





MASSACHURETTS.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOP-MENT.

By M. Ruther, Holyoke, Mass.

Massachusetts, with its 2,300,000 inhabitants is the third largest manufacturing State in the Union. Its history and development under

capitalism is easily traceable. In 1850, Massachusetts had a popula-

tion of 994,514 souls, about equally divided in farming and industrial pursuits. There being 34,000 farms which had a value of \$121,000,000, while the capital invested in manufacture was only \$89,000,000. The value of farm products being about \$633 per farm, while the product of the 177,461 industrial establishments averaged about \$885 per worker; wages being on an average about \$230. During the forty years, from 1850 to 1890, the number of farming population is now but 11 per cent, of the total population of the State

State. The great change which has taken place may best be judged by a com-parison of the number of people en-gaged in the various pursuits. Massa-chusetts has nearly a million people over ten years of age engaged in gain-ful pursuits of which 263,278 are formable. These are semuloyed: females. There are employed:

In manufacture	475.64
Trade and transportation	100 000
Agriculture	43.23
Fisheries	16,250
Mining	

The product of this army of labor had a total value as follows:

Marufacture	h
Agriculture	6
Mining 4.000,000	C

Total\$936,160,403

of production. Now, let us suppose of production. Now, let us suppose that the average wages of the million workers of Masachusetts are \$500 a piece, and let us also suppose that there is at least one other person de-pendent upon the earnings of each worker for a living, we have thus two million people depending for their liv-ing upon 500 million dollars earning canacity of the meonle of Masachucapacity of the people of Massachu-

Let us further suppose that the remaining 300,000 population do not work but depend for their living upon profits, they would have to consume on an average about \$100,000 worth of goods each to the \$500 worth of the workers, in order to dispose of the vast wealth produced annually by the workers. The case becomes even more desperate when we consider that most of the wealth produced is of a perishable nature and must be consumed or wasted.

The Socialist Labor party has taken the initiative to abolish this insane methed of production for profit and waste and would put the system upon a scientific basis whereby all workers may share equitably in the values they pro-duce. This would have the direct effect that our hours of labor may be reduced considerably and the pur-chasing power of our earnings in-creased at least four-fold to begin with. We have nothing to lose but everything to gain by fighting with all our might the battles of the S. L. P.

Throw off the workman's burden-Ye will not stoop to less-Hait not but think of freedom, Shake off your weariness. With all your will and power, Stand forth your share to do. In helping into being The time for me and you. Π. THE RESPECTABLE POOR. By Frank MacDonald, Stoncham The bold, upright, uncringing, worldsubduing "Anglo-Saxon" spirit "dearly loves a Lord," and, as we are without the divine right to coronets, some substitute must be found. For Massachu stitute must be found. For Massachu-setts, the shoe Trust, the upper leather Trust, the rough cotton goods Trust and the shoe machinery Trust, fresh and pulsating from their swaddling clothes, are all parvenu, but the "In God We Trust" of the bourgeois Amer-ican currency-here is a platform on which all reformers may unite, an altar at which all must sacrifice. It is the thing which best proves the oneness of aim in society, and that a man with two strings to his bow is weak and helpless compared with one who needs two strings to his purse. The New Englander learns the bourgeois idea of "a nice" little business" before said New Englander can shell his own peanuts, and it takes him, a long time to recover from the bad effects of his education. He is, early in life, to en-ter some business "in an humble way." To-day he may do it, but the chances are greatly in favor of his coming out of business in a way that is a great deal more humble. The conditions which made the ideal of the middle class possible, have gone, but the ideal remains, and honest industrious wage workers with ideas above their class, and intelligence below that of a clayeater sigh for the return of the good old days. The S. L. P. has as yet not touched this class of poor but honest orkers. Our "respectable poor" are the sal of our once "bulwark of society." addle class, and of those prole-as who had the hope of wealth

but never the reality. The promised land of riches has been near enough to allure, but never near enough to be entered. Society desided such the to antire, on hever have the action of the second s fest depravity, or the vices of pre-eminent respectability. This class of people, and its numbers

This class of people, and its numbers are large, is caught on the ragged edge of the (working class, and the thorny edge-of the middle class. Its aspira-fions are coldly and cruelly checked by the operation of the cash system, and the highest social honor to which they can attain is a pen benind the ear. The oncoming revolution brings fear to their clerky hearts, and to-day are flat-tered to be used as a barrier against there to be used as a barrier against the advancement of their own class. From the "respectable poor" reaction-ary parties must draw their votes and their total.

The danger which confronted the S L. P. a few years ago was that it would either be driven on the rocks or else be beached. Now it has struck the open sea at a time when fair weather is not a thing for which we may even hope. There may be squeemishness and there There may be squeemishness and there may be nutliny, but we are better able, to stand them now than we were when not so strong. It is one thing to skip stones and sail chips by the shore, but it is entirely different to plunge out into the open and head for your desti-nation. All winds cannot be used, and parties which have sails set for all will do nothing. We have our course to fol-low, and whether we nove rapidly or slowly is not yet the main question. The direction is plain and must be rigidly adhered to. Triffers and ex-perimenters must triffe and experiment outside the party.

outside the party. The workers have always vigorously guarded the interests of every class ex-cepting their own. They have suffered for things which did not concern them. They have been pitiful, they have been meek and humble of heart—but they have never been just. All sorts of squid have fed on the few fish that came to the workers' net, and the work-ers themselves found excuses therefor: The leaders were noor, they needed the guarded the interests of every class ex-The leaders were poor, they needed the money, they had large families. The new phase which the Labor Movement has assumed does away with all this. Let a man be poorer than a duke or an earl purchased on the bargain counter of a department store, let him need money more than the Democratic party needs honesty, let him have more families than Labor Leader Frank K. For-ster has, and has had, he works for and with his class or he will find him-self like the infected of old. marked for the avoidance of all. We have belled a few industrial lepers, and we shall bell more before the year is out. The party has in reality cut its wisdom teeth, and the wisdom teeth have cut a few fingers that were where they should not be. We are holding to the idea of our lies than Labor Leader Frank K. For-

We are holding to the idea of our class interests more tightly than the fist of a charitable organization holds to its income. Insisting on the lessons we have learned, building slowly but building well, quarrying our material out of our own class so that we may know its worth, and by following the lines marked out by science we have at last laid the foundation of future success. It may seem slow work to those rapid people who go in many directions at the same time, but despite the heartfelt advice of illwishers it is the only way by which we may win. Massachusetts is really becoming or-ganized, and with the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. we can relieve the "re-spectable poor" of the only things they have left to lose—their pusilianimity and their class cowardice. lines marked out by science we have

> III. STALWARTS ON THE BREACH.

Michael T. Barry, Haverhill.

