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# The



# People.

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## ROTTEN-RIPE.

### Pennsylvania Capitalist Corruption Forebodes the Revolution.

#### HEW IT DOWN!

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 24.—The Eastern Empire under Theodora the Imperial courtesan, France under Louis XIV. and England under Charles II. have always been held up as places, individuals and epochs of great political and social corruption, but Pennsylvania of to-day possesses a contemporary record outshining these historical precedents of a long time ago. In each of these cases the centralization of wealth in the hands of a few has been the cause of political rotteness, and in each case the poor have been so utterly downtrodden as to be unable to even imitate the political parasites that were and are happy to imitate the vices of their wealthy and powerful patrons in office, in trade and in high capitalistic society. There are but few of the crimes that have rendered infamous the Green and Blue factions of the Byzantine circus that have not been perpetrated in political Pennsylvania. Suicide, bribery, wholesale theft and official harlotry are the common charges that are being made all over this State against our office-holders, and what is more to the purpose the great public believes the assertions made upon the rostrum by Senators and expectant office-seekers.

For the past four years the Republican faction quarrels have been the source of endless financial and bawdy-house scandals. They first became prominent three years ago when our present junior United States Senator, Mr. Penrose, was candidate for the Republican nomination for Mayor. On the eve of the nomination stories were circulated broadcast and mysteriously charging that Mr. Penrose led an immoral life. In the midst of the excitement a party of clergymen met in the Union League Club, a club made up largely of our wealthiest citizens, and decided that the stories made Mr. Penrose unfit for Mayor, a meeting was called of reformers and this meeting suggested, among others, the name of our present Mayor. In consequence, Penrose was turned down quickly and the present Mayor, the pliant and superserviceable tool of the clique of capitalists that afterwards secured the purchase of the peoples' gas works under his signature, was nominated and elected, but, bless you, not because of his high moral attributes. Immediately after the election the Union League revised its rules, because Mr. Penrose, as one of its members, objected to that little cabal of ministers using non-members' privileges to assemble in its parlor and assassinate his character. The rules, as revised, make Monday of each week clerical day in the only club in the city which pays a Government license to sell liquors to its members and ministerial visitors! The present Mayor, Charles Warwick, when not hilarious and bibulous, is the greatest fiasco by way of an official, and the most abject tool of corporations, Philadelphia ever saw.

The next political movement was the race, in 1896, for Senator Don Cameron's seat in the United States Senate. The two aspirants for the place were Senator Quay's man Penrose and John Wanamaker, or the boss and high society against slickness and business shrewdness. The struggle for the prize was a memorable one in which Mr. Penrose became Senator Penrose, and thereby the "hupper suckles," so seriously shocked, regained their former moral standing. Penrose represents Philadelphia's best society. On one side of his house he is of Quaker stock and on the other he comes from a wealthy slave-owning family from the South. He is thus doubly-dyed with capitalism. Before the war the Southern Democrats declared it to be a governmental maxim that "capital should own its own labor," while to-day the Republican party, rising out of a fratricidal war to be dominant in the country, has re-affirmed that maxim to be true and made labor a profounder slave than was ever dreamed of in Uncle Tom's cabin. Penrose is related by marriage to the Drexel family, the loud newly rich before whom the quieter, soberer Quaker element of Pennsylvania has suffered a total eclipse. The Drexels are related to the Astors, the Astors with other millionaires, and thus we see how our wealthy oligarchy, controlling as they do all the means that produce wealth and power, makes the chance of imperialism perceptibly near in this country.

The Wanamaker campaign at that time was full of incidents. It really began months before that election in a religious revival up the State, in Blair County, where the Rev. D. L. Anderson, Wanamaker's assistant Sunday school superintendent, went on a rush, carpet-bag in hand, as a substitute for John in the soul-saving business. Following this, Wanamaker campaigned in Blair and Huntingdon Counties where the people were suddenly deluged with accounts of Mr. Penrose's immoralities, followed in turn by like intonations against Wanamaker and then threats of more and worse, and then libel suits. Capitalism, in its race

for office appeared in an astonishing form to the country people while the Philadelphians smiled from the standpoint of superior knowledge on these immoralities. Then the Rev. Dwight L. Moody, who saves souls at \$100 and upwards a night, took a hand and requested that on a certain day all Christians in Pennsylvania meet and pray to Almighty God that a Christian man be elected Senator. This praying business is supposed to have been inspired by Wanamaker's pastor. Some met and prayed, but as Penrose was elected we are at liberty to believe that Providence either did not hear the prayers or else entirely overlooked the claims of Mr. Wanamaker and his oleaginous piety.

We are now in the midst of another Senatorial contest, with Senator Quay and John Wanamaker seeking the toga. Again the flood-gates of scandal are opened and at the same place, namely, Huntingdon County, where Senator Penrose declared, in a carefully delivered speech a few days ago, that John Wanamaker offered to give, in 1896, through his agent, E. A. Valkenberg, the sum of \$200,000 in order to secure enough of Legislators to elect him, Wanamaker, to the United States Senate. The speech, coming from a United States Senator, created a sensation, preceded as it was by the arrest in this city of Senator Quay on the charge of robbing the State Treasury of \$100,000 through the People's Bank, whose cashier, John S. Hopkins, shot himself some ten months ago.

The charge, which Penrose made against Wanamaker was the first public utterance on the notorious bribery cases of two years ago, but they were not news to many people. It was told in every newspaper sanctum in Philadelphia at that time, was talked over amongst editors, reporters and correspondents, was talked over privately in many other places, and was believed, but as Wanamaker has every paper in Philadelphia subsidized, not a word was uttered on the subject until a few months ago a suit was begun over it, by parties to the bribery, in the Northampton County courts. Then the affidavits were printed, reflecting on Wanamaker, but the suits were withdrawn, and Penrose said that Wanamaker privately paid the costs, amounting to \$50,000. This was also known in newspaper circles and it was not published to the public until the late Huntingdon speech of Penrose.

Let us look at this charge of bribery. Let me show to the best of my knowledge, how capitalism disports itself before the people in Pennsylvania. According to Mr. Wanamaker's statement made to a friend of mine, Mr. Wanamaker, Mr. Robert C. Ogden, now in New York, and Thomas Wanamaker, John's eldest son, divided \$1,150,000 profits for the year 1895 out of the big store. Of this amount John Wanamaker took \$800,000; Thomas Wanamaker, \$100,000; and Robert C. Ogden, \$250,000. It will be seen by this that it would be an easy matter for Mr. John Wanamaker to give \$200,000 and more for the Senatorship. But Mr. Wanamaker says, by way of denial, that he was in Europe for six months previous to the Senatorial election, which is very true, but at the same time his agent, Frank Willing Leach, at a salary, it is said, of \$12,000, was his active literary representative. That it is believed in many quarters that Mr. Penrose told a correct story is indicated by what a Presbyterian clergyman told me on Sunday last. Said he: "John Wanamaker will do anything and do it in any way if he can secure his own advantage thereby." This is the way that one of Pennsylvania's capitalists looks to a distinguished clergyman who congratulated the writer of this on some Socialistic remarks made to his Sunday school on a recent Sunday. It is harsh judgment, but Wanamaker has not stopped in his race for wealth and office to consider anyone.

Wanamaker expresses his belief in the charges made against Quay and his use of the public money. On the morning of the first day of the Legislative session of 1897 a member of the Legislature, oldest member in point of service, told me that Quay had gotten \$300,000 out of the Treasury to help on his fight against Wanamaker and that the State money said to be in the Treasury was not there, and that the State money in our banks was loaned to the politicians who gave instead their personal notes not worth the paper they were written on. \$300,000 of the people's money was more than Wanamaker's \$200,000, and hence Quay's man, who was declared, with all his blue blood, to be too immoral to be Philadelphia's Mayor, became the State's representative in the national Senate. Recent developments have proved the truth told me by this legislator.

