes upon at the fact that you thus accept pai power at the hands of a sys-universal suffrage from which the winiversal suffrage from which the ballet, bourgeois law, by excluding all the who are supported from public all traveling workingmen, excludes all traveling workingmen, excludes poorest of the proletariat! How all not I ring upon you the changes the fact that the Socialist Mayor, as tealist as he is, can be suspended by central power, and remain for a year ring upon you the changes of the that, for the very reason of his being apply, to administer a large num-of bourgeois laws! How could I wring upon you the changes that, if t condicts were to break out in the penalty of allowing it to be said m means pillage and murder apply to the public powers! at Marseilles. These very days.

at Marseilles. These very days, responsibilities did not weigh upon locialist Mayor! In assisting at ading of Krueger, and in protecting artish, residents against possible a from the mob, lie no longer was wishist Mayor of Marseilles, he was face of the world. It would be quite convenient to be Phillipine troubles.

a Socialist Mayor if one were not obliged to reckon at the same time with all the responsibilities. That is just the reason why the task is difficult: We are all together a part of the conquering proletariat, joined to a part of the bourgeois State.

That's why it is not enough to have a mere mechanism in order to make a So-cialist Mayoralty move. Men of brains are needed, men of prudence, of thought and reflexion; men like Flaissieres, men like Delory. (Great cheering. Cries of "Three Cheers for Delory") Yes; in the measure that the power of

Socialism grows, grows also its respon-

But of this responsibility, we have no fear, the Socialist Party has no fear. It has confidence in the working class, provided only that class be organized, be face of all the other anarchic and discordant parties, it constitute only one party one class. party, one class.

Indeed, there will be among us, for

a long time perhaps, differences as to methods and tactics. But there are such differences in Belgium, in Germany. That does not prevent them from being united, from loyally, cordially discussing,

And it is in that way that we wish to discuss. We wish to prepare, in the full light of to-day the great Socialist unity, the great Socialist fraternity; we wish to establish it by light, by rea-son, by organization. And the purpose of that is to start, first, with the work or reform, and through that, do the initial work of revolution. I am not a "moderate;" I am, with you, a revo-

#### CAPITALIZATION FOR 1900.

#### During the Year New Companies Capital ized at \$2,415,428,500 Were Formed

That merchants, capitalists and investors generally believe that the "good times" for them are here to stay is well shown by the rush to incorporate big companies that marked the year which came to an end on Monday. In the course of the year companies having a capitalization of \$2,415,423,500 were formed in the United States, and in December alone companies having a total capitalization of \$197,873,500 were formed. November was a busy month too, but the record for the year was established in March, when the launching of several enormous concerns sent the total for the month up to \$502,900, the total for the month up to \$502,900,000. In April the aggregate was \$325,-250,000. The records for the various months are as follows: January, \$203,-750,000; February, \$124,350,000; March, \$502,900,000; April, \$325,250,000; May, \$261,600,000; June, \$166,200,000; July, \$225,700,000. \$185,700,000; June, \$190,900,000; September, \$90,700,000; October, \$108,350,-000; November, \$148,850,000; December, \$197,873,500.

ter of granting charters to new commargin between it and the next State on the list. In New Jersey during the month there were companies incorporated having a total capital of over \$90,000,-000, and the total of those organized with a capital of \$1,000,000, or over, amounted to \$63,600,000.

Considering only those companies or-ganized with a capital of \$1,000,000, or over, the leading States of December rank as follows: New Jersey, \$63,600, 000; West Virginia, \$40,200,000; Colorado, \$20,850,000; New York, \$13,525,000; Maine, \$8,000,000.

The highest capitalized company incorporated in New Jersey in the last month of the year was the International Crude Rubber Company. Its capital is

New York in December granted a charter to only one company having a very large capital. This was the Na-tional Food Company with a capital of \$10,000,000. In Colorado mining companies took the lead.

### FLOOD OF PENSION CLAIMS.

#### Veterans of the Cuban War Emulate the the Subsidy Capitalists.

35,000 and 40,000 pension claims have been filed on account of services in the Cuban war and its sequel in the Phillippines. Almost all of them date back to the Cuban war, and the ratio of the num- laboratories, however, they do a great ber of claims to the number of men who smelt powder or saw actual service of any sort is obviously enormous. The Phillippine troubles, oddly enough, furnish a very limited pension contingent. The pension-attorneys and claim-agents are expecting to reap a rich harvest. The sampromising" view point, where shysters have their hired "runners" out in a f your friends plant themselves, the street at San Franscisco, watching shysters have their hired "runners" out in for soldiers discharged from hospital and about starting for home in the interior. The runner nuisance became so intolerable a while ago that the hospital authorities devised the plan of sending discharged patients to the railway station in covered wagons, to protect them from the importunities of the claim-

The next move of the shysters was t seek an entrance into the hospital itself. This the authorities were able to prevent as long as the indentity of these men or their hirelings could be discovered; but presently the authorities conceived a new trick, and it came to be noticed that there was an addition to the usual number of feminine visitors bringing flowers to the bedside of the sick and wounded soldiers. the ministering angels were emissaries from the pension bar, employed to from the pension bar, employed to convey to each soldier visited the address of a lawyer who would get a pension for him with the greatest dispatch and the

With such abundant resources egy to draw upon, it would not be sur-prising if the attorneys succeeded in raising the total of the pension list by a good many thousand on account of the

# SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM.

The Nineteenth Century, ushered in a mighty revolution which placed "Third Estate," or capitalist class, the "Third-Estate," or capitalist classed at the head of human affairs, closed upon scenes of barbarity unsurpassed upon scenes of mankind. Under the in the annals of mankind. Under the rule of that class science, industry and commerce, instead of bringing peace to the world, have vastly extended the area of war and intensified its horrors: And not only between the nations, but be-tween the classes of each national body, cruelty all previous human turmoils.

Yet the Nineteenth Century has its admirers; and they are not all among its beneficiaries. By some of its most injured victims its true character is in deed best comprehended. In the stupendons chaos resulting from violent shocks between the new elements and untamed forces suddenly set free by the breakee that process of world-creation-or world-formation-which is physically paralleled in the nebular regions of the universe. They see that the various capitalistic forms successively assumed by the industrial organism in the course of that process were essentially transient and even short-lived, but that they obeyed in their order of appearance a well-defined, inexorable law of development. And, dark as the last form may be at the close of the Nineteenth Century, they can see through it the rapidly growing body of Humanity, that will soon emerge in full glory from its hideous envelope.

To such as view the past century in of science, in particular, is a fit subject admiration, regardless of the ill-us to which it has been put. But right attention. How ignorant the scientific corps actually is of the social value of its own work; how narrow its conception of the social effects which that wor must have in the near future, is glaringly shown by the recent contribution of eminent scientists to the "fin de siecle" extravaganzas of our daily press Here comes, for instance, the famous Ramsay and gives in the New York "Sun" a history of chemistry. Read his conclusion: "It is obvious that that na tion which possesses the most competent chemists, theoretical and practical, is destined to succeed in the competition with other nations for commercial supremacy and all its concomitant advantages." What? Is "competition bemercial supremacy" and all that sort of "advantages," the end of chemistry? Go to, Ramsay; this thing of converting gold by the competitive process is not chemistry; it is the merest capitalistic alchemy.

. . .

History, then, will record this facta deplorable fact to be sure, but by no means indicative of the trend of the human mind-that at the end of the Nineteenth Century most of the learned were still belonging to that school of scientists to whom Lt. Simon, at the beonly false prophets, narrow-minded spe cialists, and that no science was worthy of the name that did not contemplate the welfare of the man-world in its integrality. Numbers of them, while professing to be Darwinians, are simply Malthusians. Nay, worse than that; whenever they venture into the domain of philosophy, or sociology, or even pure and simple economy, they pervert the doctrine of intellectual evolution into doctrine of brutal competition. And in this connection, note, furthermore, that their observation of economic phenomena has not kept pace with the economic development; that they still recognize competition as-the law of capiprogress, although capitalism, in order to progress, has rid itself of that so-called law, and substituted for it the law of concentration; a feat, by the way, which capitalism could not have performed but with the aid, or rather by the act, of science itself. Outside their laboratories they know not, therefore, what they do. They resemble the astronomer of the fable, who WASHINGTON, January 2 .- Between | Impregnated with the most antiquated fancy, they remain as far behind the age in their conception of society, present and future, as is the dealer in Egyptian onions who votes for Bryan. In They hulld better than they We accept with thanks their work. useful discoveries and reject with scorn their pernicious theories.

> Of course, there are creditable exceptions, and among these may be found the significant name of Alfred Russell Wallace. The friend of Darwin, who shares with him the glory of having established on the rock of science the fundamental law of natural evolution. was in duty bound to repudiate its false interpretation by men of ability in their respective fields of research, yet, owing chiefly to the influences of their environment, short-sighted in their views of the world. Wallace mey not be, in the full sense of the term, a "scientific Socialist," but, recognizing the "absolute failure of all political and administrative reform, religious teaching, char-ity, etc., under the most favorable conlitions which it is possible to conceivethat is, coincidently with a continuous increase of man's power over nature and an almost inconceivable development of labor-saving machinery"-he "perceives, with Marx. Liebknecht, William Morris and a number of other independent thinkers, that the source of the evil is far deeper than has generally been suspected" and actually "lies at the very foundations of our social system." Socialism, he says, "has been slower in taking hold of the public mind in England and America than on the European continent, but it is now firmly established and seems likely to increase steadily in both countries."

to permit of its theoretical solution, yet capitalist America at the head of the may remain practically insoluble for a commercial nations of the world. may remain practically insoluble for a long period. In social as in natural ev olution time and environment are facof the highest power, which are not always properly considered by mere theorists. But when it the course of time the environment has been so moditied as to threaten the existence of any organism that has not gradually adapted itself to the changing conditions, that organism must either disappear or un-dergo in very short order the whole tarksformation required for its survival. most cases, however, it is found that this transformation, though flot readily perceptible, has actualy taken place in all essentials. Likewise, the apparently rapid progress of the public sentiment and public understanding in revolutionary times is only a visible manifestation ular mind has imperceptibly and even unconsciously been undergoing for a greater or less number of antecedent years, in correspondence with the grad-ual changes in the economic and social conditions. In other words, the people are then ready for a revolution; and the kind and extent of the revolution which they are ready depends chiefly, if not exclusively, on the nature and magnitude of the transformation accomplished in the economic field. (Thus the French Revolution of 1789 was necessarily successful and far-reaching; but the French uprising of 1848 was necessarily a failure.)

Therefore, if we want to know (not exactly, of course, but approximately), how near we are to a revolution—and we mean here a true revolution, not a mere uprising-we must first consider the economic distances, respectively covthe social classes involved since the last social upheaval has taken place To a consideration of this sort we shall next give our attention; and we shall tion of America upon the Old World. ism must emerge long before the sun of Twentieth Century shall have reached its zenith.

At the birth of the Nineteenth Century, modern capitalism was in its in-fancy; but it was the fundamental principle of the new social order then emerg-ing from the ruins of feudalism, and it soon became apparent that the na-tion which would take the lead in capitalist development would also take the lead in political power. Solely because of her commercial superiority, consequent upon her advance in machinery, England held the undisputed right to reconstruct the map of Europe at the close of the Napoleonic wars, although her own ar-mies had played a very secondary role in the twenty-five years' military con-flict that followed the French Revolution. flict that followed the French Revolution.
Again, France, owing chiefly to her industrial development, recovered in the
early years of the reign of Napoleonthe-little, some of her former military
prestige and political influence, many
of the continental nations becoming inthe continental nations becoming in-ted to her financiers. At that time, ecd, the star of Eaugland was somewhat dimmed in the European sky, and although she was more powerful than ever as a naritime and colonial power, she had to lean upon France for successful defense against the aggress sions of the Cossack Empire. But the growth of German industry, which naturally induced among the Gera an people an irresistible desire for national not only France fell to third rink but Eagland found be self sorely pressed by German competition on many distant markets which she had until then considered as permanently subjected to the

domination of her merchants All of this while, however, a new na-tion, formed by rebellions subjects of Great Britain on the American continent was intent upon developing its own cap talism. Vainly did England, apprehen sive of the future, seek in many ways to check the growth of this upstart. By purchase and conquest the American public, comparifively small in popula-tion and territory, acquired a confinants empire from the Atlantic to the Pacine in the wastness of which millions of European emirrants, despotism and war, pitched their tents and carved out lordly estates for their own selves. Incsmuch as agriculture was of necessity and for a long time their chief pursuit, and secing that while their capacity of production in this line was beyond their own needs, their pascent manufacturing industries—despite the high tariff wall in the protecting shade of which they were rapidly expanding—were constantly (altinuous empire from the Atlantic to the apidly expanding-were constantly falting shore of the requirements of a population advancing in numbers and pre-perity, England, who needed both cheap cereals for her wage-slaves and new markets, for her capitalists, reconciled herself to the situation. She went ever so far as to invest billions in American ands and industries, besides getting American terrease of the most vulgar blood for her grandest but most dilapidated

It goes without saying that on both sides of the Atlantic capitalism followed its natural coarse from competition to concentration. But, for obvious reasons, the process through which this transformation is accomplished was more rapid and effective in America than in Europe. A part of that process—the only part actually noticeable in the earlier stage—is bankruptey. Then follows trustification. For all practical purposes, bankruptey has achieved its work in the United States, and trustification has been proceeding at a prodictions rate been proceeding at a prodicious rate since 1895. Of course we still-have fail-ures and shall continue to have a greater ures and shall continue to have a greater or less number of them until nothing remains of that middle class so prosperous in former days and now existing by mere sufferance in those petty branches of trade and industry which the trustiliers have not yet deemed worthy of attention. But in all the great lines of commerce and manufacture, trustification here is nearly complete. Not so in Europe; nor even in England. Not so in Europe: nor even in England, where this last mode of concentration is hardly more advanced than it was here twenty years ago, and where the methods of production, despite the progress of machinery during that period, are consequently also less effective than in this country. Having at last gained this advantage

over the capitalisms of Europe, the cap-italism of America was not slow to perceive and to improve it. Not c with such "territorial expansion" : necessary to safeguard its future "Likely?" No; unquestionably. We are aware that in sociology a problem may seem to be sufficiently well stated and the Nineteenth Century closes with "Resolved. That a copy of the press."