Here from Haverhill, Mass., where Debism, Pure and Simpledom and all the other elements which make for confusion are to be found in all the ignorance of the social question which ignorance of the social question which these various decoy-ducks of capital-ism are mantled with, the Socialist Labor party, on this the International Labor Day of the class-conscious work-ers of all countries, sends its greeting and bids the working class of the world God speed in the battle for emancipa tion which here in Haverhill, as else where, is being releatlessly waged by the Socialist Labor party that the workers may be free from wage slav-ery and all that which is thereby implied. Nowhere in the United States is then to be found another spot of earth with the same number of inhabitants where the charlatans have so successfully plied their vocation, a fact which is easily explainable. Haverhill has for many years stood at the head of the list of shoe centres. Nowhere else has the productive capacity of the workers have been been and the store of the sto been increased so rapidly: each year their ability to produce wealth was increased, while at the same time the wage paid went steadily downward. Reginning with the K. of L. in its palmy days back in the S0's, one fakir after another set up his stand here with the inevitable result: the workers after have again and again been fooled and traded upon, until to-day the shoe-makers of Haverhill are the worst off of any of their craft in the country. They have been feoled and cheated so often and so long that the Socialist when he goes amongst them, finds them hard to organize: they are either crestfallen from the defeats or else they are looking for "short cuts" to liberty, only to find themselves fooled again. This brief sketch of the condiions will suffice to show what the task of militant class-conscious Socialism is at this point. Before we can successfully organize the working class of Haverbill upon the correct lines of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist La-bor party, much work of a preliminary

nature must be done. The underbrush which is in the way, the faise deas which the fake movements past and present have inculcated in the minds of the workers, must be eradicated. To do this work is the mission of the Socialist Labor party of this city-work which will never end until the tool of production becomes the work-

Already we are making progress in that direction; systematica'y we are building up the Section which was once destroyed through the plotting of traitors who thought their "individual" traitors who thought their "individual rights were being infringed upon, which translated into terse English means that they were not at liberty while members of the S. L. P. to trade upon the working class. Hence they unconsciously performed the only duty they were capable of performing. They started a side-show of their own and took from the camp of Revolutionary Socialism all the muddle-headed, "shori Socialism all the muddle-headed, "sbori Socialism all the muddle-headed, "short cut" reformers that we had. For that we thank them. While they thought they were striking the blow that would kill the movement here they laid the foundation for its future greatness and usefulness. They and not we put to-gether the elements of Revolution. The present Section Haverh 'I is of elements which will from now on gather strength because of its being based corstrength because of its being based cor-rectly and its members animated by the same thought-the overtirox of capitalism. So we move on guided in our every movement by the light shed by the torch of science which lights the pathway of the Socialist Labor party to success in every land and every clime wherever the present iusane beastializing system of capualist pro-duction prevails.

duction prevails. So the Socialist Labor party sends fraternal greetings to the disinherited wage slaves of the world who to day are awakening from the sleep of cen-turies. And in the words inanortal Marx bids them unite, they have both ing but their chains to lose, they have both a world to gain. Unite in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor party that the blighting curse of capitalism may be buried soon and forever.

NEW YORK.

A TYPE OF EMPIRE STATE CAPITALIST.

By Ben Hanford, New York.

Affidavit of Theodore Rousevelt, before Edwin P. Hanna, Notary Public, March 21, 1898, as published in the New York "Press," September 27, 1898;

"Last June I rented the house in "Last June I rented the house in which I am now residing with my family at 1810 N street, Washington, D. C. In October last my family cume on here from Oyster Bay, Long Island, and since then I have been and am now a resident of Washington."

or wasnington." Constitution of the State of New York, Section 2 of Article IV.: "No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor or Lieatenant-Gov-ernor, except a citizen of the United States, of the age of not less than thirty years, and who shall have been five years next preceding his election a real-dent of this State."

Theodore Roosevelt has more pride in himself than a spreading peacock. More "kitchen" industry than a hill More ambition than of ants. Cæsar.

He is an honest man, so some be-lieve. He would not rob a hen roost of a feather; nor a bank of a penny. As for perjury—well, perjury is differ-ent. Perjury is an essential element of capitalist business, especially when the capitalist and the tax assessor come face to face. Of course, I do not mean to say that Reformer Roosevelt has committed perfury. Doubtless he has committed perjury. Doubtless he told the truth when, on March 21, 1898 he made affidavit that he was a "resi-dent of Washington." But as a resi-dent of Washington in '88, it would Constitutionally eligible to become Governor of New York in '99. Such notions are for honest folk and simple-minded. In constations there are at notions are for honest folk and simple-minded. In capitalism there are, at bottom, no questions of law and con-stitutionality, but of capitalist inter-ests. With capitalist agents in the citadel of political power, "Law and Order" is great stuff to shoot working-men with, and the Constitution is a fine, large word; but no such bauble will be allowed to obstruct the maths will be allowed to obstruct the paths of private profit. Capitalism is like necessity, it "knows no law"-save its

own interest. As said above, Roosevelt is by some considered an honest man. sical sense. Admit that these qualities are good qualities, do they entitle a man to special distinctions? As for courage, the domestic rat ranks high; and the city sparrow could shame an Auxander 1t is worthow Mr. Rossa It is worthy Mr. Roose Alexander. velt's attention that he lives in an age when he is considered a remarkable man because of the supposed posses sions of those homely and essential vir-tues of honesty and courage. But is he their possessor in the highest sense? Has he the courage to meet the politi-cal and social problems of this day? the cannot help but see them. Those problems are not located in Cuba or the Philippines. They are in our own house. They include the aggregation of wealth in the hands of a few men, the development of labor-saying mathe development of moortaving ma-chinery, the unemployed, and the ill-paid. Mr. Roosevelt's career has gone far enough to prove that he will not face any of these questions. Living in a day that will bring forth the great-est Revolution that the world has ever seen, he is a Reformer. The man who was the "courageous colonel of caval-ry in Cuba," at home becomes the prince of the putty-blowers and a gen-eral in the army of bean-shooters. His honesty? Well, one need not consider the political honesty of the political "hendid" of Theorem C. Blatt bonkie" of Thomas C. Plait. It will be difficult for the historian to fix the moral responsibility for Roosevelt's failure in life-for, no mat-ter what his achievements, the man who lives behind his age is a failure The most charitable view would be that which would set him flown as a recurring type of an extinct species-as, for instance, in the course of cen-turies, a horse is born with a partially developed toe, telling the student of natural history of the time when horses had toes instead of a solid hoof. In the light of his short career as Gov ernor, one can easily fix llosevelt's exact date. It is back there with the witch-burners, with the Bible in one

hand and with the other apply: ... the torch, while his mouth spoke words about "duty, love and mercy." This is the year A. D. 1899, and Roosevelt proposes to solve the labor question by a dozen new factory inspectors; to deal with aggregated wealth and cussed-ness by a commission of capitalists to investigate the subject of taxation; to reform a corrupt Democratic police force by substituting a corrupt Republican police force. One would think that even Rooseveit might learn from his own experience with that same police force. Not long since he was its head and front. He had full swing in the weedy field, and right lustily he wielded the shing are and locust wielded the shining axe and locust. But the most that he could do was to enmesh a few unfortunate women and close a few saloons. When he left the field of these his greatest triumphs, all was as before. Truly, the man who could not learn from Roosevelt's experience must look on Nero as a first cause.

cause. Whatever of high purpose Theodore Roosevelt may once have had, now he only seeks high office. He may get it. Of what avail? There have already been Presidents of the United States who are forgotten. Their names are in a few of the schoolbooks and ency-clopedias, and we hear of them when their imperunious relatives petition their impecunious relatives petition Congress for a pension, because they are unable to make a living in the beautiful system their ancestors helped to build. To-day there are descendants of the Casars picking rags and asking alms in the streets of Rome. Will the alms in the streets of Rome. Will the posterity of Roosevelt bless an an-cestor who strove to perpetunte a sys-tem that will destroy them? Or are they to be so infinitely superior to the past and present that they will for-ever and aye be able to ride on the shoulders of their fellow men? His-tory says not. In the crises that de-strayed the multitude the great went stroyed the multitude the great went down with the small. Universal ruin does not pick, has neither many discretions. And continued capitalism means universal destruction.

