
ecriptions without remit-tance must state distinctly how long they are to run. Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscription sent in by them. Only duly elected and ap-proved 'agents acknowl-

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CHAPTER 5.

ntion of the United Mine Work-Union, held in Pittsburg last week. s a story clamped with crime, and rivetted with corruption, as ght be expected from a "pure and nile" arrangement like it, that was ceived in the womb of ignorance, sered by fraud, and delivered by wives, sliniy with sins of treachery beir class, and now in its old age wrned body and soul by the man hates it—Mark A. Hanna.

efore describing the scenes of dis-er that attended every working at of the convention, the charges d counter charges, innuendos and inations of treachery that were led by both sets of fakirs at one thers' head, let us take a glimpse the chief moguls who stormed, re, cursed, and raved at each other. first and foremost was a sleek, well-d gentleman on whose fair-round dy, with capon lined, there lay a gold him that would moor a tug-boat. He s the President, Hanna's protegee, mes D. Ratchford, of Massillon, He is on the Industrial Commision; salary, \$3,600 a year and expen-es. He puts one portion of the miners at the others' throat by his ignorant buse of foreigners despite the fact that 50 per cent. of the miners were torn in other elimes, himself an Engoan. He is Hanna's agent as will e shown later. Let us leave him témporarily and

look at the next beauty-spot—Patrick MacBryde. Pat is another be-diamoned swell; he is a wealthy saloon-moned swell; he is a wealthy saloon-moned swell; he is a wealthy saloon-moned in Columbus, O. He is better aquainted with schooners than thovels, with pints than picks. Not awing any more use for labor faking and the avertical it gives him as a polland the prestige it gives him as a polidid not take much part in be convention.

The next "representative" of the dayes of the pluck-me-store is another owling swell, John McBride no less, who knows more about labor faking than Gompers. He is the individual than Gompers. He is the individual who was white-washed in 1804, when charged with selling out the strikers in that famous struggle. This gentle-man has charge of the agents for a

big publishing house.

Then we have Lewis, of Ohio, a lawyer practising at the Ohio har.

Then Keenan, of Illinois, tug-boat

Next Fahy, of Schuykill County, Pa. old party politician: Harrisburg lob-byist; all 'round fakir, and Dame Rumour has it that he never entered n shaft in his life.

Dolan-all 'round plug ugly; would sooner fight than eat—unless he meets a stronger man; would rather drink whiskey than lie; a coarse, stupid, illiterate Scotch-Irishman with all the vices of both countries and none of

Next, Warner, of Brothel fame, Comrade Goff gives this pen-picture of him: "He has broad cloth, and diamonds, with toothpick shoes and silk hose, and dines in the swellest restaurant in Pittsburg, where it costs \$1.50 to smell the cook's breath, and is so economical with all that he can do it on his salary of \$75 per month." Next. Warner, of Brothel fame, on his salary of \$75 per month."

To this collection of fakirs add the delegates of lesser light who were there paid by the operators for looking after the interests of the operators, as witness the charge of one of the "pure and simplers" from Illinois who said quote from the "Pittsburg Press") r. Chairman, there are three scab this floor, whose expenses are paid the operators." J. L. Lewis, of rose to a point of order. And delegate was prevailed upon to take his seat. He was an honest 'pure and simpler' probably, who, when howled at by the fakirs did not have he nerve to go on. Then add a num-er of men who come there honestly expecting to do "good along pure and simple lines," ignorant of the fact that wages and politics are inseperable questions. To these add a half-dozen socialist delegates who through stress of circumstances had to take the "Volkszeitung's" advice and as a re-sult had a sultry time "boring from within," and our readers can have a good idea of the personnel of the 10th Annual Convention of the United Mine Workers with Mark Hanna's man Priday presiding.

This story is not written for the pur-less of abusing the fakirs in a spirit petty spite. It is written so that the hers of America, who need organiza-m worse than any other body of workers, can see as clear as they can be God's sun when they walk from the firs mouth, that in the United Mine kers' Union they are organized for own slaughter, and, furthermore, their own slaughter, and, furthermore, that they are led by as black-hearted, corrupt and ignorant a set of crooks as over sold out for gold since the day that Judas sold Christ for silver.

FROOFS ? HERE:

When Ratchford called the convention to order he was in possession of the fellowing facts:

1st. During the 10 years the United

lst. During the 10 years the United Mine Workers' was organized, the conn of the miner became steadily e. The miners marched amidst shadows of the willow trees of de-Rvery law that was passed in. Interest was declared unconstitu-

as witness: he Run of Mines bill;
he Checkweighman bill;
he Checkweighman bill;
he Formightly Pay bill;
The bill ordering timber to be card to the men in the mine;
And finally, foulest and most crimetined decision of all, the bill abolish-

ing the -pluck-me-store where the miners are bled of their pittance as the bull is bled in the shambles, was declared unconstituional by the courts.

Ratchford and every fakir who sup-ported him knew that the reason why these bills were killed was because ALL LEGISLATION IS CLASS LEGISLATION; honce, with Hanna and Rand and all the other operators crouching behind the ermine of the judges on the bench, death was the watch-word for each measure passed in the miners' interest. Knowing this, when Ratchford, stands knee deep in the slime of Republican politics, the politics of the class that the miners organize to fight, he is doing the job of the immense steer in the Chicago stock yards that rushes down the yards enticing the timid cattle after, him, then when the gate opens and lim, then when the gate opens and leaves him in safety the poor blind cattle rush on to the shambles, to their death. The gate has opened for Ratchford with his \$3,600 job. His followers have run on to the shambles at Hazleton, at Pana, at Virden. etc., etc., THE PURE AND SIMPLE FA-KIRS ARE BUNCO STEERERS.

Fact No. 2.-Ratchford and his crew knows that under the capitalist sys-tem-the continuance of which the Republican party, that he is an office-holder in, stands for—Labor is a com-modity and is sold as such in the labor market, just as is the coal that the miners mine. He and his fellow fakirs know the condition of that labor market. Colonel Rand, of Illinois, says: "There are 400,000 coal miners and but,

Ratchford himself, under his own signature, says in his boycott circular: "Production, aided by mining machin-ery and other modern devices, is rapid-ly increasing, and is now far in excess of the market requirements, in fact the annual productive capacity of our mines is three times as great as our annual consumption."

Thus Ratchford, the labor leader, and Rand, the operator, both agree with the Socialists when we contend that there are far more miners than there are jobs, hence wages must go down. Absolute agreement on that fundamental point, mark you. But the remedy there is the rub.

Rand is silent.
Rand is silent.
Ratchford is silent.
The Socialist says: "This condition breeds Hazletons as dirt breeds lice.
Vote the miner on the right side of the This condition causes storms opposition to arise from the miners Under pure and simple tutorage the Under pure and simple tutorage the echoes of these storms are the dirges of defeat; the effect is an increase in the misery of our class. Whilst with our footsteps lighted by the lamps of science, the echoes of the storms of our battles would be the songs of the victories of our class; and the effects, the carrying out of our historic mission, the mission of emissionary our sion, the mission of emancipating our class. Ratchford & Co. having no remedy, or at least mentioning none, let us come to their assistance, and take up the arguments of the party to which he is such a faithful henchman. "The law of supply and demand will settle it. When there are too many coal miners they will seek other fields." The devil they will. Where? On the wind-swept farms of the West? Poppy cock! The harvester and kindred machines are displacing the farm laborers so rapidly that INSTEAD OF THE MINERS GOING TO THE FARMERS, THE FARM LABORERS ARE GOING TO THE MINERS.

Will they go to the great cities, then? Seems to me, Mr. Fakir, that the cities are as bad as the farms. It is a choice between bad eggs. Thus the miner is bound to his patch, surrounded by a wall of circumstances, more difficult to climb than the walls of ancient Troy. In closing on this point, let me recommend, Mr. Ratchford, that you get a piece of card board and on it

"Coal miners' jobs—200,000.
"Coal miners—400,000."
Stick this card, over the bed post of yourself and the rest of the fakir fami-ly so that it will be the last thing you will read when you retire; the first when you awake, and after thoroughly a.gesting it, you will know this truth, that if you don't understand it you should leave the labor movement for the labor movement's good, for you and your pure and simple tribe ARE IG-NORAMUSES.

If you do understand it and continue in your Republican capitalist party, YOU ARE A TRAITOR AND WILL BE TREATED AS SUCH.

Ratchford & Co., you are traitors to the miners.

Having photographed the rascals, we will proceed with a review of the con-

From the bang of the govel, pandemonium reigned. The forces lined up as follows: Hanna Republican, anti-Hanna Republican, and Free Silverites, the latter of whom could more cor-rectly be called, because of geograph-ical situation, "any-old-thingites." Ratchford led the Hannaites; Lewis, also of Ohio, the anti-Hanna-

Dolan, the Silverites, who forme coaliation with the anti-Hannaites.

The fight started over the person the Credential Committee. Committee had been appointed by the Committee had been appointed by the President. The antis wanted one from each district. This row lasted for several days. Hilmois controlled the convention. Mitchell, a comparatively unknown man, although within the past year he had sprung suddenly forward, was to be the new

President. This was the administration slate. Lewis and Dolan were also aspirants for the office. Ratchford, although from Ohio and elected President last time by Ohio votes, marched to the assistance of Mitchell, of Illinois, and thereby hangs a black tale with a moral all wool and a yard wide. A moral that all workers should under-

stand, viz., that you might as well seek to seperate the youth from his bride on the nuptial night as politics from the union. The capitalist class needs politics in their business: the pure and simple union, unlike the Socialist union, ignores the politics of their class and as a result has the politics of their masters injected into their unions through the labor fakir whom the bosses control. Hence this United Mine Worker row for the Presidency of that organization. Requesting the reader to hold on to that point as the ship holds to the sheet anchor in a gale we will move on and see who and what capitalist injected politics into the U. M. W. and the reasons therefor. Mark A. Hanna, of Cleveland, O., is the biggest thing in National Capi-

talist Politics to-day. As Gulliver was in Lilliput—so is Mark in Washington. As a vote-getter on a gigantic scale, Hanna chastises the orchestra.

When his beady eyes scan the political chess board he notes one spot with the red lights of danger to his class stuck all around. That spot is the coal mining towns and patches,—the Panas. the Virdens and Hazletons of the na-tion. Hanna in his cowardly heart fears these slaves of the mine. They in the face of repeated failure. Their flag of defiance has always been run up again after been tramped on in the mire of defeat. If it were indomitable spirit alone that Hanna had to deal with, he would be happy, but the danger is deeper. It lies in this fact that the coal miner is an industrial proletarian in his occupation and is agrarian in his environment. Hence he is not susceptible to the influences of the old party machinery as is the city proleta-rian, therefore Mark sees he must control the organization of the coal miner or have the flag of capitalism torn from its door and the flag of labor hoisted in its stead.

Hanna knew this as the tiger knows its prey, and he knew that every fakir in the land would do his bidding in

he twinkling of an eye. His first move was to have the Philips bill, that that less astute politician, Cleveland had refused to sign, brought up again immediately Congress convened in 1898. The representatives from the cities, who depending on their political machines for keeping the rkers in line for capitalism, did not bother about the Philips bill, but, on the contrary, fought it. Then occurred that historic scene in Congress, when Senator Perkins, of California, arose and with intense dramatic earnestness read the declaration of principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance as follows:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

WHEREAS, In the natural development of capitalism, the class stringgle between the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, methods and spirit of labor organization are absolutely impotent to resist the aggressions of concentrated capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage earners, or even to arrest for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and
WHEREAS, The economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things cannot be radically changed, or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people, except through the direct action of the working people themselves, economically and politically united as a class.

THEREFORE, It is as a class, conscious DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

cenomically and politically united as class:

THEREFORE. It is as a class, conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step and sworn to achieve its own emancipation, that the wage workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, we shall constantly keep in view its great object, namely: The summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder: a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

The Philips bill passed both houses with an amendment making the major-ity of the members of the Industrial Commission members of Congress; then, to the astonishment of the un-initiated, Michael D. Ratchford, President of the United Mine Workers Union, was appointed member of the Commission, and Greasy Gompers ceased boycotting \$100 cash registers long enough to shed an oily tear for the job that he had hoped for. The one labor fakir who had acted wisely was Hayes, of the K. of L. He came to Pittsburg after receiving the tip as to Hanna's desire to control the coal miners; made a great splurge about the number of men he would organize; but Ratchford had the inside track and got there one month after Haves' move on the coal miners, to be exact, on August 25, 1898.

Here we now see the first steps taken In capitalist politics that led up to the disgraceful scenes last week.

Having secured his man in the right soul. Every drop of blood that coursed through his black heart belonged to Hanna. It did not take him long to see danger for his master arising from two places, Ohio and Pennsylvania: Lewis in one, Dolan in the other, Lewis is Hanna's implacable foe in Ohio politics. Dolan is a free silver man, an upholder of the silver mine barons who shoot down their men. Both had to be downed.

Lewis' fight with Hanna occurred this way. Lewis is a Republican poli-

tician in Ohio. He had the inside track for the nomination for State Senator to the House that was to elect a United States Senator. He threw in his lot with the anti-Hannaites, thinking that his influence with the coal miners, who hate Hanna, would elect him. But he reckoned without his host. Hanna's grip on the State machine was too strong, so down went Lewis without the nomination. The miners were won the nomination. over by an adroit move of Ratchford, who advised the sending of an agent to secure Warner in the Pittsburg Dis-trict as an ally for Hanna, as shown in Chapter 2 of the "Tragic Pages." War-ner would sell his mother's heart for money, so of course he, as expected, jumped into the fight for Hanna, Dolan refusing, having other things in view. This is the secret of the split between Dolan and Warner. Dolan lining up with Lewis of Ohio, and Warner with Mitchell of Ulivole. Mitchell of Illinois.