We have not yet the figures of our for-cign trade for the last month of 1900; but from calculations which the official record will not sensibly alter, it appears that the exports of American merchan-dise in the last year of the century reach-ed a total of \$1.440,000,000, and that the balance of trade in favor of this coun-try—the excess of exports over imports try—the excess of exports over imports—will exceed 3600,000,000. In that grand total figure all kinds of manufactures, and notably iron, steel and machinery. Our banks are georged with money and enormous amounts of American treasure are lying idle in European coffers. During the year a small portion of the During the year a small portion of the vast money surpus accumulated by our capitalists since 1897 was lent to the governments of England and Sweden. Russia and Switzerland are now looking to the same sources for the considerable loans which they require.

And what does all that mean to the working class? It means that the great international struggle for commercial su-premacy has just begun and that the batworking class? It means that the great international struggle for commercial supremacy has just begun and that the buttles of all sorts to which it must give rise are to be fought upon the backs of the workers with unprecedented cruelty Europe, who for the past three years, seemed theonscious of the danger threatened to her industries by the concentration of. American capitalism, is now awakening. She must, of necessity adopt the American method in order to fight away the invader. From England comes the news that she has resolutely entered the field of trustification. Germany, shaken to her iron foundations, will not tarry. France must follow. Look out for crises, the like of which we never saw, And onward with Revolutionary Socialism!"

## ABOUT THE CARNEGIE INDUSTRIES.

#### Facts Which Are Not Known to the Gen eral Public.

The Carnegie industrial system, which now embraces the mining and transportation of ore ty rail and water and the manufacturing of coke, is the growth of years and represents the enterprise of the man who-laid the foundation. In this respect it is unlike many contemp aneous organizations recently formed in steel trade, comprising numero small concerns originally competitive and created by many indiduals. The iron and steel manufacturing plants of the company now include nineteen blast furnaces (two building), three steel works with eight Bescarr converters and fifty-six open-hearth furnaces (twelve building), five colling plants with thirty-four mills, an armor-plate works, and a forge for the manufacture of locomotive and car axles. These are all Cyclops worthy of the Homeri: archetype. The works enumerated, with the improvements un der way and completed, will have an aggregate capacity of 3,430,000 tons of steel per ancum, equal to 32.56 per cent of the production of the United States 12,65 per cent of the output of the world. and nearly 71 per cent of the production of Great Britain, measured by the production for 1999.

In recent years extensive mines of rich iron ore have been added to the company's possessions in the Lake Superior region, and it now mines about 25 per cent of the output of the district, which amounted last year to more than 4,000,-(00) tons. From the docks at the lake shipping ports the ore is carried in vessels owned or chartered by the company to Conneaut harbor, Lake Erie, where it is transshipped by rail 153 miles to the furnaces via the Pittsburg, Bessemer

& Lake Erie Railroad. The magnitude of the steel-manufacturing operations of the present day may appreciated from the fact that during 1899 the receipts of raw material and shipments of finished product of the three largest Carnegie works aggregated 13,000,000 tons. In the mining, transportation and manufacturing operations the company provides employment for ly about \$50,000,000 to its operative and administrative forces. The business Europe.-The Engineering Magazine.

### NEW BRITIAN SOCIALISTS.

#### Their Attitude on Capitalist Attempts to Corrupt.

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., Jan. 2 .- New Britain Section. Socialist Labor Party. at its last meeting, discussed the ap-pointment by the Mayor, of Edward Lapthorn as a member of the charter revision committee. It is a principle of the Socialist Labor

Party that none of its members shall accept a public position of any kind at the hands of the capitalist class. They hold that candidates for every such position should be elected by the

Lapthor, it is said, is not a staunch

member of the party, and it was for that reason that the Mayor selected him. His object in doing so, is for the purpose of using the vote of Lapthorn o carry out the capitalist schemes in the revised charter, thus opening the way to corruption, and to make the Socialist Labor Party help bear the odium

matter, the following resolution was

Whereas, With the Socialist Labor Party, not so-called 'prominency' and taxpaving, but strict and unconditional loyalty to the interests of the working class are the qualities determining man's qualifications to serve the public:
"Whereas, It stands to reason that

a mayor representing parties which in their very nature are antagonistic to the Socialist Labor Party, cannot well be an impartial judge as to who would be the best socialist from the Socialist Labor Party standpoint, to serve on cer-

tain committees,
"Be it therefore:
"Resolved, That hereafter no member of the Socialist Labor Party shall acso-called 'prominent citizens' and taxpayers' committees, unless said member is the choice of the Socialist Labor Par ty or of the socialist delegation in the

council.
"Resolved, That a copy of the above

# Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance

versus the

# "Pure and Simple" Trade Union.

A Debate held at New Haven, Conn., November 25, 1900, between

### DANIEL DE LEON.

representing the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party, and

## JOB HARRIMAN,

representing the "Pure and Simple" Trade Union and the Social Democratic Party.

Stenographically reported by Benjamin F. Keinard.

Press of the work incident to the closing weeks of 1900 prevented our getting this valuable pamphlet out sooner. The slight delay, however, has enabled us to place more than ordinary care on the mechanical details. As a result it will be one of the most tasty books yet issued. It is set in leaded minion on brevier slugs, with the quotations in leaded non-

Sixty-four Pages, Including a Descriptive List of Socialist Books arranged in the order in which they should be read. . . .

The fact that the debate was stenographically reported by Benjamin F. Keinard is a guarantee of accuracy.

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# ERIN'S HOPE.

THE END AND THE MEANS.

Br JA MES CONNOLLY, Editor of "The Workers' Republic," the Osciel Organ of the Irish Socialist Republican Party.

"Erin's Hope: The End and the Means," is an excellent book for agitation among Irish and Irish-American Workingmen. The author traces the natural development of Ireland from the days when the land was common property down through the stormy period of the English conquest to the present. He shows that the struggles of the Irish with their English conperors was a struggle over the method of ownership of land, the Irish standing for common ownership, the English struggling or individual ership. The development of the Irish Middle Class is interes ingly told, and the fallacy of Home Rule as a remedy for Ireland's wrongs is clearly demon strated. The book closes with a ringing appeal to the Irish Working Class of America to slap in the face the capitalists Grants, Gilroys and Crokers, and

#### join en masse the militant Socialist Labor Party. CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—Conditions for a Successful Revolution—Failure of Revolu-tion of 1848—Failure of Fenian Movement—Programs of Iriah Politics Have Always Been Broad and Loose to Catch the Masses—Program of Revolutionary Movement Must Be Narrow and Intolerant.

CHAPTER II.—Up to the Conquest, Land in Ireland Was Common Pre-erty—In England Land Was Private Property; Hence the Struggle in tween the Two Nations—How the English Government Succeeded Aboilabing Common Property in Land in Ireland.

CHAPTER III.—Breaking of Kilkenny Confederation in 1649 Plamembers Irish Clans—Development of Irish Middle Class—Middle Class Willing to Accept Home Rule—Home Rule Would Not Benefit Working Class—Home Rule Would Simply Change Residence of Exploiters From London to Dublin—Reasons Why Ireland Caunot Become a Manufacturing Country.

CHAPTER IV.—Capitalist System of Producti.—Food and Clothing Are
Produced for Private Profit—Workingman Must Sell His Labor Power—
Results of Competition—Home Rule Will Not Remedy Evils of Capitalism—Irish Socialist Republic the Only Remedy—Organization of Industry Under Socialism.

CHAPTER V.—Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Irish Working Class of America to join the Socialist Labor Party. CHAPTER VI.-Why the Irish-American Workingman Should Join the So-cialist Cabor Party.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES. In 1888:..... 2,068 In 1892.....21,157 In 1896......86,564 



I cannot praise a fugilive and cloistered vir tue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. MILTON.

#### "TIGHT" AND "LOOSE" ORGAN. IZATION.

A Cincinnati, O., correspondent raise a certain objection that deserves special treatment, inasmuch as it offers an unusual opportunity by which to vindicate the wisdom that guides the councils of the Socialist Labor Party.

Our correspondent is of the correct opinion that "it cannot but be admitted that Socialism is taught only by the S. I. P.," nevertheless, he concludes that it 'can all be of no avail," because "so tightly organized and disciplined a party' could never expect to be "attractive to the mass of the voters." Our correspondent elaborates this point, and supplements it with the observation that "even the Socialist parties that are organized upon a broader structural principle, have shown themselves unable to rally a sufficiently large number of voters to their standard. No Socialist political party will achieve the Social Revoution. The disease has too much the lead of the physician. The Socialist Republic will come, must come; but if will note merge out of the dust of the battle of ballots, it will rise out of the smoke of battle delivered and won by the masses of the American people, who will have grown-tired of trying."

If this reasoning means anything, it

olution can be the product of organized paysical force-only; this alone will raise p., ysical force-only; this alone will raise the Socialist Republic; all political organizations, whether tightly or loosely constructed, are vain."

Granted, for the sake of argument. that the above premises are correct and the Socialist Republic can emerge from the battle field only, never from the gument, that such premises are correct, Cincinnati correspondent. In the very measure that one is certain that force must be the arbiter, a tightly constructed political organization becomes neces-

The principal purpose of a revolutioninstruction be imparted to them? And an organization that is loosely constructed? The instruction, that such an organziation will bestow, cannot choose but be as loose as the organization itself from which it proceeds; it will reflect the looseness of thought that distinguishes its parent. Those, who, according to our correspondent, are to lay upon the battle field the foundation of the Socialist social structure, must have been tutored in Socialist architecture. Our correspondent admits that such instruction proceeds to-day only from the Socialist Labor Party camp. His admission, coupled with his premises, constitutes additional testimony to the wisdom of the S. L. P.

Let the issue be what it may-peaceful

or violent-EDUCATION is the watch- the company's treasurer shall have disword of the day. To spread EDUCA. TION broadcast through the land there applications from those who fall behind must be an organization in charge of the work. Such organization must be fearless, merchess in its logic, intolerant as science, narrow as Truth alone can be. share of their Brother Capital; and, sec-It can be none of these if it compromises as much as a hair's breadth; in other words, it can not perform its work if it back the amount of their previous payis structurally loose.

Idle is the cry of numbers. Silly are all tears, or jeers, as the case may be, on the S. L. P. vote. The S. L. P. knows itself. All it needs is an organization sufficiently tight to keep out water. and devoted enough to enable it to carry on its work of EDUCATION, unflaggingly, relentlessly.

If a peaceful solution be still possible.

rays across the thick, black clouds that rolled upon it, is bound to be the rallying point for the masses.

If a peaceful solution shall have become impossible, then, gladly will the light-tower of the S. L. P. share in the general ruin, conscious that, while its peaceful aspirations suffered shipwreck with all its rivals, yet only the light it slone spread survives, powerful enough to organize Tumult into Intelligent Aćtion.

By all means the S. L. P!

#### GEN. COLVILLE'S UGLY FACT.

The passage in General Colville's charges against Lord Roberts and General Kitchener, in which he says that these officers expected, indeed, ordered him to sacrifice his force of 4,000, men so as to save a corps d'elite of 500 Yeomanry, has other and deeper significance than a revelation concerning the military condition in the Transvaal. The passage is pre-eminently of sociologic value. When General White was locked up

and starving in Ladysmith : when General Methuen, along with his subaltern heads of division, was being mowed down; when General Buller was being caught in Boer traps with the regularity of clockwork, and paying dearly for it with men and ordnance :- in those dark hours of "British Glory," just about a year ago, the news flashed from England that it took just such critical occasions to bring out "England's power, and the sources of that power." These sources were pointed out to be the "Yeomanry." As "Yeomanry' regiment after "Yeomanry" regiment was enlisted, and embarked to Africa, the British press, together with its echoes, the pluto cratic press of America, pointed with pride to the "spirit of heroism, latent in the British Yoemanry," and, "needing but to be roused in order to rush to the front' to retrieve all losses. With such a spirit alive in the ranks of the Yoemanry, "the old standby." "England was safe." And now comes General Colville and unwittingly punctures the whole bubble by betraying the fact that the much vaunted about "Yeomanry" is no "Yeomanry" at all, but a collection of city millionaire sons, who, the inference is plain, were made to feel safe on the score of their hides, and were to come off with military glory: the war was to be a fin-de-siecle sport for these capitalist cubs.

The old warning of Oliver Goldsmith is recalled by this fact. The source of English capitalist might has dried up. English, like all other capitalism, grow by devouring itself. Men have decayed while wealth increased. This could not but be so: the noise about the enlistments of the "Yoemanry" hid the fact. Now it is out.

General Colville's military countercharges contain that which make them the most valuable of social statistics or England yet published.

## THE VILEST OF PULLERS-IN.

The employees of the Coal Trust, known as the Pittsburg Coal Company, have been re-organized. We say "they hustings; granted, for the sake of ar- have been re-organized," which means, that a new organization, not started by then the conclusion must be just the re. themselves, but by their employers, and verse of that arrived at by our pushed through by the Labor Lieutenants of these employers, has been started.

In the pay envelopes of these em ployees a prospectus is given out in forming them that they, the employees have formed the "Pittsburg Coal Com pany Employees' Association." In the ary political organization must be to prospectus, which is neatly printed on EDUCATE. How are the masses to be lirst class pink paper, the employees ineducated upon Socialism unless sound form themselves that they propose to how can sound instruction proceed from portunities to become rich; that one of such opportunities is to become investors in the preferred stock of the company; that they can do so by installment payments of not less than \$1 a month per share; and that dividends earned by such stock shall be added to the monthly pay-

ments of the subscribers. After seeing to themselves, these pro spective employee dividend-drawers con siderately turn their attention to the protection of "their" company. The prospectus proceeds to provide several safeguards for the company, and thereby illustrates touchingly the fraternality of the relations that could, would, should and, in this case, do exist between Brother Labor and Brother Capital. These provisions are to the effect, first, that cretionary powers to accept or reject in monthly payments: he may give them permission, or he may not, and then their previous installments shall fall to the ondly, that subscribers who leave the employ of the company shall not receive ments unless the funds appropriated for such re-imbursements warrant it: the company, of course, provides for these funds and decides upon their sufficiency.

