

The Industrial Crisis

AN EXPLANATION OF ITS SOURCE AND MECHANISM.

Rising above the song of "Unprecedented Prosperity," that is being sung by the capitalist press of the land, are ominous sounds that betoken an approaching storm. That even in the minds of capitalists doubts and misgivings are arising as to the permanency of "the boom," is shown by the recent utterances of J. J. Hill, the railway magnate. He thinks that there has been too much speculation and says that a readjustment of business conditions is imperative but just how or what will be the outcome he does not know.

J. J. Hill is acknowledged as one of the great captains of modern industry—captains without whom we are told society would go to the dogs. And yet this captain stands as appalled and helpless before the sign of the approaching crisis as the naked savage does before the portents of the approaching hurricane.

But it is not only the misgivings of a Hill that betoken approaching dangers. The spectre of uncertainty is hovering everywhere. From Russia, England, Germany, South Africa, the Philippines comes word of widespread distress—the number out of work increasing while starvation and disease stalk abroad. In order to divert attention from conditions at home England and Germany are making demonstrations against Venezuela with the tacit consent of the United States which is also in need of some such affair to distract attention from problems at home.

Wall street is shivering with anxiety. The recent blind confidence is giving way to an equally blind fear and a general collapse may ensue.

Just as despite the thunder and lightning the storm may pass over, so at this time the crash may not come. The countries mentioned may be "getting it first." However, when it does reach here the outbreak will be all the more terrible as it will have gathered force.

While the collective wisdom of the capitalist class stands aghast at the crisis, the Socialist on the other hand knows the source and the mechanism of the industrial crisis and that under capitalism they are and must continue to be a permanent feature of the system.

This convulsion of the world's markets arises from overproduction which in turn is due to the planlessness of the modern system of production. It must be remembered that under the capitalist system production is carried on not to satisfy the wants of society, but for the profit of the few who own the land and the machinery without which modern production is impossible.

Overproduction, in the sense that more is produced than is needed, may occur under any system. But when the producers produce for the satisfaction of their own wants this was not an evil but a benefit. In times gone by if a farmer raised more grain than he needed he stored the surplus against poorer years. At worst it could but spoil.

Under the methods of to-day no one produces for himself, but for sale, and he in turn must buy what he needs. There is to-day no plan in production. Each manufacturer "estimates" the likely demand for his goods. In the first stages of production for sale, the manufacturer could know his market, which was a local one.

All this takes on a different aspect with the appearance of commerce upon the stage of the world's history. Under its influence, production for self-consumption is crowded to the rear; the individual producers of goods for sale, and to a greater extent the dealers, are thrown for their support upon the sale of their goods, and what is most important, upon their quick sale. A delay in the sale of a commodity, and, worse yet, the prevention of the sale, now becomes disastrous to its owner; it may even cause his ruin. Together with this condition of things, the danger of a

block in the wheels of commerce grows apace.

Modern transportation and transmission of intelligence extends the market, into which all manufacturers crowd their goods. As soon as there is a great demand for a commodity in any market it flows there until the market is glutted. Prices tumble and if the overstocking is excessive the consequent losses of the merchants may become so heavy that they cannot meet their liabilities and they fail.

In the days of small production the extent and intensity of crises could be limited. It was not then possible to increase rapidly the total amount of wealth at any one place. Small industry is not capable of any considerable extension; it cannot be extended by the employment of a larger number of workers. Under ordinary circumstances, it employs all the members of a community that are able to work. It could be extended only by making heavier the burden of toil borne by the worker—lengthening his hours of work, depriving him of holidays, etc.; but in the "good old days" the independent mechanic and farmer, who were not yet crowded by the competition of large production, did not hanker after this sort of thing; and finally even if they submitted to such imposition, it made little difference to production—the productivity of labor was trifling.

This changes with the rise of capitalism: large production. It develops means that enable commerce to swamp any market; it expands the separate markets into a world's market, multiplies the number of the middlemen between the producer and the consumer, it enables production to respond to every call, and extends and increases its leaps and bounds.

To-day the fact that workmen are wholly subject to the capitalist—that he can, virtually at will, lengthen their hours of work, suspend their Sundays, and eat into their night rest—enables him to increase production at a rapid pace. One single hour of overwork means, with the present productivity of labor, an increase of production immensely larger than in the days of manufacture. To-day, the capitalist is in a condition to extend his concern upon short notice. Thanks to credit, capital has become a very elastic quantity. A brisk trade increases confidence, draws money out, and shortens the time requisite for its circulation. But most important of all: capital has permanently at its disposal a large reserve army of workmen—the unemployed. The capitalist is thus able at any time to expand his establishment, to employ additional workmen, to increase his production by every favorable opportunity.

Under the rule of large production industrial capital takes control of the front, and takes control of the whole capitalist mechanism. But within the circle of capitalist production itself, special branches of industry take the lead, as, for instance, the iron and spinning industries. The moment any of these receives a special impetus—be it through the opening of new markets in China, or the undertaking of extensive railroad lines—not only does it expand rapidly, but it imparts the impetus it has received to the whole body economic.

Other capitalists enlarge their establishments, start new ones, increase the consumption of raw and subsidiary materials new hands are taken on; and, simultaneously with all these, rent, profits, and wages go up. The demand increases for all sorts of goods; all sorts of industries begin to feel the industrial prosperity; and this finally becomes general. At such times it looks as if every undertaking must prosper; confidence becomes blind; credit grows boundless; whoever has a share of the increasing profits and rent seeks to turn a portion thereof into capital. Industrial giddiness takes possession of one and all.

The Crash Comes. In the midst of all this, production has increased prodigiously, and the

originally increased demand in the market has been satisfied. But production does not stop. In the meantime, the disposal of the increased quantity of goods becomes ever more difficult, and grows slower; the stores fill up; yet the hurly-burly goes on. Then comes the moment when one of the mercantile establishments must pay for the goods which were received from the manufacturer months before. The goods are yet unsold; the creditor has the goods but no money; he cannot meet his obligations, and fails. Next comes the turn of the manufacturer; he also has contracted debts that fell due; as his debtor cannot pay him, he, too, is done for. Thus one bankruptcy follows another; the panic grows general and the crash is on.

