

While walking over a mountain road in the soft coal district of Pennsyl-vania, last summer, I met one of the cockroach type of coal operators. He took me for a Drummer; that I was a Bocalist organizer never entered into his philosophy. I took him for a fraud from general appearance and on gen-cat principles and found after that I was correct. After the usual greetings had been exchanged, the following conversation took place. ersation took place.

I-"How is the coal mining business at present?

Operator-"Oh; can't complain, poor prices for coal, but I am making out all right."

I-"What do you get per ton?" Operator-"55 cents at the tipple." (The tipple is that portion of the mouth of the mine from which the coal is dumped into the railroad cars.) I-"How much do you pay your

Operator-"45 cents, run of mine."

I-"And your other expenses are?" Operator-"Royalty, 7½ cents per m: mules and their stabbling, mule drivers' wages, cars, power, wear and tear, etc., bring each ton of coal up to 68 cents."

"63 cents! Why, man alive, you 55 cents is why man anye, you have just told me that you only receive 55 cents per ton. Do you mean to tell me you are in business for your health? How can you afford to lose 8 cents on man ton you afford to lose 8 cents on each ton you mine?"

Operator—"Very easy to explain, my young friend, very easy. You see, I have a company store; 60 men work in my nine; every last mother's son of them has to deal in my store; I charge all the way from 25 to 35 per cent, and sometimes 50 per cent, over the store-

ADAMS, MASS,

Enters the Municipal Field and leques its Proclamation

their own business, stand in with us, or they get no salary." 12-"Does the Union kick?" Operator--"No. The fellows that officer the Union are all right. Some of us run the CHECK-OFF for them, **that** is, we odled the does for them. Then, again, when their Union is in trouble, we loan them money." (If any of our readers doubts this last state-ment I will, upon recuest, supply e Socialist Labor party of Adams, conforming to the demands of the national organization and harmonizing with the emancipation movement of of our readers doubts this last state-ment I will, upon request, supply names and amounts loaned by opera-tors to the United Mine Workers' offi-cers.) "Then, again, the Union is bucking De Armitt, they leave us alone; in fact, they are on our side." Having pumped the loguacious opera-tor dry. I parted with him, confident of the fact that our ruling class is the meanest that ever ruled in the world's history, and, furthermore, that the coal the world, whereby finally, through political and legal means, the present state of overproduction, industrial cannibalism and social disorder is to be substituted by the Co-operative Comsubstituted by the co-operative produc-monwealth, and all means of production and distribution shall be owned collectively and operated scientifically by the people, presents the following declarations for the municipal camhistory, and, furthermore, that the coal mining portion of them for colossal meanness is the worst that ever ocpaign of 1899:

1. The town shall establish a coal and wood yard, which shall supply the people with fuel at cost price.

2. We demand the establishment of a town pharmacy where pure medicine can be had at minimum cost, or free when necessary. 3. Prohibition of female labor under

conditions detrimental to health or morality.

4. Since we deem those who suffer in the field of productive labor just as worthy of regard as those who suffer on the field of battle, we demand that a special fund be established for the payment of pensions to sick, aged and disabled workingmen.

5. The free use of public halls and public buildings for free public discus-sion without discrimination

STATE SOCIALISM.

Democratic Socialism the Aim of the Sociali t Movement.

The economic activity of the modern State is the natural starting point of that development that leads up to the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth.

It does not, however, follow, that every nationalization of an economic function or of an industry is a step to-wards the Socialist Commonwealth. and that the latter could be the result of a general nationalization of all in-dustries without having to change the character of the State.

The theory that this could be the ase is that of the STATE SOCIAL-ISTS. It arises from a misunderstand-ing of the State Itseif. The same as all previous systems of Government, the ISTS. previous systems of Government, the modern State is pre-eminently an im-plement intended to guard the interests of the ruling class. This feature is in no wise changed by ffs assumption of functions of general utility, and effect-ing the interests, not of the ruling class alone but of the whole body molitie alone, but of the whole body politic. The modern State will assume these functions quite often, simply because otherwise the interests of the ruling class would be endangered, but under no circumstances has it assumed, or could it ever, assume these functions in such manner as to endauger the overlordship of the capitalist class. Of this fact a remarkable illustration has been recently furnished by the official declarations of the People's party-a party called into being by the property holding class of small Western farm-ers, whom large capitalist production is submerging. The platform adopted at Omaha is very explicit on all the points that concern the economic interests of that class; the only demands that are not self-evidently and in-herently reactionary, are those that call for the national ownership of the means of communication and transpor-tation: but, that these demands are made in the interest, not of the work-ing class, appears from two facts: first, the conspicuous absence from the platform itself of all provision to im-prove the condition of the workers in those industries—such as higher earnings and shorter hours; and, second the insertion of some recommendations looking in that direction, together with many other trivial ones, AFTER the platform and UNDER the following very significant introductory clause: "Whereas other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following NOT as a part of the platform of the People's party." And, furthermore, still more recently, a Boston Nationalist Club, consisting mainly of middle class people, issues a petition, likewise for the national ownership of the means of communication, transportation, etc., but wholly omits all provisions looking to the improvement of the conditions of the workers therein. In the one case as in the other, the capitalist functions as in the other, the capitalist functions which the State is asked to assume, are instinctively, if not purposely, asked to be assumed in a manner that would not endancer the overlordship of the capitalist class. When the modern State nationalizes When the modern State nationalizes certain industries it does not do so for the purpose of restricting capitalist ex-ploitation, but for the sole purpose of protecting the capitalist system and establishing it upon a firmer basis; or for the purpose of liself taking a hand in the exploitation of labor, increasing

its own revenues, and thereby reducing the contributions for its own support which it would otherwise have to im-pose upon the capitalist class. As an pose upon the capitalist chast exploiter of labor the State is superior to any private capitalist: besides the conomic power of the capitalists, which it would thereby acquire, it could also bring to bear upon the ex-oloited classes the political power which it already wields.

The State has never carried on the idea of nationalizing the industries further than that. So long as the property-holding classes are also the ruling ones, the nationalization of industries and capitalist functions will never be carried so far as to injure the capital-ist and landlords, or to restrict their opportunities for exploiting the pro-

THE STATE WILL NOT CEASE TO BE A CAPITALIST INSTITU-TION UNTIL THE PROLETARIAT, THE WORKING CLASS, HAS BE-COME THE RULING CLASS, HAS BE COME THE RULING CLASS: NOT UNTIL THEN WILL IT BE POS-SIBLE TO TURN IT INTO A SO-CIALIST COMMONWEALTH.

From the recognition of this fact is born the task which the Socialist Labor born the task which the Socialist Labor parties of all countries have set to themselves to wit: TO CALL UPON THE PROLETARIAT, THE WORK-ING CLASS OF ALL LANDS, TO CONQUER THE POLITICAL POW-ER, TO THE END THAT, WITH ITS ALD, 'THEY MAY CONVERT THE NATION INTO A CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. POSSESSED OF ALL THE MEANS REQUISITE FOR ITS SUSTENANCE. Who, Since than, has become Alderman, and Now Finds Himself by Strange Providential Dispensation on the Aldermanic Committee to Aid these Unfor-

our soldiers went to the front they were told pertinent truths by Comrade Ruther. At the time, he was severely criticised by our patriots. Now Holyoke is swarming with soldiers of the war who are out of work. While the embalmers of meat, the sellers of guns and ammunitions, and the rest of our capitalists who ran and profited by the war are warm in these cold winter days, these deluded soldiers, who took the capitalist pretences of glory seriously, are now shivering with want; and, as an irony of fate, or perhaps, a providential dispensation to help drive the lesson home to our workers, our then maligned comrade, who now is in the Board of Aldermen, is on the COM-MITTEE FOR MILITARY AID, to

landed in the Committee's hands for relief. One of these victims portrays the whole situation well when he said:

relief. One of these victims portrays the whole situation well when he said; "Well, I have just about given up trying to get a job," said he in a tone that indi-cated his feelings if his words don't express them. Some people have got an iden that we fellows went down there in Cuba just for the fun there was in it. The somer they relieve themseives of that impression the better. I for one didn't got of the fun of it or for curiosity's sake. I went because I feit it was my duty to got I well be-cause I was called. "If we didn't do such a lot of fighting we" were there, ready to fight just the same and we suffered more in two months than the av rage person suffers in a life time. When we went there were about is, or eight of us who had not been working for some time. Not that we were unwilling to work, but if so happeness that late mills where we were can business picked up and the jobs which we could have had back her we not be the to get a job. Some peo-ple have got an iden that we can get work any time setter returning but am better now and ready for work. I have been try-ing every day for server, have been try-ing every day for server, have been try-ing worty day for server, have been try-ing very day for server, how be up and Going if a place is only opened to them. "At this senson, it is well to look back aread weall the words of Commarde

At this season, it is well to look back and recall the words of Comarde Ruther to the Holyoke workingmen, for which he was blamed by the patriots and labor fakirs and laughed, at by these same workingmen, it will be well to contrast his language, which was everywhere held by Socialists, with the language then held and the with the language then held and the attitude then struck by the labor mis-leaders of all stripes. On May 1 of last year, our unthinking people being just then intoxicated with Dewey's victory, the danger of which they now begin to realize, Comrade Ruther ad-dressed the people of Holyoke with the following open letter, published in the "Globe" of that city:

Gentlemen:-I am in receipt of a gilt-edged printed invitation card inviting me to attend a labor mass meeting at City Hall, next Sunday afternoon, at 2 o'clock. By special messenger I am invited to help, decorate the stage at City Hall, as a back-ground. I may also be permitted to say a few words, providing the star oratros. Lloyd of Eoston, Pierce of Worcester, and Goupers of New York, do not see fit to con-sume all the available time. However, I am restricted to speak on the labor ques-tion, only, and not to mention Socialism. It is needless for me to say that I should certainly consider it to be my duty to be present at any labor meeting. But by a previous invitation I am to be present at a similar meeting at Lawrence on that day. Still, I should hate to misa my say at City Hall, here providing I were permitted to do so. similar meeting at Lawrence on that usy, still, there providing I were perultied to to so. Therefore take advantage of the "Globe" to the anone better what I would say the city Hall next Sunday. I should say the vorkingmen, able-bodied of the city contry's need and danger. They are al-vors in favor when there is fighting to be determined to be made, while at any other time they are fit subjects only to be well to our able-bodied of the well for our able-bodied of the well for our able-bodied of the well for our able-bodied for the well for our able-bodied for the would be well for our able-bodied for warge slaves not the ERIOUSLY THE PROMISES OF THEIR MASTERS TO KEINSTATE WASTERS TO KEINSTATE and the state of the states of the the vorkingmen were fighting to be well for our able-bodied for the source of a Pint-for our able-bodied for the source of a Pint-for our able-bodied for the source of a Pint-promises are not bioding upon them. They always look out for 4. No. 1, and for the dollar. In 1861-65, when the able-bodied workingmen were fighting for their pay in depreciated money, while the capitalist had a special money loop to slave the gov-risted on take the depreciated greenback as interest on the money loop to slave they have sisted on a getting fold for their pay in depreciated money. While the capitalist interest on the money loop to slave they have so do meeting fold for their pay in distered on the the fighting and they workingmen to do the fighting and they workingmen to do the fighting and they fortunite enough to come home able-bodied, your may find a new labor-displaying ma-the doing your former master of his prom-ise. How well tell you that was a war-mensure and must be accepted as such. Teriodism is a noble word and the off and indows due do for our blies, fellow working-tene. Boi I asy to you follow working-tene, by all means be patriotism the money, ingmen. So is asy to you follow working-tene, by all means be patriotism to do the off and they all means be patriotism the source and bo

beeper's prices in the city. It is the store that makes the money, not the mine."

I-"Suppose the men go to the village to as to buy things cheaper, what

Operator—"What then? Why, I fire them, of course. What do you take me for? If they don't deal in my store, they don't work in my mine." Suppose you fire them, what then ?"

