



BRavo IRELAND!

Magnificent Socialist "Diamond Jubilee" Demonstrations

A LETTER TO "THE PEOPLE."

Important Facts Carefully Suppressed by the Capitalist Press—The "Home Rule" Capitalist Class Seeks to Appropriately to Itself Socialists' Glory—Two Mammoth Meetings and Processions Inspired by the Irish Socialist Republican Party—A Conflict in Which Frankism is Cudged off the Field.

DUBLIN, Ireland, July 2.—If the reports of the festivities in connection with the Diamond Jubilee which reached America were at all like those which appeared in the English newspapers, our Comrades of the S. L. P. might be excused from asking: Where were the Irish Socialist Republicans during the anti-jubilee demonstrations in Dublin? To read the English press and the Irish weekly press one would imagine that the sudden outburst on the part of the Dublin workers was nothing more nor less than a "Home Rule parade, arranged by the middle class politicians," but those who either witnessed the anti-jubilee meetings and processions, or who had access to the Irish daily papers, are aware how little Home Rule or Home Rulers was in the minds of the multitude. The capitalist Home Rule press here pursues toward the Socialist Republican party a double-faced policy. In its weekly issues, intended for the consumption of rural districts and for abroad—all mention of the party is forbidden, and the boycott is strictly enforced, but in its daily issues, circulating in the cities, it is felt that the boycott would arouse the suspicions of the masses, who know of our activity, and consequently, a neutral attitude is observed, and meetings, etc., are briefly reported and general notices inserted. Consequently, the "Daily Independent" and "Evening Herald" (Parnellite); "Freemans Journal" and "Evening Telegraph" (Dillonite) reported our meetings and processions during the jubilee, but the weekly editions of the same papers shamelessly attributed the entire outburst to the credit of their Home Rule sympathizers and ignored our existence. But here are the facts.

From the first suggestion of a diamond jubilee rejoicing down to the day itself, the middle class press in Ireland had exhibited the most shameful politeness and lack of moral courage. We would find one day in their columns a sneer at the jubilee and the next day four or five columns of space devoted to a glowing description of the preparations. We, on the other hand, from the first took up a strong attitude upon the matter, holding indignation meetings, exhibiting jubilee cartoons, and distributing 10,000 copies of the manifesto lately reprinted in THE PEOPLE.

For Monday, 21st June, the eve of jubilee day, we organized an anti-jubilee meeting to be held in College Green, under the walls of the old Parliament House, and right in the midst of the illuminations, etc., prepared by the loyal flunkies. One of our speakers on this occasion was the well-known editor of "L' Irelande Libre," Miss Maud Ganne, the most popular woman in all Nationalist Ireland, lately described by the "Irish Republic" (New York), as "Ireland's Joan of Arc."

The announcement that this popular lady had chosen the Socialist platform to speak from set all the political wipers by the ears, and in their chagrin every effort was made to prevent the success of the meeting. But in vain. The meeting was held. Comrade Connelly was in the chair, and a resolution, pledging those present to carry on the fight for a real Republican freedom was moved by Comrade Stewart, seconded by Mr. Shelly, of the Dublin Trades' Council, supported by Miss Ganne, and carried with acclamation by an audience of five or six thousand. Then a procession was formed to escort our fair speaker through the street, with a black flag (symbolic of our jubilee feelings), at our head. The Trinity College students, bursting with loyalty for the empire which enables them to cultivate their brains at the expense of the toilers—sallied out, armed with cudgels, and attacked the procession, endeavoring to capture the flag. Then an "ilkant shindy" took place; sticks rained down in all directions, broken heads were given and taken, and eventually the proletariat drove the bourgeoisie home in disorder, and marched in triumph to the Socialist club room, where Connelly addressed from the window a vast crowd, who closed a good night's work with three ringing cheers for the Socialist Republic.

Next night, being jubilee night, the fashionable quarter of the city was illuminated to order, and immense crowds of the people filled the streets, singing rebel songs and waiting to see what the Socialist Republicans would do. Our preparations had been kept secret lest a police raid might spoil the fun, and, in consequence, when we did appear upon the streets it was as if we had risen from the earth. Our procession consisted of a wagonette and pair of horses, carrying a huge black banner, giving statistics of famine, eviction and emigration during the record reign, and winding up with the "prayer." "From robber rule, O Lord, deliver us." Com-

rade Denis McDonnell, of the Lynn, Massachusetts, Section, S. L. P., sat on the front beside the driver with a cudgel like a log of wood in his hand, and kept the enthusiasm of the people at boiling pitch along the entire route. Eight black flags, suitably inscribed by Miss Ganne, and a coffin with the "British Empire" printed in white upon it, and carried on the shoulders of four stalwart members, formed the nucleus of our procession, which in less than half an hour from our appearance upon the main streets numbered nearly 20,000. Dublin has never witnessed such a scene before, such spontaneous enthusiasm, such fierce passionate earnestness, such willing recognition of a new leadership, was a revelation to the old parties, who found themselves in a moment entirely forgotten.

After traversing the main streets, the procession was eventually broken up in Rutland Square by a baton charge of the police. A fierce fight between people and police occurred here, but of course discipline prevailed, and the people were routed. Over 200 cases were treated at the hospitals from broken heads and other wounds, and a number of men and boys received sentences of imprisonment for their participation in the "riots," and one old woman who got in the way of the baton charge has since succumbed to her injuries. The ordinary Home Rule capitalist parties took no part in the proceedings from first to last except by exhibiting a magic-lantern show from the windows of the National Club, OUTSIDE of which the baton charge took place while our procession was passing. Since then their press has impudently striven to claim all credit for the demonstration by boycotting all reference to the Irish Socialist Republican party, but too late. The people give honor where honor is due, and their feelings were amply testified to on Wednesday, 23d June, evening, when a crowd of some 2,000 fresh from an encounter with the police marched spontaneously down Mid Abbey street, and, halting beneath the windows of the Socialist club room, cheered enthusiastically for the Socialist Republic.

I hope the editor of THE PEOPLE can find room for those few notes and so help in letting the Irish working class in the United States learn that Socialism has its message for Ireland, a message that is now awakening a grander and more confident hope in the breasts of many men and women wearied of the sordid intrigues and personal jealousies with which middle class leaders have disgraced our political life.

Judge Chester handed down at Albany last week a decision vacating his original order appointing a referee to take testimony so that the Attorney General might determine whether a combination existed among the coal carrying lines in New York in violation of the anti-Trust law. This decision is evidently rendered by the dictation of the railroad magnates; no one can entertain any doubt upon the subject. But as though the fact were not clear enough, Mr. Thomas P. Fowler, President of the New York, Ontario and Western Railroad, makes it still clearer by the following comments:

"This decision is only another straw which shows the direction in which public opinion is now shaping itself. There was a time not long ago when individual and public sentiment was against the corporations and against property (sic). It was so far reaching that the courts felt it, I think, in some instances. Now, however, there appears to be a better feeling."

This President ought to be photographed, and his utterances phonographed for future, and not very distant reference.

As we prophesied months ago, Labor Fakir T. V. Powderly did not get the job he was applying for at Washington. As we said then we say now: Powderly having no labor following to sell out, he has no market value with the politicians. Without a labor skate can induce the belief that he has some labor organization in his pocket he might as well spare his efforts.

This does not mean that all the skates who themselves get jobs, or get jobs for their sons, have something to sell out. Not at all. What is essential is that they should make the politicians believe they have. Now, with Powderly his "followerlessness" was too palpable to impose upon even the stupid politicians.

Comrade J. W. Arnold, of Rochester, N. Y., has issued a "Birdseye View Chart" representing the political and economic condition of the American people as shown by the United States Census of 1890.

It justly claims for itself to be "a magic panoramic at a glance of the whole situation, revealing the hopelessness and appalling position of the middle class and the rapid pauperization of the working class."

Nor is it a shot in the air. The matter utilized reveals at a glance the futility of all effort that is not Socialist and that marches not under the banner of the S. L. P.

This valuable aid to propaganda can be obtained at the Labor News Co., 64 E. Fourth street, or by addressing the author. Price, 25 cents.

GLEASON ANGLING FOR VOTES.

His Old, Old Style of Capturing the Support of the Populace.

A Mammoth Flotilla, Stocked with an Abundance of Estates, is to Take on a Free Excursion the Parents and Children Who Reside in his Town, and Who Could not Otherwise Enjoy an Outing—The Vote of Pauperized Proletarians, thus to be Secured.

Among the candidates for nomination for Mayor of the Greater New York is Paddy Gleason, the present Mayor of Long Island City. What are the means he is adopting to secure popularity? Does he pose as a "respectability," like Mr. Seth Low, and, like him, organize himself into a tableau of profound civic wisdom and civic virtue, whose headship of our great city would be enough to dispel all "Tammanistic corruption," and thereby "insure the prosperity of the workingmen"? No; truth to say, with all his faults Paddy is too honest for that role. Does he, perchance, point his finger to the scandalous breaches of factory laws of which our reform capitalists are guilty, and to the many more capitalist abuses against the workingmen which a Socialist administration could check, while paving the way to the ultimate liberation of the proletariat? No; again we must do Paddy the justice to say that he is too frank to maintain what he does not believe in. An employer, and, therefore, a fleecer of labor himself, he believes that labor is there to be fleeced, he enjoys the occupation of fleecer, and profits greatly thereby. Paddy leaves to Seth Low the false pretences of intellectual and civic superiority, and he leaves to the Socialist Labor party the championing of the cause of the workers. Paddy has a method of his own that marks him, intellectually, or, rather, politically the lineal descendant of the Roman politicians. These carried favor with the populace by furnishing them free circus shows and bountiful distributions of corn gratis. Paddy proceeds upon that plan. He is arranging a mammoth steamer excursion for the children and their parents resident in his bailiwick. Five steamers, six barges and two tugs have been engaged by him to carry the excursionists, and the flotilla is to be stocked with six hundred and fifty gallons of ice cream, 500 quarts of milk, 15,000 bananas, 3,000 pounds of cake and 2,500 bottles of sarsaparilla and soda water, with many more good things in abundance. These, together with the excursion, are to be had free.

Is Mr. Gleason a curiosity or a belated reproduction of the days of declining Rome? No, Mr. Gleason is completely in season. The decadence that in Rome produced the scheming politicians above named, is in full blast to-day, and reproduces their accompaniment in a Gleason.

The Roman politicians would have had no occasion to give free shows and free corn if the populace were not destitute and demoralized; the element to work upon is here at hand for Mr. Gleason. Would he think of such "bounty" if there were not people on whom to bestow it? Would any parent accept such "bounty" if he could furnish himself and his children with it? No.

Capitalism breeds a class of dependents, who presently lose their self-respect. These dependents have a vote, a thing essential for the political success of the capitalist politician; to capture this vote Gleason's hook is being baited.

First Socialist Addresses.

Hagerstown, Ind., July 12.—Comrade B. F. Keinard, of New York, was here last week, and delivered the first two Socialist speeches ever heard in this town. On the 5th he spoke on the Public Square to an audience fully 500 strong. We had chosen the right place and time; the majority of the listeners were workingmen. The strong voice of our young pioneer broke through the noise of the firecrackers, and his championship of the cause of Labor resounded clear above the noise. His address was strictly along the lines of scientific Socialism. While he spoke the crowd around him increased all along. Even the boys stopped firing their torpedoes and pressed close and listened to the Socialist speech.

On the 6th, in the evening, Comrade Keinard held his second speech. This time he had to sustain a lively debate. He was equal to the occasion. If we get another such speaker this way we shall certainly be able to set up an organization.

The Organizer of Section St. Louis, in his report to the National Executive Committee, makes this profound observation:

"The organizing of the S. T. & L. A. in this city will cause opposition that will be a great help to the party."

The tactician who does not realize all the excellencies there are in arousing the opposition of traitors and false friends is a bungler. The Organizer of Section St. Louis shows a correct instinct.