At such times the whole industrial mechanism is shaken to its very center. Misfortune overtakes not only fraudulent concerns alone, but also all those which in ordinary times managed to keep their heads above water. At such seasons the knocking out of the small farmers, small producers, small dealers, and small capitalists goes rapidly. Nor is it the small affairs alone that are swept overboard; many a big concern goes along. Those among the large capitalists who survive derive a rich booty. During a crisis two important things take place: first, the winding up of the small producers, secondly, the concentration of production in fewer hands, and thereby the promotion of the accumulation of large fortunes.

As few, if any, can tell whether they will survive the crisis, all the horrors of the modern system of production are then experienced in an intensified degree; the uncertainty of a livelihood, want, prostitution, and crime reach at such times alarming proportions. Thousands perish with hunger and cold—wonderful to say, because they have produced too much clothing, food, and other wealth! It is at such seasons that the fact becomes most glaring that the modern productive powers are becoming more and more irreconcilable with the system of production for sale, and that private ownership in the means of production is growing into a greater and greater curse for everybody—first for the class of the property-holders themselves.

Trust Does Not Abolish the Crisis. With the increased concentration of all wealth into fewer and fewer hands, aided greatly by previous crises, this crisis has ceased to be a "periodical occurrence" in the strict sense in which it was so before. Not long ago, one-quarter of the failures that now occur every year would have created public consternation; to-day, a much more swollen and ever-swelling register of bankruptcies passes unnoticed by the public.

It is probably owing to this circumstance, to wit, that the phenomenon of the crisis has ceased to be "periodical," that such uncritical, feather-brained political economists have declared the trust would do away with the crisis. This is false.

The regulation of production by large syndicates or trusts presupposes above all things their control of ALL branches of industry and the organization of these upon an international basis in ALL countries over which the capitalist system of production stretches itself. International trusts are difficult to organize, and more difficult to hold together. More than forty years ago, Karl Marx pointed out that not only does competition promote monopoly, but monopoly promotes competition.

The larger the profits of a trust, the greater is the danger of an outstanding and powerful capitalist setting up a competing concern to pluck some of the profits himself, and, furthermore, the more business prospers, the greater is the temptation of every member of the trust concern to escape the restrictions imposed by the trust, and to withdraw from it. When prices go down, the anxiety for trustification is

great; when prices go up, every producer strives to improve the opportunity to his utmost, and to throw upon the market as many goods as possible. But this has its limits, and a point is finally reached when the Trust becomes permanent.

The Trust will in most cases fail to check overproduction, the principal mission of the trust is not to check it, but to shift its evil consequences from the shoulders of the capitalists upon those of the workmen and consumers. It is intended to aid the large capitalists in weathering the storm of the crisis; temporarily to restrict production; to discharge workmen, and cut down expenses all along the line, without considerably affecting profits. Within the boundaries of one country, the difficulties that beset the formation and preservation of the trust are very considerably lessened; the trust can and does flourish there; it is different, however, with an international trust.

International Trust Cannot Abolish It. But let it be assumed that eventually the leading industries shall have been successfully organized into international trusts, under such strict discipline that they will resist the disastrous effect of good times. What were then the result? Competition among capitalists would be removed only one side. The more completely competition disappears among producers in one and the same branch of industry, all the greater becomes the antagonism between them and the producers of other commodities who depend upon the products of the trust. In the measure in which hostilities cease between the producers engaged in the same branch of industry, they become bitterer between the producers and the consumers.

It so happens, however, that every producer is also a consumer. The cotton mill owner, for instance, is a consumer, apart from his private and personal needs, of cotton, coal, machinery, oil and the other requisites of a cotton mill. In short, complete international trustification would cause the capitalist class to be divided, no longer into separate individuals, but into hostile camps, who would wage war to the knife against one another.

To-day every single capitalist is eager to produce as much as possible, to throw upon the market all the goods he can, because, other things being equal, the more goods, the more profit; only his estimate of the capacity of the market and his own capacity to enlarge his capital limit the extent to which he will produce. On the other hand, when the system of trusts shall have become general we shall not then find a better regulation of production and with that a discontinuance of the crisis, as some whitewashers of our present social order would make us believe; what we shall find is the general eagerness of each separate trust to produce as little as possible, because the smaller the supply the higher the price. The practice, formerly, and even to-day not infrequently resorted to by merchants of destroying a portion of their goods when the market is overstocked, with the view of securing profitable prices for the rest, would then, in a manner, become general.

It is evident, however, that society could not then continue to exist. If every trust strains for underproduction, all others would strain to force those trusts whose products they need into a state of overproduction. The ways of doing this would be many. The simplest would be for a trust to retrench its own consumption more than the other trust retrenches its production; another way would be to call upon science to supply the want of the article whose production is trustified and retrenched; still a third would be for the trust concern whose consumption is thus affected to undertake themselves to produce what they need.

Imagine that the copper mines are trustified, that the production of copper is thereby reduced, and that prices are run up. What would be the result? Among those producers whose busi-

ness uses up copper, some will close down and await better times; others will go in search of some other metal that may take the place of copper, and still others will themselves purchase copper mines or promote their sales, and thereby free themselves from dependence upon the "copper ring." The end of all this is the bursting of the trust and its bankruptcy, and then we have another crisis.

The trust does not abolish the crisis. The only influence it would have in that direction would be to give the crisis another form—but not a better one. Bankruptcies would not be at end; the only difference would be that they would extend their spheres; they would not fall upon the capitalists separately, but upon whole sets of them at once, and with them, of course, ruin the large mass whose existence is dependent upon them. Accordingly, the trust cannot do away with the crisis; what, on the contrary, it can do is to bring on such short crises as will be more devastating than anything mankind has yet experienced.