In this complexion has capitalism, with no other merit but money, bought the great State founded by Penn. Thousands of the children of the poor are without schools, because the school money of the State is tied up in banks for the speculative use of Quay, his heeled, and the State officials. Charges of gross immorality are made on all sides. The maintenance of private harlots from public funds seems to have become epidemic, while bribery to secure the highest public offices is acknowledged to be the only available means to attain the end. Wanamaker means to attain the end. Wanamaker charges public theft and he in turn is accused of using his big fortune to reach the Senate. Quay wants to make money easily, while Wanamaker, flush of cash, wants to get into the United States Senate because he believes it should be a body of "business men," thus degrading what should be the place of great statesmanship to the level of a cut-rate bargain counter where the dollar can secure the seat.

(Continued on page 3.)

## SOCIALISM AND THE S. L. P.

Speech delivered in Los Angeles, Cal., by James T. Van Rensselaer, S. L. P. Candidate for Congress in the Sixth Congressional District.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—This is our country. The legally expressed will of the majority is the supreme law of the land. We are responsible for what our government does. We cannot excuse ourselves because of the act of some king or the opinion of nobles. We have no right to transfer our privileges to those counterfeiters of royalty and nobility, the trust king and a subservient plutocracy. Before God we are the kings, we are the nobles, we are the aristocracy of America, and when our government does right we are honored, and when our government does wrong the brand of shame is on the American brow. To-day there is in the United States a vast congress consisting of the people, and in that congress every man has a voice, and it is the duty of every man to inquire into all questions for himself to the end that he may vote as a man and as a patriot should. No American should be dominated by prejudice. No man standing under our flag should follow after the life and drum of a party unless that party represents some principle he wishes to uphold. He should say to himself, "I am a freeman and I will discharge the obligations of an American citizen with all the intelligence I possess." The love we hold for this country is because its people are free, and if we are not free in any sense of the word, can we honestly say it is not through our own fault?

To-night I am not going to appeal to your prejudices, if you have any, I am going to talk to the sense that you have. I am going to address myself to your brain and to your heart. I ask nothing of you except that you will help to preserve the institutions of the Republic. I ask nothing of you except that you will stand by the principle of liberty, the principle of equality, the principle of fraternity; stand by the principles enunciated by our forefathers and embodied in the constitution. That is all I ask.

### TWO QUESTIONS.

Now two great questions divide the American people and I propose to speak a little about those questions. In dealing with them I do not wish you to pretend to agree with me. I want no applause unless you honestly believe I am right. These questions are: (1) Have the common people anything to hope from the continuance of an unbridled system of free competition? (2) Can the proletariat under Socialism regain collectively what has become individually impossible? To the first without hesitation I answer, No. The second I answer that if Socialism is not the way out, if Socialism is not the solution of our social ills, then there is no solution. "If it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater domain over nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that domain, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want with its concomitant physical and moral degradation amongst the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation." Almost as outspoken as a Nihilist, thus wrote the great scientist Huxley. This is the kind of feeling now stirring American and European society. This is the kind of feeling of which nothing is more certain than that it will have to be reckoned with.

"Look up the land, look down the land! The poor, the poor, the poor, they stand wedged by the pressing of Trade's hand Against an inward-opening door: That pressure tightens evermore."

### HAVE WE CLASSES?

But says someone: "You are attempting to divide this country into classes. We have no classes in the United States; no permanent classes here. The millionaire may be a mendicant, and the mendicant may be a millionaire. The man now working for the millionaire may employ that millionaire's son to work for him. The rich man who endeavors to help his fellow man deserves the honor and respect of the great Republic."

Personally I have no quarrel with the plutocrat. Personally I have nothing against the men who get rich in the free and open field of competition. Personally I have no hate for the successful. But economically I have no use for the millionaire, and if I have no use for the millionaire who has never been a mendicant, I have less for the mendicant become millionaire. The latter in his rise has dragged down hundreds, if not thousands, of honest and hard working men. Take Jay Gould for an instance, or the mining speculators of the Comstock Lode. It may be true that the man now working for the millionaire may employ that millionaire's son to work for him. The latter coachman of to-day may be the Joe Leiter master of to-morrow. All that is true enough, but how many of such men have you ever heard or read about, and do you foolishly believe the number is on the increase? Is not the small intellectual gain derived from a Palo Alto or Chicago University but a trifling offset to the awful economic curse of vast individual wealth and the

moral miasma surrounding its accumulation?

I do not wish to be charged with inciting the rich against the poor, but whenever I hear a Socialist speech I always wonder where the wealthy classes are to come in. It seems as if in some way they were being overlooked. Their position reminds me of the story of the Sunday school class where the lesson was taken from the Prodigal Son. The teacher had been dwelling on the character of the elder brother. "But amid all the rejoicing," said he, "there was one to whom the preparation of the feast brought no joy, to whom the prodigal's return gave no pleasure but only bitterness, one who did not approve of the feast being held, and who had no wish to attend it. Now, can any of you tell me who this was?" There was a breathless silence, followed by a vigorous cracking of thumbs, and then from a dozen sympathetic little geniuses came the chorus: "Please sir, it was the fatted calf!"

During the French revolution an orator exclaimed, "I do not accuse the king; I do not accuse the nation; I do not accuse the people; I accuse the situation." And so while personally I accuse no one, economically I accuse the situation. Economically I know the whole competitive system to be wrong. Why, my friends, we have in this country classes as clearly defined as in any country in the history of the world. Look at the course of our social evolution. Why its whole tendency has been to exclude the producing classes from the possession of land and capital; its whole tendency has been to establish a new subjection, the subjection of the workers; its whole tendency has been to force the laborer to depend upon nothing but precarious wage-labor. If you doubt this assertion I will not only prove it, but I will demonstrate it to you. With a prophetic instinct which has earned for his writings the title of the "Bible of Socialism," thus wrote Karl Marx thirty years ago. Said he: "The competitive forces of society will in time work so fiercely against each other that some kind of co-operation will have to be resorted to to prevent their becoming absolutely destructive." My friends, in this country, in this State, right under your eyes in this very city, this prediction has been justified by the course of events. In the thirty-eight years between 1860 and 1898 the wealth of the United States has grown from sixteen billions to over eighty billions of dollars. In the same time the per capita wealth has sprung from \$514 to nearly \$1,200. Twelve hundred dollars for every man, woman and child in this great Republic. One would imagine that under a free government the people would enjoy the benefits. Such, however, is not the case. Statisticians tell us that prior to the late war we had under the American flag a million or more men without employment, no one knows how many without steady employment, and a standing army of sixty thousand tramps. Men out of work, men starving, men finding it harder and harder to earn a living. This is the story with which we have become only too familiar. Yet never before were the United States so rich as they are now, never before were the banks of the world so filled with money seeking investment.

### SURPLUS VALUE.

To the existence of surplus value may be attributed this unhappy condition of affairs. And this brings us face to face with this little understood question. In the whole range of political economy, I might almost say in the whole range of the science of life, there is no question not excepting Socialism itself of more importance to working-men than the question of surplus value. I want to say right here that on the abolition of the individual use of surplus value; on the emancipation of the working classes from the curse and burden of an unearned increment; on the freedom of the laborer to acquire the full value of his own toll; on the liberation of the proletariat from the individualistic power of private capital depends the future of the human race.

The worst of the possession of wealth is that it gives command not so much over labor as over unpaid labor. Disguise the truth as we may, clothe surplus value in any garment that seems most convenient, put wealth in the form of profit, interest, rent, the fact remains that capital is only the material shape of unpaid labor. We see this if we trace the history and expedients of capital to lengthen the time and the intensity of the working day. But I can best make the question of surplus value clear to you by two illustrations.