Drive the foe into the open!

MAGUIRE SCORING POINTS.

Brings Home to the Politicians their Subsidiarity to the Robber Class.

How the Political Representatives of the Capitalist Class Understand and Apply "Economy" and "Distributive Justice"—Tax Dodging and Appropriation of Improvements—Why Debts are Run up—Some Capitalist Economic Absurdities Punctured.

On the evening of the 7th instant, Comrade Matthew Maguire, of the Paterson, N. J., Board of Aldermen, read his colleagues and the Mayor, together with the class they represent, a lesson containing many stinging truths. The occasion was a message from the Mayor on a pending tax ordinance. In the course of his able speech the Comrade said:

To preach economy and distributive justice while recommending costly methods and class discrimination is a way that capitalist politicians have of serving their class and at the same time gaining for themselves a cheap popularity. The Mayor concedes—aye, says "it is conceded by all—that the time has come when we should make permanent street improvements." But he adds, "We are at present in want of appropriate legislation to enable us to make such improvements without doing great injustice to parties who will receive little or no benefit therefrom." He condemns the principle of making "the people at large" pay for the cost of those improvements (rather than the practice, contrary to that principle, of unequally distributing them), and he wants such legislation as "will empower the city to assess upon the property owners their proportion of the cost." How plausible all this sounds! How cunningly false it is I propose here to show.

The views of the Mayor on this subject are in perfect accord with those of our wealthy residents, as expressed by one of them in a recent newspaper interview. In substance, this gentleman said: "We are ready to be assessed for such improvements as we need," which is, as you will no doubt perceive, quite different from saying, "We are ready to be assessed for such improvements as the whole city needs." Of course, under such a system, no improvements would ever be made where they are most needed, because the owners of property in the poorer quarters would not be so "ready" to be assessed. Nevertheless, these people would be taxed for the cost of maintaining the improvements made elsewhere, and for the loss of interest incurred by the city in floating its notes, while the said improvements were being made, or upon the bonds issued therefor. I apprehend, indeed, that the kind of "appropriate legislation" which the Mayor says we need for the purpose under consideration would—as all such legislation usually does—with wonderful appropriateness—provide for an additional issue of bonds.

At any rate there would be in Paterson, even more strikingly contrasting than there is now, two distinct cities—a city of the poor and a city of the rich, the poor contributing by its squalor to the brilliancy of the rich.

As for me, I entertain no such individualistic views of municipal affairs. I have no desire to make this municipality, to a greater extent than it has yet been made, the public instrument of private selfishness. I hold this principle to be the only true one, the only sound one, that all property must be equally assessed for all public purposes. And I shall, so far as lies in my power, insist upon having this principle logically carried out instead of being violated as it has repeatedly been; that is, I shall insist upon having the poorest quarters as fully improved as the richest, for it is by the labor of the poor that the rich are made so "ready" to be assessed—when their own interest or comfort is involved.

The Mayor says, quite correctly: "It should be our aim to reduce, rather than increase, the debt of the city." But it is doubtful whether he and I could agree upon the means of attaining this desirable end. I even apprehend that the methods which he would favor might rather tend to increase than to decrease, not only our municipal indebtedness, but our annual burden in the form of interest; whereas I am quite certain that those which I might recommend would wipe out the debt in a very short time and free us forever from our perennial tribute to Shylock & Co.

There is no reason, indeed, why the city should be indebted at all, except the fact that it has, for the benefit of capitalists, conducted its affairs upon principles that would be repudiated by the capitalists themselves in the management of their private business. Capitalists don't give away their valuable rights and property; nor do they borrow money when they can draw upon solvent debtors or levy taxes upon the people.

Again, it is not by the creditors of the city that our streets have been made, and our public buildings erected; it is not by them that the garbage is removed, that the citizens are protected in their life and property, or that any public service is performed. All this was, or is, done by the labor of other people; and this labor is not fed, clothed and sheltered by capitalists, but by other labor. For all these services the capitalists should be made to pay, out of the property which they have been enabled to accumulate as "profits" by the simple process of underpaying the laborers who must look to them for employment—who must sell to them their labor power, their very life—because, through this constant process of spolia-

tion, the capitalist class has become the sole owner of the machinery of production. A levy of two and one-half per centum upon all that property would suffice to wipe out our municipal debt; aye, every vestige of it. It could be paid by its owners in less time than it takes me to say that this levy should be made. And if they were wise, the capitalists, by an overwhelming majority of their own class, would in their own interest demand that it be done; for the debt benefits only a few of them.

Again, the Mayor says: "High taxes will not encourage new industries to locate here." The notion that low taxation is a factor of any importance in the development of industry is one of those popular fallacies that capitalist politicians know enough to use for their own purposes, while at the same time knowing far too much to believe them. There is no taxation in the wilds of New Mexico; yet no industry there. On the other hand, every inch of ground is more heavily taxed in New York city than anywhere else on the American continent, but there, also, industry and commerce are unequalled. It would, of course, be just as absurd (and no more) to say that high taxes promote industry as it is to contend that they discourage it. The simple fact is, that taxation is not an essential cause, but an inevitable result. Sir, if we desire to reason correctly and to act wisely, let us never take the effect for the cause. In so far as taxation may have some remote influence on the growth of a city—especially of a city that is already a great manufacturing centre—the only consideration is the efficiency of the services rendered for the money paid.

Paterson has it in its power to change a policy by which its municipality is becoming more and more incapable of attending to the most pressing wants of its people, into a policy that will make it a pattern of intelligent, progressive administration, even under the capitalist system.

THE HOWNESS OF THE WHENNESS OF THE THUSNESS OF THE NOW.

The following letter from Comrade Arthur Keep, of Washington, D. C., to the London "Justice," appears in that paper of the 3d instant, and can be read with profit at this side of the waters:

Dear Comrade.—In your May Day issue is an article by H. M. Hyndman, entitled "The International Outlook," in which are these words:—"As yet the Social-Democratic Party in America cannot point to its organization completed and its victories gained, though there can be no question that we are much nearer to the establishment (in America) of a disciplined force than we were a year ago."

I do not know just what a completed organization is if the Socialist Labor party of the United States is not. Of course it is not a completed organization in the sense that it has reached its full growth, yet as far as a well defined progressive movement, one that is recognized as uncompromising, is concerned, it is well organized. A glance at any of our national organs, published in various languages, will show that statement to be a fact. As for discipline, there is no Socialist party in any country has better discipline. When it is understood that this is a nation of nations, in which every single nation is at outs with every other; where the Irishman has a grudge against the German, the German against the Jew, the Jew against the Italian, the Italian against the Swede, with the "old-time" native with a grudge against them all; also that national prejudices are fostered by every strumpet politician—if these facts were understood, any lack of discipline might be excused. Up to seven years ago a class struggle could not be waged successfully, while class distinctions were, as a matter of fact, more apparent here than in Europe. Still, everyone thought they could rise from their own to the higher class if they used their wits; and it is only beginning to be dimly seen by the working-class that they and their children are doomed to be slaves so long as this system of production prevails. The game of "everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost" is reaching an end, not because the people of this country have suffered from an attack of morality, but because there are so contumacious many in the "hindmost" class, and more are joining every day.

There is great discontent manifest in this "glorious land of plenty," and every charlatan is trying to use that discontent for his benefit. In that crowd are included Mr. Bryan and his crew of reactionaries, every crank and visionary has his bottle of patent "dope," warranted to cure all the social ills, unworked for use. Among these are the Debs-planites, municipal Socialists, co-operators, etc., besides all the unnamed and unnamable Yahoos outside of the asylums for the insane. Yet amidst all the confusion the Socialist Labor party stands out distinct. It is the enemy of all the charlatans, and the demolisher of all the fools. It has the hatred of both, and because of that is gaining to its cause all those tired of being used as dupes by the charlatans, besides those who are becoming aware of the fact that trying to kill a boaconstrictor with pop-guns is a waste of good time.

Within the mad "hurrah" of political debauchery existing in this country the S. L. P. is the only party which can claim for itself individuality and decency. It is allied to neither the Republican, Democratic, or People's parties. All attempts on the part of either, or all of them, to capture it has failed, and any attempt on their part to flatter or cajole has been met with contempt. If all that does not show discipline, I wonder what would.

I may state that in this country it is

THE STRIKE.

Causes that Divide the Miners in their Economic Struggle.

CLASS-UNCONSCIOUSNESS.

The Teachings of Pure and Simpledom Bearing their Evil Fruit—The Capitalist Issues, on Which the Miners were Trained by their Ignorant Leaders, Keep the Rank and File so Divided that They will not Unite in Common Action—West Virginia Miners Divided Against Other Miners on the Tariff, Remain Divided in a Strike.

The miners' strike that is now on is replete with points, which, if taken to heart, will do much towards clearing up the cobwebs that now fill the heads of many workers, and block their progress. Answering a few weeks ago the question, Is the Gompers' union a class-conscious organization? We said it was not, and proved the assertion by showing that the Gompers' union prevented the workers from coming and keeping together. As an illustration we quoted the attitude of these unions on the tariff question. Instead of leaving that question alone, they took it up with fervor; the result was that, the tariff issue involving issues of conflicting capitalist interests, the workers who took it up were but taking up the cudgels for their bosses, and, consequently, were bound to find themselves in conflict with those of their fellow wage-slaves whose bosses had opposite interests. Among the pregnant lessons taught by the miners' strike, the above is an important one.

All reports agree that the key to the situation lies in West Virginia. If the miners there join the strike, it would be so general as to offer some sort of prospect of success. The condition of the miners is uniformly bad, miserable, pitiable; it is no better in West Virginia than in the other States in which the men dropped their picks. With uniformity of suffering, identity of exploitation, and oneness of oppression, what is it that has, so far, kept the West Virginia miners from joining their fellow wage-slaves of the mines, and that renders their joining doubtful?

ANSWER.—The fact that, in the construction of their organizations, they have grounded their interests, not on the common ground of their own class interests as wage-slaves, but on the ground of the interests of their employers; and as these are competitors with one another, their interests conflict, and they draw into their conflicts the wage-slaves whom they work.

The capitalist interest in point is the tariff. The interests of the mine operators outside of West Virginia are promoted by a low tariff on coal and are correspondingly injured by a high one; on the other hand, the interests of the mine operators inside of West Virginia are injured by a low tariff on coal and are correspondingly promoted by a high one. The two sets are hostile, and their workers, misled into taking up capitalist interests, necessarily find themselves arrayed against one another. The reason why the West Virginia miners may not join the strike is that they have been taught by both their own and the leaders of the striking miners to hitch on to the cart of their bosses instead of standing on their own feet.

This fact explains the clownish attitude which Gompers and his fellows have been forced to take; it explains the disharmony among the workers of this single trade, it goes far to explain the misery in which they find themselves. Ignorant leaders taught them get "something now," and caused them to look upon the New Trade Unionist as a "rainbow chaser." As a result of these false tactics, the unhappy miners have NOTHING now and are kept rent up in opposing camps. It is vain for the Gompers and Ratchfords, who pooh-poohed at the principle of the class struggle, and, who, stupidly imagining they could get "something now," built upon foundations that rip the working classes in twain, to imagine they can now escape the result of their bungling work. Gompers and his set, facing a dismembered army of miners, vainly calling upon those to unite, and sailing straight towards some further smash up that will still further reduce the dues on which they have been living, meet with just retribution. Unhappily their punishment must be shared by the workers whom they deceived. Nevertheless, all is not lost. These lessons are telling; and the organization of New Trade Unionist bodies among the miners will now have all the better chance.

Pure and simpledom is a capitalist mischief that is intended to split up the workers. The workers are bound to come together in proportion as they understand their own class interests, and, understanding them, cease to build upon capitalist issues in the silly endeavor to get "something right away."

