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MARLBORO.

Account of the Recent Historic Incidents There.

Capitalist City Officials Working Hand in Hand With Fakirs Against S.L.P.

WATCH THE REVULSION!

Official Reports of Comrade Martha Moore Avery from the Marlboro Field to the Massachusetts State Central Committee of the Socialist Labor Party...

Marlboro, Dec. 28, 1898. 5:30 o'clock. To the State Central Committee, L. D. Usher, Secretary.

As your letter suggested, I decided to come here the night before my lectures began. The public meeting would give me the cue to what was in the minds of the strikers and also I wanted to see Mr. Inskip...

We then went to the office of "The Enterprise." My purpose was to ask the editor if he would publish, daily, an abstract of my lectures...

We waited until the hall was nearly cleared, and just as the lights were being put out we walked slowly towards the door. Hissing, hooting, jeering and all other demonstrations of a mob were present...

He, too, thought if we wanted protection that we must pay for it. He did not understand why, if I was in sympathy with the strikers, that I was such an unwelcome guest in Marlboro...

Arguing the matter pro and con, the Mayor said: "If I find a point of irritation within the city it is my duty to remove it if I can, and if I can't to modify it as best I can..."

At the conclusion of the interview, which was very interesting and courteous all through (personally the Mayor is a man of elegance of speech and of manner)...

We then sent the following telegram: To his Excellency, Gov. Wolcott: We desire to represent that in our judgment the decision of Mayor and Chief of Marlboro against stationing officers at Socialist meeting to-night betrays incompetency to properly safeguard the peace of the city and protection of citizens of the commonwealth...

Then came the first officer, who had tried to eject me from the hall. He had done, he averred, his duty as he knew it. This was no doubt true, for his excitement must have prevented him from getting a clear conception of official duty.



The Innocent:—"What's it called the Capitol for?" The Wise One:—"Cause it's run for Capitalists, of course." (N. B.—This is no Joke.)

came the young man usher, who claimed to have full charge of the hall; he wanted me put out. "Very well, take charge of the hall and do your duty in protecting the rights of your guests from such assaults..."

without the slightest provocation unwarrantably assaulted by officers of your city. I desire an explanation of and a public apology for such treatment.

The Marshal, who is a good-natured fellow—much too handsome in his own opinion to be of service to the State—thought he would be safe if he said nothing, at least I succeeded in making an appointment later the same day to investigate the conduct of the officers who were on the scene of action during the mob rule.

Second, I desired assurance that officers would be stationed at our meeting that night. No, he thought, I must pay for protection if I wanted it. I represented that he was responsible for safeguarding the peace of the city and for the proper protection, that this is a time of much public excitement, that, in a word, the city is in the state of a siege...

When we arrived at the hall last night, the stairways were crowded; the owner appeared and, as the reporter put it in the "Spy" the next day, "no money, no hall." For a moment we thought he wanted the \$25 which the contract called for. I wondered if we were blessed with so much money, but said: "Will a part do?" "Yes, a part will do."

We were inside. It was hard to determine at first the state of mind the crowd was in. Comrade Cashman called the meeting to order. I began and you will learn the result of the meeting and also the attempt to discredit it in the following letter which explains itself:

ONLY TWO INTERRUPTIONS. Mrs. Martha Moore Avery Writes in Justice to Marlboro Strikers. To the Editor of "The Globe": Please permit me to make a correction of the report of the first one of a series of six lectures I am to give in Marlboro under the auspices of the Socialist Labor party...

your superior officer that if you are in favor of the strikers I am glad of it, and if your assault upon me was because you thought I play the traitor part to the workers, your official conduct is reprehensible, to me personally it is somewhat excusable.

On examining the next officer brought before us, Comrade Cashman and I first learned that the officer who began the line of march gave us over to the charge of another officer when we were half way home. Human ingenuity is past finding out! I said to this officer also that "I am glad if you are in sympathy with the strikers," and thanked him for his escort; from the top of the hill he had really done good service.

Leaving the letter before referred to in the hands of the Marshal we retired. This ends the work of last night and to-day, including the several reporters that have called for the news.

"Oh! the Marshal told me that he had been informed by those in authority that we are to be refused the hall, for which we have a written contract. It is evident that much pressure is being brought to bear upon Mr. Ryan, the owner of the hall to refuse us the use of it. In the evening edition of the "Globe," which circulates freely in this city, there is what purports to be an interview with Mr. Ryan as follows:

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY DENIED USE OF PUBLIC HALL. Several days ago a young man hired Ryan's Hall for a course of lectures. This morning the city was flooded with flyers, which announced that, commencing this evening, there would be a series of six lectures given at the hall under the auspices of the Socialist Labor party, and that one of the speakers would be Mrs. Martha Moore Avery.