Operator--"Does them no good. All All have stores. They've got to work in our mines, buy in our stores, its in our bouses or starve. As they in hostly married, they work for us. They have simply out to " y have simply got to." "Is there not a law on the statute

of Pennsylvania prohibiting stores?

rator-"Yes; but what the h-ll and that settles it." "How much cash do your men get

month after the store

the the operator stopped, put his s on his fat sides and laughed so oderately, that I thought he would a blood vessel: then he said: how much cash.' did you say? Why. each, or hardly any; you see, it's this: say a man makes \$30 in a conth. His bill in the store is \$24. and no. This is what we do: we the him a coupon on the store for \$5. give him a one-dollar bill to go low himself. One dollar cash out thirty, why, that's all right aint "There our thrifty capitalist went into another fit of laughter at the into another fit of laughter of his

"Does the church interfere?" "Does the church interfere?" "Torston-"No." (This with much for my ignorance.) "They mind -De

York pay \$11.20 per ton, i. e., 56 times the original cost? As it can't be transportation, can it be the "wages of abstinence?"

the pluck-me-store robbery, that is what it amounts to), how comes it that the famished proletarians of New

The above dialogue must suggest

the railroad cars at a net cost of 65 cents per ton. In the mixed ale flats in South Brooklyn the hod-carrier's wife buys her coal by the pail. The pail weighs 20 pounds. The price is 10 cents, or ½ cent a pound, or \$11.20 per ton of 2.240 pounds. QUERY 1.—Who gets the difference? QUERY 11.—If Mother Nature sup-plies the coal free, if the miner mines it for about 20 cents per ton (for with the pluck-mestore robbery, that is

some very interesting questions. some very interesting questions. For instance, the coal is mined, placed in the railroad cars at a net cost of 65

curred.

their own business, stand in with us,

Dolan says: "You, must have capital to fight capital with," hence QUERY, III.—Where in Hades does the proletarian's capital come in starting with the pluck-me-store basis?

Another interesting point comes up towards the end of the dialogue:

"The Union is bucking De Armitt, They leave us alone; in fact, they are on our side," says Mr. Operator. Why the Union should fight De Armitt to the exclusion of the other operators is the big interrogation point that sticks out all over the Penna coal mining situation.

Does De Armitt rob his men in the company store worse than the opera-tors? No. On the contrary, he is one of the very few operators who HAS NO STORE.

Then he charges rack rents for his houses. No. HE HAS NO HOUSES. Then he has unfair screens. No. He has the FAIREST SCREENS IN/THE DISTRICT.

What is there against him then? HE PAYS HIS MEN 10 CENTS PER TON LESS THAN THE OTHERS DO. But LESS THAN THE OTHERS DO. But this is more than made up by the fact that he pays CASH. The other miners only receive more nominally, the pluck-me-store and the company house taking more than the difference. As a matter of fact, the soft coal miner would sconer work for De Armitt than any other man in the district. Then, why should the Union center the fight on him. There are several reasons. 1st.-True to their pure and simple middle class tendencies, they help the little parasitical capitalisf, believing that there is a bond of friendship be tween them; not knowing that just be-cause of his position he is the most relentless exploiter.

2nd .-- Just as De Armitt despises the

(Continued on page 4.)

6. The benefits of the public school system to be made accessible to all by supplying, where necessary, free cloth ing and meals to pupils, without inflict-ing the stigma of pauperism.

7. The town to own its own electric and gas plants.

8. The abolition of contract labor, all town work to be given directly by the town without the intervention of contractors or middle men, the workmen to elect their own superior officers; that eight hours shall constitute a legal work day; that all work done for the town be paid for at full or union wages, in no case less than \$2 a day, and that all materials used be bought from firms employing union labor.

These are our immediate demands, to them we pledge our support. And we call on the voters of Adams to aid in carrying them into effect.

The Socialist Labor party never com-promises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make withouts a blow at even access of final victory, it pursues its course un-swerved by desire for temporary advantage. It is ever outspoken and straightforward, believing that in fearless independence the integrity of pur-pose by which it is inspired, will, in the end, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious, aggressive body. Its propaganda is not alone to educate: it is to organize the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. Until that mission is accomplished, it will stand firm as a rock, yet alert and watchful. yielding nothing.

S. Berlin lectures this evening on "The Competitive System" at the headquarters of the 34th and 35th Assembly District, 149th street and Third avenue, this city.

Socialists are frequently twitted with

not having any fixed aims; that they understand only to criticize; and that they know not what to put in the place of that which they would overthrow. Nevertheless, the fact remains that none of the existing parties in the Valued States or in any other country. United States, or in any other country, in which the Socialists have taken the field, has so well marked and clear an aim as the Socialist Labor party. It may indeed be questioned whether any other political party has any aim at all. They all hold to the existing order; their platforms contain nothing but plasters and salves with which they all hold to the existing order promise and hope to make the impos-sible possible, and the unbearable bearable.

The Socialist Labor party on the contrary does not build upon hopes and promises, but upon the unalterable dictates of the economic development. Whoever understands this development must accept the aims of the party. Whoever declares these aims to be false should show in what respect the teachings of Socialist political economy are false; he should show that the theory of the development from small to large production is false; that pro-duction is carried on to-day in the United States the same as it was car-ried on a hundred years ago; he must show that things are to-day as they have always been.

All other political parties live only in the present, and from hand to mouth; the Socialist Labor party is the mouth; the Socialist Labor party is the only one that has a tangible aim be-fore it, and which steers its present course by the light of that great aim. All, other parties neither will nor can realize this aim: only by marching over their prostrate bodies can the Socialist Labor party reach the desired end. Be-cause they neither can nor will see, be-cause they stubbornly presist in woolcause they studbornly persist in wool-gathering and star-gazing, they declare off-hand that Socialists know not what they want except to destroy what-ever is.

(Continued on page 4.)

THE PEOPLE, SUNDAY, FEB. 5, 1899.

condition of 16 cents a day, and to en-THE PEOPLE. joy such a boon of capitalis, civilizaat 184 William Street, New York tion had to undergo the humilation of - EVERY SUNDAY .--- . being sold at auction!

And the class, whose social system can thus blight our own people and nation propose to civilize others? Preposterous insult to the human understanding!

> GLORY COMES DEAR TO THE WORKERS.

> The proudest men who trod the earth last Mnday were the men of the 69th New York Regiment. They arrived in

the city from the South and were given an ovation. As they marched up Broadway; thick crowds lined the street cheering and hurrahing, while the cannon on City Hall Square was kept booming a long salute. The men looked as if they were treading on enchanted ground: Ethan Allan's dashing boys of the Revolution, Leonidas' Spartan band could not have looked happler than did these men, inflated as they were with the outward trappings of glory. To-day all that has changed: no more despondent tramps prowl through the city than these same snorting warriors of two days ago,-all the more despondent as they feel cheated.

What is it that has happened?

The outward theory upon which these men enlisted was "self-sacrifice"; they were ready, to fight not only, but also to bleed for the freedom of humanity and the glory of the country. That was alright enough as a screen, a decent screen for the real facts. Outof-work and with small chances of improvement, these men went to the front. The sold they were to receive was the real motive. But even the level-headed man who sees to his material comfort will not always refuse to spend something for show for his own glorification, provided that something be not too much. That is the way last Monday's parade was presented to the men of the 69th Regiment: in order to enjoy the glories of the parade they would have to be mustered out earlier, losing, of course, some pay How much? They were told by their Colonel, a worthy named Duffy, that \$5 would be the most they could forfeit. That surely was not much: \$5 out of a prospective \$60 pay at mustering out was considered a cheap price for, hurrahs, salvos of artillery and pageantry in which the payor is himself the chief attraction. The men consented; the parade took place and all that thereby hung; and the men were yesterday mustered out with only \$30 pay!

The pageantry of Monday cost these men dear. They now realize they were thoroughly duped. Their Colonel, the man Duffy, managed to make himself especially the recipient of the biggest part of the ovation, and, instead of paying his share, he took that with a vengeance out of the hides of his 'gallant soldier boys." He is not to be mustered out; he loses not a cent; but the men have to pay the piper; the statement to them that they would lose only \$5 was a swindle to our age them to decide for the parade. The real worker again ...as had to foot the bill.

In the midst of the embalmed meat and other swindles this Duffy scandal comes opportunely. From start to finish, and every step the recent war was but a scheme for the intensified exploitation of the working class; it was conceived in swindle and carried out by swindle. So far from ...s having redounded to our national glory, it has only added an other blot to the many already thrown upon it by our ruling class, and all of which it will be the mission of the working class to wipe out.

The chief obstacle to the change from steam to electricity lies in the expense en-tailed by abandoning the old steam locemo-tives and purchasing electric motors in their stead. There are to-day in service on the railways of this country 30,000 steam locomotives, at an average cost of \$10,000 sech, making \$300,000,000 of capital. It is impossible to conceive of the sale of \$300, 000,000 worth of machinery as scrap iron. To convert them into motors, if that were possible, and to establish complete elec-trical installation along, the lines of exist-ing railways, would cost a sum so large as to be prohibitive. The cost to the Penn-sylvanis Road alone, for this transforma-tion would be fully \$100,000,000.

Why "impossible to conceive of the sale of \$300,000,000 of machinery as scrap iron"? 'Why would the cost of a conversion of motors be "prohibitive"? Simply and alone because these machines are now owned capitalistically. Because, under such ownership, they, the products of society, stolen from society by their present owners, the capitalist class, are not allowed to perform the public and social function that is in them to perform; they are to perform private functions only for the benefit of private concerns alone,

Under a rational social system, the machine, that can not render to society the higher service that a newer and better machine can, is obsolete, would be treated, looked upon as such, and, to the immense profit of society, would be treated as "scrap iron." The convenience, the comfort, the advantage. the social labor saved, and thereby the time gained for intellectual elevation would be worth and is worth to society many thousand times \$300,000,000. Under the present irrational and buccaneer social system, the Vanderbillion motto: "The public be damned." is the social motto; the only thing that is considered is the private interests of the capitalist class; and, no doubt, the Duchesses Consuelo would be the looser for a while if all that machinery were now treated as "scrap iron"; the changes made must be made in such gradual manner as will bring no inconvenience to such worthies; only the working class' convenience need never be consulted.

In the scramble that is going on in New York among the Labor Fakirs for jobs as a "recognition" of Labor some truths are being told to one another by these gentlemen.

"Printer," having a bushel of cand! dates for Factory Inspectors and a certain disreputable labor misleader. Harry White, who is kept alive by the "check-off" system of paying dues in the Garment Workers, are together by the ears. These gentlemen may well

be quoted against each other: In answer to many inquiries as to the identity of Henry White, who has been in dorsed for the office of Factory Inspector by a small Typographical Union up the state, and Henry Weisman, expelled mem ber of the Bakers' Union, we will state that, as near na we'can End out, he was out honest parents. He came to this coun try and finally joined the Tailors' Tailon, of which he is now an officer. Mr. White has an antipathy to printers, or any one else who has common sense. He was a member of a labor club during the last cleck. White was well paid for his share of the "Storious victory." receiving some \$00 for a few days' "work." In stature he is be to mether he is power of the share of the "giorious victory." receiving some \$00 for a few days' "work." In stature he is be to mether he is power work for Roosevert. White was well paid for his share of the "giorious victory." receiving some \$00 for a few days' "work." In stature he is be to height-but his physical makeup is signific when compared with his intellec-tuality. Just why White should aspire to the office of Factory Inspector no one scens to know. That he runs no earthly chance of being appointed, everybody seems to be. Tpon being asked about the origin of the

liere. Upon being asked about the origin of the animosity between himself and the Print-ers' Union. White explained it all by say-ing: "Oh. I'm sore on dem mugs 'cause dey puts such long words in de papers, see!" Mr. White would no doubt make an excel-lent Factory Inspector-with the assistance of Herr Weisman.