Only when that point should have been reached that all trusts are joined into one, and that the whole machinery of production of all capitalist nations is concentrated into one single hand, namely, only when private property in the means of production shall have virtually come to an end, only then could the trust have for its effect the abolition of the crisis. But, contrarily, from a certain stage on in the industrial development, the crisis, either in the "periodical" or present "permanent" form, or in some other and more aggravated form, is inevitable, so long as private property continues in the means of production. It is simply impossible to remove the shadows cast by private property in the instruments of production, and yet to preserve the thing itself.

CAPITALISM AND CRIME.

Near a coal yard, situated in South Brooklyn an interesting sight offers itself to the pedestrian. A crowd of ragged boys are watching every wagon that turns into Hamilton street, anxiously striving to obtain a few pieces of those valuable black diamonds, valuable indeed they are. Equipped with shovels, bags, small pails, they run after every wagon, some trying to climb up at the back, and, in this way, to throw some coal upon the pavement, while others are busy gathering the booty.

This is an instance of the many cases that are to be seen everywhere. Thus the instinct to commit theft and crime is fostered in the little boys who ought to be receiving a proper education and taught to be honest; yet this system of wholesale robbery on the part of capitalist forces society to rob and plunder in self-defence. And when the poverty-stricken poor resort to crime they are instantly hanged before the law that the big thieves have made. When the workers restrain from a physical uprising and resort to a strike in order to prevent being robbed by the capitalists, then, again, the upholders of this system, a la Baer, will call upon the powers of state to protect the robbing class while robbing the robbed.

Crime is begun from above and penetrates society to the very bottom. Peculiar it is, though, that these very men who have branded themselves before the entire nation and the world as law-abiding commissioners will use the most brilliant eloquence to cloak their crime in splendor, while the suffering poor (who do not exist, only around Christmas when the charitable institutions appeal for contributions!) are made to carry the entire burden of this robbery.

What could not have been done in a case like this if a few congressional candidates of the Socialist Labor Party were elected, or if the powers of the State were kept by the workmen and not given to the capitalists?

Speed the day of the Socialist victory.
J. H.
New York.

of capitalists or a large community of rate-paying capitalists. The political power must be controlled by the working class and the commodity character of labor-power abolished before municipal ownership will benefit the workers.

Trade Unionism.

It is necessary for the wage-working class to organize. Not only must the workers, it is necessary to organize box, but the workers of each trade require to be united in trade organizations.

As the Socialist Labor Party proposes that the industries are to be managed by, and for the benefit of, the workers, it is necessary to organize the workers of the different trades in order to carry out the Socialist programme. With that in view the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance has been formed. The old trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor are based on the following principles:

1. That the material interest of the capitalist class and the wage-working class is identical.
2. No politics in the union.
3. Fight capital with capital through the boycott and strike, on the economic field only.
4. There is an aristocracy of labor. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance takes issue with the old trade unions on those points. It claims:

1. That Capitalists and Wage-Workers have Antagonistic Interests.

The material interests of the capitalist class and the wage-working class are diametrically opposed to each other. That is proven by the existence of a union for the very purpose of defence against the capitalist class. It is not to the interest of the capitalists to increase wages, for thereby profits would be lessened. It is not to the interest of the capitalists to reduce the hours of labor for thereby, too, profits would be lessened. It is not to the interest of capitalists to spend money for sanitary improvements to factories, for thereby, also, profits would be lessened. Nor is it to the interest of the capitalist to provide every man with work, because it is by means of the unemployed that the remaining workers are kept in subjection. Those who are at work are obedient and energetic in proportion to the unemployed ready to supplant them.

It is to the interest of the capitalist class to keep labor-power, a commodity, to keep the wage-system in existence to retain private ownership of the means of production. It is to the interest of the wage-workers to free labor-power from being a commodity, to abolish the wage-system, to establish collective ownership of the means of production. The interests of the capitalist class and the wage-working class are therefore antagonistic.

2. Politics in the Union. We must have strictly working class politics in the union for the same reason that we must have strictly working class economics. Labor-power will remain a commodity, and its possessor will receive only a wage—a bare subsistence—as long as the political parties of capitalism, Liberal or Conservative, control the political powers of the country. As long as representatives of capitalism are elected, as long as the political parties of capitalism are in control, the police, the judiciary, and the militia, the powers of the country, will be used to subdue the wage-workers. Those fakir leaders of the old trade unions, who claim that the interests of capitalists and wage-workers are identical, and who appear on the platform of Liberal and Conservative parties, and who urge the working class to vote for representatives of the capitalist class, yet who cry, "No politics in the Union," are simply labor Judases. They betray

MANIFESTO OF THE S. L. P.

TO THE WAGE WORKERS OF TORONTO, CANADA.

The issues put forward by capitalist candidates sink into insignificance when compared with the social, or labor problem. In the face of this problem it is criminal to talk of changes in the form of administration or in the method of electing aldermen. What we need to consider is: the measures whereby the wage-working class may be benefited.

It is more important to better clothe than to have better street pavements. Sanitary factories are more needed than a sanitary bay. It is more important for you, wage-workers, to make your livelihood secure, and to gain for yourselves the wealth that you produce than it is to reduce taxes of property-owners.

With that conception of the importance of its aim, the Socialist Labor Party calls upon the wage-workers, and upon all other honest persons who agree with its principles, to vote for its candidate for Mayor, Charles C. Woodley.

The events of the past year in Toronto prove indisputably that the position maintained by the Socialist Labor Party is correct. The street railway strike of last June showed in a palpable form that there are two antagonistic classes in society, and that, between the two, there is an irrepressible class struggle.

railway rebelled against the extreme exploitation to which they were subjected. The capitalist owners of the street railway fought to continue that exploitation to the utmost.