The presence of that lady last evening at the strikers' mass meeting occasioned so much disturbance and so excited the ire of the strikers, that Mr. Ryan stated this noon to "The Globe" that he should not allow his hall to be opened for the purpose for which it was hired, fearing that it would result in riotous scenes.

He stated that he felt justified, in view of the intense feeling existing among the strikers against representatives of the party whose cause Mrs. Avery espouses, in declining to have meetings held here under the auspices of Mrs. Avery and her coadjutors.

My heart was touched with gratitude last night at the close of the meeting at the complete change in the attitude of the strikers toward me, which was still further demonstrated at the lecture to-night by the absolute quiet of the entire audience during my address of one hour.

Not one person followed me one step of the way home from the hall last night. Three persons accompanied me home a part of the way and one only to my hotel. I make this correction in justice to the strikers, who have been falsely informed, as well as to myself. Yours truly, MARATHA MOORE AVERY. Marlboro, Dec. 28.

At the conclusion of my address, his voice was sincere and anxious: "Mrs. Avery, I should like to know if you are here in the interest of the manufacturers or in the interest of the strikers." There followed applause, then a moment of intense emotion, an instinctive coming nearer and bending forward, awaiting my answer. The reaction had set in in earnest. "I have worked ten years in the labor movement; have been estranged from my family for so long; I should regard it as criminal to work in any manner against the success of the strike. More, I challenge anyone here and now, or hereafter, to prove that I have at any point worked against the interest of wage-workers in any conflict between them and the capitalist class. If you do not know now in whose interest I am working, time will prove which side I take."

Dec. 29, 5 o'clock. When we arrived at the hall last night, the stairways were crowded; the owner appeared and, as the reporter put it in the "Spy" the next day, "no money, no hall." For a moment we thought he wanted the \$25 which the contract called for. I wondered if we were blessed with so much money, but said: "Will a part do?" "Yes, a part will do."

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This statement is incorrect almost in its entirety. During the lecture there were but two interruptions of slight importance, not sufficient to break my address. I am not and have not been broken in the slightest degree.

Dec. 30. Last night our meeting was not so large, but the closest attention was given. Again the officers were in attendance. I have no doubt that our telegram to the Governor was the convincing argument.

We questioned Mr. Ryan as to the "Globe" report. He admitted making somewhat such statement. Mr. Ryan is a staunch friend of the strikers. He said to me: "Miss Avery you have been greatly misrepresented and ill-treated in this city."

We learn from several quarters that the fakirs did all they could to close the door of Liberty Hall against us as they succeeded in doing several others.

Dec. 31. The meeting last night was the largest of the three, and as still as a mouse. The literature has been eagerly taken. If I may be pardoned, the men are trying by gentle courtesy to make amends. I am glad not to know the face of one single man or woman who took part in the fray on Tuesday night.

A favorite method of avoiding action is to expand its sphere beyond the point that can be covered. We are all familiar with the method of those parliamentarians, who, wishing to avoid the investigation of a Government Department, usually frees the first one from the dreaded looking-into.

Upon this principle seems to proceed the Haverhill "Socialist" Mayor. He must ally the fear of the capitalist concerns that elected him; his wearing the name of "Socialist" terrifies them; he must let them know that it is only a lion's skin, and that below the skin is a very sorry, silly, harmless quadruped. This he does in his inauguration address by declaring that the real question of Socialism can not be undertaken by a municipality, not even the State or Nation, that it is an international affair—showed off away beyond the municipality's reach. Socialism will not frighten the capitalists and corruptionists who boomed this "Socialist" into the Haverhill Mayorality.

Dec. 31. The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

THE VOTE.

The Latest Returns Make 82,000 Sure.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Vote Count. Includes Hanford, Governor (23,980), Armstrong, Lieutenant-Governor (24,911), Jackson, Secretary of State (26,005), Forker, Comptroller (24,942), Smith, State Treasurer (24,875), Corcoran, Attorney-General (25,346), Morris, State Engineer (24,358).

Elsewhere in this issue the vote will be found tabulated by counties; the increase over last year is 3,006.

The party's strength in the country may now be given with sufficient approximatness as follows:

Table with 2 columns: State and Vote Count. Includes Alabama (344), California (7,780), Colorado (2,000), Connecticut (2,866), Illinois (4,507), Indiana (1,715), Iowa (1,081), Kansas (646), Kentucky (364), Maryland (508), Massachusetts (10,063), Michigan (1,100), Minnesota (1,687), Missouri (1,063), Nebraska (248), New Jersey (5,458), New Hampshire (407), New York (23,390), Ohio (5,738), Pennsylvania (4,318), Rhode Island (2,579), Texas (500), Virginia (528), Washington (1,323), Wisconsin (1,477).