The report of the Convention of the S. T. & L. A. will be published in the next issue. The committee in charge has not been able to perfect it in time for this number.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) 2,068 In 1890 12,281 In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157 In 1894 33,123 In 1896 (Presidential) 36,664

Everywhere there is a class of men who cling with fondness to whatever is ancient, and who, even when convinced by overpowering reasons that innovation would be beneficial consent to it with many misgivings and forebodings. We find also everywhere another class of men, sanguine in hope, bold in speculation, always pressing forward, quick to discern the imperfections of whatever exists, disposed to think lightly of the risks and inconveniences which attend improvements, and disposed to give every change credit for being an improvement. In the sentiments of both classes there is something to approve. But of both the best specimens will be found not far from the common frontier. The extreme section of one class consists of bigoted dotards; the extreme section of the other consists of shallow and reckless empirics. Macaulay.

As we go to press we learn from the Colorado exchanges that the cause of New Trade Unionism won a complete victory in the convention of trade unions held at Denver on the 4th.

By a majority of 47 against 17, the platform of the Socialist Labor party was adopted, not in a garbled, mutilated and perverted form, as did Mr. Debs' "Social Democracy," but in its logical entirety.

The minority of 17, consisting mainly of old hack labor fakirs, finding it impossible, under such circumstances, to "do business at the old stand," booted, and by their considerate action cleansed the body of their contamination.

CONFISCATION.

While Socialist tenets are mainly grounded on material facts that prevail in modern society, much of their force is derived from principles of conduct which, born originally in material facts, have long since lost sight or even recollection of their birth place, and have come down as maxims of general conduct. The present conduct of the railroads that traverse the mining districts of the country furnishes a timely illustration.

In Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois the railroads are confiscating all the coal they can lay hands on. They are doing this by warrant of law. A strike bein on, there is danger of scarcity of coal, and this may "interfere with railroad traffic." Railroad transportation, regular and speedy, has become a social necessity. In the face of such necessity the "sacred rights of property," together with all that thereby hangs, give way. The principle has become so general and well established that it has crystallized into statute, and by virtue thereof the railroads simply confiscate the coal in sight.

Confiscation is an ugly word. It is hurled at the Socialists by the capitalist class, as a charge intended to crush us. But the events that are crowding under the eyes of this generation will take and are taking care to deprive the charge of its sting. They are bringing home to the people and are furnishing illustrations of the principle that what society needs it has a right to; that the title deed of Right is the established fact of Need.

Upon a broader scale the present conduct of the railroads will soon be enacted. A people, a society, from whose eyes the scales shall have dropped, and that shall have reached as clear an understanding of its Rights as the railroads have, will be seen to proceed upon the principle that its Needs demand its ownership of the nation's machinery of production, and will, in short order, by virtue of the charter of Need, assert its Rights, thereby asserting a new principle of "vested rights" by taking its own.

The Socialist Congress, elected by the ballot, will restore to society the Capital and Land which it needs to live by, just the same as the railroads are appropriating the coal they need to run.

THE MOST LOCAL OF ISSUES.

In the opening prayer, in the Senate, on the 6th instant, the tariff bill being about to be wound up in that house, the Chaplain offered thanks for the "sinking of local issues." It seems about time that the mummery of these prayers was abolished. They are be-

coming not only ridiculous, and more so by the day, but they positively are gaining in blasphemousness.

Imagine the tariff bill, as it passed the Senate, an evidence of the "sinking of local issues"! The bill was, in fact, a collection of local issues, and it was an evidence of the assertion of these issues. Each stood like a pugilist with his clenched fist under the nose of the other.

As though the "local issue" or "private issue" character of the bill was not sufficiently marked, this Chaplain, who has a "local issue" of his own, to wit, the keeping of his own useless job, whines through the nose an indirect praise of his paymasters, the Senators, falsely giving them credit for a broadness of statesmanship that is wholly foreign to them—all to insure the continuance of the job afore-mentioned.

This Chaplain preaching, these Senators legislating—what an edifying sight, illustrative of the "sinking of local issues" by the lackeys of the robber class!

CHANGED TOPICS.

The tone of the national conventions of trade organizations is audibly changing. Time was when all that came up was some address delivered by some politician full of encomiums on the dignity of labor; an answer by the president, replete with vapid phrases, cowardly assertions of right, idiotic economic verbiage, and grandiloquent allusions to the flag; or it was the sober consideration of some invitation to stand up on the steps of some public building and be photographed; or it was the passing of some resolution thanking some brewery firm for its largesses to the thirsty delegates; or it was the appointment of some lobbying committee to give the committeemen a chance to sell out; or—well, it is unnecessary to enumerate all the stupid, useless or rascally subjects that once absorbed the full time of labor conventions—much to the ease and comfort of the capitalist fleecers. But this, we notice, and say it with pleasure, is coming to an end. Within the last few months two labor organizations not connected with the S. T. & L. A. sat in convention whose deliberations had a different sound.

The textile workers met in Philadelphia, and there moved that the organization join the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The motion was defeated, but that is of secondary importance. The discussion on a motion of this nature necessarily had to be conducted on a plane more elevated than the pure and simple topics. This fact was noticeable, and could not be overlooked despite the circumstance that a crook and jailbird, together with a few more such characters, had been foisted on the convention by the alarmed labor fakirs, who knew this motion was to come up, and were desperate to defeat it. The presence of such elements notwithstanding, the convention's tone was raised both during the debate on the motion and before by anticipation.

The other organization in point is the United Boot and Shoe Makers. The out and out fakirs either predominate in that organization or constitute a numerically strong minority. There is, for instance, the slick fakir Murray, the beauty-spot Goodwin, and some more of that ilk. There, too, a motion was introduced to join the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance; it was defeated, but a motion to concentrate the voting power of the organization in favor of the abolition of the capitalist system was carried. The discussion of both motions was virtually a ventilation of the body. Much nonsense, was, of course, uttered, but also much sense, and, on the whole, the convention was decidedly the better for the debate.

Fakirs and capitalists affect to derive consolation from the defeat of the motions to join the S. T. & L. A. They are welcome to all the consolation they can draw from the fact. We are satisfied they shall have their short-lived pleasure, if, indeed, they are at all happy. The progressive element of the movement, however, enjoys the positive pleasure of the progress indicated by such motions, and are cheered by the still better things that such defeated motions portend.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Baltimore, Md., "Granite Cutters' Journal" has one good eye, but is stone blind of the other. What other conclusion can be drawn from this passage:

"It is not safe to place too much reliance in the expected good effects of the tariff bill, either as a panacea for present ills or even relief from them. All the tariff bills that can be passed will not add to the amount of money in circulation; and without an increase in the volume of the purchasing power, it being already sadly contracted, how can people buy? This seems to be lost sight of, although it is the principle method by which even a tariff bill can be made fully operative and in any sense a boon to the working classes."

Its "tariff eye" is all right. That eye correctly perceives that the tariff, one way or another, will in no wise improve the condition of the workers. That eye pierces through the false claim of capitalism that, if the employer is better off, his employee will share in his prosperity. Low-tariffers and high-tariffers have alternately had their way, and uniformly the wage earners have lost

theirs, have come out at the little end of the horn. A clear perception of all this is implied in the "Granite Cutters' Journal's" repudiation of the tariff question. That eye is sound.

Its "financial eye," however, is coated over by a thick cataract, on which we shall now attempt to operate. Suppose the volume of money is increased, in what way does it follow that the wage worker will share in the shower? Say that all the silver mined can be forthwith converted into dollars, into whose pockets will those dollars roll? To imagine that the more dollars there are to roll the more of them will roll into the workers' pockets is to be blind to a very important economic fact, to wit, that the share of wealth that finds its way into the workers' pockets does not depend upon the quantity of wealth in existence, but upon the market price of labor, and that, seeing that machinery is steadily displacing labor, the market price of labor must steadily decline. There are more trousers now than thirty years ago. Have the workers more trousers? No; all the increase falls to the idle capitalist class. The more money there is all the more money will the capitalists have; the wage slaves will remain wage slaves, getting an ever smaller share of the wealth they produce.

When the "Granite Cutters' Journal" shall have recovered the use of both its eyes it will be able to see that what the worker needs is the common ownership of the nation's machinery of production, and that both tariff and money questions are capitalist issues.

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen" utters a wringing, in the shape of a hope, to the Ohio "readers" thus:

"It is to be hoped that the Ohio middle-of-the-readers will not begin wasting another dozen years in trying to bring relief to a conscienceless and bankrupt middle class, but will join the only labor party in the political arena, the party that rejects all peace offers from its enemies—the Socialist Labor party."

"Bradstreet's," a "businessmen's organ," makes a point of it that at the recent convention of the United Boot and Shoe Workers, held in Boston:

"A motion to join the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was defeated."

But it avoids calling the attention of its patrons to the significance of such motions and their frequent occurrence in these days; and it is particularly careful to keep its patrons in ignorance of the fact that at the same convention a motion was made to add the following clause to the "aims and objects" of the organization, and that the motion was carried:

"To control legislation in the interest of the workers by using our united voting power for government ownership of industry, which would remove the fierce competition and establish production for use instead of for sale, making each worker a partner in the undertaking, with a voice and vote on prices and conditions."

Can anyone doubt our forecast that, when the crash comes, it will seem like a clap of thunder from a clear sky to the capitalist class, systematically kept in ignorance by its journals of what is going on all around it?

The mistaken notion that a change of human nature is necessary to make a man a Socialist is well refuted by the Johnston, R. I., "Beacon," in this terse summary:

"Self-preservation is nature's law. All wise people seek to obey it. Struggling to defy this law brands the one trying to do so a fool if he lives long enough to be discovered. The workers are therefore acquiescing in Socialism because they choose to dwell with the living than to be counted among the dead."

"Avanti," the Rome, Italy, organ of the Italian Socialist Labor party, in a description of the "Diamond Jubilee" celebrations wickedly observes:

"At night, the most gorgeously illuminated building was the Bank of England."

The Maryborough, Queensland, "Patriot" is no utopian visionary, who imagines Socialists are to be made by honeyed words. One of its best running columns is headed in these words:

"If you are thin-skinned; if you are hypocritical; if you are a lover of law and order; if you have respect for the society people; if you are modest don't read this."

"F. S. North Fairfield, Me. I received the 'Firebrand' and am much obliged. Please continue to send it to me. I will send six months' subscription soon. I am a radical Populist and Socialist. I am sick of plute rule, and believe in throwing the yoke off, by peaceful means if we can; if not, fight."—Firebrand.

"We clip the above from an Anarchist exchange, 'The Firebrand,' of Portland, Ore. A man who says: 'I am a radical Populist and Socialist,' and then accepts an Anarchist paper as an exponent of his sentiments, leaves no doubt that he is in a state of mental Anarchy."—San Francisco, Cal., New Charter.

Correct, again! With much wit and biting sarcasm the New York "Abendblatt," Jewish organ of the S. L. P., remarks:

"Some Socialists claim that it is necessary to join the Debs movement, because it will in time produce many Socialists. According to the reasoning of such folks it appears that, because the Debsists may some time become Socialists, therefore the Socialists should now become Debsists. What a brilliant logic that is!"

THE RUSKIN COLONY RASCALITY.

The "answer," with which the "Coming Nation" affects to meet our recent statements upon its condition, reveals, apart from knavish insolence, such brazenness in the endeavor to conceal the truth, and such cruelty in the attempt thereby to lure new victims into its trap, that we shall now give full space to the below letter, which comes, not from such refuses of the Labor Movement as the people to whose denunciations of the S. L. P. the "Coming Nation" crew love to give their ears, but from honorable source.

In publishing this letter, which we think merits wide reproduction, we feel we are fulfilling a sacred duty towards those who, having still a little money, may be deceived by the paid and lying puffs of the Ruskin Colony to hand it over to the concern in the hope of landing in a safe haven, only to find themselves in a worse hell than that they fled from, plucked, browbeaten and maltreated by a ring of unconscionable pirates, who are salling the waters of the Social movement under the false colors of "Socialism." Here is the letter:

RUSKIN, Tenn., July 8th.