The first is from a little country village near which I used to live. In that village was a small hardware merchant, in the same place was a tinsmith and general mechanic. The merchant had tools, the tinsmith had none. The former employed the latter at a dollar and a half per day, and charged a long suffering peasantry three dollars per day for the latter's services. The dollar and a half received by the merchant for exploiting the tinsmith is what is known as surplus value. From this illustration we see that in every working day there is "necessary labor" time and "surplus labor" time. Here a capitalist gives his hireling enough to buy the necessities of life by paying him the value of five hours' work,

while obtaining the free disposal of his productive force during the entire day, he has, therefore, exchanged the produce of five hours against the labor of ten hours and has put in his pocket as net profit the produce of the five hours beyond the "necessary labor." From this surplus pocketed by an employer, this surplus which we call surplus value, this command over unpaid labor, capital comes into being.

Here an economic law comes into play of the very first importance. As I have aimed to make clear to you, capital is the surplus value of human labor. In other words, surplus value and capital are identically one and the same thing. Now I imagine you have all some knowledge of the workings of compound interest. I have seen promissory notes drawn in California bearing interest at the rate of one and one and a half per cent. a month, the interest to be paid quarterly and if not so paid to be compounded and added to the principal. I have seen farmers utterly crushed in attempting to carry this unnatural burden. And yet, my friends, in the workings of compound interest we find the best simile with which to liken the action of surplus value upon labor. Just as a farmer is compelled through necessity to sign a promissory note, so the laborer, driven by the same law of self-preservation, is forced to create capital. Having created a certain amount of capital, or surplus value, he is then required not only to create more surplus value, but to earn interest on the surplus value already created. This to carry out the simile is compounded and added to the principal. Nor does the simile end here. Just as the statute provides in the case of a promissory note that judgment must be taken within one period, and that the judgment itself must lapse within another, principal and accumulated interest in many cases thus being destroyed, so will it be, though by different means, with capital. The process of compounding accumulation will go on ad infinitum until one of two things must happen, capital will either be consumed in war—that is, destroyed by act of God,—or the workers, finding themselves strangled, by their own efforts will burst their bonds and bring to a close the capitalistic era.

My second illustration is drawn from the combined railway interests of the United States. Here we have to deal with a bona fide investment of probably six billions of dollars. This amount by the various capitalistic methods, used in manipulating surplus value, that is by those methods known as stock-watering, sinking and reserve funds has been increased to a so-called capital of let us say twelve billions. Now the sum paid annually to the railways by the people is \$1,200,000,000. Of this all but \$539,000,000 represents surplus value, which, by the substitution of government ownership for the present cumbrous system, could be entirely done away with. Out of a score of unnecessary items which the public are now indirectly asked to support let me quote only four. By the abolition of interest and rent \$309,000,000 can be saved; by the abolition of the payment of dividends \$90,000,000. By abolishing all but one of the presidents with their staffs \$25,000,000; by doing away with attorneys and other legal expenses, \$12,000,000. These and other items make a grand total of \$661,000,000, which under public ownership might be saved every year, a saving of more than half the \$ 200,000,000 now paid to the railroad kings by the people.

In the wild efforts of capital to carry this tremendous burden look at the conditions existing in this free Republic. My attention was recently called to a report taken from Poor's Railway Manual, showing the freight returns for all railways in the country. This covered a period of seven years, beginning in 1890. With the exception of 1892, this statement showed a steady and gradual yearly decline of such vast proportions as to be absolutely alarming. In consequence, where the railways of the United States ought now to be employing a million men, eight hundred thousand are made to do the work. Moreover, authorities state that if this decline continues there will have to be a reduction made in the wages paid to all railway employes. And be it remembered this reduction would already have taken place had it not been for the great strike of 1894. One need hardly ask, why are the great railways consolidating? To save expense. One need hardly ask, why are the banks consolidating? To save expense. One need hardly ask, why has capital at any loss or hazard determined to refuse further concessions to labor? To retain surplus value.

### USE AND ABUSE OF WEALTH.

If I have made myself clear to you, you will realize that, partly through ignorance, partly through blind acceptance of the competitive system, the workers have given, and still are giving, the surplus value of their labor to others. It is, therefore, a matter of vital importance to laborers to inquire into the reflex action of capital upon their interests. To do this we must closely examine into the use and abuse of wealth.

Let us first take the abuse of wealth; that is, the awful waste of misdirected surplus value through the unproductive expenditure of the rich. Scientific Socialists have no more difficult task than to make this point clear to the unthinking masses. They have no more difficult task than to disabuse the average human mind of a belief that the luxury of the rich is a blessing rather than a curse to the poor. Says John Stuart Mill in his "Political Economy": "There is not an opinion more general among mankind than this, that the unproductive expenditure of the rich is

(Continued on page 2.)

## PROPAGANDA.

### Washington State Socialists Carry the Glad Tidings Trough the State.

#### ON TO THE 100,000!

NEW WHATCOM, Wash., Oct. 29.—Away out here, in the furthest northwest county of the furthest northwest State, the S. L. P. is carrying on an aggressive fight for Socialism. As we believe it will be encouraging to the S. L. P. proletarians at large to hear about our work here we concluded that an account should be published.

A few weeks ago Section Whatcom resolved that speakers be secured to proclaim the gospel of Socialism and the mission of the S. L. P. in this (Whatcom) county. Like nearly all Socialists, the members of our Section were poor but willing to help to their fullest extent and assessed themselves a small sum each to secure speakers to tour the county. Comrades Frank O'Neil, of Section Whatcom, and Thomas Lawry, of Section Seattle, volunteered their services freely and began the work last week. The first meeting was held at Fairhaven on Sept. 27, 1898, and on the evening of the 28th another followed at New Whatcom, the home of one of our nominees for the Judiciary, Comrade Thomas Young. On Saturday, Oct. 1, Comrades O'Neil and Lawry, accompanied by Comrade C. Beck, of Section Whatcom (the latter bearing a big satchel filled with the only kind of dynamite we carry, i. e., Socialist literature), started on their tour through the county. Part of the way was traveled on foot, part by wagon (usually tendered without cost by either class-conscious Socialists or sympathizers with the cause), and a very small part by train and boat.

The first meeting out was at Ferndale. It was a rousing affair and much of the credit due for the same belongs to Comrade John Miller. In the wagon, of and by Comrade Sutton, the speakers were on Sunday morning taken from Ferndale to Custer, where they gave a Sunday morning talk to a small but appreciative audience in a hall tendered free by its owner, Mr. North, for which we return thanks. Jumping into the wagon, the speakers were taken by Comrade Sutton to Blaine, where that same evening they addressed a good crowd—the hall a large one, being comfortably filled. The people received the truths of Socialism in wonder. They had never heard it before, and when Comrade Sutton's wagon, bearing the Socialist missionaries, departed the next morning for Lynden, they left on the street corners of Blaine groups of men animatedly discussing the questions they had heard on the preceding evening.

Arriving at Lynden, the home of M. A. Hamilton, one of our nominees for Congress, and the stamping ground of Comrade O'Neil, one of the speakers, a warm welcome was accorded the propagandists. That night Lynden people, a good audience, were treated to such a Socialist cannonading by gunner O'Neil as few people receive. Many came miles to hear Socialism explained and went home fully satisfied. At this place Comrade Sutton left, and big-hearted Joe Pym carried the party to Sumas, where on Tuesday, Oct. 4, a meeting was held. The hall was small, necessitating a few to stand, and that all were interested is shown by the fact that, though the speaking lasted until considerably after 10 o'clock, all stayed, including those who stood, until the close of the meeting.

From Sumas, on the following day the speakers were driven to Nooksack by Mr. Will Koch, a Republican, but one who was much interested in our speakers' talk and who would not receive a cent for hauling them to Nooksack.