The Pittsburg District is in a tumult; in consequence, the district convention that will be held next month will see repetition of the scenes at the na-ional convention. Thus does the tional convention. Thus does the Hanna spirit stalk through the United Mine Workers, locally as well as nationally.

So much for Lewis. Now as to Dolan. Dolan is a "free silverite." and as such is a danger to Hanna. True it is that Dolan knows no more about bi-metal-ism than a pig does of calisthenics; but were he elected President of the U. M. W. U. he would be of invaluable as-sistance to the silver mine barons when the guns of the 1900 campaign com-mence to boom. Hence the forces of the United Mine Workers were thrown into Illinois, so as to elect Mitchell of the Hanna camp. Unions sprang up like mushrooms in the night, and matters were manipulated so that, al-though—as Lewis claimed—Ohio paid three-eighths of all the per capita tax received from the 13 States represented in the convention, Illinois had 100 more votes, dominated the convention and elected Mitchell, Gold Standard Hanna Republican, President of the United Mine Workers' Union for the ensuing

These are the reasons condensed in the briefest possible space for the wild, turbulent scenes that have added still further disgrace to the already disgraceful record of the British pure and poor and simple unionism in America.

After reading this story one of the onclusions that may be drawn from it by the revolutionary proletarist of the land is this: that when the Socialist Labor party in its national convention, held in New York City in 1896, en-dorsed the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance it placed one of the mightiest coms in the crown of Socialist achieve a gem that will shine with equal lustre beside the achievement of our German comrades who, realizing that the economic organizations of the working class must be controlled by the political organizations of the workthe political organizations of the ing class, went into the Schultze-Delitch unions with clubs under their

coats and broke them up physically.

And while more pacific measures may and can be adopted in this country, in this generation, willy-nilly by one way or another the impure and simple union must go, to be supplanted by the S. T. & L. A. The miners must be rescued from the vampires who bleed L.em. Mark Hanna and the silver mine barons must be given notice to quit. If Hanna collects the dues for the fakirs in his Panhandle mine, it is only another proof of his connection with them. Before the spirit of the miners is broken we must organize them. They must be taught that it is better to pay 1, cent personents per capita into a class-conscious Socialist organization than 18 cents to fakirs they must be taught the power of the Socialist ballot; they must be taught that in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance they can organize as well as in the old trades union only so much better, because they will be led by men who burn the midnight-oil in study, instead of in the wine room of a brothel: they will be led by men to whom the workings of the capitalist system is as an open book.

Again must the miner learn that we as in the old trades union, only so much better because we have a p ful growing political party behind us knit together with bonds of the purest and closest solidarity—the solidarity of an oppressed class. Similarly can we strike.

Then, finally, these care-worn, toilstained slaves of the mines must learn that while organizing, striking, and boycotting for 364 days in the year we will be drilling, teaching, educating and uplifting them for another strike, a strike not for a nickel or two more in their pay, or an hour less work in the day, but a strike worthy of the great century at whose gateways we are standing. A strike for the honor of our women, a strike for the chivalry of our men, a strike at the ballot box for the land, the mines, the tools of production. Finally, they must learn that in that form of organization alone lies the hope of permanently benefiting their condition. It is only when under the beneficient influence of New Trades Unionism they march to the onquest of the public powers that the sunlight of success will shine at their banners. Then can the miners take their care-worn wives by the hand, march to the mouth of the mine, take possession of the mine and have at their back the National Guard of their

The United Mine Workers' Union planted the miners to front the guns at Pans, Virden, and Hazleton. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance will plant them behind the guns—with the Hannas in the front.

Get in the game, miners! Throw your fakirs! Build up the Alliance! Speed the day of your emancipation. T. A. HICKEY.

edged.

IN ACRICULTURE.

It disclosed the fact that of the 4.008. 907 farms and plantations reported in that year, 1,024,001—or over 25 per cent.—were cultivated by tenants. It was at the same time shown by the table of occupations that of the 7.670,-493 persons reported as engaged in agriculture 3,323,876 were "agricultural laborers," while a large portion of the 1.859.223 persons reported simply as "laborers" under the head of "professional and personal services" were also, according to a foot-note in the census, "agricultural laborers." From hese two facts it therefore appeared, in flat contradiction of all previous notions concerning the independence of our agricultural population, that in 1880 about 5 persons in 8 were not the owners of the land which they culti-vated. Nevertheless, the false impression that the land was not undergoing the same process of concentration was already then noticeable in all the other means of production, not only continued to prevail but was reincontinued to prevail but was re-forced by the remarkable statement of Prof. Walker, Superintendent of the Censuses of 1870 and 1880, namely, (1) that the "average size of farms," inthat the "average size of farms," in-cluding improved and unimproved lands, had been steadily decreasing from 199 acres in 1860 to 153 in 1870, and 134 in 1880; and (2) that the "average area of improved land in farms"— meaning thereby, if it meant anything, the average number of acres of improved land held by one person as owner or tenant-had decreased from 80 acres in 1860 to 71 acres in 1880. In an exhaustive analysis of the

census figures, made by L. Sanial, and published in the Tenth Report of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics (1893), it was shown that the "averages" of Prof. Walker were arithmetical fictions, produced by entirely ignoring the conditions under which 900.000 "new farms" had been created n the Southern States after the abolition of slavery. As regards these States and these "new farms," it was shown that the enfranchised slaves had been converted into three classes: One class numbered about 600,000 "ten-ants," who cultivated "on shares" a portion of the land owned by their for-mer masters. The second class was composed of about 300,000 "farm owners," whose holdings as such, however, were very small, chiefly ranging from 3 to 25 acres. As to the third one, numbering at least 2,200,000, it was entirely composed of "agricultural laborers," working for wages. Leaving aside this new tenantry and this new proprietary, formidable numerically but insignificant economically and created under the abnormal conditions brought about by the abolition of chattel slavery, it was found that both in the South and in the North the real average quantity of "improved land" held by one as owner (which is from a true economic standpoint the actual "average" size of farms) had actually—and contrary to Prof. Walker's misstatementincreased instead of decreased. In the South it increased only 4 per cent. from 1860 to 1880, but in the North and West, where no great political or so-cial revolution interfered with the economic development, it increased nearly 36 per cent. during the same

By the same analysis it was shown that in the New England States, from 1860 to 1880, the number of farmers decreased 23,000, but the number of farm laborers increased 24,000, the decrease on one side and the increase on every farmer that disappeared was replaced by a farm laborer. In the mean-time, however, the "improved land" in creased 922,000 acres; and this gives us ome idea of the addition made 'efficiency of labor" by agricultural machinery, even on the rocky soil of New England, where such machinery

The first inquiry into the tenure of | cannot be used to the same extent as land in this country was made in 1880. | in more favored regions.

in more favored regions.

Likewise (or still worse) in New York State, the number of farmers decrea 13:300, but the number of farm laborers increased only 10:000, while the area of improved land increased 3,360,-000 acres, or about 23 per cent. Nor was this all; we quote:
"The number of farms under 10

acres—the 'poverty farms,' upon which here and there one among many a country mechanic and agricultural laborer has built or inherited a shanty, keeps a cow and raises some vegetables —increased 1.835 in New York State, while the farms of more than 500 acres, the beauty for the state of the s the bonauza farms of this State, in-creased 1,351. On the other hand, the creased 1,351. On the other hand, the number of farms ranging from 10 to less than 100 acres, that require a fair agricultural equipment to eke out of the soil a scanty living by the hard personal labor of the owners and their families, decreased 18,706; while those ranging from 100 to 500 acres, worked chiefly by wafe labor with coefficients. chiefly by wage labor, with costly ma-chinery, adequate live stock, extensive accommodations and ready cash, increased 40,325," It is quite evident that Prof. Walker's method of "aver-

aging with a vengeance" produces results the very reverse of actual facts.
"Pennsylvania, with an increase of 3,000,000 acres in improved land, show-ed an increase of only 14,000 farmers as against 31,000 farm laborers. Ohio, with an increase of 5,500,000 acres to with an increase of 5,500,000 acres to its cultivated area, showed an increase of 38,000 farmers as against 55,000 farm laborers. In brief, every State in the North Atlantic, Northern Central and Western groups, shows the same tendency, either to an actual decrease in the number of farmers, or to an increase of much less proportion than the area improved; but in all cases a tendency to a disproportionate increase in the number of agricultural laborers as compared with the number of

farmers. The further progress of capitalistic concentration in Agriculture from 1880 to 1890 is shown to some extent and in various ways by the foregoing figures. It has been so great during this period that although the Walker method of "averaging with a vengeance" was conti nued in the census of 1890, the gen-eral "average size of farms," arrived at in simply dividing the total farm area by the total number of farms, shows an increase (from 134 to 137 acres) for the first time in the history of the country. In so far as one of the effects of concentration, at the present stage of development reached by capitalistic agriculture, is the growth of that kind of sweating system which is termed "lenantry," the following fig-ures are highly instructive: 1—That of the total number of farms,

25.5 per cent. in 1890, and 28.4 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants.

2—That of the total number of farms under 100 acres, 33.1 per cent. in 1880, and 35.3 per cent, in 1890, were held by tenants. -That of the total number of farms

over 100 acres, 16.2 per cent. in 1880, and 20.3 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants.

4—That of the total number of farms

of less than 50 acres, 43 per cent. In 1880, and 44 per cent. In 1890, were held by tenants. This small—and we need not say, miserable—tenantry, was chiefly located in the Southern States, where it was the best product of the abolition of slavery. With the intro-duction of agricultural machinery, it is, of course, bound to disappear very rapidly.

5-That while the total number of 734, or 13.86 per cent, the number of farms occupied by the tenants increased from 1,024,601 to 1,294,913, or 26.3 per cent. The increase in the number of tenanted farms was 270,312, or very nearly one-balf of the total in-crease of farms.—LUCIEN SANIAL, in "Socialist Almanac."

WON'T BE MUZZLED.

HOLYOKE, Mass., Jan. 24.-The power of a correct Socialist education, as exemplified by the Socialist Labor party, is never fully realized until has occasion to make a practical test of it. And we can not be too grateful to our teachers who have so patiently opened up the great reservoirs of knowledge to us plain workmen and enabled us thereby to take our stations in the councils of the world with suc-cess and honor to our great masters, who taught us that knowledge is

These thoughts came to me very forcible when I took my seat in the Board of Aldermen in this City of

There I was among manufacturers, merchants, and men of money and of education, men with whom I seldom, if at all, associate because they and I are separated by deep-reaching class destinction and class interests. Instinctively we feel that we are enemies, though most of my collagenes do not though most of my colleagues do not know the reason why. It will be my painful duty to teach them this im-portant lesson of our life. The Presi-dent of the Board, Mr. Arthur M. French, Superintendent of the Linden Prench, Superintendent of the Linden Paper Company, attempted at the last meeting of the Board to muzzle me. But Socialists can not be muzzled. I have resorted to the public press to say all I cared to say in the matter, If Mr. French goes further, I shall go further, and organize street meetings to utter

the convictions of the class I represent; we shall then see who comes out second best.

Our mutual relations in the Board have as yet been too brief to show any decided effect. The press—we have five regular reporters: "Transcript," five regular reporters: "Transcri "Globe-Democrat" and "Telegram, Holyoke; these and the "Springfield Republican" and the "Union," have treated me very fair and reported cor-rectly what took place. In the second house, (as it is called), the audience has been very large and attentive. The measures that have been offered so far have been mostly of a routine nature and unimportant except a motion to sell the Holyoke and Westfield Rail-road, which is controlled by majority stock owned by the City of Holyoke. I sized this up as "A MOVE OF THE RAILROAD CORPORATIONS UPON THE CHESS BOARD OF SPECULA-

This seemed to arouse the anger of quite a number of Aldemen and hence the attempt to prevent me from doin any more talking that night. I offere a scheme to consolidate our two rali-roads by building a union depot, in order to give work to at least 500 men for one year. This was tabled by a vote of 15 against 6. More later. M. RUTHER.

Hugo Vogt lectures this evening, 8 p. m., on "Labor Legislation" at Sylvan Hall, 2314 Second avenue, corner 119th street, this city. Admission free.

THE PEOPLE.

at 184 William Street, New York

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In 1894 23,123
In 1896 (Presidential) 36,564
In 189755,678

To issue from primitive simplicity and suddenly to grow enormously rich threatens immorality and ruln. This we now witness in E. DE LAVELEYE. the United States.

TWO OF A KIND-JONES AND CHASE

Last week, Mr. Samuel M. Jones, the Republican Mayor of Toledo, O., delivered an address in this city to a workingmen's organization: What happened there is worthy of note. Mr. Jones spoke in impassioned strains on the sufferings of the working people and the tyranny of the capitalists; he did not indulge in generalities merely, he waxed concrete; he pronounced himself a Socialist, pointed to the growth of Socialist sentiment in the land, the wisdom and justice of Socialism, and to Socialism as the solution of the human problem, Two of the workingmen present, class-conscious and experienced,-hopeful to find indeed a member from the ranks of the enemy graduate into and join the revolution, yet too wise to accept words and phrases at their face value-, decided to test the Mayor with two questions; they asked:

Why do you not join the Socialist Labor party; do you recognize the class struggle?