To THE PEOPLE:—

Dear Sir—The "Coming Nation" of July the 10th has a reply to the criticism published in your esteemed paper June the 20th. The writer, Mr. Edwards, who, by the way, received his share of stock for ten weeks' labor, being credited with \$50 a week, says that Ruskin is run on Socialist principles and is prosperous. As a matter of fact the Ruskin Colony is run the same as any other money-making scheme started by swindlers. There is a class here that rules and a class that is ruled. The charter members and a few of the new members, whom they use as tools, are the rulers. They hold all the offices and control all the affairs of the colony. The other members are simply working for them. On February last the opposition to the gang was in the majority, and defeated several of their schemes. The result was that they all resigned, and put in their withdrawal in a body, 23 of them. At the time there was not a dollar in the treasury and several bills due. Certain ruin was staring the colony in the face, and they coerced enough members so as to get back in power again. It has been openly asserted by some of the "charter members" that they would rule or ruin.

The "Coming Nation," by publishing false and glaring accounts, induce people to come here, and after they have paid in their \$500 they are forced to submit to everything or leave without their money. Mr. Edwards claims 50,000 readers for the "Coming Nation"; it has only 18,000 subscribers, and says we have made every payment on our land in advance of the time it was due, but he don't say that the money the payment was made with was borrowed. He further says we have raised the assets of the colony from 28,114 in 1896 to 60,169 in 1897; as a matter of fact, the assets are less than \$8,000. All the houses stand upon land which is not paid for, and the only thing of value is the printing press. Mr. Edwards says we have paid thousands of dollars in the past two years to withdrawing members; very few, if any, have been able to get their \$500 back from the sharks here. There are at present fourteen withdrawing members on the grounds anxious to go away but can't get the money, and two or three more have left, some over a year ago, and have not been paid yet.

We started three months ago to build the Ruskin College; the corner-stone was laid June the 18th, and Mr. Henry D. Lloyd delivered the address. Says Mr. Edwards, the "Coming Nation" has been asking for donations for the college for about a year, promising that 25 acres would be deeded by the colony to the college. Now, the truth is that the land where the work upon the college is commenced don't belong to the colony at all, but the deed to that tract is held by one L. Justement in his own name; he is a member, and has held the office of secretary of the association for three years. At the time he came here he claimed to be too poor to pay for the transportation of his goods, but a year ago he bought this land for \$3,000, and is now practically King of Ruskin.

Under the corrupt management Ruskin has had from the beginning it has never been self-sustaining if there are not one or two new members taken in every month. We are at the point of starvation, although we live on the poorest food. In fact, for seven or eight months we have lived on bread, beans and water, coffee being served only in the morning. On this diet a member is allowed to do as much hard work as he likes, and receives besides 50 cents' worth of scrip a week as wages; if his wife works she gets also 50 cents, and for a child he is allowed 20 cents per week. This scrip is good only at the store, and not good for cash. Out of this enormous salary a man has to buy his clothes and shoes, soap and everything that is needed in the house. If the member is single he gets nothing but a poor bed to lie on, sometimes as many as eight and ten being herded together in one room. If he wants to read he must buy a lamp; if he wants to sit down he must buy a chair; if he wants to wash himself he must buy soap—and all this out of 50 cents a week.

If a member is a few minutes late to work he is liable to get docked a couple of hours; if he should lie off a day he loses his wages for the day and is charged 37 cents for board, so he draws at the end of the week four cents for five days' labor. On the other hand, if one of the ruling class is tired of Ruskin he simply goes away for a couple of weeks on business for the colony, gets his expenses paid and draws his wages.

A short time ago a son of one of the members became of age and applied for membership, willing to work out his share; but his family was not in favor with the powers that be, so he was rejected by three or four votes. It takes a two-thirds vote to elect, AND HE WAS FORCED TO LEAVE HIS PARENTS

AND THE COLONY, and this is Socialism as practised in Ruskin. Two weeks ago the shares of stock of two members were sold by a constable for some debt they had contracted before joining the colony. The association bought THEM FOR \$105 EACH SHARE, AND INFORMED THE UNFORTUNATE MEMBERS THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE THE GROUNDS IF THEY COULD NOT BUY THE SHARES BACK AT THEIR FULL VALUE, \$500 A SHARE. This is a sample of Ruskin Socialism.

Myself and two other members being thoroughly disgusted trying to overthrow the gang and have Socialism practised in Ruskin as well as preached, and seeing no hope to change the existing order of things, we sent in our withdrawal; we were willing to take a part payment and go away, but the only answer we got was that we could go, and they would pay us perhaps in two or three years. We notified the officers that we would sue, and applied for a receiver. For this charges were preferred against us, and we got suspended from everything—board, fuel, work, school privileges for the children, and the houses we live in. By this action they thought to drive us from the grounds, but we remained determined to fight to the end and prevent other people being victimized the same as we were. They have not been able to force us out of the houses, but we have to buy our provisions, and thus eat up what little money we have. The trial is set for August 16th. The association has up to the present time spent \$300 for attorneys, having employed three of them to fight this case. They have never claimed that they could win, but they boast to be able to put the trial back for three years.

In their desperate efforts to keep the colony afloat and swindle more people, they have the colony boomed in the plutocratic press. E. C. McDowell, of Nashville, one of the association's attorneys, boomed the colony in the New York "World" on June the 13th. The article is a lie from beginning to end, and he got paid for writing it. One who signs himself Harry Lowrie wrote a long article in the Chicago "Times-Herald" June the 27th. He was in Ruskin two days, feasted by the officers and well guarded, so that we could not speak to him, and he never spoke to any member outside the ring. After reading his ravings about the happiness of life in Ruskin one must think him a worthy successor of Baron Munchhausen.

I hope that you can publish some of these facts in your valuable paper. If you wish any more information about Ruskin I will be pleased to answer any question you may ask. The names of us three who are suspended are Jacob Eckelman, Albert Holst and E. G. Schultz. You may use them if you wish. Fraternally yours,

ALBERT HOLST.

THE HUSBANDMAN.

"I long to live to see an agricultural laborer strike for wages."—Cobden, 1847.

Serfs of the soil! Ye sons of toil And ill-requited labor, Much have ye each the world to teach Of love to God and neighbor.

Of nature's lore you win much store By study of her phases, Vicissitudes, and many moods, And tread her wondrous mazes.

The quiet look in "God's green book" Intent to mark its pages, Sees order there, and law, and care, And takes its happy wages.

Love is your prayer; you gentle are Towards everything that moveth; "For, great and small, God made them all, And very dearly loveth."

Through every coast 'tis British boast His home is each man's castle. Alas! for you, the boast's not true— You are the farmer's vassal.

Home! Spare the name! 'Tis very shame That labor goes in fetters, Who follows plough is forced to bow, Freedom is for his betters.

Sinews and thews God gave to use That you may earn—a living? A "starving" say—two bob a day, 'E'en that with all your striving.

For that rich wage you must engage In all to please your master, Else out of home you needs must come In four short weeks or faster.

Can home's true bliss, tell me, be his, Who cannot live securely? Tenant at will, he is thrall still, In freedom's land bound surely.

When strength grows frail, and blood runs pale, And aged locks are hoary, Holds good the saw in holy law That gray hairs are your glory?

Ah! penniless, in want and stress, You come your state to mention; A grateful land, with lavish hand, Rewards you with a pension.

Pension forsooth! 'Tis naked truth, And sorts with your beginning, Two bob a day in life's heyday You once were hardly winning.

And now at last, when strength is past, What kind consideration! Five pennies' worth for your day's mirth; Oh! take and thank your nation.

Ye whose limbs yet are sturdy set, Bethink you of this ending; Some ills there are that men must bear, But some are not past mending.

Then up and band on every hand, In serried ranks unite ye; Let Britain see how wronged ye be, Britain shall surely right ye.

But, abject, yield your foe the field, Squire, farmer, bailiff, parson, No freedom's day shall glad your way, Go, slaves, your fetters fasten!

—Clarion.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—Why, hello, old boy! How are you? By the way, Sam, how is that party of yours getting along?

Uncle Sam—Quite well, thank you; and as for the party, that is moving surely and steadily forward.

B. J.—It strikes me that you have no prominent men connected with your party; no well known names of eminent politicians or statesmen. Now, don't you think you would get ahead much faster if you were to endorse some of the candidates of the old parties, thus placing them under a sort of obligation to you, instead of wasting time, money and energy trying to elect a ticket foredoomed to defeat? You surely must acknowledge that there are some good men in the old parties. You certainly would not charge them all with being corrupt; and then you must admit that it is a matter of first importance to elect public officials who are honest, capable and, above all, responsible men?

U. S.—Oh, I see! We have no prominent men in our ranks, eh? You object to us because we have no prominent men, eh? No prominent politicians; no great statesmen? Do you ever read the papers? Don't you think that men who make kings tremble and empires totter are prominent enough? You want us to go ahead faster by going backward. Time, money and energy wasted, you say, by fighting for what we want, is it? (giving B. J. a dig in the ribs) Instead of fighting for what we don't want, simply because we are sure to get it (another dig). You want me to acknowledge there are good men in the old parties? Why, who said there weren't? Not I; your own old parties do that. Public officials should be honest, capable, responsible, did I hear you say? Why, you ignoramus! (dig; you fool! dig); you consummate ass! (dig); don't you know they are all responsible to the class they represent? Do you mean to tell me that if we endorsed their nomination they would do our work (dig) against their own class interests? (dig).

B. J.—Don't hit me so hard! Let me explain. What I mean is this: If you were to endorse their candidates you could, having placed them under obligations to you, demand recognition for some of your demands, get some of the minor offices, thus placing some of your people on the rounds of the political ladder. Do you catch on?

U. S. (giving him another dig)—You mutton head idiot! Can you tell me what you would gain by that? Didn't some so-called labor men get jobs under the present "reform" administration right here in the city? Did that do any good to the workers in general (dig)? Do you mean that the appointment to office of a drunken lout of a labor fakir has advanced the cause of even pure and simple trades unionism (dig)?

B. J.—Let go! I-I-I didn't mean that.

U. S.—You voted for Cleveland, didn't you (dig)? You kicked yourself after ward, didn't you (dig)? You next shouted and voted for McKinley, didn't you (dig)? Now you are sorry again, aren't you (dig)? You were "successful" every time, weren't you (dig)? Now you are out at elbows (dig); your toes peep through your shoes (dig); you've had to take in a couple of reefs in your waistband, haven't you (dig)? And all because you wanted to be on the "winning side" (dig). Don't you think your "victories" rather more expensive than our "defeats" (dig)?

B. J.—Hold on; don't kill me. I'm in a hurry. Good-bye.

U. S. (grabbing him by the collar)—Hold on! Not quite so fast! You said honest (dig), capable (dig), prominent (dig); were not the men you voted for all that? (shaking him).

B. J. (looking sheepish)—I-I-I thought they were so.

U. S. (emphatically)—And so they were. They are all that you claim for your ideal, and more, and they are all that; they make most EFFICIENT, COMPETENT, RELIABLE, EMINENT, HONEST SERVANTS OF CAPITALISM. Do you understand? (shake).

B. J.—Y-e-s-s.

U. S.—Now, go home and put some glycerine on the blue spots with which I have ornamented you. And as you rub up each sore spot say to yourself: "This represents one of my smartnesses and practical acts at politics."

GEORGE P. HERSCHAFT.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

J. H. Nosovitch, Topeka, Kans.—We know of no political party in the United States named the "Social Democratic party," or the "Social Democracy." We have heard the name of "Social Democracy" in this country only applied to Mr. Debs' plan, which is to "give immediate relief" by colonizing a State, as distinguished from the Socialist Labor party which, it is claimed, would give relief only 17,336 years hence. The "Social Democracy" we know of, this Debs plan, is an Utopian scheme, all the more utopian, and therefore bound to go to smash, because it is built upon the deliberate disregard of the class struggle, and of the tactics it dictates.