But, hold, there is still a feature, a characteristic one: the names of fifteen employees appear in fat type as the officers of this new organization. The the light-tower from which sions the fifteen are distributed into two sets; one there is none to his class. Such a thing Nothing can keep them back.

These are the leading features of the

Association.

light of Socialism has been shooting its set consists of five, the other of ten employees, who, respectively, constitute the "Board of Directors" and the "Advisory Board"-both, of course, appointed by the company.

Between the lines peeps and blinks one of the vilest jobs yet put up against the workers, and launched with the aid of the Labor Lieutenants of Capital.

It is evident that the coal baron can italists are getting tired of acting as collecting agents of dues, without pay, for the Labor Lieutenants, the Labor Fakirs. These capitalists now want to have some direct financial benefit. They are not satisfied with the dirty work their lieutenants perform by keeping the rank and file in tow of capitalism, in return for these collections of dues. The capitalists want more. As a result, we have "Pittsburg Coal Company Employees' Association" STARTED WITH THE PAY ENVELOPES.

The eight pages taken up by the pro spectus can be boiled into a few lines, a short manifesto to the employees, reading as follows:

"Henceforth your shall each contribute \$1 a month out of your wages to the company. Those who don't, shall get no work. Those who discontinue shall be treated likewise."

The "Pittsburg Coal Company's Employees' Association" should be promptly given a charter by Gomners' Organized Scabbery: the Association even deserves an honorary membership among the devices to pluck the worker with the Labor Fakir as the necessary amanuensis.

#### HOLDING UP THE NATION.

Every little while, and of late with in creasing frequency, reportorial broadsides are fired upon the public giving accounts of "hold-ups," These incidents are usually placed in the Far West, oc- greater things are to follow. In such ensionally a populous city like Chicago is the theatre of the high-handed act that tells the tale of organized ruffianism assailing the safety of society. These incidents certainly are serious; and yet they are not a circumstance to another category of "hold-ups," which, though they assail the whole Nation, are passed over in silence by the plutocratic press. One "hold-up" of this category has just been tearfully revealed in Congress. Speaking on urgent measures needed for the safety of the Nation, Representative Payne said:

"For the past three years we have had no appropriation or expenditure for armor plate to be put on our naval ves-sels, SIMBLY BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAKE ANY TERMS WITH THE PEOPLE WHO MANUFACTURE ARMOR."

To appreciate the depth of national degredation implied in his statement. one must put himself in the shoes of the social system of which "the people who manufacture armor" are a limb, and the existing government is the upholder.

Here we have a Nation, run upon the theory that any one country is the natural foe of all the others, thriving as the others decline, and declining as the others thrive; here, accordingly, we have a Nation whose safety demands that its borders bristle with guas, and that the floating parts of its territory-its naval equipment -- be proof against the guns of its "natural foes;" here we have such a Nation left with armor unrepaired: left exposed at the very time when foreign complications threaten-just because private concerns refuse to make terms Here we have a soverign Nation of over 75,000,000 held up by "the people who manufacture armor," and virtually told: "Stand and deliver!" and its government acquiescing in the indignity.

Hard were it to pick out of the many feature and pronounce that the most infamous. The feature in point is as good as any. The Capitalist Class stands there convicted simultaneously of treason and hypocrisy; its vaunted patriotism stands exposed, its bragged-about honor is a thing to traffic on.

A Nation's safety, a Nation's honor, can never be safe in the hands of any one class. A Nation's safety, a Nation's honor, can be safe only when in the keeping of its whole people. Nor can that day come until the Capitalist Class bas been dethroned, and the dome of the Socialist Republic has been reared.

### THEY ARE ONE.

George Steunenberg, brother of Bull-Pen Steunenberg, has been granted a lieutenant's commission by President Mc-Kinley, despite the fact that he thereby violates the solemn promise he made that all promotions should be due to seniority. Steunenberg is thus thrust shead of sergeants and second lieutenants, as he was only a corporal.

Gov. Steunenberg thus reaps the reward of the Bull-Pen outrage, when he, a Populist, stood and defended the action of the President in sending troops to imprison in the most barbarous fashion, the striking miners of Idaho. McKinley thus acknowledges the value of the service rendered by Steunenberg. Both men meet upon a common ground, where both can shake hands, and that ground is the resting place of the murdered members of the working class.

There is no law to McKinley, because

as his word of honor means nothing to A KANGAROO REVIVAL MEET him. He violated the law when he sent troops into Idaho. He violates his word of honor when he gives a commission as lieutenant to George Steunenberg. Yet in doing both these things he serves, in most effective fashion, the class for whose interests he works. That class is best served, not by obeying the law, but by using it. It it serves their pur pose, they break it. If it serves their purpose, they enforce it against others. But always, and under all circumstances, they regard the law as useful only when they can employ it to their own advantage.

It is evident from the recognition which George Steunenberg received that the Governor has now at his command unlimited power to obtain reward for his actions. He has demonstrated to the administration the oneness of his party and the Republican party, and he has also demonstrated the usefulness of his party in such events as the miners' strike.

The McKinleys and the Steunenberg are one in their intentions. They are one in their point of view relative to the working class. They are one in their treatment of the working class. They are one in their willingness to be faithful servants of capitalism.

No wonder both were made honorary members by the Organized Scabbery that runs the pure and simple system of unionism.

The rapidity with which railroad consolidation is going on augers well for the effectiveness of the anti-trust campaign which the Republican party has entered upon. In the union under one purse of all these lines we have the best indication of the line of work for the new century. It was worthy of the giant, but i is only the first fruits as more and union strength is gained, economy is effected, and greater utility results protest against this condition of affairs have only the consolation of knowing that it is going to increase, and that, until the Socialist Labor Party takes all industries for the use of the whole people, consolidation in the hands of a few men will continue to eliminate the thousands of little fellows

There is reason in everything, even in Social Democrat. When the great Social Democratic party found that it did not exist in a very hefty condition. it at once proceeded to change its name. and now it has several. Out in Chicago where it has moved in a circle with most astonishing velocity, it became the "Socialist" party. The causes for its receiving this baptismal name are interesting. When the marter was up for discussion, Walter Thomas Mills arose and an nonneed that his new book was nearly finished, and that the name "Socialist" party fitted in perfectly. If the delerates would not take the name for his Walter Thomas Mills', sake, at least the should be merciful, and take it for the sake of his book. There was loud cheering. The plea was unanswerable, and the great Social Democratic party, for the sake of the book, changed its name

New Zealand, the "workingman's paradise," does not seem to be wholly a desirable place to live in. The ranting reformer, with less knowledge in his pate than falls to the average 10- year-old. draws a vivil picture of the joys and pleasures that may be derived from residence in New Zenland, and he advocates a similar state of affairs here. From reports, published in New Zealand, and not iere, we learn that there is practically no demand at present for unskilled labor, and that the skilled trades are badly over-crowded. The result is friction between employers and employees such friction it is hardly usual workingman who is most abraded. Wages are also low: provisions are costly; chances for obtaining work are few and far between; life is primitive; strikes are numerous. Wherein does New Zealand differ from the average capitalist

The smashups in London financial-circles seem to be the prelude to a most melancholy song. It has been noticeable for some time that industrial conditions in England were "unsatisfactory." The smaller manufacturers were being crowded out, and some of the larger ones were finding the way beset with thorns. Only the extremely large and well or ganized firms did not complain. They had bulk and ballast enough to weather the storm, and also to do a little pri vateering while it lasted. In the fail ures of Saturday the first grand wreck of many occurred. It will be followed by others, and most of them will be more important. The United States is bound up in the matter, and here also we have had a very good first crop. The second will come before the year is really well under way.

### Political and Economic.

Four new papers have "come out" for the Social Democratic party. Seven of those which developed the coming-out habit a few months ago are now having their pages printed on golden presses with ink made from crimson sunsels. They have entered the fathomless to be. and as they were well provisioned for the journey it is improbable that they will return. If we adopt the well-known Social Democratic way of reckoning, we find that this is a net gain of ten papers; We say that hurriedly, because in the meantime some more of them may have died, and that will be a net gain of a few others. At this rate it will not be ion before every newspaper that falls a victim to taking last breaths will be an official organ of that party. Eurrah!

They were all meek and lowly followers of the Lamb. They were all Reverends, and they attempted to arrange themselves in the order of their importance: that is, each tried to be the head of the list, and to make his National Com mittee, for each had one of his own, the first and only one. That was the sole sign of coming together that they manifested, but it did not last long, and they seated themselves in a mystic circle, and waited for the appearance of the converts-three one-time ferocious athiests, who, in hairshirts, were now doing penance on the naked boards in the hall way.

There were, in the mystic circle of Rev. erends, the Rev. Thomas Jones of Iowa the Rev. Stitt Wilson of Chicago, the Rev. Geroge Herron of Chicago, the Rev. Job Harriman of New Haven, the Rev. Father Grady of Kentucky, the Rev. Phineas Whittemore of Massachusetts, the Rev. B. Fay Mills of St. Louis. the Rev. Charles Vail of Jersey City, the Rev. Fred Strickland of Chicago, the Rev. F. O. Macarthuey of Rockland, the Rev. George E. Biglow of Pennsylvania, the Rev. William Thurston Brown of Rochester, the Rev. Herbert N. Casson of Lydia Commander, the Rev. Charles Casson of Canada, the Rev. Walter Thomas Mills of Chicago, the Rev. Simonson of Maine, and the Semi-Rev. A. M. Simons, "editor," of Chicago. They were all there in the flesh, and

in as much of it as a cold and indifferent world would allow them to acquire. A holy and peaceful calm reigned every where, and not a sound was heard excepting now and then a deep felt yearn for the working class. A spirit of brooding peace did stunts on the massive brows of all, and an inexperienced person might have thought they were thinking. Not so. They were there with a mission, and the Rev. Herron, as he arose to outline the plans for his Apostolic League of Original Converters, had the general air of a man. As he advanced towards the footlights be inadvertently stubbed his toe on his ear, but, nothing discon-certed, he gently folded it back into place again, and radiated forth. He held up his hand, and called for silence. The consciences of all the gentlemen present con-Then suddenly the Rev George had a psychological moment, editice rang with applanse. "Bring on the converts," he cried, "Let them speak and lift up their voices and bear testimony to that which is what. them say unto each and every extant thrill that echoes through the iron vistas labored, and much fruit has been productive thereof. For mine and thine are each unto all, and have been since that first Socialist so pronounced it, and the forests heard it and waved their lefty branches afar off. No more shall it be No more shall the night a burden. know their groups, for, behold, and eke bedad, they have come to the fountain of eyerlasting purity, and all their stains shall henceforth be common property. For it is not yet written, though I intend to write it, and publish it in 12mo., price thirty cents, that as you render so shall the rendering find an acceptable market."

Then the three gentle convertites, who had been called to see the light, were let in, and they came in bearing palms and singing hallelujahs. One was a six-footer with a head like a Bermuda potato and an Egyptian onion jammed into one; he looked fresh from assorting union-candled eggs; the second had a rhomboida head with cock-sparrow eyes; he looked fresh from snap-shotting in piebald engthe third had a head like a sugar loaf, his back-head being sawed off; he was fresh naturally in everything but age and ideas. The first of these three was an exemp-

lary convert. His ruddy face was hidden in confusion and a most startling look of surprise. He was not accustomed to being converted, but he was determined to see it through. He stood before the and said "Between Caesar an. Jesus."

Johann was evidently the Caesar, and he Wilson rang out saying, Live hann will now give his testimony." The Brother, who answered

name of Johann instinctively put his hand into his pocket, but he recalled himself in time, and commenced to speak in a well-modulated voice that had its origin in the heel of his left shoe:

"Id iss goot to pe here yet. I feel that a great pudding is off my harr lift-ed. I am clad that I saw the lights, unt that I haf the loof in myself. Brais pe der name of Chob Hurrahmann. Vunse I vas a vickud mensch., but now, I gif danks, I am other vays, und I am not dose same beoples.

dose same beoples.
"I vos derpy a glass-gonscious Social-ist, und I tell vut ver dose maderialist gonceptseon von histories. But I am clad here to pe, und I gif more braises, und I say down mit all ministers! they iss all barasites!"

There was consternation in the faces of those present, but Johann stood smiling amiably at all, and nodding his head in approval of the speech he had just The third one of the converts, he of the sugar-loaf head, at this juncture rushed over and whispered in Johann's ear, and a look of disgust passed over the face of Johann. He again commen to speak, and he said in a half-hearted way: "Hurrah vor all glurgymench! They is petter to take vurk oud off the hants off ignorant vurkingmench. Hurrah! Hurrah!" Then he sat down, and his eyes filled with tears.

The converts had been carefully assort d. Johann was a gentile in every inch ed. Johann was a genuie in every inch of his six feet. The convert opposite him, he of the rhomboldal head, was Barney, whose tribe had not been lost. The convert of the sugar-losf head, bap-tized "Alexander," balanced the affair

by being half and half. Barney arose. There were magnificent specimens of gargoyles fringing his head, and dormer windows, and Gothic arches wandered up and down his rhomboldal cranium. His English was perfect Xid-

dish, and most of his utterances were pauses, with groans and sacred ejaculations in between. They had been taught to him by the Semi-Rev. Simons; and in his ten minutes he related his experience and told how sinful he was, and accidently allowed them to find out how sinful he should like to be:

"Ve yet alretty haf. O yet shinnerts to gum from that rebentunts stool vile merzy is for all. I vunst sait, There iss no S. D. P.' und now I suffert darvon. his N. P. Y. und now I suffer darkon. I lif mine hertz in clory to on high, vor I haf dose votter in me, and those efferlastinks vell-sprinks of merzy. Ve hail to you alreatty. I haf a great choy in my liffer dot I haf voun der vay to predections. I am deliffered. I am snutched von dose purnings. I am a prand mit great lof and rechoising. Braise dose ot help themself!"