A Black Crook transformation was not to be compared with the completeness and suddeness of the transformation that Mr. Jones underwent. Up to that moment, he had been bland and unctuous, gentle and suave; soon as the question was put he was an altered man. He grew livid and red with rage, and in bolsterous, defiant, petulant and even rough language denounced the idea of "arraying class against class." the "employe against the employer." and the political party that was guilty of such wrogfulness.

The cat was out of the bag. Mr. Jones' Socialism was clap-trap.

The game would not be worth the candle merely to hold up this Toledo Mayor as a political charlatan; it would not be worth the candle even to utilize the incident as mere evidence of the growing popularity of the word "So-cialism." There is a much deeper lesson to be learned, one of weight in the understanding of the anatomy of the situation, and, consequently, of the caution that the situation demands. and the tactics that such situation

renders imperative. That there is a political break-up going on in the country is evident. The industrial or economic development, that congests capital more and more into few hands, is lashing the masses of the people into rebellion. Of these masses, one portion, the lesser, is substantially class-conscious; that portion is the middle class-the would-be plutocrats who have failed in the race; the larger portion, the working class, is still substantially class-unconscious. As a result of this, the capitalist and the middle class are organizing upon hostile political platforms into hostile political groups. Left to themselves, the middle class, being more numerous, might easily overthrow the capitalist class. But at this stage a complication steps in. There stands the working class, more numerous than both capitalist and middle class put to-gether, and-ARMED WITH THE BALLOT. That is a quarry for votes. The class that can chip off for itself the largest portion of workingmen's votes must be the victor. Hence a scramble therefor. The tactics adopted by each is but the consequence of its special economic condition.

The capitalist class, as was seen during the McKinley campaign, need comparatively little buncombe; all it has to do is quietly, but firmly, tighten the screws on its employes: threaten them with lock-outs if its middle class political adversary wins; and, it having the largest number of wage slaves, rely in that way upon victory.

The middle class, on the contrary, being, not by reason of its humanity. but by reason of its inferior capital, unable to exploit as many workingmen, has not upon the working class the economic lever of influence that is in the hands of the upper capitalists. The middle class, accordingly, must resort to other methods in order to attract to itself the Labor Vote-needed to prevail. Its methods are buncombe. Hence the political oratory of the middle class is the most misleading.

the most insincere, the most fraudulental-it partakes of the nature of birdlime to attract and trepan the workingman.

Watched by the light shed by these facts, much that is otherwise obscure in the political apparitions of the day will become luminous; and the two Mayors of Toledo and Haverhill-Samuel M. Jones and John C. Chasewill not only be understood but will shed light on each other.

Both declaim against "capitalism"; but what both mean by that is, not the SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION, but the exploitation of the middle class by the upper capitalists,- as exemplified by the Toledo gentleman, when he grows frate at the idea of a war upon the EMPLOYER CLASS; and as likewise exemplified by the Haverhill gentleman, when he takes his stand upon a platform that expressly pledges itself to protect the small farmers in their exploitation of labor, and when his party men spend their time in the Common Council voting for a reduction of the rate of interest from 7 to 5 per cent., a wholly middle class affair. Consequently both rear at the Class Struggle, - a principle that heads straight against the class they represent, by aiming at the abolition of all classes.

Again, both-their flanks and rear covered by the middle class-turn their main attention to the workingman as A VOTER, and, consequently, as indispensable food for their cannon,-as exemplified by the conduct of the Haverhill gentleman and his Haverhill companions in arms, when they are seen pushing themselves forward at labor meetings, as at Rockland, Marlboro, etc., and there, instead of, even at the risk of temporarily displeasing the workingmen, educating them out of their economic errors, talking to them approvingly of all the economic will-o'the whisps that these have been following to their sorrow, and thus seeking to insinuate themselves into the worker's good graces by flattering his superstitions; and as likewise exemplified by the Toledo gentleman when he is seen straining to rope in Socialist Labor party men of his own town, and here in New York pulls the strings for an opportunity to address labor organizations; and both wrap themselves in the cloak of Socialism-a term that, thanks to the conduct of the Socialist Labor party, is earning wide esteem for its soundness and character.

Toledo and Haverhill, the Joneses and the Chases are well worth close study; they are identical apparitions, peculiar to our political soil and atmosphere. Understood, they are valuable; misunderstood, no siren-capped rock is more fraught with danger for the welfare of the proletariat or the solution of the Social Question.

TRULY DISGRACEFUL.

Richard Croker, the ex-plug-ugly, now capitalist and recognized leader of Tammny Hall, has inflicted upon the good name of America many a stain; the dirtiest though he inflicted last week. Said he:

week. Said he:

From the South and West there always comes the hue and cry against New York, because it is the money-centre of the United States. But whenever there is any great public improvement to be made in any section of this country, the first look for help is toward abused New York. They rush to our great city to raise the money. They come here for the means to build their railroads, to construct their water works, to erect the plants for gas service, and bond their cities for any kind of improvement. Then, no matter how much benefit is derived from this section of the country, there is always the sarse how against the great city, because it is the money centre—that very centre without which public improvement would be an impossibility.

The stail upon the fair name of

The stain upon the fair name of consists. paradoxically enough, in the truth of Croker's words.

Here we have a large population, powerful in brain and brawn, inventive, industrious, actively inclined, and yet impotent to do the things they need unless given permission to do so; nay, worse yet, unless they consent to be

Money builds nothing. It is laborlabor of mind and hands-that builds all. All the money in the world could not build a mole-hill; labor alone can and does produce mountainous wealth. What is it binds this Glant, laying it helpless at the feet of the Money Bags?

-The capitalist system of production. Capitalism implies individual production in so much as the tools of production are private property. The unavoidable result of this starting point is the need and the power of money. Organized co-operatively, society is emancipated from the Money Power; left to individual production, society is the slave of the Money Power. Society organized co-operatively. Labor is the starting point, society left to capitalism Money is the starter.

The Tammany ex-plug-ugly is right Those who uphold tyranny should be the last to howl at its workings; those who uphold capitalism certainly can not with good grace howl at its effects. That this truth should be told, and insultingly at that, to the American people by a Croker Money Bag should be enough to cause the scales to drop from the eyes of the genuine patriot and cause the Croker system to be drowned under the waves of oblivion.

H. B. Keinard will lecture next Friday, February 3, at 8 p. m., on "Socialist Agitation" at 209 East Broadway, this city.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Advertisers study to catch the public eye; they must please; they eschew everything that repels, they are adepts in the art of attracting. Not a little insight can be got into men and things by a study of advertisements. In view of this what an insight into the morals that capitalism breeds, and its Churchianity fosters, does not the below advertisement of a certain firm in the Springfield, Mass., "Republican" afford to those who have the eyes to see:

PEACE AND WAR.

Life and death, success or failure, defeat or victory, humanity against humanity. Misery of one is peace for another. Terms of peace, conques or die. Kill or to be killed in time of peace is the destruction of another. He who preserves peace is greater than he who breaks it. We make arms, study their art, destroy to preserve. We build prisons, erect schfolds, inflict punishment, go to war, take others possessions and proclaim peace. Business is war. One continuous fight. We lead or we must be led. We fight to lead. Our neighbor's fallure brings us success. This is human progress. PEACE AND WAR. PEACE AND WAR.

The San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" quotes a Japanese student, who, after extensive studies of European and American books on political economy, put the case tersely thus:

These books deal with buying and selling, banking, money, and methods of taxat.on, TEACHING MAINLY THE ART OF FIX TRACTING THE HONEY WITHOUT ALARMING THE HIVE.

In biology we see off and on an old, old type recurring, a specimen that is out of keeping with its surroundings and is a freakish repetition of olden days. The phenomenon is known as "atavism." As in biology, so also, it would seem, in capitalist journalogy. How else is the following passage to be explained from the Newburgh, N. Y., "Daily Press":

Y., "Daily Press":

The propaganda of the Socialists in Newburgh is the most active of any political organization. Every Sunday afternoon they hold meetings, to which everyone is invited cordially. The wonder of this is where the funds come from. Experience tells us that if anyone wants political work performed he must pay for it, the motto of the age being "no money, no work." We might indulge in speculation as to where the 'lubricant' comes from to pay expenses, but into absence of specific information that would be a waste of time. Perhaps the members of the Socialist party are pure patriots who stake "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor," on the ultimate success of their political ideas, and thus occupy a place equally high with the ment-who signed the Declaration of Independence over one hundred years ago. But every one who has had any political education knows that the dominant party in this. State has, more than once, maintained an annex deeligned to draw votes from the Democracy. Of course we do not mean to be understood as making the assertion that the Socialists are so sustained, because we cannot do so, having absolutely no proof that such is the case.

. Years ago, the suspicion was common that the S. L. P. was in the pay of one of the old parties to pull away votes from the other, and the poverty of the party's membership gave a color to the calumny: Its utterers could not understand how men could understand their material interests so well as to give their time and efforts to a movement like the Socialist without remuneration; trained to the dull and stupid ways of Old Party methods, the traducers of the S. L. P. could not comprehend the force of intelligent political activity. But that time passed away. The transparent probity of the S. L. P. lived down all suspicion; such may now be said to have wholly died away; and one is reminded thereof only by such occasional atavistic utterances as the one above quoted.

The London, England, "Justice" sizes up well the dangers that lurk under the present expansion mania when it says:

We are glad to see that there are still many Americans—quite possibly the major-lity—who are opposed to the anti-democratic and brutalising Imperialism which, if persisted in, must break up the great Republic, Democracy at home and military domination abroad are in the long, and not such a very long, run quite incompatible. If the Philippinos are to be butchered for demanding independence in the Pacific, working Americans will doubtless be slaughtered for demanding independence at home.

Under the happy title "Tolstol Kisses Nicholas," the Minneapolis, Minn. "Toesin" comments upon the recent fraternization of these two men, and sums up with the felicitous remark:

Humane sentiment is all right. But unguided by sound and scientific knowledge (which the Tolstois as well as the Steads notably lack) it is as likely to do harm as good. The sentimentalist can always be caught by sweet words. And no one can use sweet words better than the murderous "autocrat of all the Russias." For uscold, matter-of-fact materialists that we judge Nicholas, not by his recent professions of desire for peace, but by his whole career of heartless and bloody tyranny.

Less felicitous, however, do we find our talented colleague in the article in which, correctly confuting the sweeping statement that unionism is to-day a dream, it says:

Any one who is acquainted with the facts in regard to the working of any one of the stronger unions—as, for instance, the Typo-graphical—must know that these organisa-tions are of great service to their mem-bers.

"To their members"?-The sentence should rather read: "To those of their members who have been lucky enough to keep their jobs." So worded, the sentence would have covered the case, and been suggestively true.

A report of ex-President Prescoft himself recently admitted that about 10,000 members of the Typographical Union were out of work; and other reports from large number of towns corroborate the statement, adding the confirmatory evidence of "old clothes," etc., being asked for from the union offices in behalf of these victims of the machine.

Here we have a Union, that, owing to special conditions of its trade, has long escaped the ravages of the machine; the storm finally strikes it, but in "striking it" actually strikes individual members, does not strike it as a

body; ALL the members gave the Union the prestige it enjoyed and thanks to which SOME manage to keep good jobs, but, despite the fact that the good luck of THESE is the result of the combined efforts of ALL, the good luck is enjoyed by the lucky individuals only, leaving the others in

the cold. An Indian and a Yankee, so runs the story, went into partnership for a hunting expedition. The net result of their joint efforts was a turkey and an owl. It came to deviding the spoils. Said the Yankee to the Indian: "You take the owl and I take the turkey; or, I take the turkey and you the owl." The story closes with the Indian muttering: "But he don't say turkey once to me."

This, Indian at least muttered; do those members of the International Typographical Union, whose share in the spoils is the owl of "out-of-work," even mutter?

The suggestiveness of the sentence. as amended, lies in that it calls attention to the attitude of the unlucky members of the Union: they are loyal to it, despite the treatment it allots to them. And the further suggestiveness of the amended sentence lies in that it points to the question, How long will this blind loyalty last?

The posture of these disinherited members towards their Union is very much like that of the Proletariat at large towards the Nation, or rather, its form and system of Government. Protected of old by the Nation under its capitalist system, the Proletariat still cling to it despite the treatment it now bestows upon them; they cling to it blindly; but one day, and that day is at hand, the scales will fall from their eyes; and discovering that the idol they had worshiped is, or has developed into, a monster, they will turn upon and smash it. So with the unlucky members of the Typographical Union; and hence it is that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is perfectly justified in denouncing as "union wreckers" the pack of misleaders that to-day are 'union leaders."

If the Spokane, Wash., "Freeman's Journal" does not look out it will become an idealizer of the capitalist class. This is what is says:

Now it must be remembered that the land monopolist who holds this land performs no service to earn the wealth he appropriates. He, as such, employes no labor and creates no wealth and is a parasite living off the ludustry of his more thrifty neighbors.

If this means anything, it means that the man, who holds capital and whose only "labor" is to skin the workers, is not a parasite. At this rate, we may soon expect to see the Vanderblits and Goulds, the Sages and Morgans, the Rothschilds and Drexels canonized and pictorially reproduced with halos around their heads.