B. W., Fairhaven, Wash.—He joined the party last campaign, since then he moved from where he lived and is now in a town where we have no organization.

S. S., N. Y.—You will find your question forestalled on the editorial page.

IMPORTANT FACTS.

Ellected by the Brayings of a Parson and a Whipperrapper.

A few Sundays ago the Rev. Woodman Hypocrite Bradbury, of Worcester, Mass., made from the pulpit of the Baptist Church in that city an attack upon Socialism. As a matter of course, wide publicity was given by the local plutocratic organ, the "Worcester Spy," to his reiteration of the stale absurdity that "the Socialists are in for a grand division of the wealth of the Vanderbilts, Goulds and other frugal persons who, by practising economy, accumulated their present possessions." The Worcester Comrades promptly challenged the Rev. Hypocrite to a public debate, but the latter not less promptly declined to be thus forced into making a plainer show of his long ears and cloven foot. Thereupon appeared in the Worcester "Spy" a lengthy article from the juvenile pen of a certain Albert Ignoramus Gray, who is apparently a tardive sprig of the rotten middle class tree, but fresh from the Paris Quartier Latin, where his papa sent him to learn good manners and otherwise finish his education. At any rate, the salient point of his article was that during his residence in the gayest quarter of the gay capital he had been a member of a certain Committee of Defense and Social Progress, instituted to demonstrate the remarkable proposition that Socialism does not, and cannot, indeed, exist in France because there are in that strange land more employers than employees. As this proposition sufficiently partakes of the nature of the "Irish bull" to be allowed to pass uncontradicted, Comrade Sanial, when called upon from Worcester for a statistical reply, confined himself to a statement of conditions in this country. After keeping his article for letter to Comrade Barry several days under consideration, the editor of the Worcester "Spy" wisely concluded that he could not publish it. A bolder contemporary, the Worcester "Telegram," took the risk of the venture. The facts in the following extracts, and the form in which they are presented may prove of value to our readers. Here they are:

Mr. Gray's scientific equipment is obviously so light, and you have so thoroughly

PUNCTURED HIS SOPHOMORIC ESSAY, that it would be a waste of time to take further notice of his glaring misstatements and self-contradictions concerning the principles and aims of Socialism. French capitalism must be an awfully shaky structure if it needs such props as its "Comité de défense et de progrès social," of which he says he was a member, and imports defenders from Worcester. As to the jumble of figures produced by that gentleman relative to the distribution of property and employments in our sister capitalistic republic, it is enough to say that a false conclusion drawn from incomplete or adulterated statistics is the worst kind of untruth. However, if you desire it, I shall gladly later on restore the facts, from which it will clearly appear that while the concentration of capital is not proceeding in France at the same high rate as in the United States, yet the economic conditions and tendencies are exactly the same.

The proletarian or dispossessed class is increasing rapidly, and it now constitutes an overwhelming majority of the French population. Hence the progress of Socialism in all parts of that country, as shown by the return in 1893 of 62 Socialist members to the French Parliament, supplemented last year by the

ELECTION OF SOCIALIST MAJORITIES in the municipal councils of 29 great cities, and in the municipal or communal councils of 1,200 towns and rural communes. Mark that last year the Socialist vote in France was 1,400,000, as against 600,000 in 1893 and 30,000 in 1885.

But, letting France take care of itself with or without the aid of Mr. Gray, I may properly call attention to some facts nearer home, which American citizens, whether native or foreign born, will no doubt deem of more immediate interest to them. In nearly all the great manufacturing industries, the number of establishments is steadily decreasing, while the capital of each is increasing enormously. A comparison of the census returns of 1889 and 1890 for 12 leading branches, representing in the latter year a capital of more than \$3,000,000, or nearly half the total capital engaged in manufactures and mechanical trades, gives the following results:

| Industries. | No. of establishments. | Capital. (in millions of dollars.) | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| | 1880. | 1890. | | |
| Cotton goods... | 1,005 | 905 | 219 | 354 |
| Woolen goods... | 2,066 | 1,454 | 116 | 199 |
| Carpets | 195 | 173 | 21 | 38 |
| Boots & shoes | 1,950 | 2,082 | 43 | 95 |
| Iron and steel | 1,005 | 645 | 250 | 373 |
| Machinery | 8,511 | 9,287 | 280 | 743 |
| Flour mills | 24,328 | 18,470 | 177 | 208 |
| Lumber | 28,199 | 24,681 | 219 | 617 |
| Paper | 692 | 567 | 46 | 82 |
| Leather | 5,424 | 1,596 | 67 | 81 |
| Beer & liquors | 3,035 | 1,688 | 115 | 263 |
| Shipbuilding .. | 2,188 | 1,010 | 21 | 53 |
| Totals | 78,608 | 62,558 | 1,554 | 3,106 |

THESE FIGURES ARE IN THEMSELVES suggestive of the progress of capitalistic concentration, although they do not by far reveal its full extent. Of the 12 great industries above named, only two, machinery and footwear, show a slight increase in the number of establishments from 1880 to 1890. All the others show a marked decrease. The falling off was at the rate of about one establishment every 36 days in cotton goods, 2 establishments per month in woolen and worsted goods, 3 per month in iron and steel, 10 per month in shipbuilding, 25 per month in lumber mills, 48 per month in flour mills, etc.

In the meantime, however, the aggregate capital engaged in those industries almost exactly doubled. Note in particular the enormous increase of the capital engaged in the production of machinery, for it is the most suggestive in many respects. Under this head I have grouped all the branches of the industry, including agricultural implements, and I find that with a working force about 50 per cent. greater than in 1880, the product of machine shops in 1890 nearly doubled in value and more

than trebled in quantity, machines being now more and more used instead of skilled labor in the making of other machines.

Take also into consideration the greater efficiency of the new and improved plants, and you may form an idea of the rate at which

LABOR IS BEING DISPLACED.

without any provision being made for its re-employment. In most of the great industries above mentioned, and in many others, the increase in the number of hands employed did not keep pace with the increase of population. For instance, as against an increase of 25 per cent. in population from 1880 to 1890, there was an increase of only 8 per cent. in the number of persons employed in iron and steel works, the product of which more than doubled; 19 per cent. in cotton mills, 17 per cent. in woolen and worsted mills, 1 1/2 per cent. in the manufacture of leather; less than 9 per cent. in flouring mills.

The number of operators in shoe factories kept pace with the progress of population, but, on the other hand, the number of skilled custom work shoemakers decreased 26 per cent. By comparing the number reported as employed in the census tables of manufactures with the number reported as shoemakers by trade, in the tables of occupations, we find that the average number of unemployed people depending upon shoemaking for a living in the busy year of 1890 was 60,000.

Of course, owing chiefly to the decrease or small increase in the number of establishments, the average number of hands employed by each is growing much more rapidly than the total number employed in the whole industry. For instance, it increased from 184 to 245 per establishment in cotton mills, from 57 to 68 in woolen and worsted mills, from 6 to 21 in tanneries, from 140 to 235 in iron mills, and so on in proportion.

All this does not well accord with the RASH STATEMENT OF SUCH AS MR. GRAY, that the process of capitalistic absorption is on the wane, especially if account is taken of the further justification of industry that has been ceaselessly going on since 1890.

Passing to agriculture, what do we find? The increase in the number of farms during the ten years under consideration was, in round figures, from 4,008,000 to 4,564,000, or about 11 per cent. as against an increase of 25 per cent. in population.

One farm in every four was cultivated by tenants, who, with their families and the 3,000,000 farm laborers working for wages, constituted a majority of our agricultural population. The number of farms is steadily decreasing in the northwestern States, while the rate of increase in the West is steadily falling. In New York it was less by 16,000 in 1890 than in 1880, and the rural population decreased 60,000, although the area and diversity of cultivation sensibly increased. Here, again, capitalistic concentration is the natural, inevitable result of the application of machinery under the present economic system.

As regards the enginery of transportation, the facts are so well known that I need not dwell upon them at any length. Suffice it to say that according to the report of the interstate commerce commission for 1895, the latest I have now at hand, the railroad mileage of the United States was in that year 180,000, two-thirds of it being

OPERATED BY ONLY 66 CORPORATIONS, which practically controlled also the remaining third.

Upon the arbitrary will of the few magnates who govern our railway system depends the existence of 800,000 men. The regard which those great captains of industry entertain for the life of the humble private is apparent from the further fact that from 1888 to 1895, owing chiefly to their avaricious neglect to provide freight cars with automatic couplers and guard rails, 18,968 railroad employees were killed and 197,826 severely injured. This is a greater loss of human life and limb than was suffered by the Union armies in the 10 most sanguinary battles of the Civil War.

According to Bradstreet's, there were last year on an average 1,150,000 firms and corporations in the United States and Canada. Of this total number, which comprised every concern, great or small, in manufacture, trade, commerce, transportation, mining, insurance, banking, etc., 224,000, or nearly 20 per cent either

FAILED OR GAVE UP BUSINESS during the year. Of the 17,300 that failed, and probably also of the 207,200 that retired in time to escape bankruptcy, 80 per cent. had a capital of less than \$5,000, and 14 per cent. had a capital of more than \$5,000, but less than \$20,000. At this rate it would take less than five years to wipe out of existence every firm in North America having a capital of less than \$20,000, and to concentrate in the hands of a few thousand great concerns all the business of this continent.

There are still, however, many people who possess a little property accumulated in better times, chiefly by their fathers, and who, untaught by the misfortunes of their neighbors, rashly embark with their little all in the rotten ship of middle class enterprise, thus filling the gaps made by bankruptcies in the ranks of the mercantile army. But this supply of raw material for capitalistic absorption is necessarily limited, and the time of its exhaustion cannot be distant.

Manifestly, then, capitalism is committing suicide. In its primitive form of individual capitalism it has already passed away. In its later form of collective or corporate capitalism it will soon find itself with a handful of men

S. L. P. Sections take Notice. The well-known and inspiring song, written by comrade Peter E. Burrowes, of Brooklyn, under the title "The Hand with the Hammer," has been set to new and beautiful music by the Russian composer Platon Brounoff, and can now be had at the Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, New York.

The price for single copies is 10 cents, but a liberal discount will be given to dealers, encouraging them to push the sale of the song.

No section of the party should fail to form a chorus and sing this song at their public meetings and other public demonstrations.

THE LABOR NEWS CO., 64 East 4th street, N. Y.

WASTED ENERGIES.

The Heavy Responsibility for Suffering that Rests on the Shoulders of "Reformers."

POLK, Pa., June 23.—Meeting a traveling "brother" of the Co-operative Commonwealth recently, who, however, is progressing too rapidly to remain one long, turned my attention to the vast amount of wasted energy and unprofitable discontent that half truth "reformers" are responsible for, who, with the opportunities at their hand, could have enlightened those whom they came in contact with by teaching the truths of Socialism as they have been demonstrated by the world's researches and experience, instead of trying to "do something original." The majority of my Socialist acquaintances, as well as myself, have, unfortunately, been through the various alleged social panaceas before we found out what we might have learned at the first had we heard the truth then, instead of the prevailing noise. It seems to be the prevailing notion that one must evolve from a mild reformer through Coxyism, Greenbackism, Labor Exchange, Co-operative Store, Co-operative Colony, Free Silver and direct legislationisms, not to speak of the various side lights too numerous to mention, in order to reach Socialism; and, indeed, at first blush it does seem that the political regeneration works something like contagious diseases among children, and that one has to be caught as soon as the last one is cured until there remains no more to catch. But it is far from true that such a procedure is necessary.