The Buenos Aires, Argentina, "Socialist Almanac" for this year is a neat little pamphlet full of information and wit, pictorially and otherwise. Among the items it contains is one on the beauties of private property and vested rights. It tells the story how in Ghent, Belgium, a paper being read before a society on public sanitation, it was there proved that much disease was caused in the crowded quarters of the workingmen by the water closets, and the suggestion was made that instead of closets in the large tenements, these should be closed and public closets built. Thereupon the owner of one of these tenements objected, and, banking himself upon the law, showed that owners of houses were also the owners of the offal yielded by such houses, the same being turned to profit by selling it as manure.

A criticism that heralds itself with such trumpet blasts as "ridiculous," and that closes with such oracular admonitions against "bluffing" and in favor of "facts" should surely be replete with sense and bursting with information. Is it? Just the reverse. Two are the points made in THE

PEOPLE'S Letter Box answer: 1st. That gauged by its present method of voting (1 vote for 100 per capi-

tas, while central bodies, federal unions, etc., having each 1 vote), the Federation would have about 250,000 members; and

2nd. That the membership of the A. F. of L. is padded, the per capitas on which' the voting is done being fre quently paid on a membership that does not exist, the money being frequently furnished by bosses and politiclans.

How does the "Citizen" refute these two points, the refutation of which it considers important enough to initiate a discussion on in such terms as it does?

As to the first, the "Citizen," while admitting that the A. F. of L. has lost membership in the last five years, denies the correctness of THE PEO-PLE'S estimate, and contents itself with the simple, bald declaration that the membership of the A. F. of L. "is still in excess of THE PEOPLE'S estimate"; in other words, while invoking facts, and frowning down bluffs, the 'Citizen" gives not one sigle fact in substantiation of its view. THE PEO-PLE stated, in this its first point, by what process it arrived at its estimate, to wit, the vote cast at the Kansas City convention, and it gave the total figures-250,000; the "Citizen" leaves its readers in the dark upon the process by which it arrives at a different conclusion; and, left, factless, its readers can not judge even as to the size of the discrepancy, if there be any, and thus judge as to whether a correction was at all worth while making; they are given nothing but a bald assertion. What sort of conduct is this? The re-

As to the second point, the "Citizen" starts by calling it "ridiculous"; it proceeds then to emphasize its judgement by the emphatic assertion that "no politician is such a fool as to pay monthly per capita tax," etc.; and then? What then? It IMMEDIATELY goes on to say that "where this may sceur it is an insolated case," etc. Thu: a thing DOES NOT occur, and yet it MAY OCCUR: thus NO ONE is such a fool as to do a certain thing, and yet there MAY BE fools as to do that same thing .- What sort of reasoning is this? The reverse of ridiculous?

THE PEOPLE has chapter and verse for every thing it utters editorially: it neither bluffs, nor allows itself to be bluffed; least of all does it ever allow itself to be carried off its feet into postures that denote a cross between bluffor and bluffee.

The San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" says with justified severity:

Struggle" says with justified severity: We can stand the rich plutocrat, for he usually does what experience has taught us to expect him to do. But the poor fellow without property, without capital, without a 'decent living, whose wife is a save, whose daughters by poverty are made gau-didutes for prostitution and his sons for vagabondage and crime; who must go with has in hand and beg a chance to serve; who fawns and srawls before his master, echore his sentiments and votes his ticket on election day, and abuses those who try to emancipate him, should be lashed into wakefulness and out of the betraysi of his class.

Our complaisant friend, the London. Eng., "Labor Leader," publishes this

t it of news:

Haverhill, Mass. U: S. A., has done even better than was at first reported, no fewer than nine Socialists having been returned. The offices filled are: Mayor, three Ader-men, three Councilmen, Assistant Assessor and School Commissioner. They all belong to the new Social Democracy, and claim that they would have galaned another Al-derman's seat but for the opposition of the S. L. P. Herbert Casson, who formerly worked Haverhill, wonches for the "bona fides" of the men elected. gle and thus the tactics necessary to reach the goal.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan (in great rage)-It a shame to see the Socialists quarrolling among themselves.

Uncle Sam (cool as a cucumber)-Do they? B. J .- You don't need to look so inno-

cent. You do it yourself. See, for in-stance, how you are denouncing John Tobin-U. S. (pulling himself and looking in

dreadful earnest)-Stop right there! I refuse to reason with a man who rea; sons dishonestly.

B. J.-How dishonestly? U. S.-Say that I were to grab you by the neck and drag you to jall say-ing: "As you are a thief you ought to be locked up"-

B. J.—But I am no thief! U. S.—You realize quick enough, don't you? the absurdity of such reawhen I say: "As you are a thief, there-fore you should be locked up." I jurn up side down all honest method of reasoning, because I take as my premises and for granted the very thing that is disputed and is to be proved, and having thus fraudulently built up my premises, I can, of course, arrive at any preposterous conclusion - that I That sort of reasoning does not beseem a thinking man if he is

B. J. remains dumb.

U. S.-The same as I started with the false premises of your being a thief, so did you start with the false premises that that fellow is a Socialist; the same as, in my sentence, THE thing to prove

is that you are a thief, the rest follow-ing of itself, so. In your case, THE thing to prove is that that fellow is a Socialist, the rest then following of it self: the same as I absurdly took for granted the very thing that should first be proved, and then, of course, reached in what would be a fraudulent way the in what would be a transmittent way the conclusion that suited me, to wit, that you should be locked up, so did you mi-surdly take for granted the very thing that should first be proved, and then, of course, you reached in what I justly call dishonest the conclusion that suits your fancy. That sort of reasoning is unbecoming a decent man. No honest man spends a minute's time in discussing what is self-evident. No honest cussing what is solvey dent. No nonest man, honestly wishing to discuss a natter can imagine that there can be any doubt upon the wrongfulness of "Socialists fighting Socialists." To place the discussion on that field is an act of dishonesty because it is an attempt to evade putting the discussion on the proper field. The proper field is, is John Tobin a Socialist? When we have settled that then we have settled the rest, and if we can't agree upon that, then we disagree upon our prem-ises, both nevertheless agreeing on the general principle that "Socialists must not fight Socialists." Go to!

B. J.-Well, I'll admit I introduced the matter wrongly: I was angry. But will you now explain to me what you call a Socialist?

- U. S.—Gladly! B. J.—What is he? U. S.—To be a Socialist a man must
- combine three essential points. B. J.—Which? U. S.—First, he must hold that the

operative Commonwealth or Socialist Republic is a desirable, is a necesand is an inevitable thing. B. J.-I accept that point. Does not John Tobin hold such views?

U. S.—He does. Secondly, he must understand WHY the Socialist Republic is desirable, necessary and inevit-able. So understanding it, he will understand the theory of the class strug-

U. S.-Can you deny that then charges against him are true. B. J.-I can not deny their truth; we do I of my own knowledge know enough about them to be sure that you

enough about them to be sure that you are not mistaken. U. S.-Good. Then find out. Until then, you are justified to suspend your judgment. But not until you have in-formation that will ustify you to think I am mistaken can you hold him for a Socialist; and if you fin 1, as you are sure to in case you inquire, that I am elebt you must admit that be is ma right you must admit that he is no Socialist. John Tobin be ng none, we Socialists fight him and his ilk to the knife. We fight none others.

The Class Struggle,

Written for THE PEOPLE by G. F. Lon. bard, Malden, Mass.]

The people of ancient times believed, But time has shown they were deceived. That the sun around the earth revolved. But astronomers the question solved; And brought forth facts which clearly neve

That the earth and not the sun doth more, The capitalist politician at present deceive The working people who foolishly believe Interests of the capital.

The working people who foolishly believe That the business interests of the capital-ist class Will bring prosperity to the people "ea

For, just the opposite of this is the truth: As many a fact doth furnish the proofs.

For the bulk of the people are as poor as Job's cut. While idle capitalists are prosperous and fat. Why the people don't tamble it seems rather queer. For out of the wealth that's produced in a year. The more profits that "our good business men" rake. The less wages are left for the workers to take.

So, there's a conflict of interests; hence, a class struggle; Notwithstanding that fakirs with false ferms may juggle; And bunce the people suid make it appear that "Cappy and Labby" are brothers as dear. For, the capitalist does business for as other reason Except to make profits from season to season.

And those capitalists who of wealth get the most. From labor in proportion to that labora cost Are the ones who succeed and in prosperity gain. While the weaker competitors are with bankruptcy slain. So, there's no room for sentiment; it dee not "cut ice." Its capitalist buncombe, though it south very nice.

Its only our class-conscious workings For industrial freedom that will bring a

improvement. We'll liberate ourselves from the capitalise knaves: From our present condition which is that of

ware slaves. We'll take possession of the capital pre-duced by our toli: And, also, that free gift of nature's-the soll.

So, come, fellow workingmen, get into limit Organise, educate, now is the time. Join the S. L. P., that's the only school With political discipline and majority rule. We cast out crooks and freaks and fakirs; We are in carnest! That's why they hate us.

The Debsites with "socialist platforms for Are bogus socialists attempting to barm us, But farmers, Ike bankers, belong to that Class Which oppresses, and fleeces the laboring mass. Our American fathers, it's quite clear to ma Thought for themselves, not for King George Three.

So look out for frauds; beware of crocks, They have luring balt upon their hook, All those who pretend to be Labers friends, Whether false friends or true ones, it all openeds

depends, If they're not in the fight with the S. L. '. They're either fakirs, or bainboozled work-ingmen-see?

LABOR NEWS COMPANY,

147 East 23rd Street, N. Y. (Store open from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m.)

Karl Marx:

- The Student's Automatical Student's Automatical Student's The Condition of the Working Class In England Lassalle as a Social Re-Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Re-1.00

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LIED PRINTING

TRADES LAVEL COUNCIL

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED

STATES.

In 1886 (Presidential)

r as possible, rejected communications returned if so desired and stamps are

2

There are two freedoms: The false freedom where a man can do what he likes; and the true freedom, where he can do what he ought.

12.531

CHARLES KINGSLEY. SMASH THAT TREATY. AND THE

CLASS THAT IS WRANGLING APOUT IT.

The Senate is convulsed by the question whether the Treaty of Peace should be ratified or not, and the ostensible issue between the two sets of disputants is whether the annexation of the Philippines will redound to our national g'ory or not; whether or not it is our national duty to "carry civilization to the Filipinos" or to leave them in their benighted condition.

Whether or not the Filipinos are in a benighted condition is little to the purpose; the only question that concerns the intelligent American is whether the flocds of material wealth and the floods of that greater wealth. the health and life of thousands of our proletariat, is not needed right here at home; whether we have reached that point that we have a surplus of material and human wealth to squander abroad, or whether all the material and human wealth we can raise is not required right here, with nothing yet to spare, in order to blot out the social iniquities we ourselves are cursed with, and that render our external splendor, not a thing to be admired but a thing to be condemned as a whitened sepulchre

"This question is answered by the recent discovery of the existence of chattel slavery in its most iniqu'tous form, as a punishment, even to women, old women at that, for the capitalist imposed "crime" of poverty. The following story tells its own tale.

Elmira Quick, aged seventy-five, is going to try to live on sixteen cents a day. Elmira Quick is a Pike County, Pa., pauper, living near Baaba. She lost her son, who was her sole support. in the Civil War, and ever since has just managed to eke out an existence. How the old woman will manage to keep alive from now on is best told in her own words:

her own words: "I have figured it all out, and I can get ilong very filecty. It is the first time any-thing of the kind has been tried in Pike County. You know the law here provides that once a rear all persons supported by the town be said to the lowest bidder, the bidder to supply food and clothing, while the town provides medical attendance and uneral expenses in case of death... "I had some trouble with one of the Over-scers of the Poor, and this led to my he ng advertised. for sale last December. The bids were to be sent to W.K. Rutan. In Rowlins. I sent a bid of \$5 per month to brerseer Rosencrans and also to Auditor Brown. This was the lowest bid, and the authorities had to accept it... "They allow me to remain here, and in-stead of paying the \$5 in cask, as they would to other, bidders, they give it to me in groceries. This is just the same as cash to me. "This house I live in is owned by Ira

verse of bluffing?