We will give our Government as many soldiers as it needs to execute the law, and if rioutous strikers and other outlaws do not like it. let them go to the polis and change the law by outvoing the friends of law and order. But until they do this, they may be sure that every Chicago riot will be collared and choked to death by the Federal arm. As many soldiers as we need against foreign war or domestic insurrection; not a soldier more, not a man less. No rant and cant about "a standing army" will ever again make us defenseless.

We won't find any fault with the

We won't find any fault with the above from the Portland, Ore., "Oregonian." When it refers to the working class demanding its right as "riotous strikers and other outlaws," it and we stand respectively in pretty good historic company: It is not many hundred years ago when one Col. Pitcairn approached the Minute-men in arms at Lexington with the peremptory command: "Lay down your arms, ye rebels:" We may indulge the "Oregonian" in its pleasure of ranking itself with the Col. Pitcairns of history: no doubt the working class has no obion to take its co along the Lexington Minute-men.

The reason of this extraordinary and exceptional display of kindness on our part towards the class of the modern Col. Pitcairns is the good advice the "Oregonian" gives: "Go to the polls and change the law!"-Correct.

The vote of Texas, as officially announced, is larger than expected. G. H. Royal, for Governor, polls 562 votes; E. Bellinger, for Lieutenant-Governor, 592.

The Canadian S. L. P. has done well during the recent municipal contests. It placed candidates in the field in four cities in Ontario and polled an aggregate of nearly 2,000 votes, as follows: London, 709; Hamilton, 283; Brantford, 250; Toronto, 706. Total, 1,048.

Likewise, in Boston, did the vote rise considerably at the municipal election of last December. The officials took considerably at the municipal election of last December. The officials took their time to announce the S. L. P., it is only now known and is encouraging indeed: Martha Moore Avery, School Committee, 8,836; an increase of 2,156 over 1897. Stephen O'Shaughnessy, Street Commissioner, 2,778; increase of 1,215 over 1897. Aldermen: William R. Dyer, 1,888; Godfred Beck, 1,884; Joseph Ballam, 1,734; Samuel Freedman, 1,520; Joseph Murphy, 1,288; Henry C. Hess, 1,208; George Geguire, 1,140; Leon Greenman, 1,127; Florentin Theobault, 709; Jay Robert Simmons. 691; Charles M. Langen, 645; Herman W. A. Rassch, 615. The Aldermen are elected at large, each party being required to nominate 12 candidates; citizens only voting for 7, thus requiring the party that is victorious to defeat 5 of their candidates. Counting overy seven ballots cast for Aldermen as one voter, 2,065 citizens have voted our Aldermanic ticket; an average increase of 569 over 1897.

EAGAN-MILES.

The Eagin-Miles controversy is to the initiated a fine illustration of the truth of a certain proverb that runs something like this: "When thieves fall out honest men are told the

Mr. Miles, posing as the "friend of the soldier," has made statements regarding the quality and condition of the beef issued to the privates during the neer issued to the privates during the late war, tending to show that said beef was not of good quality, and that it was "embalmed."

it was "embalmed."

Thereupon Mr. Engon, who issued said beef gets black in the face and calls Miles a liar, in fact says Miles is a wilful, malicious liar.

Thereupon the New York "Journal," that paliadium of the liberties of the common people, takes the side of Mr. Miles and sticks out its tongue at Mr. Faran. All of which is highly enter-Eagan. All of which is highly enter taining and instructive.

Miles and Engan are products of the Army, both Army officers, one of the line the other of the staff; both, as such, trained by hard experience to make a dollar go as far as it can, forced as "gentlemen and officers" to live beyond their salaries, and both forced as officers and both forced as a staff and their salaries. "officers and gentlemen" to make up the deficiency in the only possible way, i. c., by robbing the privates either di-rectly by swiping the rations and sustenance that belong to the men (this species of robbery is in vogue on the frontier where pickings are small), or indirectly by contracting for poor indirectly by contracting for poor quality of food and sustenance at fancy prices, and then "divving" with the ontractor.

Now, the "staff" cannot steal without the "line" knowing of it, and when any stealing is being done ALL officers at a post get their share of the spoils. Such stealings are looked upon as the rightful perquisites of an "officer and gentleman" and is universal in Army, Navy and Marine Corps. Mr. Miles belongs to the "line," Mr. Eagan to the 'staff," both are graduates of posts forts and barracks, both know that "soup and bully," i. c., canned roast beef, has been issued in the past; both know it is rotten when put up in cans and gets more rotten with age; both know that the "sow belly" or bacon that has been issued to soldlers in time of peace was stuff that no decent dog would rub up against; both know that rations during Indian wars in the Southwest were unfit to eat and that the larger would be thrown away know that the troops in the field have been "experimented" on by Miles him-self, with various freak rations; both know that some men have died because Miles "experimented" with "dessi-cated," "embalmed," and other kinds of beef; and both know in their hearts that they are equal in humbuggery. Why then this thusness?

Miles is an individual who has in some obscure paper at some time been "mentioned" as a "good man for Presi-dent." Since then he has constantly employed an advertising agent and has made himself as prominent and notori-ous as he could; and when for his dirty work at Chicago he was promoted over others and made Commanding General he went altogether daffy, there has been no holding him.

He, and his advertising agent, saw in the war a chance for Miles to attain notoriety. So, shortly after the declaration of war, the papers of Washington began to teem with accounts of how General Miles was to "start for the front to-morrow"; then in the next issue would deny the report and say he would leave "to-morrow," incidentally puffing Miles.

Miles had made himself a nulsance

to the powers that be by eternally making an ass of himself. They decided to cook his goose altogether by shelving him-not that they feared him so ve much, but he really had become ridic ulous, and pushing some other General to the front

They found it expedient to get Miles out of Washington, so one night he "started for the front" in a special car with a special porecelain-lined bath tube, a special stenographer, kindly loaned by Sammy Gompers, and a bevy of servants. Three days after he was back. Then he was sent off again, and to crown his troubles, he was sent on that "Opera bouffe" expedition to Porto Rico.

Realizing how he had been made a monkey of, and how contemplously—though describedly so—he had been treated, he grew reckless and commenced to talk out of school, for the purpose of "getting even" with Alger, McKinley, et al.

Mr. Miles is a disappointed and dis-credited tool of the capitalist class, willing in the past, and even now, to commit murder in their interest. posing as the friend of the common man to get the common man to wreak vengeance on those who have made a monkey of him.

Go to Nelson, you will get soundly thrashed, and those trumpet papers who claim to represent the common people and who now so conveniently forget how in the past you were so ready and apt at devising schemes whereby this same common people could be easily murdered "en masse," wont save you, you have become a nuisance, you want too much. ARTHUR KEEP.

The Kansas City Ghost-Dance.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by William Doran, Jersey City, N. J.]

There was a loud sound, of the cymbal and tabor.
When gathered, the Great Fakiration of Labor:
The delegates came all prepared for to show, could vary, the game of burno.
Much wit and invention Much wit and invention
Did grace the convention.
There was an applauding furore,
Decoy ducks, skates, fakirs and heelers,
Ealned mention,
The Press advertised it galore.

But what was the outcome?

I hear a loud shout come.

The questian's a trific too much;
For the Lord only knows,
Though you're free to suppose,
Arbitration, "berrutherrs" and such,
But there was the finest collection of
Crooks
Ever seen, heard of read of in papers or
books.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Uncle Sam-Think of the wretched ness that there is and the happiness that there could be! A look at the papers should be enough to turn every decent man into a Socialist.

Brother Jonathan—But you Socialists

Brother Jonathan—But you coccare are not going to change things. You are altogether too ideal; you make re allowance for hard, practical human allowance for hard, practical human according to you men should nature; according to you men should be angels, or are angels. Now that will never do, it surely won't go down with so matter-of-fact a race as our April Saxon race.

Saxon race.
U. S. (with a look of resignation)—Well, that would settle the Socialist.
By the way, did you catch much fish
yesterday in the bay?
B. J. (enthusiastically)—Did I?! We

caught more than we could carry.
U. S.-What did you fish for partie-

ularly? B. J.—Bass. Our reels were kept a-going all the time. They bit as soon as the hook got under water. Sport I tell you we had sport! U. S.—It is a great fish for sport I understand.

understand.

B. J. (with increasing enthusiasm) B. J. (with increasing enthusiasm)—Sport? Why, that's no word for it Some of these fellows will keep ron busy rolling them in, and then letting out again for 10 minutes and more. You have to play them fine; this eyes glistening with the sport's delight there's nothing like it for all around fun!

U. S .- And they are a pretty fish to look at, are they not?

B. J.—Yes: a good-sized bass is a fac-bit of workmanship; graceful lines, beautiful shades of color. U. S.-How does it compare with trout?

B. J .-- In one way not as pretty; but the two are not to be compared.

U. S.—The bass is larger, is it not? B. J.—Why yes; the smallest bass is larger than a good-sized trout. U. S .- Then the bass must furnish a

pretty good meal?

B. J.—I should stutter! Take a 15pound bass, and boil it, and eat with caper sauce; (smacking his lips) 'tis a dish for the Gods!

dish for the Gods!

U. S. (seeming to be deeply interested in bass)—And would fill a man's belly, would it not?

B. J.—Fill?! I should stutter again!

U. S.—Do you think that to have full bellies all around would be good thing for our people, instead of so many going around hungry, with their bellipulled so tight that the buckles thereof with un against their back-bones?

pulled so tight that the buckles thereore rub up against their back-bones?

B. J. (with a gesture of impatience)—
Now, there you have the Socialist again! Always thinking of the stomach, and of material convenience; as though mankind were oxen to be com-fortably stalled. Now, that sort of theories may do well enough with savages, but it won't commend itself to this civilized and spiritual Anglo-

Saxon race of ours.

U. S. (swings his arms with a metion as though he were whisking a fish out of the water)—I landed my fish! B. J. (surprised, looks around)-What

fish? S.-YOU! . B. J.-Me?!?

U. S.-I played you for bass; I let you have all the line you wanted; now I landed you; and I'm going to feast upon you.

B. J.—What are you driving at?
U. S.—Only ten minutes ago you denounced us Socialists as too ideal for

our "hard, matter-of-fact Anglo-Sax B. J. (under his breath)—The devil.

so I did! U. S.—And now you turn a somer

sault about and denounce us Socialists as too matter-of-fact for that identical "spiritual Anglo-Saxon" race of ours.

B. J. (muttering under his breath)—
How he did play it on me!
U. S.—That's the way with all of you objectors to Socialism. Take rope and you hang yourselves. One minute we you hang yourselves. One minute we Socialists are too material, the next we are too ideal,—just as the magget may happen to bite you. Now, the fact is we are neither more material than a sane man should be, nor more ideal than it is the duty of a civilized being to be. To uphold your capitalism, you are bound to make a monstrosity of out of man—either absurdly magnetial. out of man-either absurdly material, so as to oppose the spiritual aspirations so as to oppose the spiritual aspirations of the Socialist; or absurdly, top-heavily ideal, so as to give a color to your opposition to the sanely material basis of Socialism. Man is a compound of the material and the spiritual. But the former is the basis of the latter. Without material life, there is no possibility of intellectual life. A healthy mind in a healthy body is an unuser. mind in a healthy body is an unque tionable maxim.

B. J.—But—
U. S.—Shut up:I tolerated your dishonest nonsense long enough. Walt till I get through. The disagreement between the Socialists and you capitalists is not upon that maxim: you peo-ple see to your physical comfort too, and first of all; the difference between us lies in that your anxiety for the safety of your animal side has made you monomaniacally insane, it has you monomaniacally insane, it has turned you into cannibals: you would sacrifice the race so that your belly be full; you are like the miser, who, forgetting that he started to hoard up so that he may live, winds up with starying himself to death so that he may hoard up. Mr. Bass, you are ripped up! Good-bye, my "Angio-Saxon"!

(U. S. walks away but before turning the corner he looks back, and sees B. J. kicking himself with both feet while muttering to himself: "The devil is in these Socialists; how they go see through us.")

through us!")

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

THE "HERDING INSTINCT".

as a raie physicians do not take an are part in politics. Political as well eligious ideas have from time importal caused more suffering, entropical personal political or religious believes. Instance reigns supreme in this king-more reigns supreme in this king-more reigns supreme in this king-more figures and, often, brutality. To oppose political or religious ideas means the an enemy. To make an enemy political or rengious ideas means he an enemy. To make an enemy lose a patron, and this the physi-mater the present circumstances not very well afford. Competition severe already even in the medi-orld, and a perfect neutrality is essity in the medical profession as in industry, and the physin is compelled to give up his likes d dislikes for the sake of a practice. Especially is this the case when he ppens to possess both radical ideas the desire to express them. Starv-m staring in the face will seal his the community that happens to verse to his radical views. Yet, is more in the position to take up similate the latest ideas of social Who is more prepared to the present social evils? can understand better the present sees more vividly the destructive m by the present capitalistic sysism by the present capitalistic sys-? Who can place with more preci-the causes of the mental, moral physical degeneracy of our capital-society? Finally, who is more pared for a just discrimination bereen various worthless panaceas and al cures for our social disease? It is he physician, who meets in his dally ounds the pale face of the factory girl, be over-worked mother and the underfed child, that can clearly see the cause of our present social disease, and be-come imbued with the desire to rem-

Notwithstanding this, he is rather ineeps on prescribing his iron pills to the unemia produced by the ated air of the factory or tenement, r pensin to cure the dyspepsia caused by lack of food. This is largely due, is I mentioned above, to the deplorable fact that he is fettered by public opi-nion, the fear of which impels him to prevent any contamination of his mind by "dangerous" doctrings of his mind by "dangerous" doctrines which may disturb his peace. He endeavors to render himself immune against the screading epidemic of Socialism by roluntarily inhibiting his reasoning lower.

power.