First, there must be a large element in our population who have perforce realized that their right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness lies locked up in the safe, engrossed on the parchment of the Declaration of Independence, and hence are in a frame of mind to "do something." Their ignorance of what has been done, or at least tried by people in a similar condition, and their ignorance of the laws which underlie all social-economic movements or phenomena, is the real thing to be deplored, and the one thing needed is men who have found this out, who are willing to teach the truth only, and are not so anxious to "assemble a multitude." At a man who has heard of nothing nearer the truth than any of these half-buffaloes, no offense can be taken. But a man who knows better, yet to be harmonious and to feel strong in a large crowd sinks his convictions in the hope that such procedure will "lead on a little nearer," is a man who ought to go somewhere and do penance awhile. The large following of these false teachers (for a while) is no argument that their teachings were opportune, or that they lead the pupils further toward the truth. Their readers, their hearers and their followers only felt the need of a change from where they are defrauded and oppressed to somewhere where they could receive their own, and naturally gladly heard the first to come along whose teachings conformed with their desires. That thousands of such finally "saw through" Coxyism, who got disgusted with exchanging their commodities by means of certificates, when they had no commodities to exchange or no adequate tools to produce their work, or no capital to produce such; who got disgusted with Populism's halt for reinforcements last fall, and yet would not consent to lie flat—all this is nothing to recommend the "evolutionary powers" of such abortive movements. Those who did not succumb got on as well as they did in spite of such movements, and to-day are worn and wearied by their ignis fatuus experience. How men possessed of the intelligence, that so many of these victims undoubtedly possess, could reconcile the many and conflicting ideas contained in such movements, and how they failed to see in so many instances that by following out the reasoning laid down in such "platforms" they would demolish some other and prominent part of the same, is more than I can see, unless they, like myself, when so situated, were so anxious to gather a large crowd, and in doing so had made the "platform" so broad that opposing elements with conflicting interests found place on it, and that being the case, no scrutiny of one's own position or any criticism of anything connected with the "movement" would be thought of without being confronted with the spectre of offended withdrawing members, or, if the ball once got opened, a general collapse and smash up.

What a pity for all that the Tenets Court Oath of the French Revolution was unknown to them! What must be the credulity of the readers of such papers who fail to see anything wrong with the conflicting teachings issued in each number. The first page, full of diluted, whitewashed, Anarchist-Communist teachings, or rather criticisms on the "tyranny" of Socialism as the S. L. P. teaches it, or rather, as they say it teaches it—and such propaganda, too, to forward a colonization movement whose foundation is capitalism, having incorporated shares of stock, wages, sale of commodities, etc., and whose propaganda on the next page advocates the initiative and referendum after "showing up" the futility of voting at all. One place we will see them reprinting Krapotkin's "Essay to the Young," apparently with the intention of soothing that wing of the readers, at the same time carefully omitting to publish his "Wages System" or "Anarchist Morality," which would be "dead pizen" to the "Labor Exchange," "Initiative and Referendum" or "The Labor Church" element in the melange. Or again, read the able article some time ago in the "Coming Nation," with illustrations showing with diagram as well as figures and words, the condition of the expiring middle class, the puffed out and still swelling condition of the capitalist class, and the poor, measly little 5 per cent. wealth of the numerous and active working class, fringed at the bottom with the large and increasing class of paupers absolute—all showing

at a glance the real condition of affairs. Then to see the balance of the paper devoted to a scheme where this self-same poverty-stricken class, by means of their 10c. a month and their "labor" are going to reproduce for their own emancipation the means of production to enable them to compete with capitalism, or sometimes they say to "ignore capitalism," once having their means of independence. Just think of it! Three years of incessant agitation, financial help of as high as 60,000 discontents at a time, and less than 200 people actively engaged in this miraculous "reproduction." Why, when these few, by their labor, after having in a primitive way produced the requisites for an existence of self denial, have produced their mite in the world's array of productive forces, the millions of toiling men, women, children animals and marching with the science, natural resources, tools, machinery and all legal and social forces at their command, are increasing the power of the capitalists at such a rate that the longer this monkey business is kept up the worse defeated its participants are: as though a boy with a hand cart were running a race with a "flyer" express—the longer the race lasted the worse beaten would be the hand cart.

The capitalist papers are getting a good deal of satisfaction out of the definite declaration that free silver is a dead issue, and predict that both for this commendable statement and the statement that the professional Socialists, who are afraid that the unemployed will be removed from the "beer centres" of the country, will win for the Debs movement a great deal of support which it would not otherwise receive. This capitalist press seems to think that it is a good thing, except the foolish Utopian Socialist features, which, however, can by its nature amount to nothing, and hopes that it will relieve the overcrowded trade centres of some of their unemployed. If economic conditions drove the farmer, his sons and daughters to the cities, with more to follow, who, after being beaten in the economic battle on the farm, and having hope enough left at least to go to the city, instead of being carted off to the nearest poorhouse, and who, after engaging in the city economic battle and getting defeated again, join hands with others also on the run, who have not had even a country experience, and therefore are totally unfitted to engage in a battle on such unfamiliar grounds, where then lies a reasonable hope that to-morrow, in face of still harder conditions than existed yesterday, these hopeless "leers from economic battles" will fight better than they did when they had an easier fight? Bah! this prattle about relieving overcrowded trade centres sickens one. Having noted the result of all from the Brook Farm to the latest, including many land schemes, it shows up plain that the whole batch together flatly failed to do as much good as the old-time tried soup house.

Even to grant that such colonies were tolerably successful, what would you think that would be to people whose "higher feelings" cause them to reject the "narrow" materialistic Socialist Labor party and its kind in Europe, whose desire to "relieve suffering humanity wherever found" are so great that they hope to have capitalist and laborer all to see the error of their ways and "reform," when only a few hundred of those who are able to put up the stuff for their share of stock could be benefited? Yet they fail to admit that it is the DUTY OF ALL SOCIALISTS TO VOTE SOCIALISM on election day, as though to refrain from doing so would in any way better any one except the capitalist, who to-day owes all he has to the votes of the proletariat, that legalizes and perpetuates and protects his ownership of the means of production, and thereby his power to rob and wax fat, thanks to such Socialists and their other hand—the labor fakir.

Workmen, drop all this and COME WHERE YOU BELONG!
O. N. E. LACKALL.

Books that Ought to Be Read.

The following books can be obtained by mailing price and one-tenth of price for postage, to the New York Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, New York City. Send for full catalogue.

- "The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1844."—By Fredrick Engels. \$1 25
- "Capital."—By Carl Marx.—An exhaustive dissertation on political economy from the most advanced and scientific standpoint. Bound. 2 00
- Paper
- "Co-operative Commonwealth."—An Exposition of Socialism, by Laurence Gronlund
- "Socialism vs. Tax Reform."—By Laurence Gronlund
- "Socialism."—By William Scholl McClure
- "A Traveler from Altruria."—By William Dean Howells. Cloth. 1 50
- Paper
- "Merrie England."—By Robert Blatchford
- "The Fabian Essays."—By H. G. Wilschire. Paper
- "French and German Socialism."—By Prof. Richard T. Ely. 25
- "Six Centuries of Work and Wages."—By J. E. Thorold Rogers
- "Quintessence of Socialism."—By Dr. A. Schaeffe
- "Reform or Revolution."—By Daniel De Leon
- "The Evolution of Property."—By Lafargue
- "Heterodox Economies vs. Orthodox Profits."—By Henry B. Ashplant
- "Patriotism and Socialism."—By G. B. Benham
- "Ancient Society."—By Prof. Lewis Morgan. 4 00
- "National Party Platforms from 1798 to 1896."—By J. M. H. Frederick
- "Philosophy of Wage-Slaves."—By T. Bresford
- "What's to Be Done."—By N. G. Tchernychevsky (new edition). 50
- "Modern Socialism."—By Rev. Charles H. Vail
- "The Coming Social Struggle."—By William Edlin

A SIGNIFICANT EPISODE.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., July 10.—With the growth of the Socialist Labor party in this city there commenced to crop up from different layers of society all shades of reformers, who like to style themselves "Socialists." A "Social Science Club" has been formed, which meets weekly in one of the most fashionable churches, where professors, teachers, Catholic and Protestant ministers, silver cranks and single taxers, political wire-pullers and labor fakirs, etc., come to "discuss the social problem." It attracts also a good number from the fashionable quarters, who leave their coachmen to wait outside and themselves go in to teach "solution." To discuss social questions has now become a fad. But since the topic of the day is Socialism, and without the presence of the Socialists, these meetings are of little effect; the members of the party have been invited to take part in the discussions. We availed ourselves of the opportunity. It seems, however, that our presence began to annoy them. They are taken by surprise—such aggressive, open and fearless talk as our Comrades hold within the walls of the Plymouth Church has never been heard before by the majority of those who come there.

Last Monday, June 28th, the subject for discussion was "Socialism," a synopsis of Prof. Ely's "Socialism and Social Reform," which was treated by Prof. W. Dobbin, Populist editor. The audience was the largest ever assembled there, some four or five hundred seats were taken up. The speaker found fault with the Socialists "of a certain school," who make of Socialism a class question; these he called "narrow and exclusive." "The working people should extend their brotherly hand of help to the professional, intelligent middle class, to the man of letters," and much more of this sort.

After a half a dozen ministers had expressed their objections to or sympathies with Socialism, Dr. A. Hirschfeld opened the fire with a criticism of Ely's work, whom he considered more dangerous an enemy to Socialism than an open opponent because of the author's apparent tendencies towards so-called Socialistic reforms. Tom Lucas followed, and got the audience on his side by a scathing reply to a minister who feared that his "individualism" might suffer unmeasurably under Socialism. Ten minutes were left to the closing of the meeting, when Comrade G. B. Leonard arose and demanded the floor. Prof. Tolwell, of the State University, was also recognized by the chair, and our Comrade then yielded the floor to the professor. The latter treated Socialism as a Utopia. Comrade Leonard followed. He said in substance:

"I am surprised to see a teacher in a public institution of high standing, a professor of political economy in the State University, appear before this audience and manifest such ignorance about so important a subject, an ignorance that would be inexcusable even in one who is only slightly acquainted with the tenets of modern Socialism. The professor says that it is a pleasant thing to read Plato's 'Republic,' Tom Moore's 'Utopia,' and Bellamy's 'Looking Backwards.' I agree as to that. But what have they to do with Socialism? I presume that the professor is acquainted with the works of Marx and Engels, and if he is, he must know that modern Socialism is more than a Utopia. What is it then? Socialism can be considered in three aspects: First—Socialism as a philosophical system of interpretation of social phenomena; second—Socialism as a social system, as a system of economic relations of men to each other, which necessarily and inevitably must take place with the fall of the present capitalist era; and third—Socialism as a movement.

As to the first, Socialism claims to have established three cardinal principles: First—The materialistic conception of history. It recognizes that all changes which have taken place in our political institutions, our moral and intellectual conceptions and religious observations, in our ideas of good and bad, just and unjust, right and wrong, moral and immoral, are all to be traced to the changes in the economic substrata underlying them all, which has as inflexible laws of evolution as everything else in nature.

Its second principle is the theory of the class struggle. The history of mankind since the beginning of civilization, the history of the last three or four thousand years, behind which there is a long period of primitive Communism, that in many respects would make our boasted civilization blush with shame, is a history of class struggles, a history of the rise and fall of classes parallel to and resulting from the changes in the forms and methods of production. The government, the political state of ancient, mediæval and present days has been a weapon in the hands of the oppressing class to keep established conditions untouched in the name of "Law and Order" a club which drops with full force upon the heads of the oppressed every time they attempt to resist any encroachment upon their rights. The governments of to-day, whether absolute monarchies, constitutional kingdoms or republics, are no more than capitalist institutions, for the protection of private capitalist property, STOLEN from the wage working class, as demonstrated to you to-day by Dr. Hirschfeld, and it is for the wrenching of this weapon from the hands of the capitalist class that the Socialist Labor party has been organized, and it is in that direction that our efforts are first pushed. The speaker of the evening is guilty of a misrepresentation when he stated that Social Democracy in Germany had different aims from those of Socialism in this country because of the difference in the political structure in the respective countries.