Totals 82,182

Of the above figures, the vote of Alabama was cast in the spring for members of the Legislature; the figures for Maryland and Virginia represent last year's poll; Virginia had no State election this year, and in Maryland, where there was no State election either, errors in the filing of nomination papers crippled the opportunity to ascertain the party's growth; the figures for Colorado, Michigan, New Hampshire and Texas are incomplete, and probably will be better than given above.

Of all the requirements that await Socialists at the present time the demand for an intelligent discharge of duty stands pre-eminent. Day by day, the discontent, the misery and want created by capitalism and its under-strappers increases, and every day more and more people—forced to it by their stomachs if by nothing else—are looking into these things. Of course much of the talk is chaotic, and there is pitiful groping in the dark. Something more than a common bond of suffering is needed to enable the sufferers to see the root of the evil. That something is Socialist enlightenment as to the cause of the sufferings, and not until they are thus enlightened will the sufferers thunder forth the decree that will overthrow capitalism.

Hence the first duty of every Socialist is the doing of everything in his power to propagate the principles and advance the cause of Socialism. This is best accomplished by the distribution of Socialist literature and by extending the circulation of our officially recognized party press. During the heat of a campaign is not the best time for effective propaganda work, yet some of our comrades only become active at that time. The season for sowing of Socialist seed is a continuous one—campaign time is the brief period of harvest.

While organization is the only proper means of maintaining our movement political and economic, yet the value of individual effort in propaganda should not be underestimated. While supporting and working with the organization everything need not be left to the organized body, as some comrades are too prone to do. Each individual has his field in which to work and which cannot be more effectually reached than by himself.

I know of one comrade whose hours of labor make it impossible for him to attend meetings—and thus keep in close touch with his Section, who, nevertheless, during the past year secured six yearly and six half yearly subscribers to THE PEOPLE, sold two Almanacs, three "Carpenter of Nazareth," besides disposing of a quantity of other literature. Persistent individual effort on the part of every Socialist is sure to result in accelerated speed to the great whole. The opening of the New Year is a fitting time in which to renew our zeal and devotion to the great cause which we champion by striving with might and main to advance it.—J. H.

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THE PEOPLE.

Published at 184 William Street, New York - EVERY SUNDAY.

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office on April 4, 1891.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Number of Votes. Includes data for 1888, 1892, and 1896.

The difference is great between desire and determination: desire floats carelessly among the clouds, determination runs on foot among stones. One leaves everything to chance, the other expects nothing but from itself.

"Sleep, sleep, come or I shall die!" EDMOND ABOUT.

SMASHING THE FAMILY - WRECKING THE RACE.

In New Jersey a discussion is raging on the subject of the employment of women in the Worthington Pump Company as core makers.

It is of little use to raise one's eyes "higher," look beyond our frontiers, and ask whether the class that is thus degrading the people by forcing woman into machine shops is the class to be trusted to civilize the Filipinos, Cubans and Porto Ricans.

The capitalist class claims to base its existence upon "freedom." It tires not of speaking of "freedom of contract," "freedom to look for and secure work," etc.

A free field and no favor sounds well; but that implies certain conditions. It implies not only a field as available to one runner as another, but that both are placed at a par.

This being thus, the lack of equality and freedom becomes all the more shocking if positive facilities for the race are given one runner, while the other is left without any.

That is what capitalist "freedom" amounts to. The working class, being deprived of every opportunity to earn a living, it is now insisted on shall enjoy full freedom to compete with itself.

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There is, however, a higher law and a higher freedom that the working class will assuredly appeal to and avail themselves of.

Speed the day!

FUDGE!

A certain tobacco company is deluging the land with circulars against "the combine." A perusal of the same is amusing. It tells how the tobacco trust will have it in its power to tyrannize the people, and it warns the public that such a concern might become "stronger than the Courts."

Is this paladin really against tyranny? On close observation it will be discovered that it is only against the tyranny of the more powerful, in other words, against the tyranny exercised over it, but in no way against tyranny itself.

same attitude as the middle class stands towards the upper capitalists, holding also the same wild, bourgeois-radical language. Understanding the middle class one will understand this tobacco paladin.

The middle class would sooner be consumed in flames than give up the means by which it tyrannizes the working class; but let the logic of its premises bring upon itself tyranny from developed capitalism and it rises up, in tinsel armor.