But we can leave the Governor with-out regret or fear. His greatest virtue is that he is not numerous. There is but one Theodore Roosevelt. Two of him would endanger the peace of any country, however great. A nation with a dozen such men as citizens would be a nation of cannibals. Gnawed and burning with their selfish arabitions, they could only find peace in eating each other.

So let Roosevelt prosper. He may rise, but it will be as the murderer ascends the scaffold, to his own undo-ing. Let Mother Dubols to her knitting. The world's next great victory will be with the proletariat. In that hour Roosevelt's fame will be infamy.

RHODE ISLAND.

FROM "BROADNESS" TO CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

By T. Curran, Previdence.

The attitude of the Socialist Labor party in Rhode Island to-day comes naturally from the ability of its mem-bers, after much "broad" experimenting, to read aright the situations into ing, to read aright the situations into which capitalism whirls. Small in size, dense with a population largely proletarian, big with capital, and most of its industries, people and voters massed together in one quarter of the State's diminutive area, these features make Little Rhody an ideal capitalist realm, and our governmental institu-tions prove the ideal a reality. The political career of capitalism in our State has had no check. The Re-publican party has ever been its watch-dog. The Democrats at times usurped the kennel, yet they also appropriated the zeal of its former occupant in clear-ing the course for capital. Each party

ing the course for capital. Each party brazenly reflected its master's political features, for there was none to scan them and tell his readings and, had there been, the proletariat would not here been the proletariat would not

have believed. Capitalism here long since rose to its zenith. Centralization of industry it has linked with centralization in poliities. Finance, Commerce and Polities, all united in one Napoleon, who, un-seen and hardly known, prompts the dance for his puppets in both parties. As a consequence bribery stalks in the Legislature and haunts the voting booth. Whode leand is a browned to booth. Rhode Island is a by-word to its neighbors for political corruption-the legitimate fruit of capitalism.



WASHINGTON.

SOCIALIST-PRODUCING PROCESS.

By Thomas Lawry.

As one not a great while here from the East, I find that the geography of the State of Washington and her productive possibilities are -- thanks to the boom" agents of transportation and land companies-better known to the people of other States than are the conditions, political and economic, of her residents.

A little research has convinced me A life research has convinced has convinced has this same question of "boom-ing" this State by the publication of alluring prospectuses of railway and land companies, and grandlloquently worded and large-sized special editions of the large capitalistic newspapers of this State, has had largely to do with the present political and economic status of Washingtonians. Of that part of the State east of the Cascade Mountains, I know little, ex-

cept that the farming element-the eastern part of the State is largely agri-cultural-complain so bitterly about the carrying companies' exorbitant rates for carriage, that the matter was considered by the recent Legislature and a bill passed regulating the prices of carrying the staple products. As it was a fight between the small farmer, generally, on the one hand, and the giant railroad corporation on the other, t ended of course in favor of the latit ended, of course, in favor of the lat-er. The proletarians being "between the devil and the deep sea" will be little, if anywise, affected. I was told by a friend of mine who went to the Walla Walla district—a great wheat-growing country—last fall, upon the advice of and payment of a fee to a "boom" employment agent, that lucky is the man who goes to Eastern Wash-ington, as a farm hand, by conveyance and does not return, after a season of busy laborious toil, via "shank's mare." Farmers are "boomed" into this State and pursuaded to take up land it ended, of course, in favor of the lat Farmers are "boomed" into this State and pursuaded to take up land-sometimes cleared, and of good quality -only to find rates of carriage to mar-

-only to find failes of carriage to mar-ket so high that they cannot sell their products at a profit. Last fall, while on a brief lecturing tour for our party through Whatcom County, only one hunred and fifty or two hundred miles away, I saw thousands of bushels of fare found left or or upon the ground:

away, I saw thousands of bushels of fine fruit left to rot upon the ground; while right here in the city of Seattle, I paid for fruit of the same kind and quality, five cents per pound. Men with a few dollars are "boom-ed" here to locate a "homestead," and after wrestling with land that, in many instances, takes years to clear five or ten acres of, give up the fight and the land, and return to conditions a little less cloomy. In other instances they land, and retrin to ther instances they partially succeed, and after getting a little patch cleared, borrow money to buy stock, build a barn, or a little home, and-good-by! the mortgagee takes the land with all the improvements. The saddest feature of this "homesteading" life, however, is that "homesteading" life, however, is that the isolation from society, makes the "homesteader" silent, morose, insane. MORE PEOPLE BECOME INSANE HERE, PROPORTIONALLY, THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE UNION. I learned this f.om a 'prominent at-torney at the State Capitol, who attri-buted if to "the moist climate." From a comrade, however, who has been through the horror, and can cite nu-merous cases of insanity within his merous cases of insanity within his own knowledge, I am forced to the conviction that this sad condition is forced upon the farmer by the damnable terms imposed upon any one seeking a home by capitalistic Uncle Sam, who is not only "rich enough to give us all a farm," but also a home (?)—in the mad-house

Men with nothing but their labor-power are "boomed" hither by all kinds of lying advertising fakes—not the least of which is the Klondike fake. These men at once become the easy prey of the "employment agent," who stand in with the boss of a job, charges

bring about collective ownership was by the solid vote of a class-conscious ige workers' ballot.

Well, we had a few speakers here and there whenever they could spend the time (for we had no money to pay them, and they were poor), dissemi-nated a lot of good Socialist literature, and when election day, came, not a county in the State but polled some S. L. P. votes—an anomaly in the whole county

country. We have more "isms" and "osophies" than any other State in Americathough numerically smaller than many an Eastern county. This is the home of "colony schemes." Our State can an Eastern county. This is the home of "colony schemes." Our State can boast of a large number who are "So-cialists"—but something stands for their ideal way of reaching Socialism. With all these in the way, however, there are thousands of minds here ready to know the why and wherefore of Socialism—the philosophy, the science of the movement—, and there is enough solidarity among the truly class-conscious merabers of the Social-ist Labor party of this State to say that the wants of those desiring to know the truth shall not long remain unfilled. truth shall not long remain unfilled. Let us not, then, falter in our educa-

tional and organization work, our in-spiration being: "We have nothing to lose but our chains, and a world to gain.

CALIFORNIA.

GREAT OBSTACLES OVER-COME.

By Job Harriman, Los Angeles.

May Day, 1899, finds the California comrades better organized, more determined, more harmonious, and more hopeful than ever before.