The meeting at Nooksack was a success from every point of view. Several questions were asked and promptly answered to the satisfaction of all—even the questioners. Among these were Editor J. H. Jones, of the Nooksack "Reporter," a Republican paper, who when answered expressed that he neither required further answer nor desired further dispute.

From Nooksack to Deming was but a short train ride. Here a splendid meeting was held in the school house, several ladies being interested attendants. We might say here, however, that there were quite a goodly number of ladies present at nearly every meeting held.

From Deming to Wickersham part of the journey was made on foot and part by rail—except as to Comrade Beck who walked the entire way. The Wickersham audience was good, when it is considered that Wickersham has only a small population, and so silent during the discourse that a pin could have been heard fall if dropped.

The party walked from Wickersham to Blue Canyon, arriving a little after noon. As fierce a storm as comes to these parts broke about 6 o'clock—just before the meeting and lasted all night. It stopped many from coming, as most expected should cross Lake Whatcom, which would have been too dangerous.

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THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Socialist Vote. Rows include 1888, 1890, 1892, 1894, 1896, and 1897.

Inasmuch as great wealth is an instrument which is uniformly used to extort from others their property, it ought to be taken, away from its possessors, on the same principle that a sword or a pistol may be wrested from a robber, who shall undertake to accomplish the same effect in a different manner.

THOMAS SKIDMORE.

New York, 1829.

THEIR FRUIT.

After lengthy conferences, the cotton mill owners in the principal cities of New England have entered into an agreement to curtail production: during three months the mills will curtail four weeks. In other words, so long as the agreement lasts, the mill hands will be placed on the shelves more than one week out of every four.

What such shelving means to the shelled is evident. To them it means more pinching. Neither have they any choice. The same social system that robs them in such wholesale manner that a stoppage of work means pinching to them, brings about the same conditions in all the other industries. And that social system has for its props the Republican and the Democratic parties.

By their fruits you shall know them. The two political parties in control keep the workers down to wage-slavery. These may live or must starve not as they are willing to work, but as others, the capitalist class decrees. When this class has stored away a larger quantity of plunder from the workers, than it can dispose of, then the workers, having produced too much must starve. Thus the fruit of Democratic and Republican rule is that labor is the father of want, the more the worker works, all the more he is exposed to want.

Such a rule is insane, it is perverse, it is criminal; it is the act of sanity, of sense and humanity to tear it down.

On the 8th of next month the census of intelligence, morality and humanity, on the one hand, and of ignorance and crime, on the other, will be taken.

The Socialist Labor party alone is the party of civilization; all others are the parties of rapine with unthinking camp-followers.

ARE THEY NOT BOTH ONE?

Truly did Carnegie say some time ago to his British friends:

"Do not take elections in the United States too seriously. The insults bandied by the opposing candidates, the charges exchanged mean nothing. After election the two meet, shake hands and laugh."

In the Legislature of New York a law was passed under which any workman may at any time be pronounced a tramp. A workman has no "visible means of support" unless he is working. He is robbed too much for it to be otherwise. Machinery is displacing them constantly. As soon as he is thrown out of work, he now comes under the denomination of "tramp"; he is not working and has no visible means of support. Thus the capitalist will be enabled to secure labor arrested as "tramp," at a good deal less than he does to-day.

This law was passed unanimously, all the Republicans, and all the Democrats voting for it!

Is it not natural that, after election, they should shake hands and laugh at the folly of the workers?

But the Socialist Labor party will soon make them laugh at the wrong ends of their mouths.

The Virginia comrades have started in Richmond a local organ of the party—"Justice." In the course of its salutatory it declares:

The conclusion is inevitable that the tolls have been duped into the support of the robber class by shrewd and designing tricksters, as it is not reasonable to suppose they would knowingly and willingly vote themselves into political obliquity or debate themselves to the economic condition or cabbage-heads, to be valued according to the law of supply and demand. When cabbage is plentiful cabbage is cheap; and the same law applies to labor. That this condition exists with our consent, we are free to admit; but we claim that this consent has been obtained because we have been led into accepting as true and just things that are deceptive and unjust. Hence it shall be the mission of "Justice" to throw the search-light of investigation into the dark corners of the political and economic fields, and without fear show up the villainous designs masquerading in the garb of fair play; and while we do not impugn bad motives to all the political and labor leaders who have aided in leading labor in the quagmire in which it is floundering to-day, this belief shall prevent us from scrutinizing all propositions involving the interests of labor, as it does not soften the pang of indignation which we feel at the result of ignorance on the part of those bringing it on. Only the truth can make us free, and only Social teaching in politics and economics, show up true in analysis.

SANIAL'S CHALLENGE.

New York, Oct. 25, 1898.

MR. T. J. BRADLEY,

Tammany Candidate for Congress, New York.

Sir:—In the light of your past record, both as a candidate and as a Congressman, I take it for granted that you have nothing to say to the voters of the Ninth Congressional District. It is enough for you—and, as you fondly believe, it is enough for them—that you are again the nominee of Tammany Hall. Moreover, for reasons of his own that you MUST deem sufficient without inquiry, Croker expects you to be quite as dumb, if not quite as harmless, as any of his horses.

Your modest function as a prying tool of that political burglar was indeed well defined by yourself in a recent newspaper interview. In reply to the question, "Have you ever stated your views on the platform?" you said: "I have never been asked. MY CONSTITUENTS DON'T WANT TO KNOW. I am for my organization, for whatever it wants, no matter what or when or how."

In challenging you to a public debate, I therefore fully realize that you cannot well afford to meet the candidate of the Socialist Labor party. My purpose, in fact, is rather to emphasize your own confession of abject servility, coupled as it is with a brutal insult to "your constituents."

It is hardly possible that you may honestly entertain for the intelligence of the people such contempt as you cynically profess. It is hardly credible that the rising vote of the Socialist Labor party in this district may have taught you nothing. For the past eight years this vote has steadily doubled at every Congressional election. Starting with less than 600 in 1890, it grew to more than 1,100 in 1892, reached 2,200 in 1894, and became 4,400 in 1896; so that a further doubling of it this time would send you to the rear in the company of your Republican opponent and fellow servant of the plutocratic power. Manifestly, the number of those who WANT TO KNOW and who, knowing, vote accordingly, is fast becoming greater than the number of those who, happy in their misery and ignorance, are still dependent upon to give you a second term of blind servility to the double-headed devil of Crokerism and Capitalism.

It is, indeed, in the fitness of things that this district should be the first to repudiate and cast away the misrepresentatives that Capitalism is now forcing upon the working class through the instrumentality of its odious political machines. There is not one spot of equal size on the face of this planet where so much human flesh is ground into wealth by the exploiters of labor. Right here we must come to find the sweating system blooming in its most repulsive and pestilent form. Right here we must come to find a most indigent population packed into rickety, filthy, squalid tenements at the rate of 640 per acre. Are you aware, Sir, of what this rate means? Are you aware of the misery, suffering, disease and mortality which it implies? Are you aware of the fact that at this rate the whole population of the United States could be crowded within the boundaries of Greater New York?

This is, Sir, the district which you have misrepresented in Congress and which you aspire to misrepresent again. Its voice there should be mighty. It should be heard from there throughout the land and awaken every workingman in America to a sense of class-consciousness and class solidarity. But where and when did you speak out the grievances of its people? Where and when did you even so much as mildly propose a merely palliative but honest measure for its relief? When and where did you not, on the contrary, add the skinnings and sweaters of the working class in securing more plunder by silently voting for or failing to oppose laws intended to confer upon them greater privileges and power?