He was an aspiring convert, and the Rev. Vail rushed forward and cried. "Pray, brother, pray. My strength is your strength, and I give it to you as it is taught. The time is ripe. Behold, Behold. arrived. I am called. I shall begin my lecture tour at once.' ommotion throughout the hall among the Reverends, and every man of them an swered as one, "And I shall also com-mence MY lecture tour." They stopped and looked at one another in contemp tuous surprise, and each told the other that it was rather small business to come into a party merely position as soul-saver among the breakers of the world was hard to find. Mr. Herron, who has just commenced to deliver his great series of lectures on the "Econemics of Heaven," could afford to be magnanimous, and he restored silence. and allowed Brother Alexander to

Brother-Alexander instinctively gath ered up his penitent's hair-shirt, and forward with a mincing and tripped most ladylike gait. He smiled blandly He was a universal plug, ready and anxious to be fitted into any situation. His great spirit throbbed to be used, and when he saw how he could best be used to his own advantage, he commenced in an humble way:

"Forgif me brutters. I hat been a zinners. I haf dranzcrezzed ze lauz, und I hav been remizz ven I zhuld be outtervize. My heart iss zore und zad zat I zhould not zee here to-night vut I haf longt vor mit exe, eding longink of ze spirit. Ya! Ya! Yayaya! I hat peen a zinner I haf not hat merzy. Ven I thought vy zhould it effer peen thus, zo iss id. Ya. Yayaya. O ve vill haf harmonicas. Ve vill dell dose vurld zat ve are uniided. Ve vill put vun union lapel on zat unity. und ve vill devy dem. brutters, I need your brayers."

When they had finished, or rather done

for, the song, one of the heverends had to offer, but when he finished he was willing to allow those present to offer something in the collection which was to be taken up. All the gentlemen in the mystic circle then seized their hats and started to pass them around. A dozen Reverends struggled to get at the place in which Brother Johann sat, and the conflict of material interests resulted in mourning carefully placed around the optics of several of the men. The Rev. Job Harriman soon wore a Hamburger trotted around with a correct imitation of a pork chop on his right nose. There were sundry bitter accusations, and some impertient person asserted that the meet ing was not very quiet. This however was proved to be untrue, because Fathe Gray jumped on the Rev. Herbert Cas son's wind, and left him speechless for over an hour. The Rev. Whittemore tightened the vocal cords of the Rev Strickland by placing his delicate finger around his neck and the Rev. Biglov to remove the esophagus of the Rev. Brown through his cervical verte Never were men closer togethe than during this time, and Brother Bar ney struggled heroically with Brothe Alexander to keep him from hiding in the ice-box and to get in himself.

'Brother Johann stood as one, or two at most, in a trance. Then he uttered a real live yell. Then he uttered anoth er, and jumped diverse feet into the air He at last reached the ground again, and reached out his hand. When he pulled it in again it contained the Rev. Charles Vail. The Rev. Charles gave birth to a piercing shrick. Johann was evidently the Caesar, and he held his grip in most outrageous fashion. He waved the Rev. Charles thrice in the air, and then he hung him on a neighboring spigot. He removed him, and tried to hang him on the ceiling. He would not stick, so Brother Johann used him to dust the furniture with, and all the time he uttered (for he was in a remin iscent mood), "Dake dose, und de vill make you rememper vot Bat Murphys dit to me on the night of July 10. Then he carelessly threw the Charles through the open door, and the Rev. Charles Vail did not come back to resent it.

The others were exhausted with their uniting, and Brother Johann took off the hair-shirt in which he was doing penance and started in to enliven things a bit The fact that he had been con-verted and lived, did not deter him from smiting the holy gentlemen who had entered Socialism as the shortest route to a living. He even assaulted them with a fist that looked like a prize Bermuda potato, and when he had finished there were several sanctimonious wrecks fleeing towards the door. He looked around with a grim smile and

"I hat peen done; but I hat nod left many of dose undone. I haf peen gon-verted; bud I haf been the veapon of Sampson. I am the only great und or-iginal chaw-pone." The curtain fell, and darkness settled

earth. A crowd of disconsolat men whose garments were not wholly present stood on the sidewalk and sighed. At last one of them spoke up and said:

"Verily, brethern, before we convert these men we must at least remove their ability to strike." His words were re-ceived with a heartfelt "amen."

The "Amen" had hardly died out when on the still midnight air, there floated from a jolly group of New Year celebrants the refain.
"O. Kangaroo, O. Kangaroo,
We didn't do a thing to you!"



### Uncle Sam and Brother Jonation

BROTHER JONATHAN CONT. meky, and acting rocky(.-Hie!

UNCLE SAM-Been drunk again? B. J. (straigntening up)--No; not bear ly. I don't call a man drunk when L has been merely celebrating.

U. S .- Is "celebrating" your later name for "drinking"?

B. J.-No; I mean celebrating. Te see, I have been celebrating the Kee Year, the New Century.

U. S .- No, I don't!

B. J.-Oh, yes, you do. I mean that I was feeling very happy to think that I was one of those privileged beings that lived to see the 20th Century after have ing helped to make the 19th Century the wonderful thing that is.

U. S .- I can't quite understand you. B. J.-Will you deny that the inves tions of the last century were wo ful?

U. S .- No!

B. J.-Were not marvels accomplished in engineering? U. S .- They were!

B. J.-Were not great discoveries and

of natural laws? U. S .- Yes, indeed!

B. J.-I need go no further, Isn't the ground enough to be proud to say pro were of that century?

U. S .- Do you imagine, do you hold to the belief, that "wonderful inventions" are just subjects for joy whether or they benefit the human race?

B. J.s eyes open.

U. S .- Dou you imagine, do you hold to the belief, that "wonderful invention are good things if the very men who make the inventions, and the very men who work at them get nothing free them, while idlers sponge up all the good there is in such wonden?

B. J.-No! But is that the carel

U. S .- There is a thing happening just now that may help you to answer you

question. B. J.-Which?

U. S .- Did you read about the gree

raticond deal or consolidation? B. J.—I should think I did! \$300.00. 000 and more on one side joins have with \$300,000,000 and more on the other. and the two will make the most por ful combination of that sort, extend

from the Atlantic across to Scattle, the Pacific. U. S .- Could that combination anything to combine on, were it not the wonderful inventions of the last contury, for the marvels accomplished a

engineering, for the great discover made of natural laws? -Course not. U. S.-Now, who are the beneficiaries B. J.-Who?

U. S.—Yes. Are the inventors in pe-

B. J.-Can't say they are. U. S.-Are the workingmen, who operate this marvel and are slaughtered

the wholesale, in possession? B. J.-Guess not, they

getting poorer. U. S.—Accordingly, all these pro have accrued to a few idlers who

invent anything except ways to defr the workers. Is that a thing to ex rate?

B. J.—That does look funny. But we would you have us do? I thought a these inventions were good.

U. S.—And so they are!
B. J.—Oh! Then we may celebrate. U. S .- It don't follow. There is a only the potentiality of human happi to celebrate. All of the past, great as they may see small and incomplete. They cannot so ly be complete before that greatest all achievements, the establishment the Socialist Republic. Not until will inventions benefit the inventors. workers; no until then will they ! the human race. So long as that I done, these great achievements in

man race. B. J.—Scourges!
U. S.—Yes, scourges, What does war in the Philippines, devastating to us and the Filipinos, mean? does the bloody war in the Trans mean? What means this three inter-con inental war, but that great inventions, not being utilize socialist system of society, are ing the natural result of their prey of private individuals?

natural sciences are scourges on the

B. J.-Hem! U. s.-Jonathan, you were prein your celebration, this time.

U. S .- By joining the army of the

U. S.—By joining the army of the terrified who, with the Arm and mer of the Socialist Labor Particular cracking every skull that keeps of to keep up this social system of the We can celebrate then, but set Now we must work, and keep set work well.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

name to their communications, Sesides will be recognized.]

To the DAILY PEOPLE—In the DAILY of December 22 Comrade Jas.

McConnell takes a position that is aboutely correct in relation to our appears aupport, officially, of some alleged fallst literature. I have had some excisce in rebutting the stand taken by persons along sentimental lines, I have suffered from the effect of a sentimental trances, and hence I have how hard it is to break away from the place a serious obstacle in the path of the propagandist goes without saying. In the absence of any knowledge of what y be considered sound reading, and, buting the unequivocal mark of endorsement by the S. L. P., we will continue to harrassed and embarrassed until bull is taken by the horns, metaphorally, by the S. L. P. and the question of the analysis of the serious point of view is considered. With a select list of mails from which to choose, bearing the desirement of the S. L. P., we will be a position to repudiate any and all mensibility for the evolution of the fallstic abortions now inflicting desired the considering unclass Conscious workers.

A. O. WARRINGTON, Organizer Section San Joaquin County, I. P. Backton, Cal., Dec. 28. the DAILY PEOPLE-In the

& L. P. Spekton, Cal., Dec. 28.

To the DAILY PEOPLE—New Hampire Socialists (he means Social Democrati) pay no dues to Springfield, Chicaper any other N. E. B. Other Socialist (he means Social Democratic) paper are suppressing New Hampshire news.

GEO. HOWIE.

Manchester. N. H., Dec. 31.

To the DAILY PEOPLE—The Rev. Charles H. Vail, pastor of the First Universalist church. Summit avenue and Ity place, resigned as pastor at the morning service yesterday.

Mr. Vail informed the congregation that he had secured another position, but he did not tell them what it was, or

time and energies to advancing the cause of "Socialism."

Mr Vail has been pastor of the First Mr Vail has been pastor of the First Dairelsalist church for nearly seven. The congregation is a small one, and is composed mainly of middle class people, who are notoriously poor church supporters. Some time ago Mr. Vail found that it had become absolutely necessary to increase his income, his meagre warm to the sufficient to meet his wants. The Lord conveniently revealed to him a new field to exploit, and he at once responded to the "call" by writing certain books on "Economics" and "Socialism" (f) These books are remarkable chiefly for the lack of knowledge of the subject treated. He either ignores at a entirely ignorant of the basic principle of Socialism. The class struggle is he books is blurred and subordinated to the "Intellectual" and middle class "Socialism." In a recent interview he said:

"The unfavorable atmembers for any other treatments of the said."

The unfavorable atmosphere for art and literature, produced by competitive sciety, is the explanation of the growing sentiment of Socialism among the atelligent classes. Both art and literature demand a suitable social environment. The widening gulf between classes is fatal to these accomplishments. What is needed is more leisure and comfort for the masses and a higher public life, such as will furnish an atmosphere in which they can thrive. Socialism will furnish the suitable condition."

Tried by the touchstone of the class struggle his work is absolutely worthless in the prolectarian movement. Judged by the light of breakers into which the Socialism movement has, been thrown in The unfavorable atmosphere for ar

ist movement has, been thrown nee by just such "Socialism." by Guesde's great speech recently ted by you, the Rev. Vail's pro-is are positively pernicious.

books are, of course, extensively see books are, of course, extensively seed by the freak papers. He then ed his services as a lecturer "Socialism." but stipulated that lectures should be "given away a home." He evidently did not his churchly right hand to what his "Socialist" left hand was

The S. L. P. informed him that he aust be the possessor of a sound knowledge of Socialism before he could speak ander its auspices. Such "tyrrany" dis him, and also opened his eye

the fetility of trying to work that field.

Then he went to the atheistic "Genosmi," the "Volkszeitung" crowd, and was meired with open arms.

He made a tour of the East in behalf a the S. D. P. ticket, and was received a "tremenduous audiences everywhere."

Mrs. Vail's wife is also a minister.

The will conduct the services at the Universalist church until such time as a ist church until such time as a sor to her husband is selected.

Jersey City, N. J., Dec 31.

#### They Are Getting Tired of It.

To the DAHLY PEOPLE—I am not a surprised over the 60,000 representing Organized Scabbery of Philadelphia sing the Dobs Democracy, and remain over 1,000 votes. We have the tacle out here in Greenpoint like-

all-around fakirs in the branch of all-around fakirs in the branch of the backers and a big cry that the heaforse the "Volkszeitung" and a delegate to its conference. This passed, and a motion was made to the members five cents a month. Trade H. Weiss denounced the "Volkstang," with its charlatanism. Thereafthe "borers from within" showed in professonal tolerance by hisses and as of "rauss mit him," "Er spricht ach," "We ought to kick the Delegate out," etc., etc.

of all this the opinion of the bers was almost unanimous that the taseitung' will, for the future, have to other quarters for the high ten of its board of editorial cripton out of 500 members less than 20 that the duty of Kangaroos is to set that page.

est that paper.

Anothip is a dead duck.

PROLETABIAN.

PROLETABIAN.

PROLETABIAN.

been advertised through the Kangaroo "People," better known as "The Bogus" to orate in Pittsburg. Notwithstanding the fact that we hunted collectively and individually, our keenest scented comrades could not discover the faintest trail of the "fraternal" delegate to the late stereotyped pow-wow of the A. F. of L. We therefore came to the conclusion that if Mr. Curran did show up in Pittsburg, he was shown down into some subterranean chamber, safe from the basilisk gaze and "scorpion tongues" of S. L. P. savages, who have no more circumspection or good manners than to whack the arm and hammer on every fakir's head.

Six years ago John Burns of London

fakir's head.

Six years ago John Burns of London came to Pittsburg and ladled out to us "slathers" of nonsense in the form of utopian socialism, populism and pure and simple trades unionism. His visit to this city was heralded broadcast, the newspapers were full of the and a large to this city was beraided broadcast, the newspapers were full of it, and a large audience assembled in a large hall to go away as wise as they came. This was the time when the trades unions of this city had some life in them yet, but that time has departed. To-day the trades unions of Pittsburg have, through the machinations of labor fakirs, sunk to that level of despair that sees no hope, no awakening. The "United Labor League" could transform its name to that level of despair that sees no hope, no awakening. The "United Labor League" could transform its name to "United Undertakers League" without violating any trade-mark. Therefore, when a foreign star comes "shooting" tewards Pittsburg he is shunted towards some other firmament.