So, for instance, the New York

be quoted against each other:

would to other, bidders, they give it to me in groceries. This is just the same as each to me.
"This house I live in is owned by Ira Simonson, and he lets me stay here for helping his wife operation. My meat bill for the last five months was only \$1.43, and on this saving I get an upit to buy co.l. Then in the spring I get a pig for little or nothing and have one of the neighbors far it on shares. This gives me a good deal of meat to last through the wire work on shares. There is a little parch of ground adjointing the start money picking huckle.
"There is a little parch of ground adjointing the second this I work on shares. It work on shares in furnishes enough vegetables to her means a little extra money picking huckle.
"There is a little parch of ground adjointing the second this I work on shares. It work on shares in the second t

Thus we here find an old woman, whose son, her only support, died in the Civil War to preserve the Union a pauper and slave in the land where the Money Rags stayed behind, let others fight, bleed and die. and themselves now derive all the profit of such sacrifice. Thus we find an aged matron, who wove her life tissue into carpets for a pittance, and now after "her shoulder gave out" has only slavery as her portion while the robber class of capitalists, whose shoulders never gave out in work, are lolling in idle luxury. Thus, finally, we see before us a venerable woman, entitled to the repose of her age and the dignity of her sex; she an heir to all the splendorous achievements of the human efforts of past generations; she-a member of the nation whose ruling class would carry civilization across the oceans: she-brought down by long privations to the point that she can "get along nicely" with the Chinese

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

An article by Prof. Sidney H. Short in the "Cosmopolitan" on the substitution of electricity for steam as a motive power suggests a variety of interesting points. He says:

If the next fifteen years witness as won-derful progress in electrical science as the past fifteen years have recorded, electricity will supersede steam as the motive power for even our trunkline railroads. The time between New York and Chicago will be re-duced to ten hours, and the conditions of our business and social life will readjust themselves to a standard of 125 miles an hour instead of 40.

That such an industrial revolution is quite probable within the next fifteen years none will deny. But say the revolution in motive power does not reach quite that far within that time. it certainly will reach quite far within that time, and it will be fully ac-complished later. What about the 400,000 miners in that case?

The recent series of articles "Tragic Pages," which close with this issue, help to answer the question, and bring out the point.

There we have a large body of men kept in ignorance of the fate that awaits them; told to be practical by doing something NOW for themselves, thereby kept from doing the only really practical thing--voting themselves into power, and thus put themselves into a position where, what now threatens to be a deadly storm, can be turned into a blessing-there we have these men with blinkers clapped to their eyes and thus led quietly on by the Labor Fakir. is not the Labor Fakir a valuable man to the capitalist class ?!

Again, Prof. Short says:

What an illustration of the "unearned increment" that the capitalist class wallows in?

In response to an inquiry, THE PEO-PLE of the 15th of last month had this Letter Box auswer:

Letter Box answer: At the A. F. of L. conventions the dele-gates cast 1 vote for every 100 members in their respective unions, their central bodies, federal unions, etc., excepted: delegates have one vote. In this way the thing is made to look big. the same as some poter players in the West play with \$1,000 antes, a cent standing for \$1,000. According to this method of voting the Federation would have about 250,000 members. Fat this is not so. The delegates vote on as many members as pay per capita to the Federa-tion. Now these per capitas are frequently paid on a membership that does not exist, the money being furnished by politicians and bosses in league with "Mr. Delegate."

Thereupon, the Cleveland, O., "Citizen" of the 21st of the same month reproduces the answer in full, and subjoins the following criticism:

joins the following criticism: This statement is ridiculons. No poli-tician is such a fool as to pay monthly per capita tax on an inflated memberahip mere-iy to cast a large vote once a year through some tool, and where this may occur in an isolated case it is also a notorious fact, on the other hand, that some of the large na-tionals do not pay tax on their full mem-bership, just as their locals as a rule don't make refarms on their entire memberships. The A. F. of L. is undoubtedly standing still, sud as a matter of fact has even lost members in the last five vears. how the number is still in excess of THE PEOPLER's cestimate. We don't believe that anything can be gained by huming on either side. Let us stick to actual facts.

But who will vouch for the "bona fides" of Herbert Casson?

The Minneapolis, Minn., "Tocsin" is camping on the trail of the fakirs. Grabbing one of them by the hair it gives him this lashing:

The "Union Advocate," a fake "labor", paper of the worst sort, published in St. Paul, hopes that the shorgun policy in the South will be continued unless the "lili-terate and poverty-stricken alggers" sub-mit to the rule of white Democrats. This is quite in character. The "Advocate" is made very uncomfortable by the growth of the Socialist Labor party, which proclaims of race or color, and which threatens the success of leg-pullers, skates, and political roustabouts in the labor movement.

S. L. P. Supplies.

C. L. Furman will lecture on "Social Tendencies" next Tuesday evening, the 7th instant, at 65 Columbia street, 12th Assembly District, this city.

Lucien Sanial will lecture on "Territorial Expansion" next Friday even-ing, the 10th instant, at 209 East Broadway, 4th Assembly District, this city.

B. J.-I grant that point too Dor not John Tobin understand all that? U. S.-I feel quite sure he does.

Thirdly and finally, he must act up to that knowledge. He who does not combine these three points is no Socialist.

B. J.-And doesn't Tobin cover that last point too, only in his way? U. S.-NO! Tobin's conduct is at yariance with the last point, and thereby he is untrue to the other two. It is not acting up to his understanding of the first two points when he seeks to organize suceworkers' unions with the aid of men whom he knows to be dis-reputable fakirs; when he sits on the reputatole takirs; when he sits on the platform and hears such fakirs ad-yance the most dampable fakirish, dues-grabbing, swindling, class strug-gle-denying arguments on the wages question, and when he rises to speak right after such fellows has not a word contradiction and rectification to

of contradiction and rectification to make. Such conduct is the endorse-ment of ant-Socialism. B. J.-Has he done that? U. S.-Yes, right here, in New York and elsewhere. Again, it is not acting up to his understanding of the first two points when he heralds as a labor political victory such a capitalist vic-tory as the late municipal election of political victory such a capitalist vic-tory as the late municipal election of Marlboro was; it was a belying of his understanding of points one and two when he thus seeks to aid along the swindling political practices of capitalist politicians and labor fakirs, and thereby obscures the class struggle principle and its manly course so nec-essary for the emancipation of the rs.

B. J. looks dumbfounded. U. S.-Finally it is a belying of his knowledge on roints one and two and anowiedge on roints one and two and of his own conscience when he tries to defame the S. L. P., that he knows is true to all the three points, but the up-holding of which is unprofitable to him. In short it is not the conduct of a So-cialist to play the Judas act: sell out the working class B. J. remains silent B. J. remains silent.

History of the Paris Commune
Lissagaray:
History of the Paris Commune Low
G. B. Benham:
History of the Paris Commune
John Hobson:
Evolution of Modern Capitalism 1.25
Henry D. Lloyd: Wealth against Commonwealth 1.01
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Trade Unionism New and Old 1.00
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Sydney and Beatrice Webb: History of Trade Unionism
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Prof. R. T. Ely:
The Labor Movement in America 100
Socialism and Social Reform 1
French and German Socialism
Taxation is American States and
Citles LT
Prof. Werner Sombart. Socialism and the Social Movement
in the 19th Century 125
Enrico Ferri
Criminal Sociology 1.50
Poni Lofarque:
Evolution of Property
Prof. Letourneau:
Property, Its Origin and Develop-
The Evolution of Marriage and the
The Evolution of Marriage and the
Family La Morris and Bax:
Socialism. Its' Growth and Out-
come Lo
The Silver Cross
W. S. McClure:
Socialism

To the Sections of the S. L. P.

The first of the supplements to the successful the successful the supplements to the supplements to the supplement of the supplements to the supplement of the superiment of the supplemen

It is a handsome, 24-page pamphlet, the

contents of which are: I. Territorial Expansion. II. Growth of Socialism in America (8. 5 P. election returns).

II. Growth of Socialism in America is a P. election returns. Number L is a subject now foremost in strention if Sections see to it that the book is brought prominently before the public number IL is of great interest to all the Socialist movement in this country. The retail price of this number is a tensive sale. Address orders to the N. Y. Labor New Company, 147 East 23rd street. New Task-or to the National Secretary. HENRY KUHN. 194 William street, N. I.

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

THE PEOPLE, SUNDAY, FEB. 5, 1899.



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

Cheff with the recognized
That First Haverhill Appointes.
To THE PEOPLE - I wish to supplement the speers in THE PEOPLE's letter have of the 15th instant, on the first mark of the 15th instant, on the stream of the s

Haverhill, Jan. 17.

As to Expressions.

As to Expressions. To THE PEOPLE I wish to draw your attention to an expression in the pamphie "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists." The expression referred to is "such biod-sucking parasites." Now can we, as those who advocate uniters brotherhood, consistently call our acknowl-edged brothers by such names, and then invite them to act conscientiously and help the Socialist Movement. I hold that we can't, and what's more, if we are to leave a PEACEFIL revolution, such terms nust NOT BE USED. For instance, suppose I were to call you a liar, a rogue, and a thief, and then turn round and ask yon to help me on with my cont, would you or would you not arail your shoemaker to my tailor? I think you would be a fool if you didn't. Now I should like to get the opinion of other S. L. P. members on this portance as regards the joining of the So-cialist forces over the country. JAS. N. BOULT. Vancouver, B. C., Jan. 18. [Thinking it far more profitable that.

(Thinking it far more profitable that the answer and answers to so unique an expression of opinion as the above letter be left to the other comrades, we shall not ourselves comment upon at least not at this stage; we give the right of way to other party merabers. Canadian especially, who may feel inclined to undertake the work of clari-fying our correspondent.—ED. THE PEOPLE.] correspondent.-ED. THE

Forecast from South Dakota.

Forecast from South Dakota. To THE PEOPLE. You must have pa-theace with us in South Dakota, because we are yet a small bourgeois class-ripen-ing by experience. All we need here is one of the Chilfornia plows that will plow 50 acres a day. People are slow to escape from the mesles of traditional thought, yet Aber-deen will have a Section shortly; I think the time has come. "The Pops were beaten everywhere in the State by the Reps this hast fall, leaving only the Governor. This is the best thing that could happen. Now the air is cleared of a great deai of dust. "The Socialists have always been the life of the Pop party in this State, and now the poor Pops say: "Oh, you fellows have been right, from the start, and it is time for the Socialist Labor party." You will hear from us shortly. Down with the capitalist pig. Aberdeen, So, Dak, Jan. 20.

Aberdeen, So. Dak., Jan. 20.

Reproduced with Blushes of Modesty.

To THE PEOPLE.--I think I am abso-lutely safe in saying that THE PEOPLE is the only means that saves us from com-plete dissolution as a party. This certainly was the case when the (fraudulent) Social Democracy craze struct as, also when the "Appeal to Benson" made liss fraudulent and insidious attack upon the whole party. They are dead, thanks to THE PEOPLE.

gest that what is good for the ganders would surely do the greese no harm, and let her choose a plurality of hushands, this would be nothing less than "damnable sin." Let the class-conscious men and women tear this foul-fruited tree of capitalist anti-and pro-Mormonism up by the roots, by yoting the Socialist Labor party's ticket straight. In the States where women can-not yote, women can agitate. With the means of production (land and machinery) and distribution (railwars, steamship lines and stores) owned and con-instead of, as now, being worked collective y and owned individually-1 venture that Mormonism and its crunterpart, capitalist prostitution, would shrivel and die, as the potting pear does when the tree that bore it is uproted. ARCHIE JARROLD.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Jan. 20.