I challenge you, Sir, to reply to these questions. And if within forty-eight hours you do not agree to meet me in public debate the Socialist Labor party will see to it that a copy of this challenge, together with what I might say in such a debate concerning the fraudulent State and National issues with which the Capitalist Class, through its Democratic and Republican buccostering agencies, hopes to once more bamboozle the working people, be placed in printed form in the hands of every voter of this district.

I remain, Sir, most bitterly and rightly,

Your Socialist opponent,

LUCIEN SANIAL.

A challenge was also sent to the Republican candidate.

PROPAGANDA.

(Continued from page 1.)

A small meeting was held, however, and the ones present heard the news of Socialism gladly.

From Blue Canyon the return was made to Whatcom by boat and street car. The trip had occupied eight days, and when our speakers got back they found themselves billed for another meeting at home. And that evening in New Whatcom K. of P. hall, they spoke to an appreciative audience of about 200 people. To-night they speak at Fairhaven again, which will be the "round-up" of the tour.

A great deal of literature was disseminated, and subscriptions to THE PEOPLE and "New Charter" were taken everywhere the speakers went. Look for results from this work after the November election.

SECTION WHATCOM.

The English translation of Karl Marx' Eighteenth Brumaire, that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. City. Price 25 cents.

LITHOGRAPHERS, ATTENTION!

Your economic condition is so bad that the need of improvement through organization must be evident to all of you. The following few facts will, therefore, prove of interest to you:

There is now in process of growth, an organization of lithographers that is endeavoring to unite all branches of lithography into one body, with mutual rights and duties. This organization is not dominated by Republican or Democratic machine politicians. It is not pledged to the support of either the policy of protection or free-trade; and, consequently, it is not an appendage to either the Republican or Democratic party. It is not dominated by the old trade union idea, that the ignorantly understood interests of one branch of any craft must be protected at the expense of the other branches; and that the unskilled of that craft have no rights and interests which the skilled are bound to respect and protect. It is not dominated by the old trade union idea that industrial evolution does not evolve; that old trades unionism is the solution of the problems of capital and labor; and that the interests of capital and labor are identical. This organization, on the contrary, is governed by the democratic decisions of its members, all of whom are opposed to the so-called issues of protection and free-trade, believing them to be frauds, and of no benefit to the laboring classes. It is governed by the belief that improvement in the condition of labor is only possible through the thorough organization and mutual aid of all labor, regardless of branch and trade divisions and interests, or of sex, color, creed, nationality, and geographical boundaries. It is governed by the belief that industrial progress has rendered old trade union methods obsolete; that trades unionism, unaided by the control of the public powers, viz., the militia, judiciary, legislative and executive functions of the State, through a class-conscious political labor party, can effect no solution of the problems of capital and labor; that the interests of capital and labor are not identical, as strikes prove; and never will be until trade unionism adds a class-conscious political labor party in securing control of the powers of the State, for purpose of converting the private capital of the country into collective capital, thus making it, not an instrument of class expropriation and enslavement, but of social improvement and progress.

Lithographers, join this organization and unite all branches and countries! Hold not aloof from one another because your branch may appear to be in a better condition than that of the other branches, or your country than other countries. The air is full of experiments that, if successful, will alter such conditions upon short notice. The automatic feeder will affect feeders, Rotary and multi-color presses will affect transfer-presses, provers and pressmen. Aluminum plates will affect stone-grainers and grinders. Photoprocesses already affect the artists; the concentration of capital in the industry, which promises to be accelerated by such inventions, will affect us all!

Will you be split up into hostile factions and waste your time on protection and free-trade, which do not affect you at all, since your wages are determined by the supply and demand of labor, which is always being changed, to your detriment, by such inventions and concentrations as those mentioned above, right within the limits of your own country?

Will you fool away the remainder of your lives, chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of old trade unionism in the darkness of modern industrial conditions?

Will you not strive for a change that will be a change, and not the involuntary action of a class that is economically perishing amid an abundance, an overproduction, such as the world has never witnessed before? If you will, then join the above organization, declare yourselves in favor of its principles, and pledge yourself to promote them to the best of your ability and condition.

For further information and literature call on or address, Wm. Brower, Secretary Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, Room 96, 26 Duane street, Manhattan Borough, Greater New York.

LABOR NEWS COMPANY,

64 East Fourth Street, N. Y.

We call the attention of the comrades to two new leaflets just issued: \$1.50 per 1,000; in quantities of not less than 10,000, \$1.00 per 1,000.

- "The Class Struggle," by A. M. Simons.
"Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan," by D. De Leon.
"Second edition of Daniel De Leon's 'What Means this Strike?' will be out in a few days; also a very handsome new edition of the 'Communist Manifesto,' by Marx and Engels.
Karl Marx, 'Capital'..... \$1.75
"Discourse on Free Trade"..... .25
with Introduction by F. Engels..... .25
Karl Marx, 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution'..... 1.00
Karl Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire'..... .25
Frederick Engels, 'The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844'..... 1.25
Frederick Engels, 'Socialism from Utopia to Science'..... .05
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Ch. Letourneau, 'The Evolution of the Family'..... 1.25
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The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Watchers, on the Watch!

To THE PEOPLE.—A conversation I had last night with a Republican election inspector, located in the 10th A. D., impels me to give the comrades a warning about the warning he gave to me. Said he in substance:

"I hope the Socialists will win every Election District in this Assembly District with government contracts. An important part of their duty will be to see to it that Ehrenrent, the Republican candidate for the Assembly, gets the benefit of every vote that he can get. This is done by the warning he gave to me. Said he in substance: 'I hope the Socialists will win every Election District in this Assembly District with government contracts. An important part of their duty will be to see to it that Ehrenrent, the Republican candidate for the Assembly, gets the benefit of every vote that he can get. This is done by the warning he gave to me. Said he in substance: 'I hope the Socialists will win every Election District in this Assembly District with government contracts. An important part of their duty will be to see to it that Ehrenrent, the Republican candidate for the Assembly, gets the benefit of every vote that he can get. This is done by the warning he gave to me. 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SOCIALISM.

(Continued from page 1.)

necessary to the employment of the poor. "Now Dives daily feasted and was gorgeously arrayed— Not at all because he liked it, but because 'twas good for trade. That the people might have calico he clothed himself in silk; And surfeited himself on cream that they might have more milk. He fed five hundred servants that the poor might not lack bread. And had his vessels made of gold that they might have more lead; And 'e'en to show his sympathy with the deserving poor He did no useful work himself that they might do the more."

Instead of the expenditure of the rich being a benefit, the truth of the matter is that the more they devour and waste, the harder the laborers will have to work. Every article of luxury has to be paid for, not in money but in labor. Every glass of champagne at \$8 per bottle; every diamond tiara sparkling in a various hair; every day spent in idleness by anyone, or what is just as bad every day spent in unproductive labor has to be paid for with the sweat and tears of the poorest of the common people. It is stated as a literal fact that many of the artificial flowers worn at balls are actually stained with the tears of famished and exhausted girls. Nothing on earth can be produced without labor. The more the rich and leisure classes are stimulated to gluttony and extravagance, the harder somebody else will have to work. Far from laborers starving unless employed by the rich, they would under a co-operative system all be doing useful instead of useless, productive instead of unproductive work. In this great Republic every adult male now engaged in producing necessities is probably supporting twenty people who are doing nothing or who are supplying luxuries to those who are doing nothing. Is it to be wondered at then that, while vast numbers are engaged in supplying the whims and superfluities of the rich, thousands, who make necessities, are in a condition akin to starvation? Release this multitude of workers from their slavery to the rich; set them to some useful and necessary employment, and all will have happy homes; all will have warm clothes; all will have plenty of food; all may have and do the thousand and one things which now only the rich can afford.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

Many of you have probably wondered what Christian Socialism really means. I think that I can tell you. A Christian Socialist is a Christian learning a portion of his own religion, and if this be so, scientific Socialists are teaching him what that portion really is. And this reminds me of a story of the civil war:

When the emancipation proclamation was first promulgated in New Orleans, the colored people could not understand how it was that they were free. A colored minister, finding it impossible to convince his flock went to General Butler, then in command of the Northern forces, and asked him if he would come to the church and tell the "folks" that they were actually free. General Butler consented, and on arriving at the place of worship he was presented to the assembled congregation in this somewhat startling fashion: "I tol' yo' wuz free," exclaimed the pastor, "an' now this gen'ral has come to tol' yo' agin yo' is free. Yes, I know he's got a white skin, but I tell yo' he's got as black a heart as yo' or me." And that is what we Christians must remember. These scientific Socialists have as black hearts as you or me. Though opposed by theologians, science has made religion scientific. Though ridiculed by the churches, scientific Socialists are the forerunners of better things to come; are the forerunners of the fulfillment of the Law; are the forerunners of the economic dispensation. Economic science has taught us why the early Christian communities failed. Economic science has taught us why simple co-operation always fails. Economic science has taught us that co-operation, to succeed, must represent a complete monopoly. The post-office succeeds because it completely monopolizes one of the avenues of communication. And so it will be with every branch of human industry when as a complete monopoly it is placed under public ownership, and better still when as a universally complete and collective monopoly it passes under the control of the whole human race.

St. Paul says: "The love of money is the root of all evil." But St. Paul does not go far enough. Surplus value is the root of all evil. Its abolition forms the very ground work of the Christian religion. Upon its abolition depends the freedom and safety of the working classes. Let us look at it from a religious point of view. However it is explained, Christianity has a close connection with Judaism, and the religion of Jesus cannot be considered without regard to the religion of Moses. Now the Mosaic legislation was given from Sinai by the voice of God himself. This included two dispensations, the one spiritual, the other economic. These in our times are referred to as the two duties, the one toward God, the other toward man. Of the two laws, the economic law or dispensation, included the observance of the Sabbath year and the year of Jubilee. The Sabbath year provided for the doing away with all surplus value every seventh year. The year of Jubilee, besides proving a practical solution of many of the most perplexing questions concerning the right of property in land, offered a guard against its accumulation in the hands of great proprietors: If there is a fundamental principle upon which Christianity is founded it is on the basis of the fulfillment of the Law. Christ himself said that he came to fulfill the Law. Some uncertainty exists as to what Christ really meant. Now while he did not refer to the whole of the Mosaic legislation and it is certain he referred to something greater and more perfect, still, we have his programme or platform drawn up for us by the Prophet Isaiah. "This proclaimed the year of

Jubilee and the Day of Vengeance from our God. In an address delivered some years ago by Professor Henry Drummond, entitled the "Programme of Christianity," and with which everyone interested in Socialism should be familiar, we find the following passage. Drummond had been picturing that scene from Jewish history where Christ entered the church in Nazareth and read to the people the venerable fragment from the 61st Chapter of Isaiah. Writes he: "One note in this programme jars with all the rest. When Christ read from Isaiah that day He never finished the passage. A terrible word, Vengeance, yawned like a precipice across His path; and in the middle of a sentence He closed the Book, and gave it again to the minister, and sat down." A Day of Vengeance from our God—these were the words before which Christ paused. When the prophet proclaimed it some great historical fulfillment was in his mind. Had the people to whom Christ read been able to understand His ethical equivalents, He would probably have read on. For, so understood, instead of filling the mind with fear, the thought of this dread Day inspires it with a solemn gratitude. The work of the Avenger is a necessity. It is part of God's philanthropy. For I have but touched the surface in speaking of the sorrow of the world as if it came from people dying. It comes from people living. Before ever the Broken-Hearted can be healed a hundred greater causes of suffering than death must be destroyed. Before ever the Captive can be free a vaster prison than his own sins must be demolished. There are hells on earth into which no breadth of Heaven can ever come; these must be swept away. There are social soils in which only unrighteousness can flourish; these must be broken up. And that is the work of the Day of Vengeance. When is that day? It is now. Who is the Avenger? Law. What Law? Criminal Law, Sanitary Law, Social Law, Natural Law. Wherever the poor are trodden upon or tread upon one another; wherever the air is poison and the water foul; wherever want stares, and vice reigns, and rage rots—there the Avenger takes his stand. Whatever makes it more difficult for the drunkard to reform, for the children to be pure, for the widow to earn a wage, for any of the wheels of progress to revolve—with these he deals. Delay him not. He is the messenger of Christ. Despair of him not, distrust him not. His Day dawns slowly, but his work is sure. Though evil stalks the world, it is on the way to execution; though wrong reigns, it must end in self-combustion. The very nature of things is God's Avenger, the very story of civilization is the history of Christ's throne."

THE PRESENT CONFLICT.

If you have followed my argument as regards surplus value, you will have seen that owing to the curse of its accumulation, to the curse of its misappropriation, and certainly in its present form to the curse of its existence, the working classes are not only deprived of the value of fully half their labor. But through the inexorable law of free competition they are threatened with still further deprivation. Let me emphasize this point in touching upon the uses of wealth. In the world of commerce not only are two classes warring against each other over the command of surplus value, but worse than this the individual members of those classes are fighting one against the other. In the free and open field of competition employers are forced to produce and sell as cheaply as possible. At the same time laboring men multiply; machinery and invention enable fewer and fewer to do the work; men fall from other classes to help swell the numbers of the unemployed. Hence, on the one hand, we find capitalists closely watching their wages bill. To them no recurrent item of expenditure is more pressing; no item of expenditure admits of less delay; no item admits of less compromise, and wages form an item that cannot be met by drafts on the future. Every dollar a month paid to a thousand men is twelve thousand dollars a year or good interest on a quarter of a million of dollars. To employers, then, any reduction of wages is always desirable. On the other hand, we find laborers keenly alive to the necessity of saving their families from starvation. The spectacle presented, may be likened to Doré's great painting of the "Deluge." There we have pictured for us by a master hand, men struggling and striving, we find men falling over each other in this anxiety to secure the same job. I am told by contractors that so great is the competition for Los Angeles that some of the buildings are actually contracted at a loss. As a result, my friends, the workers in this country are rapidly sinking into an ocean of destitution. They are rapidly falling to the position of their fellows in Europe where wages are placed at a point which will support and renew the lowest form of human life needed for turning out the requisite grade of work.

ASCENDENCY OF CAPITAL.

But let us go further. Looking over the whole field of industry in Europe and Asia as well as America, we find that many causes are co-operating to give to capital a tremendous ascendancy. In the first place, there is so much more of it. As we have already seen, while the use of machinery increases fast, the number of workers increases faster. In the second place, this enormous increase of wealth gives those who possess it a crushing advantage in competition. The little industrial want a profit of 20 per cent. to repay him for his labor, while the mighty syndicate with thousands of shareholders is content with 10 per cent.; and, if it borrows on first mortgage bonds, can put up with 6 or 8 per cent. And lastly, under the present system the capitalist, by his command at once of associate labor, and of brain power (also of mixed labor), and of ready money, does the work better. His machines are better made, his foremen are more carefully picked, his materials include fewer rejected pieces. The world is asking for big things, and without the capital, which enables workers to await results, big things cannot be completed. What is the use of a little man or an associa-

tion of little men trying to build an ironclad which costs millions and is not finished in two years.