If the physician does happen to touch on subjects of public interests such as crime, prostitution, public hygiene, sanitation, etc., he endeavors to be so ultra-scientific that he entirely dis-regards the present conditions and the cause of all causes, the capitalistic system, which at once removes the pos-sibility of carrying out any remedial measures he may propose. Such a state of intellectual stupor can not but render the physician unconscious to render the physician unconscious of Socialism, and, therefore, there are very few Socialists in the medical profession. As a fair specimen of imfession. As a fair specimen of improvement of the specimen of the specimen of the specimen and the specimen and the specimen are speciments. fession. As a fair specimen of im-becility the following "editorial" in one medical journals will be found

THE HERDING INSTINCT.

Fear is one of the most primitive and lost powerful of feelings. Fear is the off-pring of ignorance and weakness, is com-less to all created things, and is more or sess predominant and unreasonable ac-tivating to the type of mind, and degree of telligence.

was responsible for the herding in-of animals. The individual weakness uset of animals. The individual weaknest cach found strength comfort, and precion, by foraging in droves. Communism scalism, and similar sociological vagaries enothing but refined, esthetic expression. They are the precion of the HERDING INSTINCT. They are the result of precions. e HERDING INSTINCT. They are be result of progress, or an outgrowth humanities as many suppose; on the ry, they are retrogressive in sentipurpose, and effect. Such schemes purpose, and effect. Such schemes that the sentipurpose, and fruit raised in forcases, such theories of life lack the seness, and hardy nature that time atural forces impart. alistic plans have a similar origin to erding instinct of animals. An inverse, inefficiency, and all the faults (ces which spring therefrom, make the

stinctive sense of individual weakness, incompetence, inefficiency, and all the faulting and vices which spring therefrom, make the faitfulual iong to pull down all who are above him, to level existence down to his wan natural plane, to make himself the manure and example of every other man, in stop all expansion and growth beyond it limit. His mind may be bright in its son little channel, but it is like a diamond with only one facet out, and capable of reserving but one ray of light. Such a man as so turn and twist every occurrence in the set of the set

at its only just to mention that this burnal stands very low in the scale of medical journalism. The brilliant editor whose profound logic we see so cautifully illustrated in the above conemeration of meaningless sentences sends principally, ir not entirely, on ettisements of proprietory medijournal. Its contents are not only from even a trace of scientific time but clearly indicate the intel-

diche but clearly indicate the intel-dal poverty of those who write as as those who read then. The proper receptacle, therefore, for journal and the able editorial there-ing doubt, the waste-basket, and the it would have departed await-further consecration by fire, had it securred to me that this worthy doctal is sent broad cast to all the odical is sent broad cast to all the may become impressed by the aity of a "scientific editorial" in sentific" medical journal. Besides, often hear such "truisms" exand it may therefore be worth will be walle to discuss them. I will be y criticiam with an expression of the gratitude to the able editor for masterly condensation of so much crance and stupidity in such a small

space (only editors can do that). It is much easier to discuss idiocy in a nutshell than scan through some voluminous exposition of "individualism."

"Fear," says our learned editor, "is one of the most primitive and most powerful of feelings." This natural feeling engendered the "herding instinct," which in its turn leads to "Communism, Socialism and similar sociological vagaries." which again are not "an outgrowth of the humanities () as many suppose." This statement is only partially correct. Two powerful motives are responsible for the aggregation of individuals into a herd or community. One is conservaherd or community: One is conserva-tive-self-preservation; the other aggressive struggle for existence. These are almost inseperable, although the latter is the more important of the two. Struggle for existence implies not only the necessity to overcome natural obstacles but also the encounter of enemies. There is still a third in-stinct which should not be forgotten. The only reason, for instance, for that examplary community of bees is the making of the home for their hoarde. In general we see that the weaker the herd or community. True, we find some powerful animals which never-theless aggregate into herds, but this animals still more powerful than the ones in question. Of all animals man is undoubtedly the weakest. Not pos-sessing any of the natural weapons for aggression he is still more handleapped by his inability to flee should be be pursued by a powerful enemy. He also requires artificial shelter, and in cold climes cover for his body. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find the "herding instinct" so strongly devel-oped in man. When we observe a community of lower animals we are agreemunity of lower animals we are agree-ably surprised by the harmony that forms a sine qua non of every well regulated community. We see a per-fect division of labor, and the progress achieved by communities of even such small insects as auts, or bees, or those great architects, the beaver is surpris-ing. Without the community every one Wthout the community every one bor every member of the community loses its individuality during the performance of, what may be properly called, the function. A bee will preserve its individuality outside of the hive. It will fly wherever it desires, alight on this or that beautiful flower which attracted it most, make excursions along the and only life. But sions, play, sing and enjoy life. But once at the task of manufacturing the cell, all individuality is lost, the individual bee becomes an integral part of the organic whole which makes the cell. The work must be in exact order cell. The work must be in exact order and of definite extent. No more and no less can be produced by an indivi-dual bee than is required to complete that most wenderful geometrical figure— the cell. Subdivision of labor is the most essential condition of communal life. This subdivision of labor neces-sitates the inhibition of individual characteristics and desires during the sitates the inhibition of individual characteristics and desires during the performance of a social function, should they in any way interfere with the proper discharge of duties. This the proper discharge of duties. This does not at all imply, as it is erroneously supposed, the entire anihilation of individualism. Far from it. It simply means that while the individual preserves all his characteristics generally, during the time of the performance of the work necessary for the wel-fare of the community, those of his in-dividual characteristics are eliminated or repressed which would be pre-judicial to the proper discharge of the social duties. In other words, the whole becomes a part of a greater whole bearing the same proportion to the latter as one of its parts to it. The work performed, the individual characteristics assume their normal play. That this should be so is self-evident. The individual by himself can only do

a part of the work necessary for his existence or well-being. In order to make good the deficiency of force he co-operates with other individuals similarly situated. The combined efforts will accomplish the task. In relation to himself the individual is an entity, a unit, but in relation to the combined force necessary to do the whole work he is only a part, and to a whole and a part at the same time and place is a mathematical impos-sibility. Suppose it is necessary for the welfare of the community to serve a certain period as a sentinel. During the performance of that function the individual on whom this duty was im-posed has a desire to take a pleasant stroll. The post neglected, disaster befalls the community, and he, the perpetrator, suffers as well. Could he at the same time discharge his duty and follow out his individual inclinations? Therefore the progress of a community is altogether dependent on the ability and readiness of the individual mem-bers to sacrifice their individuality whenever it is necessary. Among the lower animals this is accomplished through instinct, and their communi-ties are perfect. In the human race, however, this instinct encounters the individual will, and the human com-munity progresses in proportion to the submissiveness of its individual members. The instinct in this case must be supplanted by numerous and complicated laws and regulations all tending to accomplish what instinct does

among the lower animals: Yet laws, however rigidly enforced, could do little without that great propelling force of evolution—struggle for existence. In order to make this struggle successful a community is neces sary, but so long as means for exist-ence were plentiful; so long as it re-quired but attle exertion and co-opera-tion to provide for one's existence; so long as Jacob could say to his brother: "Our ways separate; you go one way and I another"; in other words, so long as there was room for everybody, in-dividualism had full play. As civiliza-tion advanced, and population in-creased the necessity for an estab-lished well-regulated community be-came pressing. Subdivision of labor

(Continued on page 4.)

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.]

How to Purify the Church, Again.

How to Purify the Church, Again.

To THE PEOPLE.—Reading the method for purifying the church, in the correspondence column of the Jan. Ist issue of THE PEOPLE. Would say I quite agree with him as far as the purifying is concerned, but must differ with his method. When I did not have the purifying is concerned, but must differ with his method. When I did not have the purifying is concerned, but must differ with his method. When I did not have the purifying is concerned, but must differ with his method. When I did not have the purifying is concerned, but must differ with his method. When I did not have the purifying is concerned, but must differ with his method. When I did not have the cause of the misery that most of them see in their daily avocation, and the connection it has with the state to which they cling, as instanced by Comrude Benham of San Francisco, dated. Dec. 16, 1818, and inserted in the correspondent columns of THE PEO-PLE of Jan. I. 1859) and hang to it in return for benefits received in the past and present. There are thousands, if not all men, who preach what they call the Gospel and who are as well posted on economics as ordinary inen: when they ask, as they do, one-tenth from sil, what does that mean to a man in receipt of \$2,000 per annum? Simply \$200, leaving him \$11,800 to live on, not a very difficult matter. But if a Pennsylvania miner, with only \$6.80 per month to keep a wife and family, has to part with one-tenth, it means in my estimation, he, the miner, is a foot, and the man that takes the tenth (and they all do it, and more, if they can get it) is a thief, and trades on the miner's ignorance, and as far as I am concerned individually, I quit paying anything some years ago, and spent the money in Socialist literature, which I study, then hand over to others.

Yes, I do my own thinking now, and if all of its had done the same, you would soon have the parsons preaching Socialism on the corner of every street. After we get Socialism they will have the same chance of getting a living, a

Brandon, Manitoba, Can., Jan. 15.

An Atlanta, Ca., Denouncer of the S. L. P. Photographed.

S. L. P. Photographed.

To THE PEOPLE.—The "Journal of Labor," an alleged labor paper of this place, has just come out with an attack upon the Socialist Labor party. I have sent a challenge to C. C. Houston, the Editor, and Jerome Jones, the Business Manager, to meet me before the public at such place and time as may be agreed upon.

In the mean time, it will be well to take a close look at this "labor paper," and at the 'gentlemen who publish it, and who are backing it. Jones is a Gompers labor faking the worst type; and Houston is non-progressive. Jones came here from Augusta about three months ago, bamboozled the Central Labor Union into endorsing his rotten fakir sheet, and is misrepresenting labor to keep up his swindling game with the merchants. The Federation of Trades, in which are a number of fastirs, has been induced to endorse the sheet. The paper belongs to C. T. Ladson, a lawyer and capitalist. By an arrangement which Jones made. Houston, who is Secretary of the Federation, was made Editor of the sheet and Jones Manager, while Ladson, the cowner, is in the background. The Federation gives its endorschein and gets nothing, the part of the course is used that "The Journal of Labor endors to the "The Journal of Labor endors to the "The Journal of Labor.

tion gives its endorsement and gets nothing.

At the head of the editorial column-the claim is made that "The Journal of Labor is the organ of 3.650 people." Now, let us take the printed list of unions in the paper. I'know the membership of every one of them. Here they are:

Typographical Union, 50; Gagamakers, 16; Trunkmakers, 15; Machinists, 75; from Molders, 12; Tailors, 35; Street Car Imployées, 25; Carpenters, 25; Printing Pressmen, 8; Bollermakers, 12; Cooperative Association, 10; Orchestral Union, 6; Brevers,

Union, 20; Atlanta Stouecutters', 8. Total, 455.

The Printing Trades Council is included in the printing trade audions: the Equal Suffrage Association has no connection with the Federation nor with this Journal of Fakirism; the Railway Unions. Conductors, Engineers. Firemen and Brakemen are not represented in the Federation, and have not endorsed this "Journal of Fraud"; thus its lying claim of being the official organ of 3,630 men stands, exploded. It misrepresents less than 455 men.

Its buildozing tacties in securing the nassage of resolutions, threatening business men if they don't advertise, have proved a boomerang, as its ads are decreasing with every issue. The business men have resented Jones's feecing the workers for his own benefit. He is using Houston, Ladson and the unions all, and it will soon be shown up.

the unions all, and it will soon be snown, up.

I was elected a delegate to the Federation recently, took my sent Thursday night, and at once began war on Jones, Houston, Ladson and the fakirs. Jones never loses an opportunity to denounce the Socialusts and the S. L. P. in his fake sheet, and if he were given his just deserts he would be behind prison bars for raising money under false pretences.

If my challenge is not accepted, I will exposs these fakirs in some other way. The war is on, and will not be over until the fakirs evacuate.

Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 16. S. M. WHITE,

All - Around Bombardment With Which the Pittsburgh and Alle-gheny Municipal Campaign Is Opened.

To THE PEOPLE.-Comrade Hickey

crowd into the hallway in order to make room for the unconverted to get inside. room for the unconverted to get inside.

The subject chosen was "The National and Municipal platform of the S. L. P."

Hickey rose to the occasion presented by The subject chosen was "The National and Municipal platform of the S. L. P.' Hickey rose to the occasion presented by that big audience and made a magnifeent speech. He first touched on the historical side of the movement outlining the result of trying to hitch on with cars that were going in the "right direction." He said that at one time the movement was at a standstill because it was not on solid ground as now, but simply stood gazing at a principle that was floating in the air like a balloon; that the organization was then but a beneficial society, singing society and burial association and not a revolutionary movement as it is now. He proved conclusively that the future of the workingman was as dark as the darkest night that ever settled over the valleys of Pennsylvania, and then proved that the S. L. P. held the key which would let in the daylight and surishine. He graphically plet

of some of the misery, desolution, crime and inhumanity which existed in this world, nor was the effect allowed to go to waste but the situation was clinched with sound constructive teachings on Socialism, showing the way out.