Interesting News from Latrobe, Pa.

Interesting News from Latrobe, Pa. To THE PEOPLE.—The members of the Latrobe Section have started in with new vigor since New Year. We are but a band-rul, yet determined to overcome all impedi-ments thrown in our way by the foe. Once more did we bring home to the capi-talists, and the boltgeois of Latrobe gen-erally, the fact that we are on deck, where-upon more than one of them made long faces at the sight of the posters annonneing the mass meeting at which Commide Hickey of New York was to speak. The meeting took place on the 10th Instant, if was at-tended by a large crowd anxious to bear the Gospel of Socialism. Hickey "took" so well that, at the close of the meeting, even the policeman present gave a subscrip-tion for THE PEOPLE. No doubt the meeting: followed up by PEOPLES will have its effect. Noteworthy is the recent discharge of a was charged with being the cause of the death of a donkey that he was deixing. It

Noteworthy is the recent discharge of a driver from one of our local mines. He was charged with being the cause of the death of a donkey that he was driving. It is o happens, however, that at the same mine of this identical company three men were killed last summer, and one was crippied for life, all as the result of the negligence of the Fire Boss and the Watchman. But these victims were only workingmen and not a denkey: consequently, the guilty par-ties have remained undisturbed at their jobs. Instances like this should furnish the workers food for thought. They are all ex-posed to the same faie, and will continue system of exploitation. "THE ORGANIZER. Latrobe, Pa., Jan. 22.

Another Singular Suggestion-

To THE PEOPLE.-I wish to make a suggestion as to fusion between the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. The S. D. P. to accept the constitution and platform of the S. L. P. The S. L. P. to accept the name of the S. D. P.

The S. D. P. to accept the constitution and platform of the S. L. P. The S. L. P. to accept the name of the S. D. P. The above I belleve to be the only solu-tion of the fusion question. The Debaites have no principles to sacrifice, and would be much better for the solidity and prin-ciples of the S. L. P. In time past before it was disgraced by Armojy voting traitors. That the leaders of the S. D. P. cannot much longer stand between the fusion of the rank and file 1 trink is proved by the failing off of the vote of the S. D. P. in Milwankee and elsewhere and the corres-ponding increase of the S. L. P. vote. I believe the above to be the rational plan. WERNON F. KING. Holland, Mich., Jan: 28.

[It is'unnecessary to transfer the dis-

14 is unnecessary to transfer the dis-cussion upon this point to other cor-respondents. Our Holland, Mich., friend does not seem to realize that what "the leaders of the S. D. P." wince most against is just that "solid-ity and principle of the S. L. P." which he would have them accept and which they in fact protest accept as

they in fact protest against as "tyran-ny," "popery." etc. Again, the above being the case, and

as our friend admits that those leaders won't be able to stand much longer against the fusion of their rank and

file, why bother about a formal fusion

when a real. de facto fusion of mem-

bership, by their rank and file leaving them and coming over, is bound to

Finally! it does sound odd that the

S. L. P. should abandon its own honor-ed name for a name that our Holland

friend admits has been disgraced in

There is nothing rational in the pro-position.-ED. THE PEOPLE.]

On the General Vote Called for in

Massachusot's.

come about?

cf. to-day. Think of the old stage crack and the Empire State Express going a mile a minute. This is the development of capi-tal. and alongside of this development of capital is a continuous degradation of is-bor, and is a detriment to the best interest of society. In fact privately controlled capital is a monster of such hideous mich, that to be despised needs but to be seen. Capital has been a curse, make it a blessing by roting for the public owner party. 20th A. D. S. L. P. New York City. 20th A. D., S. L. P.

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspon-dents.

3

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

carry a bona fide signature and address.] J. S. D., ALBANY, N. Y.-Even if it were true that "by not asselling idols" our Movement would "preserve or win the good will of idol worshippers," still we would be buying more than we meant to purchase. By not assuling idols we would lear the field free for the idol worshippers to boom their idols; the false opinions these wor-"shippers thus spread about would take bold; inwarned from any source, the masses would take these idols for what their whor-shippers claim: and-nothing but mischief could come from that. By exposing the idols, the public is at least set upon its grand; and, having heard both sides, will be better able to form a correct juigment. Noter lose sight of the fact that, however far Principle may be above man. Principle needs man to reduce it to reality, and thus, there is no Principle or Cause but bears the stamp of the men who uphold and en-

iar Principle may be above man. Principle needs man to reduce it to reality, and thus, there is no Principle or Cause but bears the stamp of the men who uphold and en-force it. A movement run by crooks is stamped erroked. ' No doubt, in this process of exposing idois enemies are made. But here again idois enemies are made. But here again twatever individual, worth bringing over, is made into an enemy by having his idoi smashed, will eventually see the truth and come over anyhow. No one worth having is erer lost by plain, even severe language, earnestly and honestly used: on the con-trary, the future firmness and enthusiasm of these will depend upon just such severity.

chilestly and nonestly used: on the con-of these will depend upon just such severity.
N. W., SUFFIELD, MASS.—The position faken in the answers on the subject of faving implies, not indirectly, but directly the advice to individual workingmen and helf organizations not to deposit momery in banks of any kind. The advice was grounded, not upon the sentimental soliou that, seeing Socialism condemns interest, none should be taken. The advice was grounded upon the fact that the thin rills of individual swings, gathered in the pand of the bank, run up to sums large enough to enable a capitalist to acquire them in the shape of ionns whereby he may "im-prove his plant." which means, whereby he may displace hands. Thus the "hand." that makes the suring, inflictly becomes the hand that brings in the improved ma-chine whereby the bread is knocked out of its mouth. There is surely no harm in taking interest to-day; but the act is inde-fersible that, for the sake of getting, say, 55 interest, loses a \$10 a week job and thereby compels the arcting into the bank deposit, and thus remain without job, with-out interest, and with reduced bodily vigor, trought on by-the previous pluching. If the interest carned by the individual de-posits were large, so large as to provide all against the above accidents, then tarre would be no harm: either case would then he has long as it is broad. But reimember that has a bing as it is broad. But reimember that he large ensuings in the influe boots worth monitoing. When you say that a withfrawal of de-posits would make money scarce and hereby trise interest, you may be right of yough the greater." The robberty of whom's the robbery of him who has property had who has such property? The work-intman? Nay, may; not he. Capital'stri-but how working class whether these genitry and who has such property? The work-intman? Nay, may; not he containes. The robbery of him who has property hough to mortrange so as to raise the loan-internal? May, may; not he contains. The working clas

P. C. G., WASHINGTON, D. C.-There is a French Socialist paper here: "Le Rour-don." Jeanette, Pa., Box 172, \$1 a year. As to the other matters, sincere thanks. E. O. C., WITCHITA, KAN.-The Sedg wick County vote came in on the official list.

181. H. S., HOBOKEN, N. J.-Either take a trip down, or drop a line, to the Labor News Company. 147 East 23rd street, this city. That will be the best way to find out, and get all you want.

W. W. AKRON. O.-The next national convention of the S. L. P. will meet next year, unless an initiative and referendum vote of the party membership orders it to meet earlier. There is no probability of that. As to the place of meeting that will be determined by a general vote. By about this time next year that matter will be up.

this time next year that matter will be up. R. W., PATERSON, N. J.-For the same reason that "colonisationists" are justly compared to the anchorite monks, so may they be compared who imagine the dis-agreenblenesses of the trade union more-ment will leave them alone if they leave the trade union movement alone and run away from it. The world could not be parified by retreating into anchoretic arws: its im-purity renched into and smoked the anchor-ites out of their caves: cnointains can not be fought by "colonies": its tentacles will reach into the remotest "colonial" corners and undersap them; the "disagreenbleness" and undersap them: the "disagreenbleness" of the economic wing of the movement will permeate the party and lay it helpess, a prey to convulsions. Social impurity could be resisted only by sailing right into and fighting it: capitalism can be brought down only by turning upon it: the disagreenble-nesses of the trades union can be held in check only by the party's taking the union movement in hand: it must either domi-nate, or be dominated by, the union. All else is Utopian. else is Utopian. L. D., NEW ORLEANS, LA.-The ques-tion is not whether the Nearto is or is not an inferior race: the question is whether the Negro should be treated as cattle, given only as much as will keep him alive so as to work and produce for a master. or whether he shall have, hold and enjoy all that he produces and be robbed by nome. There is no "Negro Question" any more than a "Sex Question." There is the Labor or Social Question only. Read THE PEO, PLE.

The Capitalist Editor of the Richmond "Times" Fears Publication of Matter that will Enlighten.

the great problem of life. My stars, how that great host of idle parasites, our doctors, pulpiteers and professors, our Vanderbilts. Astors, and Goulds, our bogus Countesses Castellanes, De Chimays, etc., would envy you; how they would struggle for a place beside

they would struggle for a place beside

you, so that they, like you, could solve the great problem of life by hard work.

exceeding great honor of solving the problem of life, by hard work: I am

sure. Mr. Editor, that if the problem of life is not to make life easier, the great God of Nature (whom you seem

to understand so well) must have made a great mistake when he placed in

man the brain, by the use of which he invented the tools whereby a living could be the more easily procured. According to your and the Doctor's theory, invention must have been the work of the could be the

work of the evil one, who is always upsetting God's intentions. Why don't

you and your gang advocate a crusade against the Devil's work? Let us smash up every machine and hand tool of production, burn and sink our ships, break up our locomotives and rolling took fear up our particulation de

stock, tear up our ranroad tracks, de-

stroy our splendid system of communi-cation, turn all our tamed and domesti-

cated animals loose, let them return to their wild state. Thus man, toolless, shelterless and naked, can betake him-

with his finger nails as his only tool wherewith to earn a living. Surely, then the problem of life would be com-pletely solved by the hardest kind of

work and the great God of Nature per-fectly satisfied. That condition of life would not suit the Doctor and the class

he represents very well, because they in that condition would become wealth

producers through the dire necessity of having to dig roots for a living,

would be a case of root, hog or die with them, as no individual savage would care to exert himself unduly

like the wage slaves do to-day, in or-der that strong able-bodied men (who are as well qualified physically or inentally as they are) should rot in idleness, nit... It is a fact of history that the savage

man was physica'ly the superior of the

civilized man; therefore, I infer, that

the means which, if properly used, would upset his theory of hard work.

viz., the modern gigantic machinery of

production. Likewise must he be op-posed to Socialism, which still further

caters to the intellect of man, by point-ing the way to the proper use of the fruits of his brain, the machine, i. e.,

.By strength, the Doctor must have meant physical, because mentally strong people, especially among the

workers, have a tendency towards re-sisting oppression, and are therefore

troublesome. They have a nasty habit of arguing the point, of examining the medicine prescribed for them (by those

quacks which abound everywhere), be-fore swallowing it. Which attitude on

fore swallowing it. Which attitude on the part of the masses would sounchow disturb the minds of our intellectual fakirs, who have always an axe to grind. I expect, therefore, that the Doctor wished to say that physical strength was the "in plus ultra" for the masses, and you, Mr. Editor, echoed it as fate. Allah is good, and the Doctor is his prophet. Strong, brainless wage slayes to do the work, and brainy (save the mark) professors,

and brainy (save the mark) professors

editors and capitalists to live of their

PUBLIC CHARITIES.

Mr. Editor, I would not have been

labor.