The tremendous vote recently cast in Germany and France and eur phe-nominal growth in all European coun-tries, together with the splendid show-ing made by our sister States, and the large vote of California have inspired us with abiding hope and courage. This success has aroused our comrades to action and we are now conducting a most aggressive campaign. None but those who have worked se long with but few comrades, can fully real-ize what an influence the strength of numbers brings. Only a handful of men and women remained active in Sections San Fran-cisco and Los Angeles after the wreck of the Nationalist movement, in 1890. There were among us but few speak-Germany and France and our phe-

of the Nationalist movement, in 1890. There were among us but faw speak-ers, scarcely any trained men, and still less money. Every Sunday night since 1890 we have held meetings when the audiences were sometimes painfully small. At first the growth was slow, but it was gradual and substantial. During the last two years we grow from 1,600 votes to 5,000 votes for the head of the ticket. Two years hence California will surprise the comrades everywhere with a large vote and a well knit organization.

everywhere with a large vote and a well knit organization. The obstacles in the way of our growth here have been almost irresist-ible. It is 500 miles from San Fran-cisco to Los Angeles, and there are but few towns of any size between them. The rairoad fare is exorbitant, and the expense of traveling from place to place was for a long time more than we could afford; even now it is one of the greatest obstacles with which we have to contend. have to contend.

have to contend. The Farmers' Alliance, out of which the People's party sprang, gave hope to the farmers and was thought by them to be the means of solving their troubles. While those organisations lived, we could find no hearing in the country, and were coldly received in the cities and towns. They were even angry when we prophesied the failure of their movement, and they were ac-cordingly a temporary obstacle to our educational movement. educational movement. But this obstacle, and each of those

above mentioned, are now transform-

ing into engines in our favor. These men have not found their ex-pected fortunes. They have lost even the money with which they came. They

Onite early the lines marking the Democrats from the Republicans were erased in practice and blended in comnon repute. Yet the stupendous ignorance bred into the proletariat by the vulgar educational methods of capitalism and its plays on race prejudice, throttled sober thought and chained the victims of its shrewd designs to political idolatry. The Irish chose one side and all other nationalities the other, both seduced with the shallow cry: "Friends of Labor." So time in peace rolled on; so races with bitter ignorance fought; so capitalism reigned "Friends of Labor." So time in in cunning wisdom with serene and nruffled sway. The decade of the 80's was_languishunruffled s

ing to a placid end when like a light-ning flash the proletarians surged into stormy rebellion. The K. of L. mounting the topmost wave, swelled to gigantic stature and almost imme-diately shriveled to a nonentity. Yet in that brief moment of convulsion the Giant Labor revealed its latent ability to expand into a tremendous force that, properly nurtured and guided, could annihilite the cunning Tyrant Capital. That was enough. The doors to an appreciation of the Class Strug-gle had been thrown open and plonears gle had been thrown open and ploneers stood in the portals, though at first unconscious of what had brought them thither.

Already in 1891 these pioneers struck the first blow in the political revolt against capital by setting up a State ticket on the platform of the Socialist Labor party. Timorous and apologetic ticket on the party. Timorous and aponycen-Labor party. Timorous and aponycen-at intruding into the Tyrant's holy of holies, they named themselves "Na-tionalists,"-clear evidence of halting, tionalists,"-clear evidence of halting. vince by hiding its principles behind a mask. Instinct or intuition rather than enlightened intention actuated the moving spirits in this campaign, and the topay-turviness of mind, incident to such inspiration, was only partly subdued about the beginning of 1894.

(Continued on page 1).

a sum for procuring the ork, (which sum is divided with said boss), the amount to be deducted, generally, from the first wages earned, the man is "fired" in a few days, and the process is repeated with another, or upon him by some other agent and accomplice. him These and other things of like kind have brought discontent, which bore fruit in a blind political uprising resulting in the election of all kinds of middle class capitalistic officials, from Constables to State Legislators and Governor, calling themselves Populists. Thus they had single tax Pops, free silver Republican Pops, Demo-Pops, middle-of-the-road Pops, and -Pops. They have gone. The people found They have gone. The people found that they were doing worse than their predecessors and supplanted them by a crop of simon-pure gold-bug Republi cans -and these promise to out-Herod Herod.

"a cloud no bigger than a man's hand" a year ago, is now darkening the horizon of the capitalistic government of this tSate. The S. L. P. for the first time put up a ticket last fall, and without money, but with an earnestness that knows no such word as "abating," began to show the cause of so much poverty, discontent, and insanity; be-gan to show the people that the tools of producing and distributing wealth being the private property of a part of society, the other members of society owning nothing but the power to labor owning nothing but the power to labor with those tools, were in economic sub-jection to the tool owners, and must sell this sole thing they had-their la-bor-power-presently, and for what-ever the tool owners offered them in order to exist; began to show them that these facts pointed plainly to op-posing interests, and that a class that was getting something for nothing from them was not likely to give it up voluntarily; began to point out to them that they who produced should get these productions, and that the produc-tion being co-operative, showed exact-ly how the tools of production should be owned, and that the only way to

the money with which they came. They know it is useless to return East. They cannot go farther West. So it is with the Farmers' Alliance and People's party. Though they were angry with us for a time, now that they have failed, they are the more able to understand that, after all, we were corunderstand that, after all, we were cor-rect, and their previous work is now counting for us. Their scheme has failed, their hopes have vanished, and we alone offer any relief or any hope. Even the great distance between towns is working in our favor. It is so far from place to place, that the people are compelled to use the railroad, both for constant traveling and freight, and the commanies take advantage of this fact. companies take advantage of this fact, they charge all the traffic will bear. The farmer previously thought that the wheat, fruit, etc., was the traffic, but the excessive charges are becoming so burdensome that their poor tired backs are forcing them to assent to our position, namely, that, in the last analysis, labor is the traffic and bears all the burdens. Hence this high rall-road tariff, which is one of the means of impoverishing a once prosperous people, becomes at the same time and by the same act a fertilizer of Socialist soil. It is wonderful what thrifty So cialists take root and grow in this new fertilizer-the railroad combinations. the flour trust, the meat trust, the fruit combines, etc., are all lowering the wages of their men, are lowering the price of the product as they come from all producers, and raising the prices on everything as they return to the pro-ducers. By this one act they are watering and tilling the soil and pruning the Socialist plant, and mak-ing the sluation generally so hot, that the growth of Socialism is equal to that of the vegetation in the torrid zone. But the plant is not sappy. It is as solid and beautiful as mahogany, and our peturns in future elections will give hope to the weak and courage to the strong, for the abundance of the har all producers, and raising the prices of

strong, for the abundance of the har vest will surpass the hopes of the most sanguine of our comrades.



KANSAS.

THORIES OF THE CAM-PAIGN OF 1898.

By Caleb Lipscemb.