There was present, for about a haif-hour, a man by the name of Reed from Toledo, O., sent out by the International Association of Machinists' as organizer. There was some talk of his wanting "to debate with Hicker" on the Manifesto of the S. T. & L. A. He left, however, at 4 p. m., not like Gompers "to catch a train," but," to catch a supper." We tried to indress him to stay, but he would not have it that way, he must positively go to supper. We did not get a chance, or we would have locked him up in a room until we could have brought him to face Hickey. The men who wish to debate with our speakers and do not have to catch a train, or catch a supper, are so few and far between, that it is a shame to let them go. However, this Reed is one of these "metoo," good-as-yos," "members of the S. L. P.," who, like all of their kind, never happen to be able-to show you the red membership card, when you ask them for it, as we asked Iteed. One of his statements was: "Me and Handlow and Max Hayes are disgusted with Hickey and De Leon; Hickey uses flowry language and is a sure thing we three are going to have them both kicked out of the party."

Reed is to stay here a month: if we can arrange a debate with him, Courade Root

going to have them both kicked out of the party."
Reed is to stay here a month; if we can arrange a debate with him. Comrade Root will take Hickey's place as his dates are all filled and could not stay a day longer without breaking his engagements in other

To come back to the lecture; Hickey had no mercy for the labor fakirs; there can be but little question that he convinced every man in the audience—with the exception of the man who had to catch a supper—, that the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. were founded on science, that their claims were just, and that they had come to stay. With some forcible remarks by Comrades Remmel, Root and Goff, the meeting ad-journed.

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 18. WM. J. EBERLE.

Section Kansas City Answers and Cleanses Itself.

Cleanses Itself.

To THE PEOPLE.—At the regular meeting of the Central Committee of this Section, held yesterday evening, the 16th lost, the letter "Does Section Kansas City Wish to Explain?" In the January 15th THE PEOPLE was brought up.
On request for an explaination from any one who could make it, O. M. Howard, who was chairman of the meeting at which Carey spoke, said: "Carey did not speak by invitation of the Section, nor of any member of it. We had carried out the prepared programme, and it was almost time to close the meeting when some one suggested that it would be proper to inquire if there were any deleagtes to the A. F. of L. convention present. Some one was called for; I did not catch the names nor did I know the two who responded, though I afterwards ascertained they were Tobin and Carey. "Had T known who they were I would not have given them the opportunity to make such a talk, and I would have also made a statement which would have cleared this Section from the Imputation of being in any way mixed up with that crowd. I ddn't know it till too late. There is another thing I would like to have drawn out to set ourselves right—and that is that we deny that any member of Section from sas City made the statement quoted from

out to set ourselves right—and that is that we deap that any member of Section Kansas City made the statement quoted from the 'Aupeal.'"

W. E. Newbert was present at the Committee meeting, and after making the suggestion that "the only thing to do is to simply make the statement that Carev dispeak, but was not invited by the Section." was asked directly if he knew who made the statements quoted from the 'Aupeal,' and replied that he wrote to that paper as quoted.

Mr. Newbert is not a member of Section Kansas City; he is a member of the party at large, living just without the city. His present attitude is regretted by his acquaintances in the Section; it is doubtless attributable to the "forcefulness" of Carey during the lister's stay in this city.

I would explain further that the meeting at which Carey snoke is the one we hold down-town every Sunday afternoon; a programme is always arranged and approved by the Central Committee at the meeting preceeding the Sunday. The meetings are usually better attended by the public than by the members of the Section.

GARNET FUTVOYE,
Rec. Secretary, Section Kansas City,
Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 20. Newbert is not a member of Section

Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 20.

Pictorial From Mass.

To THE PEOPLE.—A meeting to organize the shoe trade was advertised in Rockland Thursday, Jan. 11. I went to it to satisfy my curiosity. The following is a detailed report.

It would have a verbatim report of the specches but they were really too tiresome; after the first half-a-dozen sentences from each speaker I laid away my book.]

At ten minutes of eight the curtain was raised reveniling a Graphaphone, a piano and a few chairs. The piano was removed to the rear of the platform and a table substituted. At eight, Higgins, the Secretary of Lasters Protective Union, followed by Eaton, of the Boot and Shoeworkers', Carey of Haverhill and seven or cight other local labor fakirs, representing Rockland, Brockton and Whitman appeared on the platform. Higgins opened the meeting as follows: "Ladies and Gentlemen: There are not as many ladies here as we would wish, the meeting being gotten up particularly for the ladies to explain to them the benefit and purpose of organization. The meeting will however go on, and I have now the honor to introduce Mr. Eaton. Secretary. Tressurer of the B. & S. W. U.

Eaton came forward and made a bow and said: "Ladies and Gentlemen: Sometime ago I was authorized by the organization to which I have the honor to belong to procure the services of a woman speaker. I looked around and bunted in several ways is Opened.

To THE PEOPLE.—Comrade Hickey opened the municipal campaign for Pittsburk. The municipal campaign for Pittsburk. The municipal campaign for Pittsburk. The mental part of the plating the meeting as polious: "Ladles and Gentlemen: There are not as many ladies here as we would wish, the mental part of the many ladies here as we would wish, the mental part of the meeting was well atteneded and the sound militant Socialism with which he bombarded the audience is soon to show its effect on election day. An incident happened during the meeting soon to show its effect on election day. An incident happened during the meeting as whispered political greeting in one corner comrade Hicker suddenly stopped his discourse and called out in a loud voice; "Officer, you are disturbing this meeting; in Vill do all the talking that is to be done here to night; if you want to talk you will have to go outside." To the delight and amusement of the crowd, the policemen heeded the warning and left the hall.

Saturday evening, Contrade Hickey left the same of the crowd, the policemen heeded the warning and left the hall.

Saturday evening, Contrade Hickey left the same of the crowd, the policemen heeded the warning and left the shill.

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Saturday evening, Contrade Hickey left the same of th

I will keep to the first. There are less than at two of those people in unions of any kind, therefore I tell you that the Trade Union has not had a fair trial." (!!!)

"My experience of trade unions, extending over a life-time, is that less than twen-y-five per cent. of those belonging to unions are local to those belonging to

"I might talk on the political side of the trade union question but I will confine my remarks to the economic side of it. Competition is the cause of all the trouble with the shoe workers, and we must combine in order to defend ourselves from the effects

of competition. I saw in Boston on Washington street a little butcher shop or market, and over the door in letters as big as the place itself: We defy competition, and yet further up the street Houghton & Putton were selling meat cheaper than that man could buy it.

Having delivered himself of chunks of wisdom, or rather boomeranged his own "pure and simple" head, Mr. Carey was introduced to straighten up things, and what he did was funnler yet. He was introduced to straighten up things, and what he did was funnler yet. He was introduced as "the first Socialist" elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, in fact "the first Socialist elected in all of America"—the "Socialist" who showed only the other day before that he "was trying to beneat the workers, especially the shoe workers.

came however."
S. D. 1st-"Oh you are looking at every-ning we do in the light of feelishness, why

can'f you be reasonable."

The Tan reasonable and to prove it I'll try to reason with you while we wait for the for it you wish.

Drawlinght, go ahead."

O'Be I'll light, go ahead."

Shows a lack of intelligence in your prominent members or prevarientles. Now have you studied the platform of the S. D. P. T. S. D. Test, I can give it to you from memory.

O'F. Thanks, will you explain how your party can bring about public ownership of ALL the means of production and distribution when the latter part of it declares farmers will be assisted and allowed to hold possession individually of the land that they now hold?

S. D.—'Have your party any precise plan to bring the same thing about?

O'F.—'Yes, you can see it in our platform, part of which your people stole not knowing that it was loaded."

S. D.—'Well, we mean to bring it about in the same way."

O'F.—'Why don't you say so in plain

knowing that it was mean to bring it about in the same way."

O.F.—Well, we mean to bring it about in the same way."

O.F.—Why don't you say so in plain words, and why do you add things which make the accomplishment a physical impossibility?"

No answer.

"If you can explain any logical advantage to be gained by the working class by saying in our platform what we don't mean, you may expect me to support you, but until you do expect antagonism.

At this stage 8. D. 2nd arrived and "congratulated Comrade O'Pihelty on the large vote he polled."

O'F.— Yes, I polled a nice vote, taking the conditions into account, but there is one point in regard to that yote that I want you and your people to, understand my opinion on: before election you said that the 8. D. P. would sil yote for me, that statement did not turn out to be true if you and your people to understand my opinion on: before election you said that the S. D. P. would all vote for me, that statement did not turn out to be true if my vote in Brockton was afined of the ticket so also was the Democratic candidate for Congress exactly the same amount, while the Republican was part that much behind. I will concede that out of the 186 votes that were cast for Porter 20 or 25 were cast for me, a further proof is that the S. D. P. candidate for Attorney-General only polled 15 or 20 votes more than Peare. Although your party and the Prohibitions did not have any candidates for that office. I wil also ask you how it happened that with all your work our party increased its vote and without any work at all polled more than you."

S. D. 2nd—"Oh, the voters mistook the S. L. T. for the S. U. F. but that can't occur again; we will teach them better next three; water taking in lots of new mem-

S. D. 2nd—"Oh, the voters mistook toe S. L. P. for the S. D. F. but that can't occur again; we will tanch them better next time; we are taking in lots of new mem-bers right along." O'F.—"Yes, I believe you are taking in

bers right along."

O'F.—"'es. I believe you are taking in lots of new or green people; in fact I will admit having been taken in myself this evening. I came to hear a political discourse and got a graphaphone exhibition instead. By the way, what kind of politics was that Coney island specimen; is that the stuff you give the voters or do you give them more in the line of Bryan than the specimen to-night? I will concede that such people can make mistakes ip voting, but I will not admit that they can mistake the S. L. P. for any such stuff as that."

S. D. 1st—"You must admit that we are doing something to advance the cause of Socialism."

O'F.—"Ou must admit that we are doing something to advance the cause of Socialism."

O'F.—"Oh yes, and I hope you will keep on. The S. L. P. vote advanced more in the localities that your people tackies than elsewhere and I want to remind you that the advance made by the S. L. P. in Massachusetts was greater also in places where the S. D. P. of America and Patagonia carried on their propaganda: why, even in New Hampshire where hard times promised to wipe the party out of existence, the party yout of existence, the

ised to wipe the party out of existence, the party vote advanced."

8. D. 2nd—"Will you come over to hear Gordon next Sunday evening?"

O'F.—"No. I can't waste my time, he has nothing new. I heard him on Boston Commons last Oct. and it was the same song 'Hard Times,' the same squeaking voice."

8. D. 1st—"We will put up a better fight next time."

Hard Times. The same square right next time."

O'F.—"Perhaps, my impression of your party is that it is the Populist under a new name, and the graph corroborates that idea."

S. D. 2nd—"The People's party is all broke up: some have gone to the Republican; some to the Democratis some to the S. L. P. and some to us, there was nothing unanimous about it."

O'F.—"Except the disintegration. I admit in a general way that your statement is right, I being one of those who got into the S. L. P., but I prophesy that, if Bryan is nominated in 1909, which is doubtful, and if the S. D. P. of America and Patagonia exists at that time, which is still more doubtful, that organization will be part of the tail of the Bryan kite. Here comes our car."

There were about twenty or twenty-five to the sales conversation, and if

comes our car."
There were about twenty or twenty-five listeners to the above conversation, and if the tittering and smilling was any evidence, they enjoyed it better than the 8. D.'s did.
The scurrying here and there of the fakirs

The scurrying here and there of the fakirs and the earnestness they display in their attempt to catch the ear of the workers, surely denote rapid growth of correct Socialist principles.

I see that Skeffington is in the employ of W. L. Dongias to hypnotize the trade unions in favor of the "Douglas SI shoe," the "best in the world." etc. I see that they are going to organize a co-op. in Mariboro; they have a half-dosen in Brockton organized at different times, the lattest being owned and controlled by the fakirs and yet there is more misery in Brockton than in Mariboro even with the strike going on there.

Brockton, Mass., Jan. 21.

A New York Workingman Thoroughly Drubs a Chicago Professor.

Oughly Drube a Chicago Professor.

To THE PEOPLE. Saturday evening. President Draper, of the University of Illinois. delivered a lecture in Cooper Institute. It was advertised as a lecture on the School of Citisenship, but turned out to be an attack on Socialism and a distortion of fact.

That the Social Revolution is marching on with no uncertain strides is well illustrated by this antedeiuvian lecturer. It has hit him fair and square between the eyes, and awakened this Rip Van Winkle so suddenly, that he asked his audience a number of times if we were living over a voicano.

The first hour of the lecture was devoted to tailing the people that this is an "Angio-

Saxon" country, and to prove this false-hood he assailed every other people. He said that Engiand was a better Republic than the Enited States, and that all others are only so-called Republics. He said the mission of the schools should be to save us from Socialism and Amerchy. That a lot of red-handed maranders were going through the country trying to change the established order of things that has "been consecrated with Angio-Saxon blood." That a lot of people have come to this country who are not used to liberty and free institutions and on that account go to all sorts of extremes. He said there were plenty of opportunities in this country for every one if they were not too lazy to take advantage of them. He referred to the working class as the "mob," and that it must be kept in check. He lauded the capitalist press for "the noble work it is doing in the work of education." This prostitute of capitalism to decets in the human nature of the working class, and that the idle capitalist class were born to rule and to rob.

But that the ground under that class is shaking could be seen from the nervous excitement of the lecturer, and when the working class rams his lies down his lying throat. It will give him a chance to make an honest living without having to prostitute his brains or what ever matter his wooden head contains.

New York, Jan. 22.

Is the "Social Democratic Party" a Socialist Party?