That strike demonstrated that the interests of capitalists and wage-workers are not identical. It was an acute form of a struggle that is universal and continuous in capitalist society. The struggle is between owners and non-owners, between exploiters and exploited, between capitalists and wage-workers.

The wealth produced by Labor from day to day—and which rightly belongs wholly to Labor, its producer—is the object of contention. The idle capitalist class, that possesses buildings and machinery that were produced by Labor resist even the poor request of the workers for a "living wage."

Wage-workers, we of the Socialist Labor Party are your fellow-workers. We suffer the same exploitation that you suffer. We face the same uncertainty of employment that you face. We experience the same hardships that you experience. But we have learned that the wage-working class to which we belong can free itself from those hardships, from that uncertainty of employment, from that exploitation.

Consider these facts: You possess the strength and skill to produce articles that satisfy human wants. In

order to live, you must sell that strength and skill, that labor-power, to capitalists. That labor-power is a commodity, bought and sold on a "labor market." The price paid for that labor-power is called "wages." That price is paid out of the wealth that your labor produces. Wages is ONLY A PORTION OF THE WEALTH PRODUCED BY LABOR. The price of your labor-power is determined in the same way as the price of other commodities. As there are high-priced shoes and low-priced shoes, so there are high-priced labor-power and low-priced labor-power. But the possessor of high-priced labor-power, like the possessor of low-priced labor-power, receives in wages only a portion of the wealth that he produces.

Here, then, is the solution of the labor problem: That relationship of buyer and seller of labor-power, that relationship of capitalist and wage-worker, must be abolished. The workers must lift their labor-power out of the rank of commodities—they must make themselves the owners of the means of production and distribution. As the owner of a factory owns the wealth that is produced in the factory, so, the workers, when they are owners of the means of production, will be owners of the wealth that they may thereafter produce.

To achieve that ownership, fellow-workers, you must depend upon your own exertions. They who would be free, themselves must strike the blow. Ere final success can come much work must be done—work of enlightenment and organization. The working class must be organized in the factories and marshalled at the ballot-box. To achieve that ownership the political power must be captured. The political power is the means by which it is protected. Private ownership of land and machinery is a capitalist right that springs from law. The power that guarantees the right of private ownership may at any time withdraw that right. The levy of taxes is, in a limited degree, an assertion of that power. No plan of purchase is then proposed. With the political power in its hands, the wage-workers can decree the abolition of private ownership and the substitution of public, or collective, ownership.

False Municipal Socialism. No doubt one or more candidates for office will adopt as part of their platform what is falsely called "Municipal Socialism." Falsely, because Socialism implies abolition of wage-slavery, whereas municipal ownership simply means the transfer of franchise industries, like the street railway or the gas works, from a comparatively

small number of large capitalists, viz., the ratepayers, whose interests are no more identified with the wage-workers than are the interests of the present owners of those industries. The change as proposed by capitalist candidates is simply for the purpose of reducing taxes, it is easily seen that such a change will not benefit them in the slightest. The city of Glasgow is cited by those capitalist candidates as an example of the success of the "Municipal Socialism" (?) they advocate. But the workers' condition in that city is as bad, if not worse, than in cities where there is less municipal ownership. Strikes and labor disputes occur there as elsewhere, and poverty is as widespread.

Now, the Socialist Labor Party warns the workers to beware of voting for a form of municipal ownership that cannot by any chance prove a benefit to them, but on the contrary will only tighten the chains that now bind them to wage-slavery. For instance, in the event of a strike, the workers could be more easily subdued by a capitalist government than by a smaller group of capitalists. As long as labor-power is a commodity, and, in consequence, subject to the same laws as other commodities, it makes no difference to the wage-workers whether that labor-power which they have to sell is bought by a small corporation

CORRESPONDENCE.

Correspondents who prefer to appear under pseudonyms should send their communications with their own signatures and addresses. (They will be recognized.)

M. G. Sustains His Reputation.

The Daily and Weekly People.—Saturday morning the theatre known as Mrs. O'Connell's Playhouse, in Forty-fourth street, near Fifth avenue, became for the time being the scene of a public meeting.

When the speakers arose he faced an audience of the majority of whom were class-conscious capitalists, such as Debs several years ago addressed at Delmonico's, nearby.

He then stated that 50 per cent. of strikes were won by gaining object struck for.

And that 25 per cent. gain much of what they struck for. As regards lost strikes, there is no such thing as a lost strike.

Men getting higher wages will not take their brother's job, but men getting lower wages, or those unemployed, will take the jobs of those on strike; so you see how these men receive a benefit and are thus elevated.

But the unpleasant feature was that the men who went on strike would have to accept the lower wages of the men who took their places or else become of the unemployed.

Gomper's then stated that he had worked a quarter of a century at his trade as a shoemaker, and that in that trade, where men and women do equal work, they are paid an equal wage.

He then asked the audience if there were any women present who were wage earners? At which a laugh passed through the audience.

He hoped the ladies present would impress on their families that they should oppose the notion that working girls should belong to an organization to maintain a fair standard of wages.

It is plain to be seen that while Battles increased his vote, if the Democrats had held their relative strength, Coulter could not have been elected, and there must be some truth in Mr. Battles' statement that there was a compromise between the Democrats and the "Socialists."

If Gilmore had only polled 533 votes last year and the balance of his vote had been added to Coulter's, he (Coulter) would have received 1100 votes, and he would have been elected.

The issue presented to the voters of Brockton was Coulter and the union label upon the city printing.

The "Socialists" claim that they "achieved a victory for Socialism," and the mayor-elect made a speech election night at Perkins' Park, after the result had become known, in which he said: "We will administer affairs of the city regardless of party, color or creed."

"I put the above statement to Nugent, while he was on the stump. He told his audience to pay no attention to me, that I was crazy; but as the audience knew I was frank enough to admit that he did sign the certificate, placidly Daniel E. Conway, a Democrat, in nomination for Mayor of Troy on the S. L. P. ticket; but he said at that time he knew nothing of Socialism."