Having seen Curran's itinerary published in a stray copy of the Kangaroo "People," and a syllabus of his Chicago speech published in a morning daily paper, our barbarian appetites were whetted for "a feast of reason and a flow of soul," but we were shamefully dissappointed.

pointed.

Last September the local Kangaro's held a quiet little love feast in a secluded hall in Allegheny, before which one Jay Malaria Barnes, with F. M. Gessner as a bas-relief, was to agitate the atmosphere. A few of our comrades went down and transformed the peaceful scene into a Kangaroa Accident.

mosphere. A few of our comrades went down and transformed the peaceful scene into a Kangaroo Aceldama. Nothing daunted, the Kanga tried it again when they announced a meeting for Old City Hall prior to the election, with the Rev. Job as the graphophone. The scenes that transpired at this meeting eclipse the descriptive power of my pen. Job wasn't there; but Herdrick, Gessner and Malaria were there. The arm and hammer was there; the buzz-saw was there. It was funny. And Curran did not lecture in Pitfsburg on December 29th.

In contradistinction to this guilty cowardice, the agitation committee of Section Allegheny County has made arrangements for Comrade De Leon to address three mass meetings in Pittsburg and Allegheny, viz.; in Odd Fellows Hall, South Side, on Friday evening, February 8th; Carnegie Hall, Allegheny, Feb. 9th; and the Bijou Theatre, Sixth street, Pittsburg, on Feb. 10th, at 3 p. m. To each and all of these meetings the opponents to the straight-forward legitimate tactics of the S. L. P. are cordially invited. There's a chip on the shoulder for those who have been howling "Pope" and "Boss." Several freaks who have a different times in our meetings expressed themselves as suffering from a consuning desire to dance a double-shuffle on the sub-maxillary gland of comrade De Leon will have that desire gratified, metsphorically speaking, if they toe the scratch on any of the dates named. So, with the compliments of the season is an appropriate one for a rousing three times three cheers for the Social Revolution, and the Socialist Republic.

JOHN R. ROOT, Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 1.

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 1.

### The S. L. P. Pulse Beats High

To the DAILY PEOPLE.- While the old year was drawing to a close. The militant and aggressive Socialists of Hudson County gathered at the Clubrooms to welcome the XXth Century, reviewing the work of the past, and determined to carry on the war with greater vehemence throughout the coming

The Buzz Saw was given full swing.
The opening of the fearless fight of
the proletariat in 1901 was bailed with

cheers.

Sympathizers of the Party brought music, and the opening of the New Year was greeted with revolutionary tunes.

The flim-flam colored lights of capitalism did not draw with the S. L. P., but we laughed at the hollow mockery.

We had no capitalism papers to in-We had no capitalism papers to in-orse, such as the "Observer," the dupes'

dorse, such as the "Observer," the dupes' official organ.

Strong propaganda was outlined for 1901. Pledges of solidarity were re-1801. Pledges of solidarity were re-newed at parting, and cheers were given for the S. T. & L. A., not forgetting the Socealist Republic. FRANK CAMPBELL, Jersey City, N. J., Dec. 31.

### \* A Correction

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—Please to correct in our official organ, the DAILY PEOPLE, the amount contributed by Comrade N. Van Kerkvoorde, of Sloan, N. Y. It is one dollar instead of one hundred dollars, as published. It was my error.

121 Merrimac St., Haverhill, Mass., Dec. 31. It is one dollar instead of one hun-

### Sic Semper: Etc.

To the Daily People:

To the Daily People:

Among the several S. L. P. papers owned, not by the Party, but by individual members, that saw fit to side with the Kangaroos, was one printed in the Danish language called "Arbejderen" (The Worker), in Chicago. John Glambeck, its editor, gave as the reason for its bolting its poor financial condition. To save it from bankruptcy the Kangaroo shareholders living in Chicago decided to take the unmanly stand of handing it over to the enemy, and it forthwith started to work for Debs and his prospective one million votes. But its treachery did not help it any; it died shortly after.

Looking through some older numbers of said paper, I ran across the following editorial in the issue of June 16, 1898, which, in the light of the subsequent kangarooing and joining the Debs party by the writer and co-workers, should earn for them the title of "champion crow-eaters, It says:

"THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY BURIED.

### "THE SOCIAL BEMOCRACY BURIED.

"THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY BURIED.

"THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY BURIED.

"When the Debs Social Democracy was of the duty of Kangaroos is to that the duty of Kangaroos is to that paper.

"The social personal Democracy was organized, we took a decided stand against it, and regarded it as a sheer humbug, especially the colonization scheme. We held forth that if Debs and his followers really were Socialists, and were in carried, then their place was in the already organized and at the international lallor congresses recognized Socialist Lalor Party. We held forth that a congregation of all conceivable kinds of "reformers," with widely different international lallor congresses recognized Socialist Lalor Party. We held forth that a congregation of all conceivable kinds of "reformers," with widely different international lallor congresses and understandings, never could agree and solve the great problem: the emancipation of the working class. In plaines of der gonwention der socilistischer Liedertafel woult sometings sing-

"Our ndvice to the workers, to keep their fingers away from the new humbug, was, however, received with ill-will. It was said that the Debs party was the only right thing; the party-that was characteristically American. Our party, the Socialist Labor Party, was mentioned with scorn and denounced as foreign Socialism.

"All rates skates and dissatisfied elements who would not submit to the discipline of our party flocked over to Debs,
together with anarchists, Single Taxers,
and others. The party grew with a violent speed; branches were formed in almost every state and city; and America
was on the way of turning Socialistic in
a jiffy, while our party, with its slow but
sure growth was threatened with being
eclipsed by the new party.

"We did not, however, lose our heads,
but let the new Socialists make their
moise. We knew that it would soon
come to a sad end; for Socialists ape not
made by the wholesale, and they do not
follow self-chosen leaders.

"And now comes the first breakars in
the machinery. Last week the party's
first convention, of which so much was
expected, was held in Chicago. At the
convention uproarious scenes took place;

expected, was held in Chicago. At the convention uproparious scenes took place; some of the leaders were openly accused of fraud. Debs had had his eyes opened to the idiocy of the colonization scheme, while others insisted on following it up. Then the party split. Debs, followed by one-half of the delegates, bolted; and now they have organized a new party—the 'Social Democratic Party of America.'

"Now we will see what this new party will do, and how long it will last. In the meanwhile, all class-conscious workegs will understand that their place is in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and not in side shows."

The above is just a fair sample of what the "Arbejderen" had to say about the

The Boove is just a rair sample or what the "Arbejderen" had to say about the Debs movement up to the very day it jumped into that movement. When it talked that language it lived; when it turned traitor, it died.

B. EIDE.

Red Wing, Minn., Jan. 1, 1900.

To the Daily People:
Your Letter Box answer to "J. Y. Y.,
Lowell, Mass.," in the Daily of the 23d
leads me to suggest that all questions
pertaining to our class struggle be published and scientifically answered, with a
view of publishing same in book form.
When the N. E. C. can undertake the
expense I will place a week tests. expense. I will pledge myself to take \$2 worth of the publication.

E. M. DAWES.

Montrose, Col., Dec. 31, 1900.

### As to the Springfield Proposition.

To the Daily People:

The other day a letter from Comrade Noonan of Springfield, Mass., appeared in the DAILY PEOPLE suggesting the idea of taking the territory within a hundred-mile radius of Springfield as a basis for raising the necessary means to keep a permanent organizer in the field for said territory. This thought struck me at first as splendid to carry into effect the suggestion of our N. E. C. in its last circular concerning the necessity for nerthe suggestion of our N. E. C. in its last circular concerning the necessity for permanent organizers. But the more I thought it over the less I liked Comrade Noonan's circuit. The fact that the decaying Kang corpse stinks there to heaven cannot make us gravitate around the Kangaroo capital, nor does the fact that Section Springfield has done excellent work in last year's campaign make it fit to be the centre of an unnatural

that Section Springfield has done excellent work in last year's campaign make it fit to be the centre of an unnatural circle: for unnatural it is.

While acknowledging its geometrical beauty I see too many geographical and practical defects. It excludes Boston and Providence, and takes in a mountainous part of New York State, it leaves Stamford out in the cold and forces the occan to surrender part of its territory in order to complete the Springfield-circle, etc.

Furthermore, while speaking of an organization for the above-mentioned purpose, the question sticks in my mind. Why can't we avail ourselves of the existing State Committees? Have they proved themselves to be ineffective? I most sincerely believe that all comrades in the New England, States are fully satisfied with their respective State committees. As the pecuniary means of the State Committees are limited and utterly inadequate to the task confronting us, they, perhaps, did not show the usual energy in dealing with this question of permanent organizers. But the fault lies with the Sections. If the Sections of permanent organizers. But the fault lies with the Sections. If the Sections furnish the necessary cold cash, our State Committees will show unusual ac-

Right here let me make a suggestion to you, comrades of New England, and that is to take the same course as Section Hartford took in this matter. The Section 2012 in the Section 2012 in

willing and able to pay \$5 every month towards having a permanent organizer, no matter how large his territory may be as long as Hartford county was included. If every section in the New England States acs likewise, the State Committees will be able to make airangements to that extent and we can have one or more of our tried comrades go around as permanent organizers and promote our cause through the New England States. And this can be done in the shortest possible time.

We have been put to a severe test and a heavy strain in this last campaign. We stood it. Are you going to lie down now idle, comrades? Can you afford to leave the Arm and Hammer in its threatened position without using it? If you do, your arm will get lame instead of strong and stronger every day. Therefore I call on you: Let the hammer come down with redoubled force, and permanent organizers mean permanent hammerblows against this rotten capitalist system of production and distribution. Be up and doing! This is the time to make history, the history of the revolutionary movement of the American proletariat.

M. L.

Hartford, Ct., Jan. 3.

Kargaroo Convention in Mosquito Land; or Prelude. Interlude and Epilogue to the Nom Insticn of the Rev. Vail.

To the Daily People:

The Kangaroos assembled from near and far:

The leaders were blowing them all at the bar.

After spending half an hour or so of the convention's time in wetting their arter spending half an hour or so of the convention's time in wetting their whistles, tuning up, shouting "silencium," "pisst," "ruhig," etc., the Liedertafel began, to the air of the Marsellase, a new song. I shall give it literally German with the translation, so that, friends may know what's up. Here

the song: "'Volkszeitung's' leser!' "Euch ist ein grosses werck vertrant-'Jetzt gilt's die partei zu zerstrenen-

'Die ihr so muhsam aufgebaut." "Readers of the 'Volkszeitung'! "Close up the ranks! "You with a great work art entrust-

They want to destroy your party— "Which you have so painfully built up." Here the applause led by a "Volks zeitung" reporter was great.

After quiet had been restored they sang the second verse, and then Genosse Seppel again got the floor. This time he

sugcess which we hat hat at der land collection was pecause we was united togedder. We would haf hat some more sugcess if we some more unided was. Shoost now when I was oudside ant trink some peer I meed my frent, who is a goot frent of der bardy. I am sure of it he wotes our dicked pecause I has seen him reat der 'Volkszeitung' once alretty-ant if nopotty somedings agains it has I would like dot Genosse Nitram make a speech-

A voice in the rear: "He Anarchist. GENOSSE SEPPEL-Vell, vot

THE SAME VOICE-"Not mit der Anarchists! dat is der gonsdidushur GENOSSE SEPPEL-"Pedween ge-

nossen ve don'd gare for a gonsdidushus anyvay?" THE VOICE—"If ve don'd gare for a gonsdidushun for vhy ve haf von,

GENOSSE SEPPEL-"You schbeaken

like von tam teleonide!"

THE VOICE—"Und you like a tam Rosenbergianer."

GENOSSE SEPPEL—"You are a tam

THE VOICE-"You red shuft, bay your tebts, vat you owe!"

Biff-biff-the; were at it, hammer and tongs. The circus had begun. Leader Janus Annanias Craft, who loves

leadership as dearly as he loves harmony, grabbed his shining plug hat, dodged under tables, over benches and chairs, sneaked around the struggling, kicking, scratching, biting, spitting, sputtering swearing mass of harmonious genossen (who never use the word "fakir"), finally reached the door, and ran down the stre so fast that you could have played pinochle on his extended coat-tails. He ship that he hankers so much after.
At this juncture a guardian of the

peace connnected with the establishmen peace connected with the establishmen entered, and peace once more reigned in the house of Moses. Why the 'House of Moses?" "Let every Kangaroo be the Moses of the new century," was a pas-sage in the gubernatorial candidate's speech. I asked the blue-coat why he did not interfere sooner. The answer was: "Oh, that's nothing; this is only one of the regular harmony meetings they hold them regularly, ever since they have united." (This is no joke.) "But what made that distinguished

looking gentleman run away?" take sides for fear of offending some one so he always runs away. You see, a couple of years ago he became convinced that certain offices should be lifted above the muck of every-day politics and given to the respectable class—the property owning bourgeoisie to which he belong -he aspired to the office of School Commissioner; not that he knew any thing of the wants of either teachers of pupils, but that his 'pre-eminent respect ability' might by this means become Socialist Labor Party, expecting that the genius which the politicians of the old school of politics failed to discover in ingmen. There his characteristics stood Hartford took in this matter. The Section ordered its organizer to communicate with the State Committee and let them know that Section Hartford was willing and able to pay 55 every month towards having a permanent organizer, the bad not attended a certain meeting where he was forced to take sides. He took the outside, and now want see him here among the other

you see him here among the other freaks." A freak named Jones was announced as the choice of the "gonwenshun" as chairman. He appointed the usual committees, and declared a recess of an hour, probably to repair brushed reputa-

tions and plaster bruised limbs.

After recess, during a harmonious dis cussion as to whether to recognize the Chicago or the Springfield National Executive, or both, no blood was split. Some genius with an eye to a free rail-road excursion moved that all hands at-

road excursion moved that all hands attend the Chicago convention.