It may be interesting to the workers to watch this concern: they will there discover the epitome of the middle class, and they may thus take warning.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

In our issues of last Dec. 25 and Jan. 1 instant, we took occasion to criticize the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" for two successive articles in which, contrary to the constitution of the Association that issues it, it undertook to utter opinions against the tactics of the Socialist Labor party.

We find that the articles in the "Volkszeitung" of Dec. 14 and 19 are at variance with the tactics of the S. L. P., and we commend the Editor of the "Volkszeitung" for his unbecoming answer.

The Dayton, O., "Daily News" reproduces from a European expert on pedigrees some interesting information on many of the titles borne by our heireesses, going to show that these titles are bogus, many of them being borne by "the descendants of servants of noble families or by low-bred persons who had purchased them."

Then Count de Rohan-Chabot, who married Miss Hayward, is not a count, either. His name is Chabot. The name of Rohan he took from his first wife.

American women, when they cannot marry, even the French titles, sometimes get them from the Pope. For instance: Mrs. Mackin, of St. Louis, is the papal Countess de Spothwood-Mackin.

After quoting these interesting facts the "Daily News" proceeds to moralize, but muffs the point. The real point is that it is happening to our bourgeois "nobility" that accentuates the virtues by which it rose to distinction.

The old-time nobility had its root and source in acts of daring implying at least physical courage; by such "virtues" it rose to "distinction"; birds of a feather flock together; the descendants of distinguished bandits coupled; the son of a red-handed brigand attracted and was attracted by the daughter of another red-handed brigand.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns some time ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form.

swindling capitalist attracts and is attracted by the daughter of another swindling ditto. As physical brigandage tied the knot in feudal society, so sneak-thief swindle now ties the knot in capitalist circles.

There is nothing out of the way in the swindle perpetrated on our betresses; and to understand that this is so is to understand history.

It seems that the reputation and the "writings" of Professor Green Goods, sometimes called George Gunton, have reached New Orleans. At least we know not to what else to attribute the following masterly pen-sketch by the New Orleans "Times Democrat":

"Nothing like fake statistics for giving a fellow reputation for scholarship dirt cheap," chuckled an astute citizen. "Statistics are the most impressive things in the world, and the beauty about 'em is that nobody dares to contradict 'em. I've been working the scheme for several months, and my stock has advanced about a thousand points a day. How do I do it? Well, to illustrate the thing, I was attending in a crowd on Canal Street recently watching the big pile-driver hammering down the walls for the drainage canal."

Who could have posed for this picture and statue if not Green Goods, a prominent Roosevelt candidate for Commissioner of Labor, whose "statistical pranks to impose upon the ignorant have, though in opposite senses, been long the delight of both Socialists and Capitalists?"

Commenting upon the debate on the political resolutions introduced by the "Social Democracy" at the N. P. of L. convention, the "Social Democratic" St. Louis, Mo., "Brauer-Zeitung" makes this damaging admission on its "English" page:

Not one word of all the arguments against Socialist political tactics is applicable in view of our own party, the Social-Democratic party of America.

The parallel, drawn below, by the Minneapolis, Minn., "Tocsin" between two pulpites of different "drums ecclesiastic" is good:

Cardinal Gibbons has discovered the remedy for the state of chronic warfare in the South. It is very simple. He says: "I am persuaded that a restriction of suffrage by property-qualification would be a wise measure. It would be an incentive to industry, and as men are instinctively disposed to better their property, they will naturally vote for those rulers and public officers who, in their judgment, are most qualified to protect their property from unjust and exorbitant taxation and to promote the material prosperity of the commonwealth."

The San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" makes this interesting contribution to the present capitalist howl about prosperity being here now:

"During the last few years the waves of prosperity have struck a pretty little school teacher named Mrs. Doral and she has become one of the submerged tenth. She is one of the educated proletariat and after backing against the tiger of adversity for four long, weary years, she has landed to mouth she at last is in an advertisement in the 'Want' column of the 'Examiner' which reads as follows: 'A young woman wants three meals a day for herself, her mother and three children. Box 3333, 'Examiner' office.'"

The millions that are idle, And who starve, despite your rot, Will one day claim your millions; You must yield, deny them not.

WHAT IS CAPITAL?

[From Lassalle; English Translation Published by International Library.]

Let us take the definition of capital which has hitherto passed muster: not, of course, that childish definition of Bastia's that capital is "the saved portion of a man's income," for that is manifestly too absurd and ridiculous; but the other definition that "capital is the instruments of labor"; or the one which is universally given by all economists, that "capital is hoarded labor"; or, if you like, a third, that "capital consists of products which are continually applied to further production."