Socialist Party?

To THE PEOPLE.—That some men, and they the leading men, of the Social Democratic party, are not Socialists has been quite amply shown in THE PEOPLE. I here wish to go deerer, and show, by the platform itself of the Social Democracy, that it is not Socialist at all, but exactly the reverse—anti-Socialist. That platform proposes:

proposes;

1. No more public lands to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the States directly for the public benefit, or lent out to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the State to make strict requirations as to improvements and cultivation.

tion.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.

4. Telephone service for farmers, etc.
All of which means land and facilities to

4. Telephone service for farmers, etc.
All of which means land and facilities to the farmers interest. But as one man can not work an acreage of 640 acres of land, some people will have to so without any land; there will have to be some people epending upon an other for a living; the unemployed will not be done away with; competition for work must continue; and, in its train, low wages, overwork, insufficient nourishment, lack of time for intellectual development,—degraded beings without a consciousness of either their condition or their rights.

What does such a plan aim at if not at the improvement of the middle class at the expense of the proletariat. People, who, with such a programme, call themselves "Socialists," can do so only to cheat the workers into voting for them.

The scheme is anti-Socialist, in that without raising the farmer to the height of an equal sharer in the Co-operative Commonwealth, if keeps him from dropping into the ranks of the proletariat, and, by some shrewd concessions to us, the proletariat, in the shape of public employment, induce us to carry the middle class on our backs, and thus hold back, if not stop, the healthy revolutionary propagands.

The workers themselves must conquer the public powers in the literest of the working class, only through the public powers can they reach the ownership of the wealth they produce. Only then will riches be the Providence, R. I., Jan. 16.

Providence, R. I., Jan. 16. M. CUNKE

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

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

G. H., DETROIT, MICH.—The swful length and redundancy of your letter bar its publication as it is: on the other hand, the nature and importance of the subject it deals with forbids the "editing" of it in this office, lest it be mutilated. Would you like to have it back so that you may revise it yourself, boil it down, and render it coherent?

coherent?

V. F. K., HOLLAND, MICH.—What do you call the thing? "Non-Political Socialist"? Give it a wide berth. Socialism, being the essence of the Labor Movement, it essentially political. To leave the political feature out of it, is to have the play of Hamlet without Hamlet. If those people are honest they must be a beautiful collection of visionaries.

are nonest they must be a beautiful collection of visionaries.

J. G., BYRACUSE, N. X.—As to your secbond question, "land or a mine containing
valuable minerals that no human labor has
been outlaid on" has no exchange value;
the circumstance that they can fetch
PRICES is no evidence of their having
EXCHANGE VALUE. The point is explained by Marx in Chapter III., Section:
Price is the money-name of the labor
crystallized in a commodity; but the priceform may conceal a quantitative inconsistency to the extent even of its wholly
ceasing to express exchange value. For
instance: objects, that in themselves are
no commodities, such as conscience, honor,
etc., are capable of being offered for sale
by their holders, and of thus acquiring,
through their price, the form of commodities. Hence an object may have a price
without having value. The price in that
case is imaginary, like certain quantities in
mathematics. On the other hand, the
imaginary price-form may sometimes conwithout having value. The price in that case is imaginary, like certain quantities in mathematics. On the other hand, the imaginary price-form may sometimes conceal either a direct or indirect real value relation, as we see with the price of uncultivated land, which is without exchange value, because no human labor has been incorporated in it.

J. F., NEW YORK.—There are capitalists who would be injured, or who fear being injured by expansion. The cigar manufacturers, for instance, have already expressed themselves upon the subject plump and plain: the annexation of the Philippines making the Islands American territory would enable cigar factories to spring up there, use the native leaf, turn out a cheaper cigar with the aid of cheaper labor, and undersell the manufacturers here. Likewise would the tobacco raisers be injured, as then the Philippine leaf would come in here duty-free. Likewise small, or comparatively small, manufacturers feel endangered. The same as more than one American industry has been transplanted from New England to Japan on account of the cheaper labor there, here would be exoduses to the Philippines; facilities for this sort of industrial migration are enorged by large concerns, whereas smaller ones are not so light of foot; it is no accident that the greatest opposition to expansion proceeds from Democratic politicians, the Lemocratic party being, to a much greater extent than the Republican, a middle class party.

JIM J., CHICAGO, ILL.—The Social Democracy of America, so-called is evertan-J. F., NEW YORK .- There are capitalist

a middle class party.

JIM J., CHICAGO, ILL.—The Social Democracy of America, so-called, is certainly not an "International" concern; why, it is not even "Inter+State"; it has one platform for the industrial East, and another for the agricultural West; to the East, it preaches "the interests of the workingmen"; to the West, it preaches the interests of the small farmer and middle class.

w. J., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—L. B. Boudin came into the G. E. B. of the S. T. & L. A. through gate of the "Arbeiterseitung" (Jewish) Local Alliance. He was elected to the G. E. B. at the Buffalo convention of the S. T. & L. A.; he was a member of that convention as a delegate from D. A. 2: and he was a member of D. A. 2 as a delegate from the "Arbeiterzeitung" L. A.

tung" L. A.

H. S. A., LINCOLN. NEB.—The process of exchange, meaning distribution, and transportation certainly creates new value. Of what use would coal be to you in Lincoln when it is at the pit's mouth? The machinery of distribution and transportation is essential to production; the labor involved therein is productive labor; the exchange value of the coal in your kitchen is made up of the labor crystallized in it all along the line of its production—from the bowels of the earth into your kitchen.

That answers No. 2 and disposes of No. 2.

J. M. M. BICHMOND.

J. M. M. RICHMOND, VA.—You raise a new question. It does not follow from last week's answer to E. Q. C. Wieblith, Kan. that saving is bad. Whether a man should ave or not depends upon other considerations. If a man earn enough to feed his body and his mind property, and yet have something left, he certainly should not squander that; but if he does save it, it is folly to place his savings in a bank where,

together with other deposits it runs up to the goodly sums, that capitalists frequently need, and where they can get at it conveniently if he so deposits his savings he simply helps the big capitalists along and thus undermines the source of his surpius. If, on the other hand, he does not earn if, on the other hand, he does not earn flowing the source of his surpius. If, on the other hand, he does not earn then it is folly to pinch himself, and it is the capping of folly to place his pinched up, savings where the capitalist can utilize them, through a loan from the bank to improve his machinery, thereby displace hands, and thereby reduce his wages still more. What sense is there in saving if one thereby undermines his health, reduces his life-time, and, for every penny saved, must spend two in doctors and medicine? You will notice savings banks always cropping up right alongside of factories in factory towns; and the directors of the one are the directors of the other.

Put it into your marrow and your brain, and your family's marrow and brain; you will all need both.

G. W., ALTON, ILL.—"Is Mr. Chase, new.

of W. ALTON, ILL.—"Is Mr. Chase, new-y elected Mayor of Haverhill, Mass., a ocinilst"—No: See the above answer to im J., Cheago, and the editorial in this saue "Two of a Kind." Moreover, nume-ous other facts, previously made public in hese columns, sufficiently dispose of the latter.

S. K. G., SAGINAW, MICH.—His place of birth is Curazno, an island off the north coast of Venezuela; Gate, Dec. 14, 1832; 5 feet 5 inches; weight, 155 ps.uds; married; 4 children; 2 boys and 2 girls, eldest 15 years, youngest 6 months.—Anything else you would like to know?

thing else you would like to know?

L. LOUISVILLE KY.—You will notice in the clipping you sent that Mr. H. N. Casson carefully abstains from naming "the S. L. P. man" whom he heard say that "if a strike is on he would take the place of the strikers and break the Union." His refraining from naming him reveals a good side to human nature, to wit, that the most confirmed liar will recoil from uttering too many lies. Had he mentioned a name he would have been guilty of a lie within a lie; he would have had either to invent a name, or shander a good name, or, which would have been virtually the same thing, mention, as a responsible party member, someone who is not. But, why do you bother about what this Casson says? Physically and intellectually a very weak man, his weapons are the weapons of such—skunk-ish.

C. E. W., WORCESTER, MASS.—1st. Let us have the passages (page numbers) where the expressions occur: it would be risky to explain them out of their context, the men 2nd. It might be well to furnish the men in the Washburn & Inven Wire Works with the pamphlet "What Means this Strike?" also.

also.

G. W. S., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—You must be a very recent subscriber. The statement that the workingman gets only one-fourth of his product has been repeatedly explained. From the statistical respects it appears that the wages of the workingman are one-half of his product. But this half is the half of the wholesale value of the wealth he produces. When he turns around to buy back any part of that wealth, he has to go to the retailer and there pay at retail rates. Thus he has to pay higher than the share he gets; thus even his half shrinks in purchasing capacity. The shrinkage is another half. For every 4 loaves that the working class produces, it gets only 1; the rest goes to the capitalist class.

city. The shrinkage is another half. For every 4 loaves that the working class produces, it gets only 1; the rest goes to the capitalist class,

J. A. D., PITTSBURGH, PA.—There are all sorts of "Christian Socialists." Taking under the microscope the most honest species of the genus, you will find the "Christian Socialist" to be a man who is charmed with the beauties of the Coperative Commonwealth; and, not understanding social evolution, imagines that all that is needed to convert the capitalist class is to preach religion to them. There are many other things these "Christian Socialists" don't know. One of them is that there is not a capitalist in existence who allows religion to stand in the way of his class interests; witness Russel Sage making presents of Bibles as wedding gifts to the daughters and sons of his fellow capitalists, and these receiving such gifts as they would a horse.

A. S., VANCOUVER, B. C.—The explana-

would a horse.

A. S., VANCOUVER, B. C.—The explanation of the Social Reformer, "rushing in, and, without cousidering natural laws, attempt to reform the community" is:

Either he is a conceited fellow, imagining all that is needed is gab and rhetoric to talk and act on such weighty matters;

Or he proceeds on the principle of the late lamented P. T. Barnun, who said there was a sucker born every minute. These latter class of Reformers are on the make, they calculate that the fools are numerous, and they expect to take them in.

Of course, there are some who partake of both features.

G. K., JOHNSTOWN, PA.—You and such as you only contribute to make the Social Question ridiculous. Think of such childishness as to imagine, and, worse yet, to say that the "masses everywhere are deeply inferested in the movement against treating"! It is people, going about with such silly notions, that the cynic has in mind when he refers to those engaged in the Scala Question as wild-eyed impracticables.

I. E. B., BERTRAND, NEB.—Put down the man who says he has read 300 books on modern Socialism as a fraud:

A COMRADE, N. Y.—Bound copies of THE PEOPLE are kept in this office, and are placed in libraries.

A. S. Brown, will lecture next Tuesday, the 31st instant, at 8 p. m., on "Topics of the Day" at 65 Columbia street, this city.

S. L. P. Supplies.

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Constitution in Jewish (with out platform).

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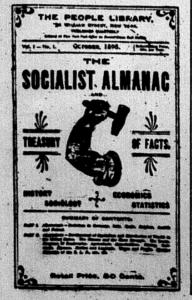
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out bills (perhaps a number of times before
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Address all orders to:

184 William street, New York.

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. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.



CONFLICTING WINDS.

A large crowd had filled the Pimples A large crowd had filled the Pimples' Temple from wine cellar to steeple, as it had been announced that God's chosen volcano, the Rev. Jimmy Brady, would go into irruption at twelve o'clock. While a badly mixed quartette was meting out justice to several unpopular selections, Harry Lloyd and the Irrespect goriflemen ast devising popular selections, Harry Lloyd and the Irreverent gentleman sat devising plans whereby they might live, move and have their beans. "James," said Harry as he victously decapitated a glass of "We don't patronize" at one deep chested blow, "how is business?" "Bad, bad," said his fellow as he shook his head, crowned as it was with

a venerable halo of cocoa-nut frosting; "I don't see why in Hades the Lord don't take better care of himself. I keep telling him to look out, or some Connaught man will come along and do him. It makes no difference, he still persists in running all kinds of

risks."
"The strike business isn't what it was either," admitted Harry, "I don't know what we would do if lockouts hadn't been invented. By the way, that fellow Tobin is a lucky chap. He gets two big wrecks at a time when the chances are he will be one himself. If chances are he will be one himself. If he didn't have those lockouts, what would the robin do then, poor thing? He might sit by the way-side and sing, and sing, but there would be none of the all necessary per caps in it."

Suddenly Harry bravely dived under the table and hid himself.

"By the great toe of Barondess," yelled J. Void, "what is the matter with you? Are you off your love for the

you? Are you off your love for the worker?"

· Harry poked a very pale and much perturbed face from under the table, and carefully looked around the room. Then he gained courage to creep forth "Huh," he said bold as a lion, I thought I saw a Socialist. The miserable, cowardly, purse-proud, smug hypocrites, I defy them to frighten me.