At this stage of the proceedings, it occurred to me that, in view of the "harmony" that would be displayed in Chicago if these gentlemen carried out their threat of going there, the very next thing for the Convention to do would be appeared as well as the convention of the convention o to appoint a committee to wait upon the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party and borrow the trophics of July 10,—the clubs, hammers and other implements of warfare that the De Leonites took from the "Volks-zeitung revolutionists" when these gentlemen were disarmed and kicked down-stairs on the night of July 10, 1890. But the Convention did not do that. It probably feared that those weapons would be taken away from them in

Chicago too.

The next order of business was the nomination for Governor for the State of New Jersey.
A VOICE—"I nominade Carl Pan-"I decline."

ANOTHER VOICE—"I nominate the Reverend Charles H. Vall." A VOICE—"Ist das nicht ein Praff?" (Isn't he a parson?)
ANOTHER VOICE—"He is a pricet!"
A THIRD VOICE—"Nein, he is a

THE CHAIR-"He has resigned his pulpit to carry on our great cause."
A VOICE—"Aber he peliefs in a God."

JANUS ANNANIAS CRAFT-MAY I have the floor for a minute?"
THE CHAIR—"I have no objections.

CRAFT-"What I want to say is this the comrades don't know anything about American politics, so I will teach them. I will admit that Mr. Vail is or has been a minister; but I hold that he never was orthodox and is not now orthodox in orthogox and is not now orthogox in anything. I am an atheist! do you sup-pose that I am going to jeopardise the success of the cause by proclaiming my-self such? No! Among Christians I am a Christian; among Jews I am of the free masonry of Abraham. Anything to catch votes is my motto, and anyone
who has any other principles is not fit
to be a member of this—the first party in the field in the new century." (Lond applause and tumult. Cries of "is dis gonsequence?" (consistency); "raus mit ihm," and calls for "Fail," "speech." After a short sermon by the reverend genosse, and a long draught on the brewery, the "first (may it be the last) ter new shentsures united" closed with tumultous cheers.

UBIQUITOUS. Union Hill, N. J., Jan. 3.

#### More Full Dinner Pall.

To the DAILY PEOPLE .- McKinley prosperity has come to the Glove City in a peculiar way.

After working for the last four months from six to eight hours a day, comes a cut in wages. Schedules have been put up in the shops which contain a cu of 10 to 25 per cent, for all the glove makers.

ters will be presented with a 10 to 20 per cent.cut. Also the American table cutters have been cut in some shops, and it is nurmured that they will receive a cut all along the line.

Further, there are the International Table Cutters, who have for the present nothing to fear for the manufacturers have signed their schedule for the ensu ing year, but will they keep their prom

One S. Littauer, the biggest manufacturer in Gloversville is three times elect ed to Congress on the Republican ticket by an overwhelming majority. The same Mr. Littauer is the man who three years they were on strike for better wages: This is not a matter of principle; this i a matter of dollars and cents."

The S. T. & L. A. will have to be organized here. OBS Gloversville, N. Y., Jan 4. ORSERVER

#### Left in the Lurch in Eric Too.

To the DAILY PEOPLE .- I wish to give an account of the public meeting held here in Erie, December 31, 1900, by the "Public Ownership," "Social Democratic," "United Socialist," "Sotialist Party," or the Polynomial for short.
This fake party held two meetings here

on the 30th and 31st day of December, a which Mr. Pete Curran, the "representa-tive of thousands of workingment from England," was used to make the speech es. I myself witnessed the meeting on the 31st, and must say it was very instructive to me.

Mr. Curran began his speech by say

ing: "There is no necessity of my cover-ing the same ground as I have spoken on yesterday, seeing the same faces before me." The audience reached the number of about sixty. So he went on and took up the different reform parties of his and this country, saying that they were of no use to present society, which was well enough. But when he came to talk of Trades Unionism, he killed all he said before. His main argument was that the workers should organize in Trades Unions. He claimed that it every mechanic belonged to his Trade Union, their condition would be far bet-ter, because they could then demand what they wanted. Yes, that would be well enough if there were not so many outside of the shop, or in, who would be even willing to organize if there was work for them. But there is the sticker. Can these men organize after being out of employment half of the time and pay the sky-high dues, strike taxes, and so many different taxes to uphold the La-bor Fakir who does not allow polities in the Union; while it is hard for the man inside to keep up his dues, and he is suspended for non-payment? Consequently pure and simple Trades Unionism is a

failure for the workingmen.

Then Mr. Curran spoke about the Trades Union in England, saying that every man almost is a Socialist. Ac-cording to this statement, their Union'sm differs from pure and simple Unionism in

this country.

Finally, he closed his speech by advising every Trades Unionist to agitate for Socialism in his Union.

Then one of our comrades told him that that was near an impossibility; say ing that he belonged to a Union and tried to agitate, but that every time the hammer in the president's hand would drop with the words: "No politics in the Union!

Then the question was asked: Which is best for the workingmen, pure and simple or S. T. & L. A. Unionism? The speaker said: "I do not know very much about the S. T. & L. A., but after Mr. Daniel De Leon signed his name to an agreement with Davis to furnish scabs in his shop while a strike was on there (!!!) I do not think very much about such a Union, and I have been in Paris to the International Congress, I have seen how De Leon's delegate tried to keep Socialists out of the Congress."
The speaker, Mr. Curran was told that
his statements about De Lem were ast

Mr. C. Heydrick then took the foor, saying: "Mr. Daniel De Lebu is one of the ablest writers and editors in the the ablest writers and editers in the United States: cannot say if honest or dishonest." His speech was short, the best he knew how, and he closed saying that Socialism was now talked very much in pure and simple Unions, and that it would be only a short time when nothing else would be talked about but Socialism. Mr. Heydrick will live a long time if that is what he expects. He then claimed that the rank and file of the Socialist parties in the United States would be together before another year passed, and we will be all one. Here is where he is all off. The Socialist Labor Party will be very careful when it admits

into its ranks. The S. L. P. is not after a freakish sentimental vote, Mr. Hey-drick evidently is incapable of learning from experience. Even Haverhill has taught him nothing. Neither does Mr. Heydrick learn anything from the conduct of the pure and simplers. The expected thousands of pure and simplers failed to materialise. In the meantime Mr. Heydrick is slandering the S. T. & L. A., and calling it a "scab organisation." He is fishing for the pure and simplers whom he don't catch, and he simplers whom he don't catch, and he is insulting the bona fide workingmen. who won't forget it.

There are about two or three thousand pure and simplers here in Erie. neetings were beld in the Central Labo Union Hall, were extensively advertised and the element played for by lying and slandering stayed away. SOCIALIST,

#### LETTER BOX.

Off-Hand Answers to Corre spondents.

[No questions will be considered that com nymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address !

B. Y., SAGINAW, MICH.—That is not enough. A knowledge of Socialism is not enough to entitle a man to the Socialist confidence as a Socialist. Look at the man with a squint in his eye. His sight may be perfect. He sees things clearly. But does be follow them? He looks one way, and goes the other. A man may have a full knowledge of Socialism and yet not follow that knowledge.

J. F. G., ST. LOUIS, MO.—The best use to make of such productions is to embaim them in a separate scrap-book entitled: "Capitalist Thought (?)." Fain would we be candid and tell you our opinion as to whether such writers and writeresses are "fools, knaves or idiots." They may be any of these, and yet the real foot of which they ilmp may be none of these, but this other, to wit, a rooted belief in "words." There is affoat a large class of people who know nothing except diction, and who do not understand that words are but like the fire under the pas. Be the fire the best possible, unless there is a steak in the pan, the fire will only have crackling noise for its result.

J. S. H., WINONA, MINN.—It is quite an interesting study of the kinks that the human mind, if undisciplined, can get in to watch the war dances performed by these crooks who are in war paint against the S. L. P. They impaie themselves upon the horns of two errors. By concentrating their poisoned arrows upon the Editor of this paper, they imagine they can tire him out and disgust him, and that he will collapse. That is error No. I. He is iron clad; they can't reach him with an are. Error No. 2 is graver and funnier withal. They imagine that, if they could only tire out the Editor of this paper, that would end the S. L. P. The oddness of this error lies in the fact that the very reason of the fury of these crooks proceeds from their experience that the S. L. P. man carries his sovereignity under his own hat, and that, wherever crookdom runs up against one of these, he actually runs up against one of these, he actually runs up against one of these, he actually runs up against he whole S. L. P. But crooks are notoriously incapable of thinking coherently. Read their effusions by the light of these points, and you may enjoy them even more than you do now.

N. O. I., SACRAMENTO, CAL.—New

N. O. I., SACRAMENTO, CAL.—New Year's wishes accepted with sincere thanks. As to the hope that the S. L. P. may "triumph over the coyotes" (we call them Kangaroos), if you read their press and the S. L. P.'s, you will be fully reassured. That the triumph has been effected you may judge by the hysterical rage they are in, and the serene composure, fully indicative of conscious ascendency, that shines in the face of the S. L. P.

J. D., NEW YORK.—There are no separate Courts in the land for "international law cases." The cases you have in mind would generally come within the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts. Any lawyer admitted to the Federal Courts may plead

S. T. D., NEW HAVEN, CT.—The tactics that you are pursuing are false. They always defeat their own purpose. If two men, A and B, are quarreling because A has done a wrong to B, and it is your wish to bring peace between them, then the course to pursue is not to say to both that they are wrong. The "Volkszeltung" draged the Party into Court by making on July 14 an application for an ex parte injunction. This was an act of treason, so

F. M., PASCO, WASH.—The principal

4th. Imperial party: they go the Con-servatives one better on "Hoch der Kalser!"

5th. Anti-Semites: they correspond in the main to our middle-class Populists, only are more stupid. The German Anti-Semite feels the pressure of Capital. and, seeing the Jew prominent in the banking world, "goes for him." The less stunid American for him." The less stupid Americousins of the German Anti-Semite, middle-class Populists, also feeling pressure of Capital, "go for" the bar whether he be Jew or Gentile.

whether he be Jew or Gentile.
6th. Freisinnigs party: is mainly a free
trade or tariff reduction party.
7th. Centrum party: purely cierical.
There are a number of others, but with
only local following and of no consequence.
The address of the "Vorwarts" is Berlin,
No. 8 Beuth Strasse. Don't know the price
delivered here.

A. S. S. ST. LOUIS, MO.—Can't publish your letter in favor of the S. T. L. A. 1c. evidently don't understand the S. T. & L. A. If it were an organization such as you imag ne, that has for its principle to give up strikes and boycotts, and to vote for the S. T. such as you imag ne, that has for its principle to give up strikes and boycotts, and to vote for the S. L. P., then the S. T. & L. A. would be a superfluous body. It would do nothing that the S. L. P. is not now doing and for the doing of which the Party is infinitely better equipped. The S. T. & L. A. is an economic organization, a Trade Union. in the full sense of the word its immediate purpose is the fight in the shop, with all the weapons that that implies. It differs in this from the stranded wreck of pure and smple Unionism in that, being built upon class-conscious lines, it can't be used by the Labor Fakir, and thus be turned into a club in the hands of the Capitalists to whack the working class with.

E. M., HOBOKEN, N. J .- The taxatlor E. M., HOBOKEN, N. J.—The taxation question is no trifling question. To tell us to everlook it, and to "keep our eyes on the common goal" is the veriest trashy talk. As well tell the crew of an ocean steamer to "keep their eyes on the common goal" and overlook the reefs and madbanks on the routs. The taxation question is a positive reef on the path of the Socialist movement in this country. Talk taxes and you steer your ship on that reef. And if, besides talking, you exaggerate the tax burden, then your wrack is assured.

P. A. M., BUTTE, MONT.—You are mixed upon the situation. If any one wants to "bore from within," let him: that's just the language of the R.L.P. But the Party has declared that it is going to "bore from without," and thereupon the "borers from within" rose on their hind legs, and presumptuously tried to tell the E. L. P. that it shall not.

L. D., DULUTE, MINN.-What me

despite the insulting language that his paper frequently used against the Party. When, however, Mr. Debs took an attitude of decided hostility against the Party, then these columns opened fire upon him and his organization, and not a fact alleged on either subject but has stood the rest. For the rest, all of you who seek "harmony" and impute the asparate existence of the Debs Party and the S. L. P. to personal differences, rob yourselves of whatever real merit there is in Debsiam. The amerit of Debsiam lies in the sincerity of the opinion that the S. L. P. tactics are wrong. Where this opinion is sincere and honest, it is its bounden duty to build up a new Socialist bounded duty to build up a new Socialist party. Time, coupled with houest experience must decide. We think it is deciding the question rapidly.

רוש. פ., ניריארק: דער טראבעל מים וייד איז וואם איהר זיים נים קיין כשר'ער חכם. בעהאלם אייערע מריפה'נע חכמות פאר דיא מריפה'נע קעננערום, זיי זיינען דיא אכת'ע נוים וועמעו איהר קענם פער: דרעהעו אַ קאָפּ. נים מיר.

E. M. W., POLK, PA.—We fear you are on the wrong tack if you suggest that space be given to assist speakers clube by instructions upon "how to deliver a speech in a striking and impressive manner." Every revolutionary movement brings its own "manner" is a result of two ingredients: First, the element that trust bring on the First, the element that trust bring on the First, the element that trust bring on the first stamp upon the subject is understood by the right element, then the element will place its stamp upon the subject, and the subject will, react upon and place its stamp upon the element; and thus, and only thus will the right "manner," the "impressive manner," be produced. You will, in this discover the secret of why the S. L. P. is the magnificent organization that you see it, and why its speakers alone can organize and crystallize Socialism into action. Pick out the right element, and, with that as your soil, drop the right seed—sound-to-the-kernel Socialist literature. That will build up speakers.

"J." MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Not a word said about Mr. Algernon Lee of your town in these columns at the time that he Kangarooed has been dewill be retracted. At the time, he wrote an insolent letter, imputing this paper's conduct to the "distance" between New York and Minneapolis. He soon thereafter became a resident of this city, but notwithstanding his Kangaroo associates have been dragging us into the Courts he has remained mum. Neither has he attempted physical violence. He tild neither. He knows why.

knows why.