A REJECTED LET

putter "Times," Richmond, Va. Mr.-In the Sunday issue of your per, Jan. S. 1800, appears an editorial der the following heading: "The medy for Oppression," based on words uttered by Dr. David Starr rdan, in his address at the inaugura-of Dr. Greaves as President of the parentity of the State of Washing-

in regard to Dr. Jordan I would state fact, that he is very well known ocialists everywhere in the United by repute, and that he is partic-familiar to the Socialists of the of California. I expect he is sore state of California. I expect he is sore if over now, from the drubbing which he sot from our Comrade Job Harri-man, who was our candidate for Gov-eror of California on the Socialist (abor party ticket in 1898. Some time-Dr. Jordan was desirous of dem-trating to the student body at Stand University that Socialism was imthe and altogether wrong; in or-to show his ability to do so Comade Harriman was invited to take or. The students were out "en e," filled with the expectation of rening's enjoyment, as the Doctor make the socialist fur fly. Well, make the Socialist fur fly. Well, y came, and, they had their fun but it came from a different re than that expected by them. from the utter confusion and rout the Dr. under the logical broadsides Comrade Harriman.

The Dr., driven from pillar to post, forced to assume the defensive, d in doing stooped to such quibbling stions as, "Wold Socialism not de-Who would do the scavenger work?" Alas: poor Yorfick, it is always thus, then our capitalist apologists run foul of a clear-cut Socialist.

POINT.I.

There is truth in this utterance of Doctor which you quote, viz.. "The medy for oppression is to bring in an who cannot be oppressed." If, awerer, the Doctor stated how, you are failed to reproduce it, therefore the how is he going to bring in that s of men? by keeping them in prance of the truth as it is, or by lightening them; Socialists claim at knowledge is strength and will civilized man; therefore, I infer, that the Doctor had that in mind when he stated that "the problem of life is, not to make life easier, but to make men stronger, that no problem shall be be-yond their solution." He must have meant that, he could not have meant stronger intellectually, because the growth of the intellect has produced the means which, if properly used mally lead to freedom; whereas porance is weakness and is conup to the knowledge of the true rowhich which they occupy. 'd. e., the vage slave part of the people). We tail them that they create all the wealth and receive a nere pittance, that they are no longer independent workmen, but slaves; that they are chattels for the idle masters, the capi-talist class, to deal in and make proby showing that he must own and operate them collectively for the bene-fit of all.

POINT II.

The Doctor says further that "to The Dector says further that to bring in men which cannot be op-pressed, is the remedy our fathers sought and, we shall find no other." True, again, and yet, the Doctor would not advocate such methods as our fathers used; if he considered for a noment that they used force to right their wrongs, and had a short shrift and a long rope for all oppressors or their sympathizers. Should the people in their dense ignorance of things as they are), driven to despair by privations and hunger, deeming the capital-ist class (and not the system under which we live) the cause of all their is, should they in their beclouded the follow the advice given by the tor and immitate their fore fathers their struggle for freedwm, what I am very much afraid that a treadful terror would seize upon the hearts of the Doctor and his clan, and ot only on them, but upon the hearts every intellectual prostitute also, the are now so ready and willing to

make apologies: for the present hellish truem of capitalistic tyranny and op-pression. You see, the people aroused might in their blind fury forget that

know of hunger and the doling out of charity by a few to the many among the Indian tribes, before we approach-ed them with our civilization? I ed them with our civilization? . I know not, nor among any other race of savages for that part, previous to the advent among them of civilized man. Why? Because the land, their only means to life, with the fruits it yielded, the game with which it abounded, its streams and rivers stocked with the funny tribes, was owned collectively by the tribes, and owned collectively by the tribe, and each individual member thereof had free and unrestricted access thereto. If he refused to take advantage of these opportunities thus offered him, and spent his time in idleness, he might be hungry; but of tharity he received none.

Socialists don't advocate a return to that mode of life, i. e., to savagery, but they do demand that society be reor-ganized on a collective basis. So that the instruments of production and dis-tribution, the land and machinery, shall be the property of society as a whole, so that everyone willing to work will have an opportunity to do so, and he who will not work shall receive the full reward of his industry-NOTHING not even charity; unless he is physically or mentally disabled, of which we will have to be very well assured. Then no honest person would be degraded by the giving or receiving of alms.

But, while you are perfectly willing to dole out charity to those whom you term poor unfortunates, yet you think it is an imposition that one man should be taxed to support another man who is equally able to work. Socialists have is equally able to work. Socialists have been preaching that doctrine for a long time, therefore we say Amen to that. We claim that it is not only an impositime. tion but a heinous crime also, that the wealth-creating workers should have been forced for many centuries to labor long and ardiously in order to support in rotten idleness an aristocratic or capitalist class of able-bodied loafers, with their long train of lackeys and menials, from the pulpit down to the so-called public press.

I would like to ask you what provision you made for those able-bodied printers whom you dumped on the sidewalk when you introduced the typesetting machines into your office. I suppose competition regulated matters after awhile, that although they suf-fered somewhat at first, yet, as every-thing finds its own level, so would the displaced printers find their's some-where also. Thus reasons those capi-talistic apologists, the Mills, Forrenses, McCullochs, etc., in which school, judging from your, knowledge of the science of economics and government set forth in some of your recent editorials), you must have studied.

Yes, the printers "found their level" in the rank of the out-of-works, and were a few weeks ago reinforced by about 50 per cent. of their brothers, the book printers, from those offices where they introduced the machines. No doubt, a few picked up a crumb here and there at laboring, etc., but our dusky friend, the negro, is much too good a laborer for our uniform printer to compete against success-fully. The fact is this that they are fully, The fact is this that they are out, and out for good. And it is those men and others in a like fix, who are the abk-bodied aren whom you refuse to be taxed to assist, yea, even after you have, and others of your class, lived on their labors while they were necessary to your business, and when unnecessary, discarded, yea, turned a-drift with their families on a bleak unfriendly world, while you, who had turned them loose, hied you to the house of God, there to thank Him for the great blessings he had bestowed on you in enabling you to thus deprive your brothers of their only means of

earning a livelihood. Of course, you are not your brother's keeper. yet, the blood of Abel cried from the ground. I am afraid, if you fellows take your religion seriously, that there is a good warning in store for you all. Socialists understand, for you all. Socialists understand, however, that you people are not to blame altogether. We know that the present system forces all to compete for a living, and, therefore, all must obey that law, or die, and that in the dreadful struggle which is the result of that law the weaklings-financially or otherwise-must go to the wall. Yet, Nature has placed in them as strong a desire for life and its enjoyments as dwell in the breasts of their more suc-cessful rivals. Therefore we Socialists rightly and emphatically demand that the devine law of Nature must be obeyed in all things. If the race would continue to exist and progress; that all must have equal opportunities to life. liberty and the pursuit of happiness by having free access to the land and tools.—which state can never exist as long as one individual has the legal right to say to another, you cannot work unless I say so, and I won't say so unless your presence is essential to my business, I. e., unless there is profit to me in your labor. Thus it stands, and no amount of sophistry will hide it, and until everyone is afforded the opportunity to labor and live, it is a piece of the most refined cruelty (and worthy the brain and heart of a Jesuit) for anyone to first assist in depriving his fellow man of the means to earn a livlihood and afterwards insult him be-cause he is filling the position you placed him in. an out-of-work.

That First Haverhill Appointee.

e fakirs had told them that they their friends!!!

POINT III.

Again the Oracle speaks. The Doc and the problem of life.is, not make life easier, but to make a stronger, so that no prob-m shall be beyond their solution." the Doctor was serious when he that assertion? Do you, or the believe that anyone desires to any harder than he is compelled a order to enjoy life or gratify ambition? Can you think for a bent that anyone, if the choice were en that anyone, it the choice a city en him of working down in a city er, among slush and wet, his sys-a poisoned by the fumes of the foul poisoned by the fumes while at gas, which he inhales while at there, while for such work he rein wages the paltry sum of 75 ber dien, or the other, that of hours work each day at pleasant, and labor, either mental or phy-just enough labor to keep the and body healthy, the balance of at his own disposal, to use oy according to the peculiar each, and that for such labor ed by them they would receive m enough to gratify every dem.man, i. e., for food. clothing.

ling to the Doctor's idea of the willing to the Doctor's idea of the m of life, everybody ought to be ing over each other intheir effort ch the lowest and most fouleome of the sewer. And as you, Mr. 40 heartily endorse the Doctor's it would not be anything of a se to me, if, on making my way is street Bickmond L should find In street, Richmond, I should nud fairly reveiling among those , which have been found there, and out with jocund sound thanks raise to your great and good God. S you have so well (2), praising that the opportunity had been readily afforded you of solving street, Richmond, I should find Tairly

guilty of such an act of folly as that of wasting time on the professor's little childish prattle, which seems to please you as genuinely as my little girl's doll

you as genulnely as my little girl's doll baby does her, and for the same rea-sons (lack of more mature sense) I doubt not. I would have passed it over but for your comments on the Doctor's forceful, conclusive reply (as you term it) to the modern doctrine of Populism and Socialism. You take for your text interaction of the platform on which the a portion of the platform on which the Mayor of Haverhill, Mass., was elected as the representative of the Social Democrats of America, who, by the way, are only reformers. Masquerad-ing under the name of Socialism dike very many do by Christianity), and of whom you and your capitalist cronics need not be unduly alarmed, as they don't propose to disturb you very much. They, like the Populists, will, unless they change their tactics, have a sort of Jonah's grieved life. So keep cool and hold your head up, you will need all your courage and coolness. later. I. e., when the outposts of the Socialist Labor party (the revolu-tionary army) begin shelling your lines. In your comments on the efforts of those reformers to ameliorate the miserable condition of the working class, you, while condemning their at-titude, want people to understand that titude, want people to understand that you are not opposed to public charities, I guess not; it looks well, you know, to have your name figuring as an active member of a city mission for the relief of "the deserving poor." But, did you ever stop to think why we have poor people. I expect you will throw the good book at my head now. Well, let it come, it won't hurt, because it don't prove the case. We have poor because the means of life, the land and tools to operate it, are in the hands of tools to operate it, are in the hands of a few private individuals, who can by that means, by the power it gives them, regulate the lives and fortunes of the great unwashed, as Carlyle termed the French peasantry. The masses who build our palaces, weave our silks, produce our food, and are themselves to a great extent homeless. naked, and hungry. Did you ever

"MANHOOD DESTROYING SO-

CIALISM."

Mr. Editor, I have been told that if you give the devil rope enough he will hang himself. And that a fool never opens his mouth to say anything but he puts his foot into it. You seem to he puts his foot into it. You seem to be awfully afraid that the paternalism of Socialism—as you are pleased to term it—would destroy manhood. Ye Gods! I ask you, how much manhood dwells in the breast of him who has to depend upon the whiln of another fellow earthworm for the priynege to earn a crust, and especially if he has a family demending mono his labor for a family depending upon his labor for their support. How much manhood had those poor fellows who, in the campaign of 1896, were notified by the Hannas and others of that gang that they would shut down their works until after the election, and that should McKinley be elected work would be resumed day after as usual. But, if not, they would shut down indefinitely. Do you ask how they voted? Manhood! True Manhood! Why, it will soon be

(Continued on page 4.)

They are dead, thanks to THE PEOPLE. They are dead, thanks to THE PEOPLE. THE PEOPLE commends itself to me be-cause: lst. It fights our enemies. 2nd. It plends the cause of those who need a defender, and that is the whole human race. 3rd. It mercliessly exposes the enemies human race. 3rd. It mercilessly exposes the enemies of the poor and oppressed producers—that is, the labor fakir. 4th. It gives no quarter to wrong against the producer, none whatever.

the pro

ducer, none whatever. Its motto (and practice is in accord (th) is the unconditional surrender therew

pitalism. ke THE PEOPLE now better than I first began to read it (several years hence this must be some (angible are that THE PEOPLE (at cost) holds

"Its own. Extending to you the compliments of the senson, and hoping that our new year may bring us many new followers, rather com-rades, I remain, LUKE D. BECHTEL. Los Angeles, Jan. 2).

Mormonisms.