I read the letters in THE PEOPLE comrades from various places with keen interest, especially those hat show the various "reform" elesents that are so prevalent just at this time; and I take it as granted that many would like to hear from Kanas along this line in the May Day

Comrade J. F. Elkner issued a call for a meeting of the Sections of the S. L. P. at Pittsburgh, this State, on November 14, 1897, for the purpose of effecting a State organization, which was accomplished; but I did not go into the party at that time. I had conducted an agitation at our town for ne time previous to this, but had joined no party. At this meeting a State Board was elected, but the cloven foot of "Reform" was worked in and three of the State Board proved to be three of the State Board proved to be allies of the Populist party and their purpose was to get official positions in the S. L. P. so as to keep it out of the political field, and keep Populism at the "pie counter." Fortunately, they found that they could not side-track the other members of the State Board, and after a few attempts, one of which I shall describe, they dropped their cloak of hypoerisy and came out squarely for (con-)fusion and left the S. L. P. 8. L. P

It will be remembered that consider-able useful agitation has been con-ducted in Kansas through the Socialist ducted in Kansas through the Socialist Educational Society, of which I am treasurer. I received an invitation to be at Pittsburgh, some two months af-ter our first meeting, to hear two emi-ment Socialists (?), namely: G. C. Clemens (Populist Supreme Court Re-porter), and Wm. E. Bush (Populist Becretary of State). Some may be sur-vised to hear attact such distinguished prised to learn that such distinguished men are Socialists (?). I was late get-ting to this meeting, and when I got ting to this meeting, and when I got in the hall, Mr. Bush was closing his remarks. He was followed by Mr. Clemens, who prefaced his remarks by saying: "I see the S. L. P. button on some of your coats and also another emblem (the S. E. S. how) but," said he, "I am here to organize the SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, but I know you will all do as I will do when election day comes-and vote as you please." I thought this confession a "corker" to come from the "State Organizer of a Bocialist party"(?). After this meeting, we went to the Stillwell Hotel, and in a conversation with Mr. Bush, he stated positively that the "Social Dem-eracy would have no ticket in Kan-

centracy would have no ticket in Kan-sas." These "facts," stated by the two chief apostles of the S. D. P., fully convinced me that the place I belonged in was the S. L. P. I at once wrote to Comrade Elkner to send me blanks to form a Section and I joined the first political party I ever belonged to, and as I am now forty, I think it will be the last one as I am fully satisfied that

the last one as I am fully satisfied that I am in the right place. The agitation went on slowly but steadily, and the party thought it would be wise to put out a State tlcket and as many county tlckets as could be put up. I had desired for some time to vote for a straight Socialist ticket, and was a strong advocate of this course. At this juncture, Populism showed its cloven foot again. It must showed its cloven foot again. It must be remembered that the Democrats at Atchinson and the Pops at Topeka had their State convention on June 15, and ours was to be at Fort Scott on June 28. A particular friend of mine, who had been a Populist, was in Topeka the day of the Pop convention and some of the delegates from our county present a "strong man for Goverr from Bourbon.' I might say that I never was in a Populist convention, and did not know personally any of the egates except to speak on the streets when I met tuem. This "strong man" that they were going to knock Gov. or Leedy over with was myself!! The game was simply to present my Bourbon vote for me on first ballot to Pop nomination to weaken my influ-tive with the S. L. P., and in order to do this if they could get a "chum" of mine to present my name to the con-remaion, it would add considerable or to it. But this, like all other form" measures, falled, for my friend fintly that they could not use him as Before our call was issued. I went to Girard on Sunday, to learn how I. A. Wayland felt on this matter. He and I talked the situation over fully, and he agreed with me that we should put out a ticket. As he put it. "Get at a ticket, even if all the candidates from one town." But, strange to y, that before our convention day me, the "Appeal" was talking nic hout the Populist-Democrat (con-(CODand not till late in the campaign "Appeal" put a word in it about L. P. except to rail about the 8. mes." notwithstanding myself and mrade Miller (our candidate for Conat large) were among the roll of nor of 100 best workers. And now are refused a single line in his pa-re- and I am glad of it--; so much for "motion of the second s filed and our place assured on the ket ballot, and the campaign was

I was to speak one Sunday night at a mining town, and these "Reformers" preceded us with, as one comrade put it, "sixteen kegs of beer and Lord knows how much whiskey," and tolled off to the woods all who would follow the bait; and later in the day this same

the balt; and later in the day this same Social Democrat Clemens and one of the good and plous traitors of the S. L. P. Board came with their "Sunday faces on" and told the good church people that we horrible Socialists were actually going to hold "a political meet-ing on the Lord's day." The result was, we had a good orderly and intel-ligent audience. The fellows that fol-lowed the liquor were not able to get back, and the others were saved, be-ing contaminated. Where I spoke I ing contaminated. Where I spoke I had the most courteous treatment from the audience generally, but the Demo-Pop papers would report us speaking to ten, and the Republican reporter of the same meeting would say we had "a thousand or more and mostly Popu-list." The Republicans thought we list." The Republicans thought we would draw from the Pops, but it is my candid opinion that OUR NEW CONVERTS CAME ALMOST EX-CLUSIVELY FROM THE REPUB-LICAN PARTY, and you may look out to hear the tune of the Republican press change in the next two press change in Kansas in the next two

years. The result of the election is now known. The Confusionists were beaten everywhere; we polled 646 votes for the head of the ticket, and the votes for the head of the ticket, and the

Republicans are dividing the spoils. But (con-)fusion in Kansas is not dead as some assert. Just at this time dead as some assert. Just at this time these place-hunters are playing 'pos-sum. They have given up all hopes of "reforming" the S. L. P., but since the demise of the Social Democracy, there has been born the "Social Demo-crat party." and it is being passed from "Sachems to warrior" that this is a "truly Socialist party, and has no bosses, and is BROAD." I warn the Kansas comrades to steer clear of these "broad Socialists." It is the same old confusion mixture of Communism, An-archy and old Bourbon Democracy. archy and old Bourbon Democracy.

NEBRASKA.

WHERE ARE WE AT IN NEBRASKA?

By H. S. Aley, Lincoln.

The Socialist vote in this State last fall (248) is not a fair criterion of our real strength in Nebraska, as, I am confident, not 10 per cent. of the voters knew a Socialist ticket was in the field. thanks to the news gathering organs of bourgeoisdom -- Republican and Demo-Pop-who took good care that the people should not be informed upon THIS point.

Aside from the distribution of 30,000 manifestos-principally in Lincoln and Omaha-and five speeches at Hastings, Grand Island, Kearney, Lexington, and Omaha, no campaign was made at all. The tone of letters received, during the past two months from different parts of the State, makes me think that had we been in a position to have let the voters know a Socialist ticket was nominated, 1,500 or 2,000 would come nearer than 248 in expressing the true Although Nebraska contains at least Although Nebraska contains at least 100,000 proletarian voters, the Socialist Labor party will gain but little strength from this State for some time to come and mainly for the following to come and mathing for the following reasons: The census returns of 1890 show the wealth of this State to be \$1,275,685,514; the population, 1.058, 910; and the average wealth, \$1,204, or about \$150 more than the average per capita for the United States. For ob-vious reasons, this wealth is more evenly distributed than in most of the other States. The census also shows that 5 per cent, of the people of Ne-braska lived in towns of 100 to 500, 4 per cent, in towns of 500 to 1,000, 5 per cent. in towns of 1,000 to 2,000 4 per cent. in towns of 2.00 to 5.000, 4 4 per cent. in towns of 2.00 to 5.000, 4 per cent. in towns of 5.000 to 10.000, and 20 per cent. in towns of 10.000 to 150,000 population. In other wards, 58 per cent. was strictly rural, and the balance, or 42 per cent., lived in towns and cities. In all towns of this State containing less than 5,000, the people are semi less than 5,000, the people are semi-agrarian, i. e., dominated largely by agricultural interests, and even those who do not depend directly on the farmer's support, at least share, in great measure, indirectly in their prosperity as well as in their adversity; hence only 24 per cent. or those living in cities of over 5,000 could be said to be dominated by urban interests This 24 per cent. lived in 10 cities whose population ranged from 6,742 to 140,552, and 7 of these cities depended largely, on the farm trade. Omaha, South Omaha, and Lincoln are the only ones whose manufacturing industries wield any considerable influence, and the latter's "cut but little ice" when compared to the influence of the B. d M. R. R. corporation. This company so completely domi-nates the city of Lincoln that at least 75 per cent. of the population either have situations on the B. & M., want situations on the B. & M., want favors of the B. & M., or they are dependent on these who have situations, want situations, or desire favors of this cor poration. In Lincoln, the situation is such that the working class have to dance to the B. & M.'s tune or go withdance to the B. & M.'s tune or go with-out a job; in South Omaha, they have to cater to the packing house magnates or starve, and in all of the other 7 cities, most of the proletariat are de-pendent on the will of some one rail-road corporation, either directly or in-directly for an opportunity to live. In Fremont, Grand Island and Kearney, it is the U.P. in Hastings Beatrice it is the U. P., in Hastings, Beatrice, Nebraska City, and Plattsmouth, it is