E. L., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—That was no misprint. At worst it was an imperfect term. The Social Democracy has now three wings. One is the Chicago wing; another is the Springfield wing; the third is the Autonomous wing. By Autonomous wing is meant those bodies who propose to go it alone, without any national central organization. This Autonomous wing new consists of four winglets: New Hampshirs, Texas, lows and New Jersey. If you want to be very accurate, the concern now consists of six wings. There is a good deal in your contention that the very word "Autonomous" excludes the idea of more than one "autonomy" being in wingal accord.

M. S., PROVIDENCE, R. L.—'The excuse of "Law" is no excuse. Capitalist law is but a system of procedure whereby to regulate the depravitles perpetrated by capitalist against capitalist, and by all the capitalists against the working class. G. A., ITHACA, N. Y.—For heaven' sake, how many more "lessons" do you want Are not the frayed trousers worn by the great strong enough "lesson"

sake, how many more "lessons" do you are not the frayed trousers worn tworkers, a great strong enough "lwritten on him, and carried by him one end of the country to the other? J. Z., SAN JOSE, CAL.—Your suspicion about the paper having two editions seems probable. It is not kept on file in the office, but shall be looked up. As moon as the corresponding copy comes shall answer your questions. Your copy will be kept here safe.

A. B. T., CLEVELAND, O.—That chan Mamie now talks as the wind blows. It is not worth while firing at puffs of wind.

"ANARCHIST." NEW YORK.—Now, keep cool. Come down to facts. Inn't it a feature of Anarchism to be singular? And don't you claim there are more of it than yoursel? This being thus, how can you presume to assert what is the Anarchy that another Anarchist has evolved and believes in? Don't be rash: Isy striking the attitude of a boss," remember that you only carry coals to the Newcastle quarry, whence Socialism has drawn the bolts that have triturated your "Philosophy."

R. R. KANSAS CITY, MO. -- The WEEKLY PEOPLE is made up of as much of the DAILY as can go into those six pages.

ALLEGHENY, articles are very interesting. Articles how-ever, giving facts from your locality, are preferred for the Correspondence columns. In such letters ample editorial matter may appear. For the Correspondence column, however, there should be nothing exclu-sively "editorial."

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The "ALLIANCE POWER PRINTER."

196 Essex Street, , , New York. SECTION PHILADELPHIA meets on every second Sunday of the month, at 230 P. M., at its beadquarters, 1304 German-town avenue. BRANCH No. 1 meets on

town avenue. BRANCH No. 1 meets on every Tuesday evening at the same place. S. L. P. Supplies.

Constitutions, a neat 16-page booklet with stiff red cover,

Keep as ope on your errapper, one whole your authoription expires. Recover in Same | It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and inciding work at the plice.

S.W.S., NEW. YORK.—How long have you been reading this paper? If you hunt up to tis flee back far seough you will see that it treated Mr. Date with uniform courters.

#### OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE— Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reads atreet. New York.

BOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA —F. J. Darch, Secretary, 119 Dundas street, Market square, London, Ontario. NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY— 26 New Reads street. (The Party's literary agency.) Notice.—For technical reasons, no Party amouncements can go in that are not in this office y Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

#### National Executive Committee.

The regular meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party was held at the Daily People Building Saturday evening, Jan. 5. Sauter in the chair.

Receips for the week ending December 29, \$107.39; expenditures, \$73.86.

Receipts for the week ending January 5, \$49.52; expenditures, \$00.90.

A set of by-laws were received for the

State Organization of Pennsylvania. Kuhn and Pierce elected a committee to examine same. Section Reading, Pa., requests exten

sien of jurisdiction and applies for a new charter including Berks County.

Section Taunton, Mass., expels C. J. Delsmains for publishing a document not acceptable to the Section and carrying on controversy in the capitalist press.

Section Baltimore expels James Frank-lin for spending the Section's money and

Fusing to repay it.

Hartford applies for new charter for amalgamated section. Granted.

Rourine reports were received from National Organizers Pepin and Dalton. Pepin has been at work in Roanoke, Edwards, Peoria, Kankakee, and Bloomington, Illinois. Dalton has been at work in Buffalo, Lockport, and other nearby cities. JULIAN PIERCE,

Recording Secretary.

#### Election of Officers.

Section Troy - Organizer, Norman S. Burnham; recording and corresponding secretary, Timothy A. Devane; financial secretary, Patrick E. De Lee; treasurer Herman Hattman: literary agent and agent for the PEOPLE, L. A. Boland. Section Reading-Organizer, Caleb

Harrison; recording secretary, John Hess; financial secretary, Harry Bellman: literary agent, agent for the PEOPLE, and treasurer, Silas Hinkel.

Section Haverhill-Organizer, Ernest Peabody: corresponding secretary, Moses-W. Snyder: financial secretary, Michael Léavitt; treasurer, James F. Dziley; literary agent, Carney W. Doyle; grievance committee, Carney W. Doyle, Michael Leavitt, John H. Clohecy; auditing committee, Carney W. Doyle, Moses W. Snyder, Burton C. Woodbury; Daily People Committee, Carney W. Doyle, Moses W. Snyder, John H. Clohecy.

Section Wick Haven, Pa.—Organizer, H. B. Stamper: recording and corres-ponding secretary, Wm. A. Horton; financial secretary. Chas. Backstrom: financial secretary. Chas. Backstrom; treasurer, Hugh Friel; literary agent, James Dunn; grievance committee, James Dunn, Chas. Backstrom, H. B.

Stamper.
Section Baltimore—Organizer, Robert W. Stevens; financial secretary, Charles Heine; treasurer, Henry Simon; recording secretary. Frank Hartman; auditors.
Charles Becker, F. Wuest; grievance
committee. Charles Becker, F. Wuest,
Robert W. Stevens; agent for Arbeiter. Zeitung, Henry Simon; agent for PEOPLE, Robert W. Stevens; literary agent, Robert W. Stevens.

CANTON, O., Jan. 6 .- At a meeting held by Section Canton, Ohio, S. L. P. the following officers were elected for the ensuing term :

Organizer-John H. T. Juergens. Recording Secretary-Wm.S.Poorman Financial Secretary-John H. T. Juer

Treasurer-Alois A. Treybal.

Auditing Committee-A Vitak and J

Grievance Committee - Jacob Ney, Jr. Henry O. Bucklin and Theo. Goerke. Juergens, 1106 High treet. Two new members were admitted and

near future.

It was decided to hold a cauchs on gamise a local. Sunday, January 13, at 2 p. m. for the purpose of nominating candidates for the spring election. The caucus will be held at 115 'N. Piedmout street, where the exection meets every second and fourth Sunday of each month.

Readers of the PEOPLE in and about Canton are invited to attend these meetines, and if they are in accord with the uncompromising tactics of the fighting S. L. P., are urged to join hands with us by becoming members of our section, and aiding us in carrying on the work in a more systematic manner than hereto-

J. H.-T. JUERGENS, Organizer.

Neminations made by the Socialist Labor Parry, Allegheny, Ph., for the en-suing February election.

FIRST WARD-Common Council-W: F. Sensenberg and N. J. White, SECOND' WARD-Select Council-Hayden Morgan.
Common Council—Wm. McCandless and W. E. Gallagher.

THIRD WARD-Select Council-John

on Council-Ence Schwarts and H. A. J. Brown.

FOURTH WARD-Common Council

W. I. Marshall.

FIFTH WARD Select Council-Gust, Gneiser, Common Council Jas, Procee, Geo. A. Brown and Henry C. Boenish.

SIXTH WARD-Judge of Election-SEVENTH WARD-Common Council

John Zellhen.

TENTH WARD-Common Council-

TWELFTH WARD-Common Coun-THIRTEENTH WARD—Select Coun-ril—Edward Fornof.
Common Council—Wm. J. Ebelle and Auton Fenrich.
Ward Assessor—Benjamin Sheets.

FIRST DISTRICT-Judge of Election

Inspector of Election-Edward Sil-

THIRD DISTRICT-Inspector of

FOURTH DISTRICT-Judge of Elec-

ion-Albert Jindra. Inspector of Election-Anton Skotak.

FOURTEENTH WARD—Common council—Selig Schulberg. School Directors—Otto Mahnert and

RESERVE TOWNSHIP-Road Com-

nissioner-Lorenz Helfrich. Shool Directors-Max Schehl and John

Section Woburn, Mass.

Section Woburn, Wash., S. L. P., has lected the following officers:

Election of Officers by Section Cambridge,

election of the following officers:

Section Cambridge, Mass., reports the

Hartford, Conn.

L. A. 307, S. T. and L. A .- A general

will be held Thursday, January 10, 8 p S. L. P. hall. Every

should be prescat as business of impor-

Woodworkers Attention.

Woodworkers' Progressive Union, Lo-cal 332, of the S. T. & L. A., will meet

Wednesday, January b. o p. m. in S. L. P. headquarters at 45 Eliott street, Bos-

tend; important business to be transact-

Milwankee, Wis.

There will be a meeting of Section Mil

wankee, Saturday evening, January 12,

Business of great importance will b

of the National Executive Com-

transacted: also the election of mem

Notice to S. L. P. & S. T. & L. A. Sec-

retaries.

local and district alliances connected

Alliance, are requested to communicate matters of industrial interest, such as re ports of strikes, boycotts, lockouts, etc.

DAILYPEOPLE, 2-6 New Reads street

The annual meeting of D. A. 49 was

held on Sunday afternoon, January 6

in the DAILY PEOPLE Building with

the District Master Workman, Charles

Comrade Meyer of L. A. 19, Northers

Alliance, Liberty, was admitted as a del-

Communications .- One from the joint

Secretaries of S. L. P. sections and of

the Socialist Trade and Labor

at Kaiser's Hall, 300 Fourth street

(23 Wratt st.)

New York City.

Rathkonf in the chair

All officers present.

mittee.

All members are requested to at

A. QUARNSTROM,

Rec.-Sec.

ing of the above named organization

FRED FELLERMAN, Sec.

meeting of D. A. 4 and 49 stating that comrade August Gillhause, of L. A. 274, Machinists, was elected a member of the General Executive Board in place

of comrade Carless. District Secretary reports that a meeting of waiters would for the PEOPLE-John H. T. Le Monday and Tuesday evening. Jan. 14 and 15 in the club rooms of the
18th assembly district. S. L. P. to organise a local of the Hotel Walters. Also
on Thursday evening. January 10, a

Wm. Mentse Two new members were admitted and prospects are good for a substantial in-prospects are good for a substantial in-crease in our membership in the very mass meeting of Stationary Engineers would be held in William Emich's hall,

The following officers were elected for

the ensuing year; D. M. W. August Gillhaus; D. W. F. Joseph S. Krinks; D. S and T., William L. Brower; D. A., John Martin; D. S. and A., Louis Rasmussen.

Organization committee reported visit-ing L. A. 42 and 313 of Yonkers, N. Y., and that the locals would meet the coming week and do some active work the

The per capita tax from January J, would be three cents per month each. Financial report was submitted for the year which was referred to the Auditing Committee. The monthly assessment of one dollar for each local was abol

one dollar for each local was abolished.

The District recommended that as many locals as could make it convenient should meet in the headquarters of the DAILY PEOPLE Building, 2 to 6 New Reade street. L. A. 141 Cigarmakers reported that they would hold an entertainment and reception on February 2, in the club rooms, 05 Avenue C. Delements gates and members were invited to at-

The installation of district officers will take place on Sunday afternoon, January 20. No further business the meeting adjoined.

W. L. BROWER, Secretary.

Denations to the Daily People.

Tacoma, Wash.: Jorgensen, 25c; Sandberg, 25c; Spencer, 25c; Ryan, 25c; Andersen, etady, N. Y.: E. L. Lake, \$1; E. F. Lake, \$1; Clubs 1 and 3, \$1 each, \$3; Wein-Pfirman. \$1; Maher, \$1; Feldman. 50c ..... eattle, Wash.: Faiken, 50c; Walsh, 50c; Olcovich, 50c;

Lacansky, 25c Pittsburg, Pa.: W. J. Marshall, \$2.50 Branch, \$2.60; Burns, \$1; \$1; Clark, 50c

New York, 14th A. D.: Greenberg. \$1..... 16th A. D.: Moskowitz, 25c Tauber, 25c; Platzer, 50c; Feldman, 25c Gottlieb, 25c; Lederman, \$1; Weiss, 25c; Bitterbaum, 25c; Gorowitz, 18th A. D., per Owen Dismond,

Organizer, James L. McDermott, 11
Grove streets: secretary, William H.
O'Brien, 144 Montvale avenue; financial secretary and treasurer, J. V. Schugel; literary and DAILY and WEEKLY
PEOPLE agent, N. Peter Neilson, 35
Garfield avenue.

JOSEPH V. SCHUGEL. \$1: Friedman, 25c; Katz, 32d and 33d A. D.: J. W., \$1... 34th and 35th A. D.: Herman-sen, \$1; Hodes, 50c; Kinneally, \$1: Crawford, \$1; profit. from photo group, per E. Wenzel, \$4...... Brooklyn, 7th A. D.: Fiebiger, \$10; Rasmussen, \$1; Murphy, election of the following converse of the Corganizer, Ducharme; financial secretary and treasurer, Ryan; corresponding secretary, Chester; auditing committee, Ducharme, Alfred Fugistad, Nils F. Fuginal Chesters of the Committee, Ryan, Chesters of the Chester of 10th A. D.: Kevener, \$1. 19th A. D.: Kober, 65c; Nessler 25. Brune, 25c: Poehland, sr., 25c: Poehland, jr., 20c... 20th A. D.: Forbes, 50c Cash. lstad; grievance committee, Ryan, Ches-ter, Alfred Fugistad, Nils F. Fugistad, Steidel.

50e ..... . .\$3,012.35 National Secretary

#### Daily People General Fund.

Previously acknowledged ....\$15,471.69 N. Y., balance ... S. Korpgut, Staten Island, N Miss Amalie Krigler, Salva-1.31 tion Army Lassie ..... HENRY KUHN, Total. Financial Secretary-Treasurer,

Daily People Christmas Fund,

People.