Now look at this Red Indian in the primeval forests of America, who is out hunting for his subsistence with his bow and arrow. Is this man a capitalist? Is this bow and arrow capital? You see all the three definitions are fulfilled. The bow and arrow are unquestionably an instrument of labor. Nobody, too, can deny that it is the result of expended labor.

Or perhaps you will say—and the man who would say this would say anything—"Yes, the bow and arrow is capital, and the Indian is consequently a capitalist." Then I can easily show you that that bow and arrow is not capital, neither is the Red Indian a capitalist.

To make this quite clear, imagine yourself for a moment out in the woods with just such a bow and arrow. The bow and arrow will serve to shoot game. It will—since it is an instrument of labor—also help you to carry on your work of providing for your own subsistence. But if, as I am afraid would be the case, you were to get tired in struggling through the forest with youroccasins on after the game, you will find no chance to lay out your bow and arrow at interest; and that, as all the world knows, is the distinguishing characteristic of capital.

But assuming, under the impression that it was merely because your bow and arrow was hoarded labor in the form of bow and arrow that you could not make it do duty as capital—assuming, I say, that you wished to exchange it, and went, for this purpose, to barter with our original Indian. Very likely this Indian, if your bow and arrow suits him, will do a bargain with you. He will give you in exchange, say a deer he has killed, or some furs, or, if in a gold-bearing region, he may even hand you—just think of it!—a great nugget of gold. But you have no possibility whatever of making profit out of these articles where you are. In order to make these goods productive—interest or profit bearing—you must first betake yourself to other countries where matters stand on a very different, in short, on a European footing.

Following, then, upon these explanations which all readers of Socialist economy know well, we can say that, although we have here instruments of labor, there is yet no capital because there is no division of labor, since the instruments of labor—the means of production on a very small scale—are in the hands of the laborer himself or at his command, or, in the other words, labor alone is itself productive. Here, then, aptly comes the statement that the independent productivity of capital, its breeding, as Shylock says, its profit-making apart from labor, is possible only under a system of division of labor, and is the consequence of that division of labor.

Great advertising handbooks. For big stores, combines and deals; Of schemes corrupt, promoters, And partakers of big steals.

Ye puffens and news padders, That rich robbers own, control; Blackmailers' Past Grand Masters, Garble, cozen and cajole.

Ye plagues of gall, gush, bunco, Your "issues" are not ours; Ye all exploit the toilers With your prostituted powers.

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A FAKIR ARGUMENT.

[From the N. Y. "Vorwärts," German Organ of the S. L. P.]

The debate on Socialism in the American Federation of Labor brought out nothing new. It merely furnished an opportunity to the mouth-pieces of "Trades Unionism Pure and Simple" to authenticate their solidarity with the capitalists. Their thoughts are capitalist, their methods of argument are capitalist, they emulate the capitalists in combating Socialism: aye, they even over-trump the capitalists with lies and slander.

A favorite fraudulent argument with the capitalists towards discontented workers is well known to be the pointing out of alleged worse conditions for the workers in Europe. The Gompertzites over-trump the capitalists in the manner in which they use this argument. They lyingly tell the American workmen that the condition of the European workman becomes ever worse; and that the reason thereof is that the European workmen are so foolish to busy themselves with the building up of a strong political organization. "The American workmen," however," thus the lie is rounded up, "have not suffered any such decline, but, on the contrary, have enjoyed a steady improvement in their condition."

The impudent falseness of this argument has repeatedly been nailed in the Socialist press. The fakirs who peddle such fraudulent goods, are well aware of the fraud they are committing. The extensive wage conflicts, that have recently raged, have brought to light, in a manner not to be overlooked, the decline in the condition of the American workmen, from year to year and driven them to outbreaks of desperation.

One of the most remarkable wage conflicts of this year was conducted by the International Wood Workers' Union in Oshkosh, Wis. The President of this Union, Thomas I. Kidd, who represented the organization at the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, published, in the August number of "The International Wood Worker," an account of the wages paid in the Oshkosh lumber mills. The account contains the following passages: "Between 70 or 80 per cent. of the strikers receive \$1 a day or less while at work."

"These wages were not received for every working day in the year. The mills are closed in December and usually do not open again for two months."

"This is no common strike. The men are struggling against conditions which do not prevail in any other civilized country on the globe."