sional classes are influenced to a great extent by these same corporations, and the working class, dependent on the mercantile and professional classes have also, in consequence, to sneeze whenever the railroad magnates take snuff. Not long since I asked an ex-Attorney-General of Nebraska how, hearly all the attorneys of the State Attorney-General of Nebraska how, nearly all the attorneys of the State secured free railroad transportation, and was informed by him that those who did, had—as one of the considera-tions—agreed to prosecute no case for damages against the road tendering the transportation. Even the Demo-Pop Reform politicians have their pockets filled with these bribes, and so well satisfied is the B. & M. with its

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pockets filled with these bribes, and so well satisfied is the B. & M. with its part of the bargain, with these em-blems of purity, that its general man-ager last summer is said to have "called down" one of the correspon-dents of their State organ—"The Jour-nal"—who had scored the Pop State House officials for accepting free passes while pretending to be virtuous. He was informed that the B. & M. was PERFECTLY SATISFIED with things as they were in this particular. as they were in this particular.

From 1890-1895, we had three al-most general crop failures in Nebraska, and these, with the low prices for corn and wheat, that had prevailed for some time previous to 1890, reduced many of the farmers to a very precarious finan-cial condition. In fact, the low prices had nearly bankrupted many of them before the crop failures came, hence, the strength of the Populist movement -70,000 voters-in 1800. Doubtless, many of the more unfortunate land owners, most of the renters, and all of the farm proletariat would have then furnished splendid material for So-cialist propaganda. Many of them did, by reading Bellamy, become thorough-ly imbued with Socialistic ideals. How ver, good crops, for the past three years, with fair prices—due in the main to crop failures abroad—has put many of these sentimental revolutionists on the high road to prosperity, and just in proportion as their equity has increased in their mortgaged property, in that ratio have their revolutionary ideas vanished and their conservatism returned. Occasionally one may be found who has been reading and thinking about something else than the free and unlimited coinage of silver, 16 to 1, "without the aid and consent, etc., etc., etc.," who comprehends that the Nebraska farmer's prosperity is due to the adversity of the farmers of Rus-sia, India. and South America., that the increased price for wheat here, during these years of plenty, was simply the recompense for energy expended where crop failures prevailed, and that under normal conditions, with good crops here and abroad, prices will drop to the cost of production in those countries where wheat and corn can be produced the cheapest. He also sees that under these conditions only 4 or 5 years will be needed to bankrupt the 160-acre Nebraska farmers, as he will be unable to compete with the bonanza farmers of California, the Dakotas, and those who employ the ryots of India. Until this condition prevails, little can be done in this State to interest the agricultural class nor those living in the smaller towns, that are dependent on this class for their trade.

In the larger towns, the department store is "getting in its work" among the small business men, regardless of the prosperity boom among the farm-ers, and many of these are anxiously inquiring "where are we at?" On ac-count of the limited opportunity for securing a variety of situations in all the Nebraska towns-with the single the Acoraska towns-with the single exception of Omaha, it having a di-versity of industries-, Socialist ideas will secure but little attention in these towns from the working class, as the restricted labor market, even in the nine other cities, tends to make cow-ards of the wage earners. Therefore, at the present time, Omaha is the logiat the present time, Omaha is the logi-cal centre for the Socialist Movement in this State. It is honey-combed with the reactionary old style trade unions, and to counteract their influence, the first thing neded is a staunch Local of the S. T. & L. A. This, as a recruiting station for the Section already organ-ized there, would soon establish a healthy nucleous, from which our ideas would rapidly spread at the first favor-able opportunity—say a strike like the packing house strike of 1894, or the one on the B. & M. in 1885—to all the one on the B. & M. in 1888-to all the largest towns in the State, and from thence to the smaller towns and agri-cultural districts whenever the pros-perity prop-good crops here and poor crops abroad-gives way.

Events have proven during the past year that our best time to work among the working class is when they are in open economic warfare with their employers, then only as a class, under present conditions, does their latent manhood become fully manifest. In short, in the country and smaller towns of Nebraska, middle rural class interests prevail, in the largest towns. corporate greed reigns supreme, and in the medium-sized towns, a mongrel cross, between the first and second. acts as the spoke in the wheel of social progress. In all these, the working class are in utter subjection to the dominant class in their respective locality. In conclusion we, of Nebraska, exclaim, Speed the day here as elsewhere when consolidated capital shall have swpet from the economic battle field the reactionary middle class and thereby cleared the way for the two vital contending forces, viz.: plutocracy and proletariat in the oncoming social revo lution.

The saw-mill industry which was from 1870 to 1890 flourishing on the Mississippi banks, is gone to the dickens and, as the saw-mill operators own most of the river banks, conse-quently no manufacturing business could be established to give employ-ment to the laid-off workingmen. A thing that makes the burden of the workingmen still heavier is the "Loan and Building Associations." Too many workingmen tried to get their own home and paid to the Building Asso-clations double as much in interest than they would had to pay to a shy-lock capitalist. Half or nearly full paid for, these workingmen will sacri-fice everything not to lose their "home"; the capitalist employers knowing that condition of things are skinning them. The mercantile middle class reaps The mercantile middle class reaps

The mercantile middle class reaps profits on both sides, from their work-ingmen by low wages, and from the farmers by buying their product for the lowest prices and, in some cases, even cheating them with false scales and paying them with raise scales and paying them with rotten, adulter-ated and damaged goods. If they try to ship their product to market centers, they are robbed by the railroads. So the farmer, as well as the workingmen, can (by hard labor) earn not more than their bare living. their bare living. Let us see to what extent capitalist

exploitation has gone in Iowa. We find that in the last ten years the inmates of our insane asylums have more than doubled, and we have to build more asylums for them. The same with the feeble-minded; ditto with the inmates of the penitentiary, county jails and "poor farms." What caused all this? Is it that the

people live too high? Have they too much leisure, pleasure? Or is it the adulterated wiskeys, as the "Toledo Express" says, on the subject of the increase of insanity in Kansas?