The statement I make about the Progressive Democrats, now the Regular Democrats, paying the S. D. P. hall rent is notorious. If I have had one I have had fifty people make the statement to me. The above may appear ancient, but nevertheless it points a moral.

The Kangaroos have never denied the above statement. They knew all along what Nugent and Gasser were when the above incident took place: that out of their meetings, in my presence, they denounced it and one of their staunchest members, Henry Vitalis, said they would never countenance such an act.

There can be no peace between the pure and simple unions, and the Socialist Labor Party, because the unions furnish the powder (the label) to the capitalists to shoot their cannon balls (harder conditions) into the ranks of the working class.

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Question 1.—Did you stop to consider that a National Executive Committee of "at least twenty-one members from different States" would bankrupt the party in railroad expenses, if it met with the required regularity and frequency, or that it would have to abstain from meeting? Yes, I did stop to consider. I believe that twenty-one members from "different States" would be unfeasible. I said nothing about "different States."

less of its name, is, in fact, both an executive and a deliberative body. It always requires due deliberation in order to execute in the best possible manner. I believe, as I said in my other letter, in last week's Weekly People, that a larger N. E. C. would be more representative of the party's interests; and I may add that I believe that, on the whole, that "at least" twenty-one members would do the work better and more satisfactorily to the party membership.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—In the fall of 1899, William Nugent, now organizer of the Social Democratic party in Troy, and Charles Gasser, at present a member of said party, did sign a nomination certificate placing Daniel E. Conway, candidate of the Progressive Democrat and Republican parties for Mayor, in nomination for Mayor of the city of Troy on the Socialist Labor Party ticket.

Nugent and Gasser never were members of the S. L. P. They afterwards joined the Social Democratic party. Nugent is their local stump speaker.

When I asked one of their members why they permitted their hall rent to be paid by the Progressive Democrats, he promptly answered that their rent was \$15.00 per month and they would be very glad to have any one pay it for them.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I send you \$4 for the Christmas Box, knowing that to give strength to the "fighting arm" of the Socialist Labor Party is every one's duty who has at heart the building up of a class conscious organization.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed clipping of the Richmond, (Va.) Times is an editorial evisceration against "Compulsory Education."

To the Daily and Weekly People.—The bill in question provides that parents and guardians of children between the ages of eight and sixteen shall keep them at school for at least sixteen weeks each year.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed clipping of the Richmond, (Va.) Times is an editorial evisceration against "Compulsory Education."

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I was informed by the president of the Chicago Laundrymen's Association, Mr. Rice, that it was they who organized the Laundry Workers and Drivers Unions.

Question 2.—Did you stop to consider that an executive of "at least twenty-one members from different States" would be too large for an executive and too small for a deliberative body?

about three months we are going to pass resolutions to freeze out the commission drivers altogether. We pay them from forty to fifty per cent. on a dollar for their work. Some of them have one hundred or more dollars worth of trade in a week, which means about \$40 for them.

To Strengthen the Fighting Arm.—To the Daily and Weekly People.—I send you \$4 for the Christmas Box, knowing that to give strength to the "fighting arm" of the Socialist Labor Party is every one's duty who has at heart the building up of a class conscious organization.

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LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

J. M. EVERETT, MASS.—The last of the three citations that you make from Marx "Value, Price and Profit"—the first resolution at the end of his address—sums up, we surmise, is right, did you not find yourself answered in the Letter Box of the Daily for November 30 (Weekly of December 6) to "J. D. A. Spokane, Wash."?

A general rise in wages, unaccompanied by a general rise in prices, would result in a fall of profit. Keen as was Marx's penetration in the evolution of capital, he failed to perceive that "complete trustification of industry" was a possibility. He said: "Competition breeds monopoly, monopoly breeds competition." This is true at a certain stage; but becomes less true at every further stage.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed clipping of the Richmond, (Va.) Times is an editorial evisceration against "Compulsory Education."

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Never answered. M. E. CHICAGO, ILL.—At the time when protection and free trade were an issue in England, D'Israeli campaigned in a way that nobody could tell on what side he was. The London "Punch" portrayed the fact in a cartoon where on a table, surrounded by burly scuffles, a queer-looking animal with D'Israeli's head lay on a dish.

J. O. F. ABINGTON, MASS.—The editor of the "Rockland Independent" makes a sad exhibition of himself in the discussion with you upon the genuineness of that quotation from Edmund Burke:

Second. Moreover the passage that Mr. Marston produces in quotation marks, as taken literally from Edmund Burke, bears, to every intelligent man, internal evidence of being a falsification. The expression "the government of State Socialism" which appears in the body of the alleged quotation from Burke, could no more have been uttered or penned by Burke than he could have uttered or penned the expression "Edison Phonograph," and for the same reason: neither of the expressions was known in Burke's times. To impute either to him is an anachronism.

B. T. DETROIT, MICH.—Take a good view—front, side and rear—of the so-called Socialist party (Social Democratic) leaders. Can you fail to perceive the similarity of their stager to the stager of the labor fakir? As the latter, so may the former have started with honest intentions. But in the one instance, as in the other, the burden, the social question, was more vigorous than the shoulders that sought to bear it. Hence the stager, hence the wabble, hence the resulting fakirism.

F. G. NEW YORK.—Don't be so sure of it. Tammany itself does not feel quite so confident, whatever it may pretend. There is pouring into this city a very large floating vote. Then also the notion has become quite prevalent that municipal elections should be non-partisan. Silly tho' the notion is, it is there.

S. L. P. NEW YORK.—Your question smells of "coaching." Read. Read history. Read natural history. Read biography. And, above all, think while you read. Reading in the way your inquiry indicates, is cramming. Don't.