The downward trend of American wages has recently also been brought to public notice by a statistician, whom the trades union leaders acknowledge as authority. Carroll D. Wright has published the results of an investigation that, evidently, was undertaken for the purpose of finding material for the fraudulent argument that the capitalists, together with their pure and simple trades union understrappers, are so fond of using. The investigation refers to the movement of wages in certain industries of this country, that are above the average of wages, and the like industries in three European countries. Instead, however, of bringing out a result favorable to the United States, the material gathered goes to show that in France and Belgium wages have been steadily rising, in America, on the contrary, have been generally declining.

The figures show that (since 1881, the year when the trades organization was established, since 1886, has called itself the American Federation of Labor), most trades have suffered a reduction of wages. For instance: the wages of the boiler-makers a reduction of from \$2.96 to \$2.59; the wages of the furniture makers declined from \$2.35 to \$2.29; the wages of the joiners from \$2.55 to \$2.47; the wages of machinists from \$2.47 to \$2.41. Even in those trades where the wages in 1898 are higher than in 1881, there is by no means any evidence of a steady rise; in most of these cases the rate of wages for this year is lower than the wages of ten years ago. For instance: the wages of the carpenters are \$2.52 for 1898; this is an increase of 3 1/2 cents over 1881, but it is 4 cents below 1888.

Quite otherwise is the movement of wages in Paris, the very center of the Socialist movement in France. There, according to the claim of the Gompertzites, a steady decline should be found in the condition of the workmen. But Carroll D. Wright, who gladly would have confirmed the Gompertz lie; is constrained to record a steady rise in wages for most trades.

In the trades that we have cited, as evidences of the movement of wages in America, the wages in Paris were as follows during the years 1881, 1888 and 1896:

Table with 3 columns: Trade, 1881, 1888, 1896. Includes Tailors, Boiler-makers, Furniture-makers, etc.

Wright reports likewise a steady rise of wages for Belgium, one of the European countries in which the workmen are most active in building up their Socialist party.

The Socialist movement has placed the workmen of the European continent in a position to wrench concessions from the capitalists—and to keep them. Pure and simple trades unionism, as practised in America under the aegis of the American Federation since 1881, has not only not been able to keep such concessions as it occasionally gained, but has not even been able to protect the workmen against a steady decline in their condition.

Such is the result that is furnished by a comparison, based upon facts, between America and Europe.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan—I have a great scheme in mind. Uncle Sam (with a twinkle in his eye)—One of your usual great schemes? B. J.—Don't be intolerant as usual; at least hear first what it is.

U. S.—Behold in me a man out-shining "Patience on a Monument." Let's hear!

B. J.—Will you not admit that the Socialist Commonwealth can not be established for quite a while? U. S.—I'll admit that.

B. J.—Will you not admit that, in the meantime, it were wise to mitigate suffering? U. S.—Admitted.

B. J.—Admitting all this you will be in sympathy with my scheme. It is to set up a co-operative store in which the workmen, affiliated with it, can get goods cheap. What say you? U. S.—Chestnut!

B. J.—"Chestnut"? U. S.—Yes. Probably not to you. But chestnut all the same.

B. J.—Isn't it a good thing? U. S.—If it were, it would not be chestnut. But it is a bad thing in that it is of no effect; and, worse than that, it that it plays into the hands of the bourgeois economics; and, still worse, in that, as a rule, there is a party schemer at the bottom of it who plans to be the sure if not the sole beneficiary of the alleged good for all. There is an ample experience on this subject in this country.

B. J.—You surprise me. What profits have you got? U. S.—See here. Sound or Socialist economics prove that, under the capitalist system, the share of the wealth that labor receives depends upon the supply of and the demand for labor; the evil is a result of the private ownership of the machine. If labor receives one loaf's worth of wealth it is not because of the cheapness of the loaf, or because of any other reason but because the value of the loaf represents the value of labor under supply and demand.

B. J.—Very well. U. S.—Now then, this principle implies the other that the cheapness of things does not determine the amount of wealth labor receives. The cheaper the loaf, the lower will be the wages. In other words the Labor Question is a question of production, not consumption. Your co-operative store takes up the question from the consumer's standpoint.

B. J.—But are not workmen consumers? U. S.—Surely. But their poverty starts with them as producers and not as consumers. Seeing that their poverty arises from their being a merchandise, the price of which is determined by supply and demand, it is senseless to start relief at the consumer's end. Relief must be started at the producer's end. Enable them to keep all that they produce, and their consumption will take care of itself. On the other hand, make goods as cheap as you like, and consumption will not be improved as long as the working class is held in wage slavery.

B. J.—Hem. U. S.—This puzzles you; does it not? I'm not surprised. I always knew that much as you may talk of Marx you never looked into the work beyond the title page.