"But," said James Buyed, "I never saw a Socialist who was ever well dressed, or who was a coward." "But," said Harry impatiently, "you

don't think I would call a man what he is, do you? What is refinement of language for? To explain what is, or jo make isn't appear what is? Go to, you know not the linguistic subtilities of which a born labor leader is capable. It is all a question of words, at so much per word. The skill comes in in speaking the word in the right place. Now, if I had said 'Yes' to the Republican party the same as Ross did, I might have more visible means of support. That is why I am as good a Socialist as you are. I am a Socialist, and don't you forget it, and then don't drop the ethics of the trade, what plans ing to continue to give your great Mic-Mac Indian scalp dance?" have you for the winter? Are you Mac Indian scalp dance?"
"I don't know," said the custodian of

the safety of the universe, "some of the professional brothers are doing a good business with a farce called Wheeping for the Worker. There is B. Fay Mills who is a good all-round comedian, and with one soubrette he is able to play to full houses of just as good-as on the road-coming our waybroad-liberal-one thing at a-don't be-lieve in jumping-Socialists as you could find anywhere in Boston, and you can find more of them in Boston than anywhere else. Why, there are some peo ple there who call Carey a Socialist. Now then, Mr. Chase, we are out-andout, and badly out Socialists. out, and bady out Socialists. Now then, we go to the people and we say: 'Now then,' and very little else. And Margaret Halle with her great personal experience is competent to change the name of the party if anyone is. Now then, we must work for the S. D. P. wing of Socialists, as said wing is only a feather in the cap of reactionary capitalist politics."

You leave the workers alone," said "You leave the workers alone," said Harry, knitting his broad and massive brow with a beautiful chain-stitch, "I've got a living to make, and you keep off my hunting ground."
"Well," said Mr. Brady, becoming sareastic, "there is no danger of Megaphone-mouthed Harry going without a thing if he can get it by persistently yelling."

"Megophone-mouthed! How about "Megophone-moutned: How about Mr. Brady in that respect? Why do theycall you Blethery Bill? You just keep politics oat of your union, old man. and don't get personal."

With that delicate bit of repartee,

Harry arose and significantly tapped his forehead. James Boyd arose and scientifically tapped it, and tapped it with such force that it was several minutes before Harry could struggle

on this feet again.

"The church has branded you a heretic," said James gravely, "our own special brand of heretic."

special brand of heretic."
"You are worse than a S. L. P. man when he is on to you," said Harry, weeping bitterly. "You have attacked organized labor, and I shall declare a boycott and an assessment on the strength of it. Think of those millions who pay no dues. I plainly see that it is a conspiracy, and that I shall have to look for a steady job avoiding some new kind of work. This is the justice of a labor organization to meafter I have allowed it to support me after I have allowed it to support me

"Well, you can't eat your cake and have it," said James in a matter-of-

fact way.

"Can't I? Who will have it then?
Will you?" demanded Harry, a large sneer basking in the genial warmth of his nose. "I challenge you to prove

"There is no use in our fighting, be-cause you would only be whipped. What we want to do is just go through What we want to do is just go through our little knock-about sketch. You arouse the indignation of the people and make them cry. I arouse their holy aspirations and make them weep. Then we both send in our little bill. Have no fear, brother, did not Mr. Murray's manifest unfitness and well known dishonesty recommend him to a position where such things are out of place? The little birds in their nests agree excepting at meal time, and then they have a chance to differ as to which the worm would agree with. You scratch elsewhere and all will be harmony. Learn from the Social Demomony. Learn from the Social Demo-crat that you do not necessarily differ from a capitalist in aims simply be-cause you abuse him. Let me imprint a coy kiss upon your classic brow, in-wrinkled by the cares that fall to the

lot of those who must work for a liv-ing. I go, for the time for the collec-tion is at hand. Slan lath, mo bunchil-

And after having several winks on one another, they parted company, as did the congregation and its change in a few minuits. Stoneham, Mass.

Herding Instinct.

became a necessary factor, and society advanced just in proportion to the growth of Communism, our learned editor notwithstanding. Our industry could not have assumed those gigantic proportions without a perfect subdivi-sion of labor, which could only take root and flourish on the grave of indi-

Indded, the morbid greed of our modern shylock carried the process too far already. The workingman has so far lost his individuality that he became, as Marx properly calls him, an appendage of the machine, and I may add, an appendage which is becoming more and more atrophied from disuse. Only a knave or a fool can claim that our present system is based on indivi-dualism. Is our worthy editor blind to the fact that a man under the present select his occupation, arrange his time to suit his individual tastes, or even Where is that self-ownership, that individual liberty opposed to the "herding instincts" of those degenerates, the Socialists? Surely, not in our present society. How many have the liberty to disregard the morning factory whistle, the watching eye of the foreman and the rapid speed of the machine? How many can enjoy the bliss of "home sweet home"? Only those who are out of work can claim self-ownership and individual liber-y," but even they are locked up in the police stations as "tramps." Yes, in our "individualistic" society every inember is tightly screwed up in the vice of circumstances, and individual-ism is crushed into pieces between the anvil of hunger and the hammer of

There is at present no doubt in the mind of any man who examines critically the course of events, that society can only advance scientifically through the growth of Socialism. The colossal development of machinery necessitates a perfect subdivision of labor, while the fiercer struggle for existence makes a well-regulated community of primary importance to the individual. Socialimportance to the individual. Socialism tends to develop individualism, but not that sickly, degenerate kind which, if it means anything at all, simply means chaos, but "self-knowledge selfownership, individual responsibility and the fullest possible measure of in-dividual liberty," all of which are es-sential to the progress of a community. In the Socialistic State each sensible member will discharge his obligations voluntarily and not under the whip of

a task-master, now named capitalist.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Ceneral Agitation Fund.

Annual Concert and Ball of Kings County Drum and Fife Corps,

on Sunday, Jan. 29th, 1899, at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Tickets 15 Cts. Commencing 8.30 p. m. All friends and sympathyzers are invited.

1. Goldmann's Printing Office,

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MORRIS HILLQUIT. Attorney at Law. 820 Broadway, Telephone: 171 Franklin.

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AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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THE TOCSIN

The Northwestern Advocate of the

Socialist Labor Party

The Tocsin is issued every Thursday, under the direction of the S. L. P. of Minnesota. It will contain All the News of the Labor Move-ment from All the World. You want it! Send for it. Subscription, 50 cents a year; 25 cents for six menths; 15 cents for three months. Sample copy mailed free. Address

THE TOCSIN

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE-Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y. NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS Secre-tary Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CAN-ADA.—National Executive Committee— Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY— 147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

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

National Executive Committee. Mational Executive Committee.

Session of Jan. 24, with A. 8. Brown in the chair. All were present. The financial report for week ending Jan. 21 showed: receipts, \$150.12: expenditures, \$117.53.

The Advisory Board for the Labor News Company reported to have taken steps to complete the stock of the same; also that a more extended plan of advertising the Labor News Company will be put in operation. The functions of the Roard were then defined. It is to control and regulate the business of the Labor News Company and its orders are to be transmitted to the manager by its secretary in writing; the National Executive Committee is to act as a Board of Appeals in all cases of dispute.

Section Dedham, Mass., reported the expulsion of William Durkee for admitted intention to vote for the Democratic candi-

the state Committee and residing where Section Atlanta, Ga., was reported or inized and the new Section contemplates publication of a local paper. Charters re granted to new Sections in: East tsburg, Pa. No. 2; Wilkesharre, Pa. No. Hamburg, Pa.; Fortuna, Cal.; Norwich, Y.

Y.
The Organizers of all S. L. P. Sections
d Branches are herewith called upon, to
ace before the next regular meeting of
eir respective bodies the question of pushg the sale of the Socialist Almanac, see to ing the sale of the Socialist Almanac, see to
it that some action is taken in regard to
this matter and report the action thus
taken to the National Ecxecutive
Committee without delay. The Almanac has been published by the N. E. C.
in obedience to the action of the party in
National Convention and subsequent general vote, which action has placed upon
the N. E. C. a heavy financial burden. It is
necessary that the entire membership take
hold and distribute this burden, and if all
do take hold, it will be an easy matter to
overcome the present difficulty.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secretary.

Massachusetts.

Massachusetts.

WORCESTER, Jan. 23, 1899.—The State
Committee of the Socialist Labor party
met in this city on the 19th of Jan., 1890,
In room 3, 554 Main street, and elected the
following Bourd of Officers: Chairman,
Waiter J. Honr; Recording Secretary, William Day; Financial and Corresponding
Secretary, Leroy D. Usher; Treasurer, Albert Forstom. List of members: Charles
K. Hardy Charles E. Willey, Charles E.,
Fenner, and John T. Hargrayes.

L. D. USHER, Secretary.

Sections Haverhill, Medford and Stone ham request the Massachusetts State Com-mittee to submit the following to a referen-Shall the S. C. C. be empowered to 1. Shall the S. L. C. be empowered to hire a competent person to organize throughout the State, Sections of the S. L. P. and Alliances of the S. T. & L. A.?

2. Shall the S. C. C. be empowered to fix the wages of said organizer at not more than \$12.00 per week, and necessary expenses? 3. Shall the State form a society, which shall pay dues in order to meet the expense

incurred by the organizer, so that the burden may fall only upon those party members who feel able to bear the ex-

members wan test note to seat the pense?

4. Shall the weekly dues be fixed at ten cents, each member to receive a due stamp issued by the S. C. C. as a receipt?

5. Shall the society be confined to or ganized towns and the Sections therein be given full control thereof?

6. Shall the Sections be given complete supervision of the finances of the society?

7. Will the Sections make nominations for the position of organizer, so that in the event of the State voting to have one, we may vote upon the candidates without delay?

lay?
One to be returned to S. C. C. on or before February 21, 1899. 554 Main street, room3, Worcester, Mass.

Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA.—A meeting of the Socialists of the 39th Ward will be held on Monday evening, Jan. 30, at Aurora Hall, northeast corner 6th street and Sayder avenue. At the conclusion of the speaking a Ward Club will be formed. Let all Socialists ald in starting this club off with a rousing meeting.

ORGANIZER.

Ceneral Executive Board, S. T. &L. A

A special meeting of the G. E. B. was held on Sunday evening, Jan. 22, at 184 William street, owing to the non-attendance of the members on the regular meeting night. Members present: Vogt, Wilson, Murphy, De Leon, Boudin, Luck and Brower. Murphy, Chairman.

Minutes of last session read and approved.

Minutes of last session read and approved.

Communications: One from D. A. 12 of Philadelphia, Pa., stating that L. A. 28 had been suspended from that District until such time as they pay their indebtedness to the G. E. B.; one from Julian Pierce, informing the Board of a strike of miners at Myersdale, Md., and requesting that an organizer be sent there. The Secretary was instructed to write to the Section Baltimore in reference to this matter.

Communications were also received from St. Louis, Mo.; New Bedford, Mass.; Yonkers, N. Y.; from T. A. Hickey: Houtzdale, Pa.; Du Bols, Pa.; Jeanette, Pa.; Atlanta, Ga.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Detroit, Mich.; Paterson, N. J., and New York City.

Charters were granted to the Textile Workers Alliance of Pascoag, R. I.; Pawtucket Mixed Alliance, of Pawtucket, R. I.; and Garment Workers' Alliance of Boffaio, N. Y.

The Secretary informed the Board that L.

and Garment Workers' Alliance of Buffalo, N. Y.

The Secretary informed the Board that L. A. So, Pants Makers' Union of Brooklyn, formerly, affiliated with D. A. 3, had been reorganized by D. A. 2. The Secretary was instructed to forward this Local bill of indebtedness for dues from September, 1896.

The committee on L. A. 81 reported that there was some condicting statements made by members of this organization. Resolved, that the officers of this local and the pressmen of the "Abedbiatt" be summoned to attend the next meeting of the G. E. B.

Secretary reported that D. A. 4 of Newark, N. J., is now in working order. They will hold a mass meeting in the Essex Co. Socialist Club Rooms on Saturday evening, Feb. 4.

Feb. 4.
There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.
W. L. BROWER, Secretary.

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

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Trades' and Societies' Cale

Standing advertisements of Trades United and other Societies (not exceeding silines) will be inserted under this beginner at the rate of \$5.00 per annual Organizations should not lose such as of advertising their

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRAINAND LABOR ALLIANCE: 23 Destreet, Room 96, New York City, Geral Secretarys William L. Brower, Financial Secretary Murphy, General Secretary Murphy, General Secretary Murphy, General Meetings; 1st, 3d 55th Thursday evenings at 8 p. m. Sectary Board of Appeals: Max Keller, Max Hope street, Philadelphia, Pa.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. Tounty Committee representing the Alon meets every Sunday, 10 a.m. the half of Essex County Socialist Co. 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

21st WARD, BRANCH 2, S. L. P., Brot-lyn, Lectures on political, economic as-social-questions at the Cub Home, & Myrtle avenue, every Sunday events Regular meetings every first and the Monday.

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street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 10 Stanton street.
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street, every Saturday at 7:30 p. m.—District IV meets at 342 West 42.
—District IV meets at 342 West 43.
Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—Theoard of Supervisors meets every Tase
day at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 2nd avenual at 8 p. m.

EMPIRE CITY LODGE (MACHINIST meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday er jng at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East of street. Secretary: PETER STAPLE

MUSICAL PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE, NO 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A. Rea quarters 79 East 4th street, Meetin every Friday at 12 o'clock noon, Po-Hartmann, Pres.; Aug. Lautz, Car. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th street.

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SKANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. Meets second and fourth Sunday every mouth at 10:30 o'clock a. m., Tentonia Assembly Rooms, 138-140 avenue, New York City. Subscription eders taken for the Scand. Socialist Westly, Scand. Am. Arbetaren.

PROGRESSIVE CLOTHING CUTTED & TRIMMERS' UNION, L. A. 68 of a 2 & L. A. Headquarters, 64 East street, Labor Lyccum. Regular meet every Thursday evening at 8 p. m. THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CLETY OF YORKVILLE meets et al. Monday evening at 206 E 86th st. Society aims to educate its member thorough knowledge of Socialism neans of discussions and debates.

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