M. L. NEW YORK.—The history of those claims would be funny enough for Puck. Here is one. It was made by a foreigner against Venezuela. He claimed damages in \$150,000 for hides destroyed during a revolution. The claim was pushed and almost led to trouble. After fifteen years, the Mixed Board appointed to inquire into the matter and other claims dismissed that one. In the inquiry it was shown that the claimant had just one hide; that he had stretched it out to dry in his yard; that no conflict of arms took place within ten miles of his village; that during that particular revolution, just one squad of 200 men had marched through the place without firing a shot; and finally that the claimant himself, with a revolver, shot holes through his hide—the hide which he had been holding up as a sample. The claimant was a Connecticut Yankee.

J. E. W. VALHALLA, N. Y.—The right of everyone to a share of the earth's surface is one of those rights that humanity is robbed of, and will continue to be robbed of, so long as humanity has either an admiration for successful brutality, or can only seize a fractional truth. Man is the heir, not of the land only, but of all the social conquests of his predecessors. He is entitled, not only to the land (natural opportunities), but to the capital (social opportunities) also. To deny his right to the latter, is to grant the principle of slavery. Now, a wrongful principle cannot be granted, and then expect to succeed in removing one of the evils of the principle. That's the rock on which bona fide Single Taxism went to pieces.

W. W. E. SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—Whatever Labor has to pay in order to live belongs under the head of the value of Labor-power. Along what line of argument would you place rent under "surplus value," any more than the \$1 the workman may pay the capitalist class for the shirt he wears?

J. E. C. PRESTON, WASH.—What you must do is to hand over, to your Judge a copy of the leaflet "Socialist Labor Party vs. Social Democratic Party." That will serve as a complete reply to the answer of the "Seattle Socialist" that the S. L. P. is simply vituperative, and that that is the difference between the two. Moreover, do you remember the letter from Haverhill, Mass., published in these columns challenging the editor of that "Seattle Socialist" to prove his slanders? He got a copy of it.

In those lamps. The test of a man is not the history of what he has done, but what he does NOW. Moreover, in nine cases out of ten, when the history of past acts is appealed to in discussions over present deeds, it will be found that the past is as fishy as the present, and is resorted to in the hope that time has obliterated the fishiness thereof.

G. F. L. RUTLAND, MASS.—You are right. You were misquoted by us when we added "From different States" to the "at least twenty-one members." The misquotation was unintentional, and would not have been discovered by us without your calling attention to it, and explaining that you did not mean them to be from different States. It did not cross our mind that, aiming at a more representative National Executive Committee, you could mean a larger body all selected from the same Section, or even from the same State.

Both this point and your second point go to show the urgency of a thorough debate on the question of the National Executive Committee organization, before the next national convention meets. In all such discussions there is so much shell to the kernel that it will be well the shells be thoroughly disposed of in advance.

D. T. W. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Henry White, alias Korkorowsky, is called "Hanna's" eleventh vice-president because he is the eleventh labor skate on the list of twelve headed by Gompers on the Civic Federation.

"R." YONKERS, N. Y.—Too early to foretell. Did you read Shepard's article in the World on the elections? If you did, and can read between the lines, you must have observed that the Democratic party feels gloom.

D. L. NEW YORK.—Have not seen, and do not know the play. For the rest, the notion that "Socialism" in power will do as those in power now do is a superficial notion, betraying ignorance of social evolution. The question is not Whatascalities may Socialists in office perpetrate? Any more than the point would have been germane during the American Revolution that the victorious Revolutionists would also do wrong. The point then was Can or shall feudalism continue? So to-day, the point is: The Capitalist Social System is rotten-ripe for substitution with Socialism. That the triumphant Revolutionists of 1776 have developed into the abominable capitalists of to-day is no argument against the Revolution of 1776. Each of these Revolutions brings nearer to the race the possibility of a really moral life.

N. D. NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—How you talk! "Bossism"? Why, man, there is more bossism to the square inch in your so-called Socialist party than there could be found in the whole area of the Socialist Labor Party. Why, look at your own State. See how its State conventions are run. A very full expose thereof was made not long ago by one of yourselves—Margaret Hale. It was boss rule with a vengeance. Then look at your "Socialist" party press. It is owned by private bodies, and run to suit them. Yours is not even the case of the "pot calling the kettle black" it is a case of the pot or kettle calling a white bowl black.

M. S. M. NEW YORK.—We know you more about "the strike at Mozle Bros." than has appeared in these columns. If a Kangaroo says that "the Socialist Labor Party is scabbing it" in that shop, it is unconvincing evidence that the statement is untrue. Scabbing is a Kangaroo tribute. You have but to hear how their unions denounce one another as scabs. What we do know in connection with Mozle Bros. is that one Dorfmann is involved among the men. This Dorfmann we know well. He was one of those who, at the Buffalo convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, went on record as voting "aye" in favor of Bohm, the then convicted publisher of capitalist political advertisements in the souvenir of the Central Labor Federation.

H. J. S. LOS ANGELES, CAL.—It surely can't be your purpose to keep the lampoonists alive. They are dead and buried. To print such letters would be to resuscitate them. They could wish for nothing better. As Don Quixote said to Sancho on a certain memorable occasion: "Don't stir dung."

H. S. A. LINCOLN, NEB.—The term "cockroaches," applied to the middle class, has no reference to their physical anatomy but only to the anatomy of their insect interests. As the ways of cockroaches are pettyish mean, and unlike the bold, rampant ways of the lion, or any large beast of prey, so the middle class folk, merchants and industrialists alike, are pettyish mean ways about them, very unlike the bold, rampant ways of big exploiters or capitalists proper. The term did not originate in this office. It is common in the Labor Movement. They speak there of "cockroach shops."

REMEMBER "MOZLE" CIGARETTES

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—2-6 New Reade street. (The Party's literary agency)

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

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Regular meeting held at 2-6 New Reade street, on Friday, December 19.

Communications: From Section San Francisco setting forth local difficulties and asking that the section be reorganized.