B. J.—Well, that may be; but in what way would my co-operative store get into the hands of false economics? U. S.—In this way: The middle class particularly is howling about price; it may justly do so. If prices are low it will have so much more money, if wages are one loaf of bread, and the price of the loaf goes down 50 per cent, the working class won't be in pocket the 50 per cent. saved, because its own value will thereby have been reduced and, accordingly, its wages will fall proportionally. But if the price of the loaf goes down by 50 per cent, the middle class and the capitalist class will be so much in pocket, because their share of wealth is not determined like that of the workingmen. It is for this reason that the middle class folks are always after cheapness and it is a cry so delusive that it usually takes in the workers, and thereby draws their attention away from where the shoe pinches THEM, and causes them to fight the economic battles of their exploiters. To talk "co-operative stores" is to talk "cheapness"; to talk "cheapness" is to give the law of wages or darken it; to do that is to play into the hands of the enemy.

B. J.—And you say this sort of thing has been tried before? U. S.—Yes. Often after disastrous strikes the broken-down skates of labor leaders have set up these "co-operative" affairs. We have seen "co-operative" mines; "co-operative" dairies; "co-operative" shirt, cigar and other factories—and all have failed to smash the schemer back at the bottom of them, he alone profiting, while the trepanned innocents remained plucked. Wash your hands of your "great scheme." It is great only in its stupidity and its crookedness.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," of some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with many pictures as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply for News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. City. Price, 25 cents.

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

LOCKING HORNS.

Howard Meyer Goldsmith of New Britain, Conn., Tackles the New Britain Herald.

Editor "Herald":—In a lengthy article in Friday's "Herald" you try to make bold to say you have miserably failed. Your arguments are such that one really does not know where your premises begin and where your conclusions end, and they all, that is your arguments, seem to stand on your heads.

To argue the subject with you in anything like a broad and scientific manner is therefore out of the question. We would have to start with first principles and this would take us beyond the limits of a newspaper communication.

We cannot, however, help passing a few cursory remarks in regard to the most salient points of your article, which, squeezed of its water, cleaned of its chaff and freed of its meaningless phrases is reduced to the same old worn out, thread-bare arguments. Let us see how much truth they contain.

You say that the co-existence of two conditions is not yet proof that one is the cause of the other and that only the unscientific and dissatisfied Socialists will claim that the opulence of the rich is the cause of the brutalizing, ill-paid toil of the poor.

You boldly state that one Socialist writer declares "Property is robbery" and you ask whether Socialists, shipwrecked on Robinson Crusoe's island, would claim a right to share his belongings and appropriate his prepared food.

You say that competition is a law of nature, as it is natural for man to seek to gratify his desire with the least exertion, and that to violate that law would mean to fly in the face of Providence.

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ure of society, and is subject to the calls of that society wherever its necessities will require it, even to its last farthing: its contributions, therefore, to the public exigencies are, the return of an obligation previously received, or the payment of a just debt."

In conclusion I would say that it is high time that all those who think that Socialism is important enough to write about should also not forget that it is of the greatest importance to first get informed what Socialism is.

M. GOLDSMITH, Member of Section New Britain, S. L. P.

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 persons 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 ten 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, inclosing one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled as member at large.

For pamphlets, leaflets, platforms and other information, address the National Secretary, HENRY KUHN, 184 William Street, New York City.

LABOR NEWS COMPANY,

64 East Fourth Street, N. Y.

Table listing various publications and their prices, including 'The Communist Manifesto', 'Socialism', 'The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party', etc.

New York Official Returns.

Table showing official returns for New York by county, including Albany, Allegheny, Broome, etc., with columns for 1898 and 1897.

Kansas Official Returns.

Seventy-eight out of 105 counties give Lipscombe, the S. L. P. candidate for Governor, 646 votes. There was no vote polled in 27 counties. The counties polling a vote are the following:

Table showing official returns for Kansas by county, including Allen, Anderson, Atchison, Bourbon, Butler, Chase, etc., with columns for 1898 and 1897.

Socialist Literature.

Table listing various socialist literature titles and their prices, including 'The Communist Manifesto', 'Socialism', 'The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party', etc.

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.]

A Boy in Blue Taking Observations in Porto Rico.

To THE PEOPLE.—A short account of the status of the class struggle in Porto Rico may be obtained by reading the article in the issue of Dec. 27, 1898, under the heading "A Boy in Blue Taking Observations in Porto Rico."

A strike among the printers is now in progress involving three offices. Meetings are held nightly, affording opportunity for propaganda by the Socialists.

The Chicago "Municipalization" Discussion.