### Particular Contractions Funds | Particular Contract C J. Monette
John Lycksted
H. Pohl
W. Dowd
Paul Wagner
C. F. Nellsen
A. L. Brearcliffe
J. H. Walsh
Andrew Killing drew Elling... T. Waish.... t. Jacobson ... Olsen Wash.
John Royle, Newburgh, N. Y.....
San Francisco, Cal.: Bryar Friedman ..... I. Schults ...... Dennis Costello ... John McParlane... Phos. H. Williams C. Remke ....

W. Le Vierge.

Fronckowrak.

Harrison.
T. Manne.
M. Walkley.
Grumlager O. G.
Syracuse, N. Y.: A. D. Eimer, John
Major, G. F. Easterly, Kenyon,
T. J. Mowry
Edwin M. White, Polk, Pa.
Buffale, N. Y.:
J. W. Sharpe
Mrs. J. Goward
E. Hildebrand 

K. Starczyk
C. E. Carlson
Nixon Elliott, Pubelo, Cole
Section Richmend, Va., per Alex B.
McCulloch Jacob Kraut, Milford Conn..... Bection Milford, Conn., per G. Section Militord Conn., per G.
Langner
Section Union Co., N. Y., Br. Elisabeth:
Fred May
Jaa. Fruth
Jos. Wagner
M. McGerry
W. Hoch
Chas. Meather
E. Kanelt
Boston, Man:
James T. Stevens
James A. Brysanhan
H. W. A. Rasach
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H. McGarigie
Dyer Enger
F. Van Reous
H. Fillemans
John Allem
Chas. Van den Buys
Robert Langhans
Joseph Clayman
Mr. Layron

O Cerevels
Hans Jaeger
F. Houtenbrink
Chas Johansen
F. A Loring
Gust, Larsen
Larra Nemeer
J. H. Kuhn
N. De Korte
D. Strauss 1.25 N. De Korte
D. Strauss
Peter Strocks
W. J. Ryan
John Claes
Francis Henant
John McGuinness
Joseph Jansen
Joseph Fournett
Mr. Dophy
R. Bruilandt 6.00 1.75 2.50 F. Altown Scheer, So. Norwalk, Conn. M. Singewald, So. Norwalk, Conn... Henry Piper, Geneva, O... J. F. N. Y. City O. K. Moor, Wilmerding, Pa.... 4.60 1.50 Total..... \$587.35

Through a typographical error in the list published Sunday. Dec. 30, Thos. Russell, Minneapolis, Minn., was credited with 60c, instead of 50c. D. Rudnick. Los Angeles, Cal., should have been \$1.50 nstead of \$1.00. D. McCullock, Boston Mass., instead of D. McCunock.

# MILLS OF THE SOUTH.

BALTIMORE, Jan. 3 .- Progress made by the south in cotton manufacturing during the past ten years is likely to be duplicated during the next ten years if certain directions are met. The outlook in this direction is discussed at length in this week's issue of the "Manufacturers' Record" by Dr. Charles W. Dabney formerly assistant secretary of agricul-ture, now president of the University of Tennessee, and recognized as an authority in matters affecting the industria agricultural advance In his paper he contends that undu sources, but that the people who must considered. Among the natural resources he reckons the soil and climate of the South the best in the world for the grow ing of cotton, its water power from rivers running eastward, southward and west ward from the Appalachian Mountains to be used directly or through electric transmission, abundant coal from 47,000 miles of workable fields, of which less than a thousand square miles have been developed up to the present time, and an equable climate in which are the desired conditions for the most refined kinds of cotton manufacturing. He finds that to these natural resources must be added an intelligent and reasonably cheap labor, largely made up of young people, "It is well known that the white peo

ple of the Piedmont section of the South form an excellent manufacturing population. They come from an intelligent and kindly race, who learn rapidly to be skillful mechanics. With proper training they make as expert artisans as can b found anywhere. There is less opportunity for unions among this domestic population, these mills are owned large ly by local people, and modified co-oper ation promises to keep out the vicious walking delegate and all his kind. The negro has not been much used in the mill so far, but there is little doubt that he will be employed in particular which requires cheaper labor, with less ability to think. The negro is by an imitative creature, and rapidly learns any process that is shown him. He i thus well adapted to all those forms of manufacture that do not require origin

nality or forethought. "The only thing that we need in th South for an almost indefinite expansion of cotton manufacturing is more, capital and more technical experts, both in the partments. The capital will be forth men are found to take care of it and use The Southern people are getting richer every year, and will undoubtedly as fast as its accumulates. The great ganize and conduct the business of manufacturing, but especially men who know how to build and operate the cotton mills themselves. The movement for technical education, and especially that that would interfere with the taking in these experts at an early time. conclusion, then, is that the only things we need in order to operate many more cotton mills in the South is more edu-cation for the masses of the people from whom the laborers will be drawn, and mills. All these things are surely coming, and they all betoken the prodigious development of cotton manufacturing dur-

ing the next ten years.

"The Southern States now produce more than 66 per cent, of all the cotton consumed in the world, and manufacture about 7 per cent, of it, while the Northern States manufacture about 13 per cent. With China and Africa both opened to our trade, with the canal cut between the Atlantic and the Pacific. I prophesy that in ten years the southern states will have trebled the number of their spindles and will be manufactur-ing at least 20 per cent. of the cotton of the world, which by that time will be at least 20,000,000 bales. The South manufactured about 1,500,000 bales last year. Allowing for improvement in machinery, that she must prepare to manufacture 5,000,000 bales, half her present crop, by 1910 when she will be probably growing at least 15,000,000. When we consider her past progress and her magnicent resources in connection with the opening up of the East, and the general advancement of civilization, we cannot expect any less."

### Election of Officers.

At a meeting held by Section Reading. on December 30th, 1900, the following officers were elected for the ensuing six months: Organizer, Caleb Harrison, 22 South Eleventh street; Rec.-Cer. John Hess. 438 Pine street; Fin. Cec Harry Bellman, 531 South Eleventh street; Literary and agent for the PEO-PLE and Treas., Siles Hinkel, 1167 Cotton street. SILAS HINKEL, Organiser Sec. Rdg.

1167 Cotton street

CHILD LABOR.

A Southerner's Reflections on a Burning Topic.

BURLINGTON, N. C., Jan. 4 .agitation over the exploitation of child labor in the South has called attention to the fact that the employment of women and children is increasing at an astonishing rate.
It was about 1870 that the evil in

fluence of the child and woman labor first began to attract attention in this country. The textile factories were the first to exploit this class of labor. The introduction of improved machinery enabled the mill owners to cheapen p tion and reap more profits by substituting

Since that time the field for the labo women and children has been greatly widened and the number employed has increased many fold.

While the women are taken from their omee, and the children from school and play, men are being forced by their com-petition into the street. Men must now compete with child labor in nearly every of work. If they cannot live upor such wages there is no other alternative than becoming social parasites, bums

thugs, and thieves. the sickening scenes of the stockyard of Chicago about 2,000 women are employed. Thousands of women workers are in the tobacco, shoe, paper. rubber, hat, corset, printing, shirt, and numerous other industries.

The number of child workers has in creased from 730,164 in 1870 to (it is estimated) near 3,000,000 for 1900

These average from 9 to 15 years of age Thousands of these children canno read or write, in fact never had a day schooling in their lives. Old long befor their time, they work hours that would try the strength of robust men.

and wheels, in heat, oil and dust they coin their young lives into profits for their capitalist masters. After their day of toil, they go to their homes-and such homes-for often the whole family has to work in the mills, and thus the mother is unable to provide anything like 2 ho life. The children help prepare the meals composed mostly of cheap canned goods. Then out into the night, for the mother is too weary to bother about he children, and deprived of her tender care when they need it most, these future mothers of the nation grow up a

In the mines of Pennsylvania 34,000 children are to-day doing the work once done by men. In fact the son now comwith the gray-haired sire in many branches of that occupation.

These 34,000 children are confined for ten hours per day in the dark, dank mine chambers fighting, training and driving vicious mules, with no light but the greasy lamp on their caps, or for the same num-ber of hours they are engaged in the roaring breaker, grabbing out the slate as it rattles over the iron bars. They earn less than \$1 a day, and their share of the wages is an occasional pittance in the way of a treat. Doubtless their

lot is the hardest of any child on earth The day's work at the colliery begins and ends with them. They get no at the schools save what society shoul blush to call the "night school," which is no more appropriate for such a child than a comic show to a drowning The wrongs of these boys cry out for

These children have no other alternative under the capitalist system. They are born into the sweatshop as their home, the mine as their living tomb.

Legislation to correct the evil is the veriest farce. Several States set the age imit for child labor at the ridiculous age of ten years. Sime of the States set the some are silent on the question.

Laws preventing cruelty to animals have some chance of enforcement, but redress for these little wage-slaves there

Where the law is on the statute book it is practically a dead letter. parents who would willingly grant their children opportunities. power, are compelled by the force of circumstances to reluctantly certify to false statements regarding their children's ages, tools of the canitalist or members of that class cannot be expected to enforce laws f prents.

Necessary to capitalism is ever and ever cheaper labor or its continual displacement, and so long as capitalists are in power no laws that may be enacted will be allowed to cut into the profits The pure and simple trades unions stand helpless before these conditions.

They have but one weapon, the strike, a relic from the time when industry was in its barbarous stage, instead of the highly developed system it now is. The ballot, that with which they could smite capitalism hip and thigh they utterly

That potent power, by which they could place a member of their class in every office and legislative body in the land, they use to boost their oppressors These labor unions, founded on false

principles must necessarily proceed along wrong lines, and as has been repeatedly shown in the DAILY PEOPLE, it is corrupt conditions that prevail in the trades unions spring. The leaders are either woefully ignorant of the tactics that the working class must use is their fight against the capitalist class, or they are the paid lieutenants of the capitalists, hired to keep the workers in ignorance of their true interests and to keep them tractable to their bosses The Socialist Trade and Labor Alli-

ance is the only trades union organiza-tion that is organized on scientific and unshakable principles. The foundation stone of the organization is POLITICS IN THE UNION, but working class pol-ities only, Socialist Labor Party politics. Wield the bellot is its alogan.

The industrial development, of the South is going to be the most rapid the world has yet seen. In the next few years the South will outelass the North in many lines of manufacturing You have read in the DAILY PEO-PLE of he rapid development of the textile industry throughout this section. Well that is but the beginning. The

hope of the Southern capitalists is to again see King Cotton rule, not as the old time raw product, but as the manufactured article. By the end of this year when the new mills are completed be mills of the South will consume one half the amount of cotton used in this country. All this Southern country is worthy of the close attention of every

thinking Socialist. Here is a virgin field for the S. T. &. A., and the S. L. P.

The pure and simplers, like the buzzards here, arrived early on the scene they scented the dues from afar. They organized, ranted, colected duez, pron ised wonders of all kinds; they would in fluence legislation that would regulate factory life and prohibit child labor and

The outcome was a strike throughout the whole textile territory. . The poor dupes, who stood together true as steel, were as helpless before the power of the capitalists as a lamb before a butcher. The strike ended so disastrously to workers that the capitalists thinkthey have disarmed that style of rebellion for all time

Into this southern field, comrades of the North, wherever you have connec-S. T. & L. A. and the Party press are made known to your friends. rossible for the Party to send an organizer to the industrial centers South I think that much could be ac-

A I said before, this is virgin soil; it is for us to see to it that it is not sown with tares.

READ\_

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Comrades, do your best to introduce it among your German friends and sequalis-

# STANDARD OIL'S HAND

HENRY CLEWS SAYS IT IS MANIPUL LATING WALL STREET.

Tremendous Power Wellded by the Combination-The Jay Gould Type Bate in Comparison -- Unostentations Resistless Methods.

That the market is being manipulated is apparent enough even to the casual observer. But the source of the manipulation is probably known to only

They know that a new order of this has come, due to the most powerful influence that has ever manifested a self in Wall street. This influence very largely composed of the Standard Oil combination, who have introd in their Wall street operations the me quiet, unostentatious, but re measures that they have ploved in the conduct of their co

The heretofore conspicuously his operators were more tyros beside the man who are running things for us new. At his best, Jay Gould was always con-pelled to face the chance of failure Commodore Vanderbilt, though be often had the Street in the palm of his land, was frequently driven into a corner where he had to do battle for his life and so it was with every great spec tor, or combination of speculators the men who control the Standard took hold.

With them manipulation has ceased to be speculation. Their resources are vast that they need only to concentrate on any given property in order to de on any given property have thus concentrated on a consideral number of properties outside of the stocks in which they are popularly sup-posed to be exclusively interested is a fact well known to every one who has opportunities of getting beneath the

They are the greatest operators the their method is the quietness and lact on. There are no gallery plays, there are no scarcheads in the newspapers there is no wild scramble for excit-With them the process is grad thorough and steady, with never a water or break.

How much money this group of me have made it is impossible even to est-mate. That it is a sum beside which the gain of the most daring speculate of the past was a mere bagatelle is put ting the case mildly. And there is as utter absence of chance that is terrible to contemplate.

This combination controls Wall street almost absolutely. Many of the strong ice in supplying acromodations needed. With such power and f must make enormous sums en elt their manipulations have all best or way upward and in conjunction with the general prosperity this has resided in making large sums of most is nearly everybody in the street.—(Hart Clews in the "Saturday Evening Per

The stenographic report made by R.I. Keinard of the Trade Union Debate, at New Haven, Conn. November 25 in between Daniel De Leon, representing Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in the Socialist Labor Party, and Job Har-man, representing the "Pure and Simple Trade Union and the Social Democratic Party, is now ready for delivery in per-

phlet form. Get it! Read it! Study it!

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> THE DAILY PEOPLE IS THE ONLY ENGLISH SOCIALIST DAILY PAPER IN THE WORLD. . . .

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The mission of the Daily People is to educate the working class in the principles of Socialism to that point where they will march to the ballot box as a class, annihilate the capitalist system of production, with its idle capitalist class on the one hand and its starving working class on

the other, and proclaim THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC,

a republic in which those who wish to live by their own labor shall have abundant opportunity to live, while those who wish to live on the labor of others, as the capitalists and their parasites live to-day, shall be given the same option the capitalists now give the working class—the opti GO TO WORK OR STARVE

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