None of the afore-mentioned, but exploitation. The capitalistic system, as it exists, drives the struggling populait is no crime and insanity; fills our in-stitutes with inmates and the capital-ist's pockets with the wealth produced by the poor wretches. On the one side luxury and abundance; on the other starvation, insanity, crime and direst misery

And all this could be changed by the people themselves into a Garden of Eden, by voting at the ballot box this shameful capitalistic system out of existence, by voting to Congress the istence, by voting to Congress, the Legislature and municipalities men of their own class, to make laws for the welfare of all the people, to inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Socialist System, where in reality no classes will be, but real Freedom and equal Right will reign supreme.

MISSOURI,

"RESOURCES" OF BROTHER CAPITAL.

By Garnet Futvoye, Kansas City.

The State of Missouri has long been extolled by the mouthpleces of the ruling class, for the bounty and diversity of its resources; but let it not be supposed that the condition of those who have developed these resources. those who have delved and sowed and wrought, is any the better therefor. On the contrary the increasing degradation of a continually increasing number of the disinherited is looked upon as one of the "resources," to wit: cheap labor for "brother capitalist."

Industries are various and in nearly all the system of capitalist exploitation is well advanced. The citles show all the marks of capitalist "enterprise,"wretched "working quarters," impoverished workers, toiling women and children, idle thousands.

The legal columns of the county pa pers indicate the condition of the farmers, though the authorities refrain from publishing statistics; while the tale of the miners tallies with that so often told of Pennsylvania, the same abuses-company stores and houses. scrip, "contracts" waiving screep law, etc.

All in the land of the anti-monopoly party, the party of the "common peopresents th eral characteristic of the Western States: an exploited class of exploit-ers, having at least nominally the poli-tical power. I say NOMINALLY ad-visedly, for it would seem that the "statesmen" who are sent to the As-combined of the hiddling of this midsembly to do the bidding of this mid-dle class are loth to grapple with its oppressors. Can it be they are coninced of the uselessness of so doing? But all this has nothing to do with us. We are concerned only that a majority of our class blindly follows the lead of these reactionaries as in their support of the party of (capitalist) prosperity. To arouse them to a sense of their position and show them that only by shaking off exploiters of all kinds and capacities will they emancipate them-selves: that is the task before those of us who have become enlightened. The seeming radicalisms of the dominant party, the loud promises of "doing something" for the working class and the small trades people (the latter always included), catch many, Section Kansas City once received a letter from a local committee of the Democratic party, calling attention to their municipal platform as "being in the direction" of what Socialism advocates. A start has been made, albeit a small one. Last Fall over 1,000 votes record-ed and doubtless a good many sup-pressed according to evidence obtained, shows that the S. L. P. is alive and gaining, surely if slowly. The friendly powers that be insist we must have powers that be insist we must have over 22,000 votes before we are "recog-nized" as a party, but they have not failed to recognize us in other ways. Among them a law to frighten signers from our petitions by requiring an affi-davit that they will support the entire ticket. Other hampering laws are also rearding, but we are not worrying over pending, but we are not worrying over them. Knowing that present condi-tions cannot last and that the triumph of our cause is the logic of evolution, we can turn even adversity to use and push enward towards the goal.



TYPICAL CAPITALIST ECON-OMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

By T. F. Dugan, Moline, Ill.

Fifteen years ago I left my home in the East and went West to better my condition. At that time there were opportunities to do so. The capitalists of the East were coming West and investin- their money in railroad building; the country was rapidly developed: towns sprung up in a night. Labor was scarce, and wages, compared with those of the East, were high, Workingmen were independent; if they did not like the work, they could quit and be sure that they could get another job just as good as the one they left. If they did not wish to work for a wage, they could save their money and invest it in some small business or take up a plece of Government land. They believed that such conditions would last forever, and feeling assured that the future was bright for them, took to themselves a wife and led a good and natural life. They were good fellows, generous and kind-hearted. With the completion of the great transcontinental railroad, there came a great rush to the West. The country was being boomed by the railroads, who owned large land grants, generously donated to them by the Government, which they wished to dispose of at a good price. Among this large influx of people from the East were the timber and Government land grabbers, capitalists and persons with small means seeking for land; but for every one that came with wealth there came a thousand proletarians and a revolution took place in the condition of our independent workman. Caught in the meshes of speculation going on all around him, his past savings were lost. The independent workman of fifteen years ago has disappeared and in his place has come the proletaire. His middle class and silver-bug capitalist exploiters are just as tyrannical in their treatment of him as the gold-bug capitalist in the East to his workmen. Those "saviors of humanity," the silver-bug, middle class, Democratic party, never tired in telling the workingmen of the East of the brutality of the gold-bug capitalist, but the intellectual prostitutes whom they hired to preach "free silver" and other reactionary nonsense to the people never told of the brutal treatment the workingmen of the West have received from their

MONTANA AND IDAHO.

masters.

When Montana became a State, the citizens were called on to vote upon where the Capital should be located. Several cities entered the contest and the two cities receiving the largest vote were voted upon a second time to decide the matter. At the following election Butte City was in the contest. The workers of that city voted against their own town and voted for Anaconda. The two cities that received the highest vote were Helena and Anaconda. Anaconda, is 26 miles from Butte City and is owned by the Anaconda Mining Syndicate, which has its smelters there and owns the land upon which the town is built. In many respects, it is another Pullman. By having the Capital there, the value of the company's real estate would be raised and the law-makers would be right at its The corporation at that time door. (1894) belonged to the Hearst Estate, Haggin & Daly. The company owns the railroad between Anaconds and Butte City, at which latter place the mines are located. Helena is a town that possesses more wealthy people in proportion to population than any other city in the United States. Butte City was the storm-center of the election. "The Butte City Miner," a paper owned by W. A. Clark (the newly elected Senator from Montana), and distributed by him broadcast throughout the State, denounced the Anaconda property for its maltreatment of its employes at its Homestake Mine in South Dakota. The organs of the company in their turn charged the Helena people with the same offense; and neither side had any trouble to prove its charges. This same Clark owns the Verdia Copper Mine at Jerome, Ariz. In Montana he is a friend of labor; in Arizona, where he has no political aspirations, it is different. There his property is it is different. There his property is known as a "stake" mine, i. e., a mine where a miner provides himself with the absolute necessaries of life until can get another job or leave the country. In the election referred to above the In the election referred to howe the Great Northern R. R. Co. fooded the State with men. "Money was easy" for every one that could convince the persons interested that he was a good bell-weather. Prominent "labor lead-ers," gamblers and politicians were employed by both sides and liberally ers. gamblers and point and were employed by both sides, and liberally supplied money to buy votes. The market price for votes ranged from \$2.50 to \$5.00 a piece. Some persons lost their votes because they held out too long and the market closed. At