Nor is the truth sufficiently recognized that capital has virtually declared war against labor. The time has come when capital, as now organized, cannot afford to shorten hours or to increase the amount paid to labor. Capital, therefore, stands solid as a fortress against what it unreasonably calls the "overweening claims of labor." Look at the indications. The strike and the boycott are no longer feared. Capital has sworn to down them both. In the last great strike—the strike of the working engineers in England—though millions were involved, capital for months stubbornly refused to accede to the demands of labor. The masters determined, "cost what it might, that in the end it would be cheaper to crush the rising demands of the workers. With what result? The working engineers were clearly beaten in the struggle, and the strength of capital in its relation to industry was increased to an unforeseen degree. And so in the case of the recent newspaper strike in Chicago. Rather than give way to the demands of the stereotypers, no one knows at what cost, both in the present and future, every large newspaper in Chicago temporarily ceased publication. My friends, this amounts to war pure and simple. If capitalists can grit their teeth together in this way and refuse to make any concession to the producing classes, in a short time they will be enabled to demand concessions, concessions which under the present system the workers cannot refuse.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

Now let us look at the result. The wealth of Croesus was estimated at eight millions of dollars, while seventy American estates under the competitive system have reached the average value of thirty-five million dollars each. In Manhattan Island alone there are 1,103 men who possess an aggregate of perhaps ten thousand millions of dollars. Some of these colossal fortunes have been accumulated by the simple process of sitting still and permitting the toilers of the metropolis to enhance the value of real property. Thomas G. Shearman states that in forty years we shall see the advent of the billionaire. But it is only fair to Mr. Shearman to add that he believes the danger will be seen ere that, and that the billionaire's coming will be prevented. The rich, though forming only nine per cent. of the population, possess seventy-one per cent. of the national wealth. Dividing the country into four classes, the poor, that is over 40,000,000 of the people, represent fifty-two per cent. and possess five per cent. of the total capital. In other words, one-half of the population earn the major part of the wealth by the sweat of their brow, and under the competitive system enjoy the privileges of only five per cent. of the results.

The reason for this is that under the present system the rich grow richer and the poor poorer. Each year the extreme rich are willing to earn smaller dividends and the poor are asked to take less and less in the form of wages.

To illustrate the workings of competition, imagine a shrewd and careful business man coming to Los Angeles with \$100,000,000. Imagine him seeking investment for that vast sum. In the first place, he would monopolize the loaning of money on first-class mortgages. Where some loaner of small means was receiving from five to eight per cent., he would be willing to accept three and four per cent. As a result the small loaner would be forced to use his money in some other way. Let us assume that he opens a retail store. In the meantime our millionaire would soon find that he could not employ all of his money in making loans. In looking over the field, he discovers that a department store is earning large dividends from quick sales and small profits. Let us assume that he opens one, and as a consequence the small loaner is driven to the wall. Now where will the latter go? He falls to the condition of our unskilled workmen and has to compete with such in seeking a mere subsistence. This is what great fortunes, monopolies, trusts, and the competitive system are doing all over the United States to-day. This is why the extreme rich are constantly increasing their holdings, and labor is forced to accept lower and lower rates of pay. This is why so much attention is being given by thoughtful men to the study of Socialism. This is why it is said, already 7,000,000 of our people believe that the combination of the many is shortly to supplant the combination of the few.

The story is told of a prisoner who was asked: "And if you had only employed your great ability in some honest line of life, don't you think you could have had just as much success?" "More," admitted the confident man, "there isn't half the competition in an honest life." And so collectively men will be enabled to lead honest, manly and industrious lives, for under Socialism there will be no competition.

But let us face the alternative. I have attempted to demonstrate to you that under the competitive system the progress which we see round us is tending more and more to separate society into two classes. More and more do we see increase the accumulations of the great millionaires, more and more are these same millionaires confronted with an enormous and growing mass of proletarians. But worse than all this these owners of capital have the control of the markets. They own practically all the tools and requisites of production. Here in this free Republic they have possession of the railroads, the telegraphs, the newspapers, and in nearly every case of all natural monopolies. All this vast power rests in their hands, and if they learn to combine, and driven by the same relentless law which under the competitive system is enslaving us all, they needs must combine.—If I say they learn to combine, if they learn to wake common cause, they will be as powerful as ever were the feudal barons in the middle ages. In fact they will be far more powerful, because, after all, barons had individual souls, barons were always

liable to be beheaded, and hence barons were more tangible opponents.

MAY CAPITALISM BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE?

Now I ask you, is it right, is it just, is it in accordance with the common sense of the American people, that this state of things should continue? More than all this is it business? Talk about charity! Talk about your Stanford University! Your Mills' Hotel! Talk about a few dollars that fall unconsciously from the hand of wealth! Talk about your soup-houses and sewing societies, and your poor little efforts in the missionary line in the worst part of your town! And this while men are starving and others are earning an irregular seventy-five cents and a dollar and a half a day! You call this charity, do you? I don't. I want to differ with you, for I believe there is no charity like business. Business gives work to labor's countless hands. Business wipes the tears from the eyes of the widows and orphans. Business dimples with joy the cheek of sorrow. Business puts a roof above the heads of the homeless. Business covers the land with happy homes. We want no plutocratic philanthropy; we want no golden calf, nor gilded philosophy; above all we want nothing of Carnegie's gospel of wealth. We want business! Wind and wave are our servants;—let them work! Steam and electricity are our slaves;—let them toil! Let all the wheels whirl; let the shuttles ply; fill the furnaces with flame. Let them glow! Let me tell you that the smoke arising from the tall chimneys of great plants is the only cloud on which has ever been seen the glittering bow of American promise. We want work! And I tell you my sympathies are with the men who work, with the women who weep. I know that labor is the Atlas on whose shoulders rest the great superstructure of civilization, and the great dome of science, adorned with all there is of art. Labor is the great oak. Labor is the great column. Labor with its deft and cunning hands and intellect has created the countless things of use and beauty. Labor sustains the world. Labor is capital. I want to see labor receive its full share. I want to see capital civilized, and how can capital be civilized until labor becomes intelligent enough to settle all its questions in the high court of reason. And let me tell the workmen here to-night: "You will never help yourselves until you realize that capital must be placed under collective rather than under individual ownership and control. You will never help yourselves until you realize what Socialism really is. You have work to sell and you must learn that it would be far better to sell it to the nation and receive full value for your time, than to sell it to an individual, who will pay as little as he may and who with the surplus value will enslave you with the product of your own toil."

"Lives of poor men of remind us, Honest men don't stand a chance. The more we work there grow behind us Bigger patches on our pants.

On our pants, once new and glossy, Now are stripes of different hue. All because the rich grow richer And won't pay us what's our due.

Then let us all be up and voting, Cast your vote! however small, Or, when the white of old age strikes us, We shall have no pants at all."

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

There is quite as much truth as bad poetry in those lines. Perhaps they bring us fact to face with a condition rather than a theory, but the condition is becoming so common that it is bringing many to face the theory of Socialism. Now what is Socialism? Socialism has been defined as "the fixed principle, capable of infinite and changing variety of form, and only gradually to be applied, according to which the community should own land and capital collectively, and operate them co-operatively for the equitable good of all." If I have made myself clear this evening, you will realize that this is not an emotional scheme for a "more equitable distribution of property." You will realize that this is not an idealist's effort toward an impossible perfection. You will realize that SOCIALISM IS NOTHING MORE NOR LESS THAN A HARD-HEADED PRACTICAL PLAN OF NECESSARY RELIEF. As we live to-day, we are slaves to a system we rich or be we poor. To create a new dispensation, to change the conditions of all, to either control or do away with the evil of surplus value is not only the aim of Socialists, it is the object upon which all thoughtful minds are centered.

Having all these facts in mind, a New York preacher recently uttered a note of warning. Said he: "The era of combination has opened. All business is concentrating. In this massing of capital, there is coming to be an absolute domination over the wage-worker, over the life of the State itself. Yet, this movement is natural and necessary. It is in the line of economic progress. The real question concerning it is, Can these new orders grow a soul within it—a spirit capable of mastering these monster powers, and using them, not for self-aggrandizement, but for human service? If it cannot, there is a revolution ahead worse than any the world has hitherto known. If it can, there opens an era of boundless beneficent progress. This is a question of religion. It is the old need of an ever fresh faith and hope and love."