The third principle of Socialism is the theory of surplus value. Under the capitalist system the means of production have become so extensive that the majority of the people are excluded from their ownership, and, consequently, are forced to hire themselves out. In so doing, they sell their muscular or mental powers, or both, for which a wage is given them, which represents the value of that commodity. The value of all commodities is measured by the average social time necessary to produce or reproduce them. To reproduce labor power, a certain amount of food, clothing, shelter, and say some little comfort, are necessary. Now, all these things can be produced in much less time than the wage-worker is compelled to work for his wage, which actually represents that amount of necessities of life. The surplus of each day's labor goes to the owner of the tools and machinery. Thus, under a system of hire, under the wages system, the wage-workers, and when I say wage-worker I mean the dirt shoveller as well as the civil engineer, the shoemaker as well as the college professor, does not get the full value of the product of his labor. The surplus above the means of existence which the capitalist appropriates is called surplus value. You will thus understand why the Socialist demands the abolition of private ownership in the means of production.

As to Socialism as an economic category, in short, it consists in the common ownership of the means of production and distribution and their operation for the benefit of all with all political moral commitments resulting therefrom we are alive in aims and methods. As a movement Socialism is a riddle for some, an ominous Sphinx for others, a threat to thrones and to capitalist society everywhere. As such it is the revolt of the working class against the injustices of the present system. It is purely a working class movement. And the fact that you, the fashionable society of this city, are gathering here to discuss the great problems of to-day is a reflection of the fear which the spectre of the ever increasing growth of the Socialist Labor party is creating in your midst. The speaker of the evening calls us "narrow and exclusive." If he intended to use these words as a condemnation we shall take it as a compliment. Yes, we are "narrow," we are "exclusive"—if strict adherence to scientific principles may be so called. And until you overthrow those principles and prove to us that we are in the wrong, we shall not abandon them, and shall continue the policy we have pursued. Prof. Dobbin appeals to the working people to join hands with the great middle class. Let me ask him where was this great middle class when the interests of labor were on trial with those of capital? Were they on the side of labor? No. Does their cowardice and servility in the past justify our confidence in the brotherly band of the "intelligent" middle class, of the professional man and man of letters in the future? The curse of the working people lay in their over-confidence in and servility to that great middle class, to the opinions of the so-called "society" or "fashionable respectability," whose insignia are the frock and silk hat, the rich bonnet and professional title. But things are changing. The workingman begins to have contempt for that society, and rightly so, and when we see gentlemen in the frock appearing before us to-night and telling us that they are in sympathy with Socialism in some respects, but find fault with it in others, we consider it as a fruitless attempt to stave off or misdirect the rising tide.

The revolution has commenced, it is aye in our own midst, it is marching onward irresistibly without you gentlemen, professors and literary men, and in spite of you. It is for you to see that this revolution is accomplished with the least bloodshed possible. Socialism, professor, will then be no more a dream, a utopia, but a reality, an established fact, and "Peace on earth, and good will to men" will not be an empty word on the lips of the preacher and politician, but an element permeating every fibre of the Socialist Commonwealth that must inevitably take the place of the self-destroying system of to-day.

This closed the meeting. The force and earnestness with which the words were spoken by the Comrade left a strong impression upon the audience, which applauded him all through his speech.

The chairman, a minister, felt greatly embarrassed by the interest of the audience, and their frequent applause seemed to have restrained him from calling Comrade Leonard short and calling him to time.

Prof. Folwell was heard apparently apologizing before the Comrades who spoke, and saying, "You Socialists have a great field to work on when you introduce your theory of value."

This may furnish the reason why he failed to touch on the question that evening.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Wants No Compromise with Hell. Let me say a few words about the meritorious PEOPLE.

I have been a subscriber to the "Nationalist" in its time, and also to Edw. Bellamy's doleful "New Nation."

The compromising, half-friendly, half-hostile attitude of these publications toward the hellish competitive system and its mainstays, rendered them unfit as beacons of our emancipation, as they promised to be. Result: A speedy decadence, and a still more speedy consignment to antiquity. Have also been a subscriber to the PEOPLE since its start. I instinctively feel that its language is perfectly correct, its severity none too severe. We are to-day living in a veritable hell. We don't want any compromises with the advocates of this hell. We don't want any palliative measures that may be devised for the purpose of resuscitating the old institution at each application. We want the co-operative commonwealth, ENTIRE AND COMPLETE. All efforts aiming directly for the goal, gently pushing aside all involuntary obstacles, vehemently flinging aside the voluntary ones, are the efforts deserving our best support and approbation. Such work THE PEOPLE is doing. May it never relax in vigor till the burden of the battle is fought.—Fraternally,

O. KOPPLIN.

Fall Creek, Wis., July 5.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

A THING WORTH STRIVING FOR IS THE BEAUTIFUL
DIAMOND POINT GOLD FOUNTAIN PEN



We will send it free to anyone sending us three yearly subscriptions at one dollar each. Will you take advantage of this unprecedented offer? Get a new yearly subscriber this, next and the following week, then send us \$3.00 and the pen is yours.

PARTY NEWS.

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

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William Street, N. Y.

National Executive Committee. At the meeting held July 12th Comrade Bennett was in the chair. The financial report for the week ending July 10th showed receipts \$15.20, expenditures \$117.75, deficit \$102.55.

The leaflet on the attitude of the party toward trade unions is ordered printed. The New Charter Publishing Association of San Francisco submits its constitution and by-laws for approval, and the secretary is instructed to point out some clauses that the committee desire to have inserted.

At the suggestion of the Irish Socialist Republican party, as transmitted by M. D. Fitzgerald, it is resolved to reprint the pamphlet, "Erin's Hope," by James Connolly, with an appendix by the National Executive Committee, containing a call upon Irish-American workmen.

Section Cincinnati (Amer.) reports the expulsion of Rubin Sholomov. New Sections have been formed in Houston, Tex.; Dallas, Tex.; Mount Carmel, Pa.; Shenandoah, Pa.; Atlanta, Ga.

New York.

The City Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of New York City, to nominate candidates for Mayor, Comptroller and President of Council, will take place on Saturday, July 17th, 8 P.M., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth Street. The delegates to the Convention must not fail to bring their credentials with them.

L. ABELSON, Organizer, Socialist Labor Party of Greater New York.

NEW YORK CITY, Branch I. (American) at its last regular meeting received the report of the proceedings of the Greater New York General Committee and emphatically endorsed its vigorous action taken in regard to the accused districts as fully justifiable and appropriate.

JULIUS HAMMER, Sec'y.

The reorganization of the Fourth Assembly District, Section Greater New York, S. L. P., took place on Friday, July 9th, 8 P.M., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth Street, with Comrade L. Abelson in the chair. The meeting was very well attended. The first order of business was the election of officers, which resulted as follows: Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Comrade S. Berlin; Financial Secretary, S. Schlessinger. A committee of two were elected to secure a permanent meeting place in the Fourth Assembly District and to notify members through party organs when and where the next meeting takes place. It was further decided to hold a primary meeting to elect delegates to the City Convention which takes place at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth Street, on Saturday, July 17th, at 8 P.M. 35 loyal Socialists enrolled their names on the books. The district will be in excellent working order in a few weeks.

The reorganization of the Eighth Assembly District, Section Greater New York, S. L. P., took place on Saturday, July 10th, 7 P. M., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth Street, with Comrade T. Hickey in the chair. The meeting was well attended. About 20 members enrolled. The following officers were elected: Corresponding and Recording Secretary, Comrade N. Drusher; Financial Secretary, S. Weimann. A committee was elected to secure a hall in the 8th District for permanent meeting place, and to notify members by card when and where the next meeting takes place. It was also decided to call a primary to elect delegates to the city convention. Notice of such primary will be announced through the party press during the week. The Recording Secretary was instructed to issue a call to all Socialists residing in the Eighth Assembly District to enroll in the reorganized district. Meeting adjourned.

The Twelfth Assembly District, Section Greater New York, S. L. P., was reorganized last Saturday, 8 P.M., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth Street. The meeting was well attended. The following officers were temporarily elected: H. Reich, Recording Secretary, and L. Goldstein, Financial Secretary. A committee was elected to secure a hall in the Twelfth District for permanent meeting place. It was also decided to hold a primary meeting during the week to elect delegates to the City Convention on July 17th. The Recording Secretary was instructed to issue a call to Socialists residing in the Twelfth Assembly District to join the reorganized district. Meeting adjourned.

Sailing, Sailing, over the bounding waves NEXT SUNDAY, July 25th, 1897. NEXT SUNDAY.

All the old salts in the Party are prophesying a big haul! Don't you want to astonish your wife or girl with a mess of stable fish? All this fun for only one dollar.

Get your ticket now or you may be on the shore singing "GOOD-BYE, MY HONKY, TONK" - LEFT. Music - Refreshments - Bait and Fishing Tackle on Board; at City Prices. TICKETS for sale by all members, Assembly Districts and at the Office of THE PEOPLE.

The fast Sea-rolling STEAMER BLACKBIRD Will leave foot of 23d Street, East River, at 6.00 P.M. Pier 7, at 6.15 sharp.

SUNDAY, July 25th. SUNDAY, July 25th.

18th Assembly District Fishing Excursion Committee.

The necessary arrangements for the excursion of the Socialist Labor Party 18th Assembly District next Sunday are about completed.

Tickets are now in the hands of all Assembly Districts. If as yet you have not attempted to get yours, make haste. The tickets are limited. We will give you a splendid excursion, with sweet music, and a mess of fish if you get any bites. The proceeds will go to the district's campaign fund. Will you be with us? It promises to be the most pleasant excursion this season. You may catch a dollar's worth of fish!

There will be plenty of tackle, bait, and last, but not least, refreshments on board.

JOHN KEVENEY, Chairman.

Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 12.—The Jewish Branch Section Philadelphia was organized on July 6th at 518 South 3d Street. Twelve members were enrolled at the first meeting. The prospects are that this will become a strong branch of loyal Socialists.

LEONARD FISH, Organizer, Sec. Philadelphia, S. L. P.

VIRGINIA.

State Convention of the S. L. P.

For Governor: J. J. QUANTZ.

For Lieutenant-Governor: R. J. MAYCUMBER.

RICHMOND, Va., July 4.—Pursuant to call, the State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Virginia met on July 4, at 11 a. m. Comrade Schultz was elected chairman. This Comrade stated that Section Fredericksburg had been duly notified of the meeting, but none of her delegates was present; they would probably be on hand Monday.

Comrades Rudolph and Blesch were appointed a Committee on Credentials. The credentials of the delegates from Newport News and Richmond Sections were examined and found to be correct. On motion, the reading of minutes of previous State Convention was deferred till the 5th.

The same was done with the report of State Committee. The report of the Press Committee was presented by Comrade Schultz, secretary-treasurer. It showed \$12.55 due the publisher, which he cut down to \$10. Comrade Rudolph spoke to the question in support of the report.

Comrade Blesch moved the acceptance of the report of Press Committee. Adopted.

On motion, the selection of a Press Committee was referred to the State Committee.

Comrades Blesch and Rudolph were selected to audit the books. The selection of an Agitation Committee was left to State Committee.

Comrades Schultz and Rudolph were selected as the Committee on Resolutions. Section Richmond presented a suggestion to make arrangements, through the Press Committee, for the printing of campaign articles in THE PEOPLE, and the distribution for four weeks of 1,000 copies in the State. The matter was, on motion, placed in the hands of the Press Committee with full power to act.

After consideration, it was decided to elect a Board of Appeals, it being the sense of the convention that all decisions of Sections or State Committee appealed from can be carried to the National Boards of Appeals.

Nominations for State officers were deferred to the 5th. Comrades Schultz, Rudolph and Blesch were selected a committee to draft State platform, with instructions to invite the co-operation of the State Committee.