To THE. PEOPLE.-The capitalistic newspapers are now engaged in a "virtu-ous" outery against Mormonism apropos of the election of the Mormon Roberts to the House of Representatives. "The House must not be defied," etc., etc. Surely, cor-ruption ought not to creep into the country with such faithful (?) watch-dogs guarding the national door.

Truption ought not to creep into the country with such faithfui () watch-dogs guarding the national door.
The not Märmonism and the "free, unimused press' twin rotten pears from the double of the Gunton school d'agree with, simply because it is their basiness to discover the country of the school of the same statacks them both.
Roberts sury he will not "desert" his mit a dot school d'agree do the country of the same statacks them both.
Roberts sury he will not "desert" his mit to tree densities of the found and the school of the schoo

Masschusotts. To THE PEOPLE.—Sections Haverhill, Mediord and Stoneham ask that certain perugan propositions be submitted to the Section of this State. What is the matter with those usually clear-bended and Intel-ligent men? What has the Massachusetts S. E. P. to do with the formation of "So-cleties"? Why combine ours with theirs? We MI'ST have an organizer. That is clear. There is a Socialist demand for it from one end of the State to the other. But, comrades, let us go about it in 'the right way. Now, if Socialists choose to form societies for the purpose of pushing Socialist propagands in that way, or any other way, and so assist the prowth of the S. L. P. we should be glad to receive such assistance, but to ask that we shall inter-fore with their businers or they with ours I disapprove of. By all means, comrades, Burarles-anything your societies, bureaus, Burarles-anything you like that is decent and many-to further the cause, but this matter of organizer and bis compensation and disposition is the business of the party and its Sections and Branches and I hope THAT question-and that question only-will be acted upon at once. We need a courageous, strong, healthy, tigorons, plain-speaking runn-just like Hickey. Hee-If we can get hum. If not, one as mear like him

courageous, strong, healthy, rigorous, plain-speaking runn-just like Hickey. He-lf we can get him. If not, one as near like him as possible. At present the chaotic state of organiza-tion in the city of Boston is irritating and unberrable, and the best energies of every member here should be bent towards its better formulation, disciplin and perfection. JOHN W. BADGER. Boston, Jnn. 20.

Boston, Jan. 20.

Good Beginnings in the Work of Education in New York.

To THE PEOPLE.-The comrades of the 20th Assembly District have started an educational club which should be followed by all other districts, as it would prove very effective in making speakers. The following essay written by Comrade Slevin is a fair sample of the good work that he being done in this district: CAUTAL

is a rar sample of the good work that is being done in this district: CAPITAL. There are almost as many definitions of capital as there are capitalist political économists. One definition on which many of them agree is that capital is wages of abstinence. But we fail to see what capitalists have abstained from unless it be from paying labor a decent wage. Professor Green Goods Gunton has abstained from shavin-a number of years and thereby accumulated a lot of capital and whiskers. (Joke) It remains for the Socialist to give the true definition of ophital which all political economists of the Gunton school d'asgree with, simply because it is their business to do you we know that the capitalist class

The Wendell Phillips' Socialist Club has a grand annual concert and ball at New Irving Hall. 214-220 Broome street, this city, on Friday, the 4th instant.

Arthur Keep will lecture on "Mili-tarism" next Wednesday evening, the 8th instant, at the Workingman's Educational Club, 528 East 11th street, this city.

Arthur Keep will lecture on "Social-ism and the Socialist Labor Party" to-morrow evening, Monday, the 6th In-stant, at Orther's Hall, 15 McDougal street, Brooklyn.

A lecture on "Colonial Expansion" will be delivered this Sunday evening at the Excelsion Literary Society, 161 Monroe street, by Comrade J. Bernstein.



REJECTED LETTER. Continued from page 2.

atinct among the wage slaves if this capitalist system holds out very much

Manhood! Where was the manh of the Roman people when the Huns and Vandals under Attila and Genseric overrun and subjugated that once overrun and subjugated that once proud race? Why could those people (who had held those savages in supreme contempt) no longer repulse those hordes. Why? Because their strength mental, physical and fisancial had been 'sapped and destroyed by their own rulers, the 'Patricians, who wasted the energies of themselves and wasted the energies of themselv wasted the energies of themselves and the plebeians, in the riotous and volup-tuous life of the Metropolis, and when Rome fell, 1,500 people owned the known world, and the rest of her teem-ing millions were in a state of the most abject slavery to those few. What cares the slave for the country which enslaves bin aven though it much her cares the size for the country which ensizes him, even though it may be the place of his nativity? All the nobility of his nature having been ground out of him by rent, profit and interest, what is left of him, but the who, when inflamed by hunger would perhaps more readily rend his master than his master's enemy. Have we not, also, got néar the perilous point, when our statisticians tell us that wages are falling, the army of the unemployed is swelling rapidly, thanks to machinery, concentration of capital and their agencies, and where about 2 per cent, of the families in the United States virtually own all the wealth, and by reason thereof about 98 per cent: are disinherited and are only living here subject to the approval of the 2 per cent. who own everything, even to the lives of the 98 per cent.? Manhood! What bitter irony for you to ask that crawling wage slave to assert it under your system, when he knows that if he does so in the work-shop or the factory, as an individual, be will starve.

Socialists have a hard row to hore in order that they may rekindle in the breasts of the wage slaves the spirit of 1776, and thus enable them to rise in their might and wipe this present system out of existence at the ballot box before the capitalist class shall have by the scourge of hunger insti-gated a reign of terror and bloodshed. Mr. Editor, you ought not to be alarmed at the paternalism of Social-ism, as yau term it. We have to-day a beautiful example of a paternal Govrnment for a class, a Government of, or and by the capitalist class—the for and workers doing the needful at the ballot box of curse.

Who issues the bonds to national bankers to make money by, to build railroads with for the Stanfords et al. and are even now considering the Nicaragua Canal scheme, another Pa-nama green goods game, to fill the pockets of a few more hungry capitalists? What about our "war for hu-manity," you know, which is now clean to all and has been boldly acknowl-edged by the capitalists themselves, as being a means to advance their interests by creating an outlet for the sale of unpaid labor? But to come nearer home, what about the gold mine our home, what about the gold mine our own State Legislature opened up for that combination called the Roanoke Land Grabbers' Syndicate, whose piratical exploits you have endorsed the end again when the the the the ime and again under the plea that the State must collect its revenues? Could not the State have through the proper not the State have through the proper officers collected its delinquent taxes and the penalty also, if need be, why did it assist those people in getting something for nothing? Because it was acting up to the principles upon which it was founded, i. e., to assist the capitalist class in their question-able pickings. Not only feeding them upon Government pap alone, but creat upon Government pap alone, but great chuks of cake and pie also. But why enumerate? The fact is

plain to every person-except a fool or an ignoramus-that all Governments, chether Monarchial or Republic, Despotic or Democratic, have always been and are now constructed for and used in the interests of the ruling class, be they blue-blooded aristocrats, or purse-proud capitalists. In ye orden times, kings would pour out the life's blood of their people as freely as water in their attempt to wipe out a real or fancied insult to their royal dignity while a few hundred st in a quarrel with the peasantry of peasants' the king's enemy would have been passed over contend. To-day a Spanard might knife an American sailor in a Spanish or an American port, and beyond meting out or demanding justice there would not be a ripple on the surface of the diplomatic sea. But should our capitalists demand an inshould our capitalists demand an in-road ou Spanish or any other nation's territory for business, you know, why, the entire army and navy, with the wealth of the nation thrown in, even to the last per centum of finance or flesh would be at their service. You cry out. No Paternalism: Why, man, you and, your class which you stand for could not live a minute without paternalism; it is your life's blood; you need if to foster your interests; yes, and you need it for weightier reasons; shall I whisper it? You need it fo shake in the faces of your wage slaves, to overawe and hold them down. Yes, we have a paternal Government Yes, we have a paternal Government for the classes, a kind and loving father who carefully guards and pro-motes the interests of his children—the notes the interests of his children-the capitalist class. But in his dealings with the common herd-the masses-eas they are contemptuously designat-ed by their masters, to them the Gov-ernment is atyrannical despot, know-ernment is atyrannical despot, know-ing neither love nor mercy. We have seen our Federal and State Govern-ment-at the request of its favorite child, the capitalist-murdler defence-less men, women and children at Buf-fale, Brooklyn, Coeur D'Alene, 'Lead-ville, Hazelton, and other places. Yes, Mr. Editor, our Government is a good, kind, indulgent parent to the capital-ist class, who rob their dad and the workers to boot, in order that they may spend their ill-zotten gains or harlots à-la Seeley dimers, et al. But to the workers (who create all its wealth and fight all its battles) the capitalist State always appears clothed in the garb of cold authority, its hand its wealth and fight all its battles) the capitalist State always appears chothed in the garh of cold authority, its hand grasping the blood-stained sword of the tyrant, and above all the black, scowling visage of the cruel despote. The above is a true picture of all our modern Governments, no matter what their title may be, and to overthrow which the large and ever increasing army of Socialism is marching steadily on,

WHO SHOULD OWN THE WEALTH.

You further state that, Government which simply undertakes to protect its citizens in their personal property and rights, in their life and liberty, preventing one citizen from trespassing upon the rights of another, trespassing upon the rights of another, and giving each citizen the same op-portunities with every-other citizen to earn a living and accumulate prop-erty, but giving assistance to no one, discriminating neither for nor against any particular class of citizens, you will find under such a Government a interpret action independent menty vigorous, active, independent, manly citizenship."-Sure, Mike, but where is that Government to-day? Aye, where? domain of the United States, Not in the nor elsewhere. It is an axiom that no one has any

right to wealth or property unless he himself create it, and as the workers create all the wealth it is therefore rightfully their personal property, and according to your argument the Gov-ernment ought to use all its powers in protecting them in those rights and preventing one citizen from trespassing upon the rights of another. If that b so, how comes it that those who create no wealth are allowed to own it, and those who do create it all are hungry. homeless and naked. In constructing your governmental machine you must have lost one of the principal screws somewhere, which has caused it to re-Again, where is the Government to-

day which gives equal opportunities to all. Not here, my child, not here, there can be no equal opportunities with the means to life left to a few private indi-viduals to use as they see fit. Your as-sertion is some more of that old exploited lie, i, e., that thrift and economy is the sure road to success and every man-child may become Presi-dent of the United States. "There may be struggle, but in struggle there always development," you say. Ho always development," you say. How learnedly those words sound! Of Of course there is development, a develop-ment of wealthy aristocrats on top, and a mass of gibbering starvelings underneath.