Illinois S. E. C. reported election of permanent State Committee and other matters of interest: also upon attempt of Chicago latter day Kangs to contest the right to the party's name.

Other communications on local conditions, routine matters, remittance of dues, etc., were received from Connecticut, Minnesota, Ohio, Rhode Island and New York State Committees.

GENERAL COMMITTEE, SECTION NEW YORK, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

A regular meeting was held Saturday, December 13, 1902, at 8:30 p. m. in the Daily People building, 2-4 New Reade street.

As per circular letter September 3, 1901: Previously acknowledged \$9807.96

CALL FOR ILLINOIS STATE CONVENTION. Eastern St. Louis, Ill., December 14, proposition for a special State Convention.

The Brooklyn Agitation Committee was instructed to arrange for regular Sunday evening lectures.

BOSTON, MASS. Dudley Street Terminal, 49 Roxbury street, large corner front room, furnished; suitable for two men; S. L. P. men preferred; \$2 per week.

reported a list of amendments to the by-laws of Section New York, which were concurred in, and it was decided to submit them to a general vote to close not later than January 23, 1903.

A communication was received from the Italian Section, and the organizer instructed to make further inquiries into various matters it touched upon.

DAILY PEOPLE AUXILIARY LEAGUE.

A meeting of the league was held on Wednesday, December 17, with F. Bruckmann in the chair.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Lists contributions from various individuals like Herman Mittelberg, Henry Bryn, etc.

Grand total \$2185.73. Note.—In the report of the meeting held December 10, an error crept in. There were acknowledged from Herman Mittelberg, New York, \$2; it should have been \$5, but the total then given was correct.

SPECIAL CHRISTMAS BOX.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Lists contributions for a Christmas box from various cities like San Antonio, Minneapolis, etc.

SPECIAL FUND.

As per circular letter September 3, 1901: Previously acknowledged \$9807.96

CALL FOR ILLINOIS STATE CONVENTION.

Eastern St. Louis, Ill., December 14, proposition for a special State Convention. Inasmuch as the work ahead of the S. L. P. in the State of Illinois, if of such a nature that we feel it can be better planned, and that the membership can be better understood, and be better able to act in their various capacities and localities by holding a convention, while at the same time establishing a more united and closer comradeship, be it therefore

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS MEETING.

Sections Belleville, East St. Louis and Madison County Transact Important Business. Special to The Daily People. Collinsville, Ill., Dec. 18.—The following is the most important business transacted at the joint meeting of Sections Belleville, East St. Louis and Madison County, held in East St. Louis, Sunday, December 14.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Lists receipts and expenditures for the Southern Illinois meeting.

Over 10,000 leaflets were distributed, besides some 300 Daily People. Eighty speeches were made by the two speakers, Cox and Veal. Cox also spoke in the State and in Indiana.

It was decided to continue the committee as a permanent Congressional Committee, with Will W. Cox, Edward Hearlich and G. A. Jennings as the members.

The following auditing committee was then elected: G. Stevens, Harry Blamsma, East St. Louis; William Yocum, Belleville.

Illinois State Executive Committee. Immediately after its election at the above joint meeting the Illinois State Executive Committee went into session.

Officers were elected as given above and Phillip Veal, Charles Edie and J. M. Francis, all of Collinsville, were appointed a Grievance Committee.

Then the Lacy Jacksonville matter was taken up and resulted in the organizer being instructed to notify Section Jacksonville that they must expel W. J. Lacy on the evidence against him in the letter written to N. E. C. October 20.

A resolution was offered endorsing the N. E. C., the national secretary, the editor and manager of The Daily People and the Labor News Company, and all their assistants.

Then followed the presentation of a statement and appeal of S. E. C. which was adopted and ordered published in The Daily and Weekly People.

The S. E. C. at Sunday's meeting, endorsed the request of Section St. Louis to send Comrade De Leon on a tour of the United States.

A resolution was offered endorsing the N. E. C., the national secretary, the editor and manager of The Daily People and the Labor News Company, and all their assistants.

Inasmuch as the Socialist Labor Party is an organization with a foundation as unshakable as the rock of Gibraltar and the building thus far as composed of material tried and tested by capitalism, it behooves each member as well as the organization to do all he can to prevent, by examination, any other than fit material being worked in when it will not fit and must be thrown out.

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS. An Old and Well-Tried Remedy. MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP.

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS. An Old and Well-Tried Remedy. MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world.

lutionary movement is not a large membership, is not ballots, is not intellectuals, but a strong organization composed of men, men with brains, men of wisdom, i. e., of a clear understanding; brave men, men who have no material interest at stake except to become free.

No entering to the middle class, for only those men of any use to the organization who fully understand that it is by an absolute proletarian organization the war will be waged and carried to a successful victory.

We feel, comrades, that the above is not overdone and call upon each of you to fall in line. The refining furnace is lighted, the test is applied. If there be any who cannot answer to the call or work, by reason of connections with the capitalist system, or if any be weak-kneed or afraid, we invite them to go way back and sit down; or if there be any who entertain the thought of fighting the organization, opposing any of its principles, they had better get out of the way now and save us the painful necessity of putting them out, for we cannot, we will not, entertain a fighting minority in our ranks.

Our appeal is that every one put on the harness and hitch onto the revolutionary wagon. This wagon is loaded down with books, pamphlets and leaflets from the New York Labor News Company, for distribution to the working class, to arouse them from the sleep into which capitalism has rocked them.

Our appeal is that every one put on the harness and hitch onto the revolutionary wagon. This wagon is loaded down with books, pamphlets and leaflets from the New York Labor News Company, for distribution to the working class.

Last, but not least, is the appeal for funds. We must practice self-denial and out of the meagre mite our masters allow out for the billions of wealth we produce for them, contribute to the fund established for the purpose of sending speakers out to the working class.

The election of 1902 is past and the campaign of 1903 is now on. Prospects are bright for sections in a number of places in the State, but our hands are tied for the lack of funds. It is the intention of the State Committee to put an organizer in the field as soon as possible.