Adjourned to Monday, the 5th, at 9.30 a. m. On July 5, at 9.30 a. m., the State Convention of the S. L. P. met, pursuant to adjournment on the 4th.

Delegates R. T. Maycumber and R. T. Dunn, of Section Fredericksburg, presented their credentials; these were examined and approved.

Comrade Maycumber was called to the chair. The minutes of last year's convention were read and approved; also the minutes of the previous day's session.

On motion, Secretary Maycumber was requested to present a report for State Committee, which he did verbally. Accepted.

The secretary of the State Committee read his report on the condition and progress of the party in the State. Accepted.

Comrade Schultz reported progress in Richmond.

Comrade Rudolph reported progress also in Newport News.

Comrade Dunn made a favorable report for Fredericksburg.

All these reports incite a great and substantial growth of our party in the near future.

The books of the financial secretary and treasurer were turned over to the Auditing Committee.

The report of Committee on Agitation was passed by, the delegates' reports covering the ground.

Comrades J. J. Quantz and R. T. Maycumber were unanimously nominated for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor respectively. No nomination was made for Attorney-General.

The Auditing Committee reported the secretary's and treasurer's books as being correct. Accepted. A rising vote of respect was tendered to the memory of our departed Comrade Biesen.

It was resolved that the State Committee be authorized to call a State Convention when it may deem such action advisable, subject to approval by a referendum vote.

The report of the Press Committee was reconsidered, with its request for the payment of balance due the publisher of the Virginia "Socialist" (\$12.55, but reduced to \$10), resulting in its approval and the ordering of the payment of said bill out of the funds in the State treasury of the party.

The following, from the Committee on Platform, were adopted without dissent:

A CALL.

We, delegates to the convention of the Socialist Labor party of Virginia, earnestly request our fellow wage earners to stop, at once and forever, fighting in the political ranks of capitalism for capitalism and against your own interests. Join with us in our efforts to down capitalism and wage-slavery and help us to establish upon their ruins the Co-operative Commonwealth, wherein labor cannot be fleeced of the product of its toil by its taskmaster, capitalism, for the Co-operative Commonwealth could contain neither master nor slave, no starving unemployed nor involuntary idlers or tramps, nor yet idle parasites who revel in luxury on the sweat and blood of starving labor, but would contain one, intelligent, free and happy humanity.

Do not forget, workmen of Virginia, the action of our last Legislature. When petitioned by the Central Trades and Labor Council of Richmond to enact certain laws in favor of the working class, what did you get? You asked for bread, and they gave you a stone. Yes, they turned down your petition with contempt—these hirelings of capital, whom you elected to serve you. Before election they were your most humble servants; afterward they became your masters. You put the saddle on your own backs and the reins in their hands, and thus they are riding you to death. You were warned by some as to what would be the result of your action. But you heeded it not, and defied your friends as prophets of evil, calamity howlers, etc. Have you not had enough sad experience yet to cause you to take the powers of government into your own hands? Have you not been playing see-saw with the old parties long enough? If not, how long will you continue to jump out of the frying pan into the fire and vice-versa at the bidding of capitalism's most pliant tool—the politician? Wake up and think for yourselves. Remember Pocahontas, where our Governor, a defender of capitalism, sent troops to quell a riot that occurred only in the cowardly consciences of the cruel capitalists, who were grinding the life out of their slaves. He sent them, too, despite the protest of the people of Pocahontas.

We would also remind you of the promises of the Republican party. All you had to do was to elect McKinley and prosperity would at once plume herself for a return flight to our country and our homes. But alas! and alas! Prosperity seems to be getting away farther and farther, and now is entirely out of sight. Where are your increased work and increased wages? Ask of the thousands of unemployed in Virginia; ask the employees in factories and railways, as well as the clerks and book-keepers and other wage-slaves. The answer comes every day in the form of cuts in wages from 30 to 50 per cent., a continuous losing of jobs, an ever increasing army of tramps, increasing misery, murder, suicides and crime of all kind, and a proportionate decrease in American manhood and virtuous womanhood.

Workmen of Virginia, we again call upon you to break the chains of partyism that bind you to the chariot wheels of capitalism as slaves. Awake, and realize that you are no longer free men, as you foolishly suppose. You cannot work for your living without the consent of your capitalist master; you are not allowed to beg, and if you walk from one place to another in quest of work you become a tramp and a member of a chain gang. Where is your boasted liberty?

Come, join the Socialist Labor party, which has never faltered; has not and never will fuse with any other party. Her foundation is science and knowledge; her motto is one for all and all for one—the brotherhood of men in operation.

PLATFORM. Recognizing the fact that our public roads, canals and rivers are in bad condition, we demand that the Legislature of Virginia take the necessary steps at the earliest moment to improve them, and thus give employment to the unemployed at fair wages.

Recognizing the evils that flow from child labor and its companion, ignorance, we demand the enactment of a State law prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age in factories, mills, etc., and also the enactment of a law requiring the attendance at school of all children under fourteen years of age, and public assistance in meals, books, etc., when necessary.

Believing that a shortening of the work day will put more people to work, we demand a law constituting eight hours a day's work.

Believing that life and health are more sacred than property, we demand their protection by an efficient employers' liability law.

Believing in the integrity and honesty of the people, we demand for them the right to propose laws and vote upon all

THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to July 14th, 1897. \$4,535.

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE. 184 William St., N. Y.

measures of importance, according to the initiative and referendum plan. Being opposed to the centralization of power, we demand the abolition of the Executive's right to veto measures enacted by the people or their representatives.

Believing that all officers are public servants, we demand the right to recall them when they disobey orders or instructions.

Knowing from experience and observation that the voice of justice is very feeble when crying for protection for the poor, we demand that the administration of justice be administered free of charge.

Believing in the sacredness of life, we demand the abolition of capital punishment.

Recognizing the injustice and hardship imposed on the poor by our system of taxation, we demand that the holders of property shall be exempt from taxation to the extent of the mortgages resting upon said property, and that the holders of said mortgages be required to pay tax on them.

Recognizing the present futility of all strikes by wage-workers against capitalist demands, we invite all wage-slaves into the ranks of the Socialist Labor party, which is pledged to break down capitalism and erect in its stead the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Nominations being in order, the names of J. J. Quantz, of Section Richmond, and R. T. Maycumber, of Section Fredericksburg, were presented for Governor and Lieutenant Governor respectively, and unanimously endorsed. It was adopted as the sense of the convention that candidates for the Legislature be put up wherever possible.

Comrade Schultz presented a cordial invitation to all present to attend the celebration of the first anniversary of American Section Richmond at the residence of E. C. Schroeder, West Broad Street.

Adjourned sine die. J. J. QUANTZ, Sec'y.

All the delegates present accepted the invitation of Section Richmond, and at once betook themselves to the little red house beyond the Fair Grounds, where was had a feast of reason and a flow of soul. Comrade McTier presided at this love feast with marked ability. Beside his address on the present Section we had addresses from Comrade Schneider, on the old German Section; J. T. Chappell, a friend, on "Socialism in General;" Comrade Maycumber, on "The Party's Progress in the State;" A. B. McCulloch, a friend, on "The Outlook and Need of Harmony Among the Different Classes of Socialists;" J. J. Quantz, on "The Necessity of Political Action to Secure the Co-operative Commonwealth."

Refreshments were served in abundance, and we had some excellent vocal music.

The Howness of the Whenness of the Thusness of the Now.

(Continued from Page 1.)

not allowable for any member, or branch, to belong to, endorse or countenance any other political body whatsoever. At our meetings we do not discuss the "howness of the whenness of the thusness of the now." Neither do we discuss "problems" concerning the minimizing of the effects of capitalism, such as the sex question, anti-vaccination question, anti-boil-on-neck question, etc. We attend strictly to business, and the business we attend to is the building up of the S. L. P., so that the proletariat may grasp the political power and abolish capitalism, including its "problems" such as "sex" and the other delightful ones you people in England appear to find so valuable with which to fill up space in your official organ.

Socialists in this country are often told that "Socialism is foreign to the Anglo-Saxon race and incapable of growth in said race." and knowing of the backwardness of the movement in Great Britain, we are desirous of seeing the comrades in England get down to business and start a real Socialist party, which shall have for its motto, "Socialism in our time," and shall proceed on the principle that "those who are not for us, let them call themselves what they will, are against us."

Yours fraternally, ARTHUR KEEP.

Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publications.

ENGLISH.

THE PEOPLE, 184 William Street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year. The New Charter, 35 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal. \$1 per year. The Syracuse Socialist, 25 cents per year. The Rochester Socialist (Monthly), 25 cents per year.

The Beacon, Johnston, R. I. (Fortnightly), 50 cents per year. The Socialist Alliance, 79 Dearborn Street, Chicago, 50 cents per year.

GERMAN.

Vorwärts, 184 William Street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year. Cleveland Volksfreund, 237 Clair Street, Cleveland, Ohio. \$2 per year.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN. Arbejderen, 6832 Marshfield Avenue, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year.

SWEDISH. Arbetsaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort Street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year.

POLISH.

Sila, 1146 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. \$1 per year.

JEWISH.

Arbeiterzeitung, 9 Rutgers Street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

HUNGARIAN.

Nepszava, 236 East 4th Street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

The Truth, 514 West 3d Street, Davenport, Iowa. \$1 per year.

Socialist Tracts.

- Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms \$1.50 per thousand: 1. "What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to workmen, by Henry Kuhn. 2. "Socialism," by William Watkins. 3. "Why American workmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire. 4. "Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton. 5. "Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England." 6. "A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt. 7. "Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party." 8. "The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages: English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish. 9. "The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act, (Adapted from the German.) Price 1 cent per copy. 1,000 copies \$5.00. 10. "Reform or Revolution," by Daniel DeLeon. 5 cents a copy. Send your order to: New York Labor News Co., 64 East 4th Street, New York, N. Y.

How to Organize Sections.

All persons dissatisfied with present political and economic conditions, and who believe that the land, water works, gas works, telephone and telegraph lines, the commercial highways on land and sea, with all their appurtenances and equipments; all the mills, mines, factories, machinery, means of production and agencies of distribution, created by the efforts of the laboring class through all the centuries of the past, ought of right to be nationalized, and operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that the disinherited producing class can and must transform the capitalistic methods of production and distribution into a social and co-operative system, are hereby invited to identify themselves with the Socialist Labor Party, which alone goes to the root of our social and economic evils.

- 1. Any ten person may organize themselves into a section, provided they accept the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and sever their connection, absolutely, with all other political parties. 2. OFFICERS TO ELECT. 1.—Organizer. 2.—Recording and corresponding secretary. 3.—Financial Secretary. 4.—Treasurer. 5.—Literary agent. 6.—Chairman, each meeting. ORDER OF BUSINESS. 1.—Reading of minutes. 2.—New members. 3.—Correspondence. 4.—Financial report. 5.—Report of organizer. 6.—Report of committees. 7.—Unfinished business. 8.—New business. 4. There shall be no initiation fee charged. Amount of monthly dues is fixed by each section. A monthly remittance of 10 cents per member shall be made to the National Executive Committee. 5. A full report of the first meeting, including a list of members, with inclosure of 10 cents per capita, is necessary to obtain a charter. 6. Per capita checks are furnished by the National Executive Committee at 10 cents each; such checks are pasted in monthly column on the membership card, and charged to members at such excess rate as will cover the amount of dues fixed by the section. 7. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month, and semi-monthly meetings for public discussion or lectures on political or economic questions. 8. Quarterly reports of the numerical strength and financial standing of members, party progress and prospects, shall be promptly sent to the National Executive Committee. 9. Any person residing in a city or town where no section of the party exists may make direct application to the National Secretary, including one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled as members at large. For pamphlets, leaflets, platforms and other information, address the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn, 184 William Street, New York City.

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