Now let us look at your other picture. with which you wish to scare the starving workers away from the bad Socialists: here it is: "Given a Government which undertakes parental care of its SUBJECTS, providing employment, food and raiment for them. you will find a nation of milksops." Great Scott! this thing is getting interesting. The Government provides ployment, food and raiment. Oh. 1 see, the private capitalist provides these things for the workers; he digs delves, he weaves and spins to provide food and raiment for the work ers, ungrateful wretches those work-ers are. Oh, no! he only lets them use his tools, for which they pay him 75 per cent. of what they produce and keep the 25 per cent, to buy food and raiment, pay rent and doctors' bills Magnaminous capitalist, sure! vith. And now, would you believe it, those blamed Socialists are trying to put into the heads of the workers that it would be, of greater benefit to them if the Government provided them with the tools free of charge and allowed them un-rentracked home, free medical at-tendance and all the food and raiment and everything else they could make. But, you see, that would destroy the incentive, you know, and make milksops out of them. Acording to your idea, Mr. Editor, a person to be manly. self-reliant and independent when he creates a dollar's worth of anything, he prepared to allow some greasy capitalist to step in and coolly appropriate to himself 75 cents' worth of it and that bend here we have of it, and that should he who created it (the workman) demand what be-longed to him, the dollar entire, why, then he was a silly mi'ksop and a dis-grace to American manhood.

grace to American mannood. Out upon such childish reasoning! Government-pap, indeed! Was there anything of the milksop in the compo-sition of the American Indian, that proud nian who was only subdued by treachery and the force of superior military equipment? Did his Govern-ment (the Sachems) feed and clothe or ment (the Sachems) feed and clothe or shelter him? No! they gave him free access to the tribal lands and told him he could have what he produced. Was there any pampered babyhood about the old Saxon tribes of Germany or England or the Celtic tribes of Scotland? When they faced the enemy on the field it was in the defence hearth, home and Fatherland, truly and indeed, for the land belonged to their respective tribes. But what has their so-called civilized descendants both at home and in the United States and everywhere else) to fight for, what has the proletariat of all lands to fight for? He has no home, no land, they are outcasts on the face of the earth, living on suffrage on other people's living on suffrage on other people's property, and who can and does dump them on the sidewalks of our great cities for the sake of a few paltry dol-lars of rent. First deprived of work by the privately owned machine, next refused credit at the grocery store, and lastly thrown on the street by the greedy, grasping front pew holding fol-lower of the homeless Nazarene. And yet, if the Government (the people) lower of the homeless Nazarene. And yet, if the Government (the people) should demand that all should be housed, clothed and fed as becomes a human being, why, that would breed a nation of unmanly milksons. How-ever, we will certainly by the experi-ment in the next few-years, and if you be around and following your recent ment in the next few-years, and if you be around and following your present theory of self (along with others of the same kidney), you from your Kingdom in Darkest Africa, should be foolhardy enough to invade the shores of our Commonwealth, led thither by the false hope that you would have a pic-nic with the milksons which co-opera-tion bred, you would find to your ever-lasting confusion and hurt that from, the pigmis and starvelings, left them by competition, co-operation had deby competition, co-operation had de-reloped (and without sharp struggle) a race of men. strong healthy and vigor-ous, who loved their land and was willing to die, if need be, in its defence. Government pap in a true Democra-tic State! Why, sir, I am amused at you, in such a State to whom should it be given and by whom received? Who is the Government and who the people: pray. tell me, are they not one and indivisible? If the people are the Government and the Government the people, to whom could the people give if not to themselves, if, therefore, a person gives to himself what is his own, how can that be justly designated Paternalism, bosh! fence.

I am afraid, sir, you have caught a rhiff of the imperialist stench which whiff of the imperialist stench is arising everywhere around, is arising everywhere around, your statements to the contrary notwith-standing, therefore you are somewhat excusable in your use of the word SUBJECT in your comments. Be-sides, you have been too dying to old Mother England (and your kin across the waters you have) in your editor. the waters, you know.) In your edito-rials and elsewhere for such a long time now that probably you mistook the Richmond for the London "Times" when making your comments, and that accounts for your use of a word which ought to be an abomination to the eyes and a stench in the nostrils of a liever in the principles of true Democ-racy-SUBJECTS. I expect you are in training so as to do honor to that old gambling reprobate, the Prince of Wales, whoin our worthy grand lodge of A. F. & A. M. have invited to visit George Washington's Lodge. What an honor is in store for our noble grand lodge, sure!!! If, as you say, competition was a law ordained by God; and if you believe that Christ was also God, you put Christ in a terrible fix. Because competition and the golden rule won't mix. I expect, however, that you and all your class are some-what like the Chinaman, who have each a little Joss of his own whom he prays to. Truly the sage has said: God did not create man in his own image, but man has made God in his image. He, i. e., God therefore ap-pears to them in the form of a great ruler, and as all earthly rulers have their price, so is their conception of God. Hence their efforts by prayer and contributions to change the will of Him in whom they state there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.

Competition is hate, and ignorance, confusion, bloodshed, anarchy, dark-ness--HELL. Co-operation is wisdom and love, order, peace, brotherhood, sunlight-HEAVEN. Wisdom and love, the masculine and feminine joined together in Government, result peace and perfect harmony; seperated, result convulsions, revolutions, murder, prostitution, intellectual and physical, pestilence, vice and crimes with-out number. Yes, yes, you are afraid of the Socialist's heaven, as you term it, you are no doubt scared lest we serve you, as we are told God served the father of this system (which you so strongly endeavor to bolster up), you know he tried to run things up above and that he and his whole gang got dumped over the side, and such might be the fate of his children, the capitalist class and their lackeys, if (when we had fixed up things according to the will of the people) they would forthwith become a little rowdy. On a previous occasion I made you

familiar with this fact, that the present system of society was dying and that it could not hold out much longer. That the causes of its disease and ultimate death were concentration of wealth, absorption of the surplus wealth of which it robbed the pro-ducers—the workers. That in a few years (comparative) the Socialists would see that it was put quietly and docently away is of it did not a decently away, i. e., if it did not struggle too bard. Anyhow, they are deter-mined to put it to sleep, because its mental and physical malady is devel-oping dangerous symptoms. There-fore I will not now bore you by going into details as to the Whys and When fores, but will simply close this letter by informing you of the fact that we are going to establish the Socialist Commonwealth soon. And that if you are this side the Styx at that time. I would advise you to behave like a good boy, and we will pardon you for past offences. I am informed that you are mewhat over the age limit, when Socialists will retire from their labors and enjoy the evening of life in the enjoyment of luxurious ease, therefore If you be good we will fix you up a nice home and allow you to live the balance of your days, just like you do now, 1. e., on the labor of your brothers.

Respectfully, H. D. MacTIER. Manchester, Va.



picayune methods of the pluck-me-Warner gang; and, consequently, re-fuses to be an ally of the fakirs by collecting dues on the check-off plan. 3rd .- De Armitt has the largest coal and best contracts in the Pittsburg District. The other operators use the Union as a means to fight De Armitt. I discuss this question for the pur pose of showing what a rotten reed the miners have to lean on in their pure and simple Union, and to point out that it is not by fighting De Armitt alone that any good can come to the miners but by fighting De Armitt and his whole class, small and big exploiters, not alone on the economic field, ers, not alone on the economic field, where the miners are weak, but on the political field, where De Armitt and his crowd are weak and where the miners are almighty strong. push the revolutionary propaganda of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. and hasten the day when the miners of Pennsylvania through their close class-conscious alliance of solidarity with their whole class the land over, will own the soil and the means to work it, and thus, becoming their own masters, hold what they produce, owe their liv-ing to none but themselves, and be free men in this-now land of capitalist slavery.

THE PEOPLE, SUNDAY, FEB. 5, 1899.

T. A. HICKEY.

A HIND LOOK. (Continued from page 1.)

(Continued from page 1.) slaves, war or no war, and you should never forget for one moment that your in-terests as workingmen are identical with the interests of the workers of all nations. Your conditions can only be remdied by mitting into one grand, class conscious army of labor, whose object and mission will be and must be to abolish the robber system of capitalism and to establish in the place the Co-operative Commonwealth. Labor-displacing machinery is driving you carn a living, and the only remedy for you, is, to control the machines, and you can control them only by owning them, collec-tively, and this collective ownership can only be brought about by the class-con-scions exercise of your bailot, which is the mighty wenpon that will emancipate you 'rion wage slavery. Hooing I have not violated my instructions, I close my speech. M. RUTHER. If such hard and useful truths can

If such hard and useful truths can not be taken to heart except by the confirmation of experience, then let, at least, the experience not need to be repeated.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE-Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

street, Cleveland, O.

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

National Executive Committee.

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9th Assembly District, S. L. P.

Discussion meeting, Monday, Feb. 6, 1890, at 8 p. m., in Clark's Hall, 601 8th ave, Subject: "Machinery and the Benefit It has Conferred on the Workingmen." Referent: James Aliman. After the meeting: Enter-tainment with "Zither and Recitations, Comrades bring your family and friends. All are welcome. Admission free. 300

Section Phila., S. L. P

Regular Meeting Sunday, February 5th, 8 P. M.

> Labor Lyceum, 6th & Brown sts.

Election of Organizer and Campaign Com-mittee. All members are urgently re-quested to be present. 380

Arbeiter- Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S

Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

the United States of America. The above society was founded in the year 1854 by workingmen imbued with the pipite of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present com-posed of 155 local bianches with more than 16,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to melership in any of the branches upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3,00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick bene-ti of \$0.0 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for mother 4) weeks, whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$5.00 respectively. A burial benefit upon members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon may be admitted to the above principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3d ave-ment bar Schi'dren Death Benefit Fund

Workmen's Chi'dren Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the Executive Committee is: REINHARD LACHNER, 13 Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, N. Y. City, N. Y.

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Standing advertisements of Trades and other Societies, that exceeding lines) will be inserted under this 1 hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per an Organizations should not idee such portunity of advertising their adv organizations should not ide such portunity of advertising their plumeetings.

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRA AND LABOR ALLIANCE: 23 In street, Koom 96, New York City. 6 eral Secretary: William L. Brower, Financial Secretary Murphy, Generative Board Meetings: 1st, 24 Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 24 5th Thursday evenings at 8 p. tc. 8 tary Board of Appears: Max Keiter, 1 Hope street, Philadelphia, Pa.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. County Committee representing the hon meets every Sunday, 10 & m the fail of Essez County Socialist G 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J

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EMPIRE CITY LODGE (MACHINIST meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday err ing at the Labor Lycenm, 64 East street. Secretary: PETER STAPL

MUSICAL PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A. quarters 70 East 4th street. Me every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Hartmann, Pres; Aug. Lauta, Sec'y, 70 E. 4th street.

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NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS-Secre-tary Robert Bandlow; 193 Champlain

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

With this article I bid the coal miners of Pennsylvania good-bye for a short time. I shall return to the subject later on with more facts for the benefit of the slaves of the pick and lamp in particular, and for the class-conscious workers of the nation in coard in general.

These facts withal will be but in the nature of cumulative evidence of the rascality of the capitalist class and their allies, the pure and simple labor fakir, and of the utter hopelessness of the minera stripting to improve his the miner's striving to improve his condition by any of the methods he has pursued in the past. His pure and simple Union can't as-

sist him.

The church can't and won't assist him.

The laws framed by capitalists can't assist him. The class-conscious economic organi-

zation, backed by class-conscious poli-tical organization whereby to capture the political power by his class is the only thing that can give him positive assistance.

In the meantime strikes will occur. More labor-saving machinery will be introduced in the mines. More misery must continue to dog the miner's foot-steps.

It behooves us then to raise the ban-ner of revolt on every hill and dale and valley of the Keystone State, despite church, capitalist and fakir opposition,

Massachusetts.

Masechusetts. STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE-A severetary of the Massachusetts State Cen-tral Committee staling that it being under-streat out by them at the request of three Sections in the State, and the cor-respondent is of the opinion that a state-in regard to the matter in the next issue of three Sections in the State, and the cor-respondent is of the opinion that a state-ent ought to be made by the Committee in regard to the matter in the next issue of the PEOPLE. The Committee sub-mitted the propositions because they were add in the last issue of THE PEOPLE to do so the Committee was not called upon to express their opinion, but to act, and to do matter was under discussion by the Com-mittee the was the sentiment of the Commi-tee that the coupon books covered the matter was under discussion by the for-media the sele of two books cover and a streat S100 per month, and it would previse by each Section; any person and the solid give the S. C. C. S100 and the party stype and the sale of two books and the sector the opinion that this is the best pian. Tomed in the following places: Advanteed the phylock Lawrence, Lynn, Malke, New States and speakers, but on account of stanizers and speakers, but on acc

SOMERVILLE.-Section Somerville. S. L. P., heid fis regular meeting Jan. 24, and elected the following list of officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, Edw. N. Kelly; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, J. W. H. Williams: Financial Secretary and Treasurer. Harry Kerner: Literary Agent. Jacob Loven; Gelevance Committee, Geo. V. Tierney, Louis Hinckier, and Miss Louise Pacheur. It was voted that the ahove list of officers be published in THE PEOPLE.



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