Will W. Cox, organizer; Edward Hearlich, financial secretary; W. Goss, treasurer; J. M. Francis, Phillip Veal, G. A. Jennings, recording secretary; G. Surber, Charles Edie.

REPORT OF WILL W. COX AS STATE AGITATOR FROM OCTOBER 6 TO OCTOBER 26, 1902.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Lists receipts and expenditures for Will W. Cox's report.

STATEMENT AND APPEAL OF THE ILLINOIS STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. To the Sections and Members of the Socialist Labor Party in Illinois, Greeting:

Comrades, your State Executive Committee issues the following statement and appeal: Whereas, the experience of the party and especially the recent experience with the lampoonists, the revolutionists, logical centerists and seceders fully demonstrates that the time has arrived in the history of the revolutionary movement in America, when the lines must be more finely drawn, and it be made known that the movement can no longer tolerate any deviation from class-conscious principles.

Inasmuch as the Socialist Labor Party is an organization with a foundation as unshakable as the rock of Gibraltar and the building thus far as composed of material tried and tested by capitalism, it behooves each member as well as the organization to do all he can to prevent, by examination, any other than fit material being worked in when it will not fit and must be thrown out.

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GRAND FAIR.

Will be given by the Massachusetts State Committee, S. L. P., in connection with the Scand. Socialist Club of Boston in aid of The Daily People (official organ of the Socialist Labor Party) to be held January 29, 30 and 31, 1903, in Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton street, Boston.

Gifts will be thankfully received by the following persons: Mrs. A. Vikstrom, 1 Summer court, Dorchester; G. Nelson, 9 Ware avenue, Dorchester; George Lindgren, 11 Dexter street, South Boston; A. Jacobson, 52 Story street, South Boston; Mrs. K. W. Anderson, 9 Kenney street, Jamaica Plain; Mrs. Sophia Njurling, 14 Lenox street, Roxbury; Mrs. Sasche, 250 Ruggie street, Roxbury; Mrs. D. Enger, 1195 Tremont street, Roxbury; Mrs. Carl Gustafson, 57 Wilbur street, Everett; Mrs. A. Mortenson, 15 Pritchard avenue, Somerville, Mrs. M. Hanson, 141 Chestnut street, Everett; Miss Agnes Olson, 497 Beacon street, Back Bay; J. F. Stevens, 16 Lynde street, West End; Mrs. J. Powers, 20 Chapman street, Charleston; Mrs. A. Johnson, 184 Harvard street, Cambridge; Miss Sofie Fugelstad, 37 Crescent avenue, North Cambridge; A. H. Lyzell, 4 Eighth street, Cambridge.

Comrades of Massachusetts are requested to send in presents as soon as possible so that all gifts can be put where they will bring in the best results.

Don't wait for one another! Let every one take hold and make this fair a grand success!

NO ACCOUNTS OPENED. CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS. D. te.....1902

Manager Monthly People: 2 to 6 New Reade St. New York City.

Send the Monthly People for one year to the subscribers whose names and addresses are given below.

Table with 2 columns: NAME and ADDRESS. Lists names and addresses of subscribers.

Signed.....Agent.

SECTION PROVIDENCE, ATTENTION!

To Members of Section Providence: Comrades, on account of the storm on Sunday, December 14, the section meeting called for that date was adjourned to Sunday, December 28, at 2:30 p. m. in Textile Hall, 1035 Westminster street.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

The general party meeting of Section Milwaukee, Wis., will be held at Woelfel's Hall, Fourth and Sherman streets, Saturday, January 3, 1903. Every member should be present.

MILWAUKEE CELEBRATION.

A Silver celebration will be given by Section Milwaukee, Wis., and the Socialist Liedertafel, on Wednesday, December 31, at Barden Manerchor Hall. There will be an entertainment and ball. Everybody is invited.

SECTION MESA COUNTY.

Section Mesa County, S. L. P., meets the first and third Thursday in the month at Dr. Johnson's office, Grand Junction, Colorado. Meetings begin at 7:30 p. m.

Monthly People

Ten Cents a Year

In order to stir up the workers who are gathering subscribers for The Monthly People, and to add interest to the rivalry as to who shall do the most for the party's new publication, Comrade John C. Butterworth of Paterson, N. J., has generously offered to present a year's paid-up subscription to The Daily People to whoever shall send in the most subscribers to The Monthly People during the month of December.

To Comrade Butterworth's offer the management of The Monthly People will add a collection of excellent socialist books—in fact, a small socialist library.

This means that the one sending in the largest number of subscribers to The Monthly during December will receive: The Daily People for one year. Capital, by Marx. Cloth binding. The Paris Commune, by Marx. Arm and Hammer Series Value, Price and Profit, by Marx. Wage Labor and Capital, by Marx. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Engels. The Socialist Almanac.

Should the winner prefer, he may, instead of the above books, select books to the amount of \$5 from the catalogue of the New York Labor News Co.

Let all active comrades get a move on themselves and roll up a big increase for December.

Subscription Blank

NO ACCOUNTS OPENED. CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS.

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Manager Monthly People: 2 to 6 New Reade St. New York City.

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Amount enclosed, \$.....

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Signed.....Agent.

Agents Address.....

ALLIANCE CIGAR FACTORY Eckstein Bros. S. T. & L. A. Label Cigars

2 NEW READE STREET

Cigars for the Holidays!

Best Present to a Smoker is a Box of Cigars. Take your choice. Price per box of 50.

Table with 2 columns: Cigar Name and Price. Lists various cigar brands and their prices.

REMEMBER "MOZLE" CIGARETTES

OFFICERS, SECTION ST. LOUIS. Officers of Section St. Louis, elected for the term from January 1, 1903, to July 1, 1903: Organizer, Charles Grupp; recording secretary, William J. Hager; financial secretary, Edward Brendel.