The tendency of capital to combine its forces was foreseen by Karl Marx. To quote Marx' own words: "Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grow the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too, grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capital production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and

flourished along with and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor, at last, reach a point when they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds."

That is to say, according to Marx, the state of things will become at length intolerable; there will be anarchy in production accompanied by constantly-recurring commercial crisis; and the incapacity of the capitalist classes to manage the productive forces being made manifest, public opinion will at last come to a head. The organized workers will in some way become possessed of the means of production, transforming them into public property, and socialistic production will henceforward become possible. The transformation supposed to be effected in the latter stages of the movement is thus described by Frederick Engels:

"With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organization. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then, for the first time, man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who now, for the first time, becomes the real conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. . . . It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

And I may add the Kingdom of Heaven. Ah! my Christian friends, with Engels' words ringing in your ears, recall for a moment what Christ's problem really was when he came into the world. Think of it as you read—not of the surface world, but of the world as it is, as it sins and weeps, and curses and suffers, and sends up its long cry to God. Limit it if you like to the world round your door, but think of it—the city and the hospital and the dungeon and the graveyard, of the sweating shop, and the pawn shop and the drink shop; think of the cold, the cruelty, the fever, the famine, the ugliness, the loneliness, the pain. And then try to keep down the lump in your throat as you take up His programme and read—

"To bind up the broken-hearted: To proclaim liberty to the captives: To comfort all that mourn: To give unto them— Beauty for ashes, The oil of joy for mourning, The garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness."

Men repudiate Christ's religion because they think it a small and limited thing, a scheme with no large human interests to commend it to this great social age. I ask you to note that there is not one burning interest of the human race which is not represented here. Christ's purpose was to enlist all human aspirations on behalf of some definite practical good. The carrying out of His scheme he entrusted to man and it is the supreme glory of humanity that the machinery for its redemption should have been placed within itself."

Ignorant of its religious significance; ignorant of its social significance; ignorant of its economic significance, there are those who say a dream of universal brotherhood is nonsense, but to the Socialist, in the words of George Eliot:

"It is life to come, Which martyred men have made more glorious For us who strive to follow. May we reach That purest heaven, be to other souls The cup of strength in some great agony, Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love, Begot the smiles that have no cruelty— Be the sweet presence of a good diffused. And in diffusion ever more intense. So shall we join the choir invisible Whose music is the gladness of the world."

My friends, when we shall have established Socialism we shall have demolished the existence of surplus value. When we shall have established Socialism we shall have brought about a change in the "arrangements and institutions of society which will constitute a revolution greater probably than has ever taken place in human history." When we shall have established Socialism we shall have healed a hundred greater causes of suffering than death. When we shall have established Socialism we shall have destroyed a vaster prison than our own sins. When we shall have established Socialism then shall we have brought "good tidings to the poor, healing to the broken-hearted, deliverance to the captive, sight to the blind, liberty to the oppressed," and then shall we be enabled to say, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears."

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Now what are the common people to do? None know better than they that revolutions are creatures of chance. None know better than they that a revolution may prove a two-edged sword. Socialism and anarchy have nothing in common, and scientific Socialists are opposed to sanguinary revolution in any form. What, then, are the workers to do? They have nothing to hope for under the competitive system but increasing misery both for themselves, for their wives, and for their children. The people realize that they are sitting on a living volcano. The people know their condition better than you, my friends, you who live off the product of their labor; you who live in your comfortable homes created by their toil; you who worship in your upholstered churches supported by their efforts in the burden and heat of the day. They know their condition because they feel the daily warnings of cold and hunger. But what are they to do? As I have

already said, "no man standing under our flag should follow after the fire and drum of a party unless that party represents some principle he wishes to uphold. He should say to himself, I am a free man, and I will discharge the obligations of an American citizen with all the intelligence I possess." The common people must join together politically and follow

"Some great cause, God's new Messiah." They must follow the guiding hand of the great prophet of the new, the economic dispensation. They must follow the lead of that master mind, the great tribune of the people. They must band themselves together as a class and overcome every obstacle in the field of parliamentary conflict. They must enter the new Canaan led by the spirit of Karl Marx, the father of scientific Socialism.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide, In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side: Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight, Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right, And the choice goes for ever, 'twixt that darkness and that light."

As I said in the beginning, I ask nothing of you except that you will help to preserve the institutions of the Republic. But how, my friends, how can you help to preserve those institutions unless you support the only party which, in the largest sense, stands for the principle of liberty, the principle of equality and the principle of fraternity. Personally I do not care whether you vote for the candidates of the Socialist Labor party or not, but economically and as a matter of principle I say vote for every man on the ticket from the lowest to the highest. Do not be afraid to vote for men who do not expect to be elected. These men are not politicians. These men are not running after office. These men are fighting for a principle. These men are making sacrifices of which you and I know nothing. These men hold the same relationship to the brotherhood of man as did the Christians under the Roman Empire. Had the early Christians hesitated before the fury of a Roman mob, Christian nations would not now rule the earth. Should scientific Socialists hesitate, you, or in any case your children or grandchildren, will be unable to see the fulfillment of the Law, will be unable to say: "AT LAST WE ARE FREE."

But more than all this, economically, I want you to join the Socialist Labor party. The Socialist Labor party has the enthusiasm of youth. The Socialist Labor party knows the wants of the people. The Socialist Labor party is the pioneer of progress. The Socialist Labor party is the only party making sacrifices for principle. The Socialist Labor party is the forerunner of the economic dispensation. The Socialist Labor party promises to be the glory of the United States. Do as I ask you, join the Socialist Labor party. Join the party whose prayer is:

"God give us men! A time like this demands Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands; Men whom the lust of office does not kill; Men who possess opinions and a will; Men who have honor—men who will not lie; Men who can stand before a demagogue, And damp his treacherous flatteries without winking; Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog. In public duty and in private thinking."

ROTTEN-RIPE.

(Continued from page 1.)

"Honor, who hath it?" Truly it has no place in the Senate where the drunken Quay holds place and into which Wainwright is generally believed to be willing to make his entrance on strictly "business methods"! In Wainwright's speech to at least 3,500 people on Friday night last he said the day was coming when the working classes would elect men to Congress from their own ranks. He is right, but they won't elect on "business methods." During Wainwright's last Senatorial campaign a meeting of business men in his interest was called at the Bourse. Amongst the speakers was a labor fakir named Steward, a union weaver of some sort from the mill district. After several merchants had spoken he was called on, but no sooner did he begin to speak than a change was apparent in the audience. A sort of a chill ran through the room. Disgust was clearly manifest. "Who is he?" I asked of one of the big carpet manufacturers. He told me, and then another big manufacturer said to me: "He is entirely out of place here." This was plainly a fact. His bosses had paid his expenses to travel up through the mining counties and organize the miners for "good government," but they did not want him to harangue capitalists. That was not what he was paid for. These labor fakirs, workers of the workers, are worse than their employers and this man Steward "persona non grata" to them.

I learn that in a few days the United Gas Improvement Company will gobble up the Chicago gas works. Thomas Dolan, president of the company, and John Wainwright are negotiating for the purchase. It is said, and their agent is Street Car Magnate Yerkes, of Chicago. A number of years ago, 20 or more, a man named Marcer, a city treasury employe, and Yerkes, then a broker on Third street, were in collusion to use city funds. They were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to jail. When his time was out Yerkes went to Chicago, where he now controls all the street car lines and is a multi-millionaire. "Business methods" did it. To eke out his fortunes Wainwright has received the contract to furnish the Government with all its soap, having underbid a small manufacturer by a quarter of a cent a pound. "Business methods" like these would not add to the dignity of the national millionaires' club at Washington. JAMES.

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