To THE PEOPLE.—Somewhat of a literary anomaly has just been witnessed in this city—a Socialist contributor admitted to the columns of a capitalist paper the security of it, the writer's promise of publication was secured before the statement of our position on municipalization in general, and on the present municipalization in Chicago in particular, was drawn up, and it happened in this way:

Last winter the capitalist governmental committee of this State, in session at Springfield under the leadership of Legat, Governor of Illinois, devoted a great portion of its time to the revision of the laws relating to street railway franchises in the interests of those who own the lines.

A new law was passed permitting the giving of franchises for fifty years. Formerly the limit was twenty years. The law was thus prepared, the three principal surface transit systems of the city of Chicago were to be sold to a corporation, and one of the Aldermen obligingly introduced it.

Now Mayor Harrison's ambitions were disquieted by the silver wing of the Democracy in this city, who were clamoring for a demand for municipalization at the expiration of the present franchises; and it followed this with the announcement of the independent candidature of ex-Governor Altgeld for the Mayorship next spring, on a platform of free silver and municipal ownership.

At this juncture the Socialist Labor party was requested to lend a hand in the game of bluncheon by the circulation of a petition. Our reply was a request for space in the "Dispatch" for a statement of our position. This proposition being accepted, the statement was drawn up; sent in, after receiving the approval of the Central Committee of the Section and was published in the "Dispatch" on the 27th inst.

As I said, the "Dispatch" published our statement as sent, but it inserted near the close of our statement the following standing article: "What Municipal Ownership Will Do," which appears in the paper daily, and whose false claims are funny enough and pernicious enough to deserve being quoted:

As similar bogus municipalization movements are able to cross our path in all large cities, the stand taken by Section Chicago may be of sufficient interest to the comrades elsewhere.

Chicago, Dec. 31. W. S. McCLURE.

The Doster-Clemens Kansas Socialists.

To THE PEOPLE.—THE PEOPLE has truly pictured the methods of the old trades union movement. The Gomperses, Debbes, and their class, have about run their course.

We have the Clemens and Doster in Kansas, you know they were International Socialists until the Pops elected them to trust positions, then they joined the Leedy gang of "get all you can."

Doster says: "My judgment is that Socialism can only be realized through the Socialist party, and that the party must be organized on a basis of growth and can not be accelerated by artificial means. Educative effort by the individual citizen, and not political organization is the correct policy."

This was one of the principal battlegrounds in freeing the land slaves. Do you think we will be logging in the wage slave struggle? We are awakening to our true position, then they joined the Leedy gang and we shall close up the line of pickets and shall answer any challenge of our foes.

"As to Methods."

To THE PEOPLE.—The discussion which has been started in THE PEOPLE by the editorial of Dec. 4, "As to Methods," in itself perhaps excuses the differences of conception as to its meaning; those who express their views in the columns of THE PEOPLE are to be commended for opposing points of view.

The first letter that appeared on the subject by Comrade Root, of Pittsburg, speaks of Comrade Badger's "Spindling Trades Union Record." What has to do with revolutionary Socialism? We are past that. The Socialist movement cannot be made subordinate to the power of the person or the strength of the party.

The editorial in question states, "It is at least doubtful that France, Germany and Belgium would credit the same vote if they were now credited with it, besides voting for members of parliament they had the opportunity to vote for offices of wide-spread influence in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government."

We owe no consideration to the voter of a split ticket; he must be fought until he becomes a conscious Socialist. We do not need to be misled by the "broad" and "tolerant" through all its various phases it is the same policy of political, revolutionary Socialism.

LETTER BOX.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]
S. M. C. NEW YORK.—The story may be good enough for a literary magazine; not for THE PEOPLE. It is simply "clever" without intrinsic merit, and is even less interesting than the wholly wrong foundation for strikes.

It will be seen that the editorial under discussion produced in J. Wanhoop's mind "after a careful perusal" a "state of comparative confusion."

What is the characteristic feature of the comparative confusion? And, indeed, the latter impression may be the feeling that one was still under the pressure of that "comparative confusion" while writing it.

The editorial in THE PEOPLE of Dec. 4, under the heading "As to Methods," is a masterpiece of logic, and it is a pity that it is not more widely read.

It is perfectly true that our vote is not of the same quality as the vote of the masses. Those who think that every vote cast for Socialist candidates in France or in Germany stands for a convinced Socialist, are mistaken.

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General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$73.00
Section of the S. L. P. New York, N. Y.
Gift to the G. A. F. \$10.00
A. Schirmer, Frohn, Mo. \$10.00
Total \$103.00
HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