5 p. m., the Anaconda mine alone must have distributed over \$100,000. Helen was chosen as the Capital site. Before the election the mines were crowded

have distributed over \$100,000. Helena was chosen as the Capital site. Before the election the mines were crowded with men. There was work for every one, provided he could show he was a registered voter. After the election, the Anaconda Company discharged all the men who happened to live in pre-cincts that showed a large majority for Helena. Business men who opposed the company were boycotted and men dealing with them were discharged. Such conditions as here described are common throughout the West. If the working class of Butte City were class-conscious, they could secure control of that city and use the public powers to give work to the unem-ployed, but instead they voted their masters into public power and built a stockade and put the unemployed there to break rocks for the crime of varrancy. In the spring of 1897, the newspapers reported that the "good citizens" of Butte drove the unem-ployed out of the city by force. Everything comes to those who wait. Rockefeller, Rotschilds and Company have bought the Anaconda Mining and Smelting Company and have been able to secure some excep-tional legislation in their favor at the last session of the legislation claim it will place the company outside the jurisdiction o. the State courts and they fear it will mean the destruction of the miners' union, which has been able to secure a wage of \$3.50 per day for every man who works under-ground. And they have good reason able to secure a wage of \$3.50 per day for every man who works under-ground. And they have good reason to think so. The miners' experience in Cœur d'Alene, Idaho, where Rocke-feller is interested, is a lesson they will never forget. It is natural to ex-pect that the class-unconscious miners will in case of trouble resist the impor-tation of their class-unconscious fellow workmen called "scabs" to take their places. Force will undoubtedly be used in case of a strike. How much different it would be, if they were class-conscious, and went to the ballot box, voted for themselves and placed their own class back of the policemen's clubs and the soldiers' bayonets and used the public powers to tax back into clubs and the soldiers' bayonets and used the public powers to tax back into the control of the working class some of the surplus value that has been stolen from them and use it as a means for placing the unemployed at work on public work and do their best they could for that has fortunate brothers could for their less fortunate brothers. That would be much better than what they are doing now looking on with in-difference while their brother work-man is being hounded out of the town by a lot of scoundrels that never did an honest day's work, if they could avoid it. I have considerable feeling for the unemployed. A man who is in the unemployed is ansceptible to rea-son; there is more feeling of solidarity among men who have had that experience.

NEVADA.

The condition of the working class in Nevada is prosperous around election time. I am informed by the "hotwater" miners that when U. S. Senators are to be elected, there is no trouble to get work, provided you are a voter.

COLORADO

has a great history for the classconscious workingman. When Waite was Governor, the Cripple Creek strike was declared. The strikers, to prevent the introduction of "scabs," built barricades around the mines. The mine owners sent to Denver and Colorado Springs and secured deputy-sheriffs. The miners of the other camps were arming themselves and marching to help the strikers. Governor Walte sent out the militia and they lined up between the strikers and the deputies. Waite acted as representative of the miners in conference with th and the men won. When, in 1896, Waite ran again for Governor he received about 600 votes out of about 6,000 cast in Leadville at a time when the Leadville miners were on strike. Adams, a silver Republican, was elected Governor and one of his first official acts was to send the militia to Leadville under the pretence of maintaining "law and order." The mine owners set fire to the Coronado Mine at Leadville, as the Legislative Investigating Committee showed, and used the incident as a pretext to call out the troops. I have been informed that ninety per cent. of the business men, who pro ised their support to the miners, organized a home guard and aided the mine owners to break the strike. A large number of the strikers were forced to leave their homes and seek work elsewhere. I met some of them in Arizona in the spring of 1897. Some of them tried to get work at the Congress Mine, owned by Frank Murphy, a free silver man, and others. They were informed by the superintendent that he did not care to hire "hobo" miners, although he recognized that hobo miners were the best, his real reason being that hobo miners, not being deterred from asking for food when out of work, were much more independent and dimcult to control than the others. The workingmen of the Bocky Moun-The workingmen of the Bocky Moun-tain Region, like the workingmen everywhere, are sinking fast. In my opinion the best way to revive work-ingmen East and West is to send a S. L. P. representative to Congress. His presence there will be an immense object lesson to the workers and he will help them exceedingly in distin-guishing between capitalist swindle politics and honest, effective, revolu-tionary, working class politics

the B. & M. In all these cities, the merchants, shippers, manufacturers, and profes-



"ITS" WORKINGS IN A LEADING AGRICULT-URAL STATE.

By H. Kipp, Rock Island.

Iowa is a farming State with very small manufacturing capacity. She leads in the production of corn with a yield of 254 million bushels, also in oats, last year's yield being 123 million bushels. In wealth, the State ranks twelfin among the States with last year's yield of 22,189,000 bushels. She is also first in the production of hogs, I dairy products and cattle.



[Written for the MAY DAY PEOPLE.]

By Frances Macdaniel, New York.

Dear is our faith-Torrent no strouger, Mountain no higher, God's time no longer, Hottor no form

Hotter no frig-, Giorious faith! Dear is our faith-Ceaseless its round Knitting the ties,-Man to man bound E'en death defles-, "Comrades, the Faith!"

Dear is our faith-Far in the past, Far in the past, Whisper'd by sages,— At last, now at last, World-wide the faith!

Dear is our faith-, Thund'rous its might Up to the skies, "Unite ye, unite, Down-trodden, arise! Be brothers in faith!"

Dear is our faith-Again comes its cry, "Wage slaves, attend ye. Be men, and stand by, The bailot defend ye! The Faith cannot die!"

MAY DAY.

The class-conscious, militant, Proletariat of America joins this day in that international festival of Labor, that, ungranted by any capitalist law, in fact, celebrated in the teeth of the Exploiter, attests to the growing sense of the pregnant truth that our planet is no longer divided between hostile nations or races, but is divided by an not defective merely, but liable to foster, by insinuating, a serious popuar delusion;--to wit, the fact that capitalism is corner-stoned on confiscation, and that confiscation is a prop and a boost to the capitalist class; consequently, that its vaunted "Sacred ness of Property" is but a hoodoo.

The Parable starts with the capital ists in existence. How came they to be capitalists? "Their diligence and craft," is all the explanation given in the Parable, "had placed in their hands stores of water where others could find none." The least to be said against such a summing up of the genesis of capital is that it is "mild"; indeed, it is so mild as to be positively wrong. Capital cannot start without a "prole tariat,"-a population stripped of all opportunities to support itself, and thus compelled to sell itself into wage slavery for a living. Such a proletariat, in sufficient numbers, was not ready at hand; it had to be produced forcibly. The process by which the proletarians were produced was mainly the physically tearing them away from the land, from their natural opportunities (whence the modern single tax vagary draws much of its historically illogic argumentation), and here and there by taxing them out of their social opportunities (whence similarly unscientific minds, reasoning with equally bad logic, raise to-day the hueand-cry of taxation as a question that vitally affects the modern workers). With their property, social and natural opportunities, confiscated, large masses were rough-handedly proletarianized and capitalism could start. In his graphic chapter on the genesis of capital, in which the horrors of this process are described. Marx sums up the facts

saying: If money, according to Augler. "comes in-to the world with a congenital blood-stain on one check," capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.

After thus lightly passing by the confiscatory genesis of capital, the Parable falls into an error that may be termed the logical sequence of its false start. At the recurring crises, the Parable causes the capitalists to exclaim: "Our gains do make us poor." Here again, and even more so than before, the confiscatory character of capital is overlooked. It is a feature of the crisis that it is a period of rich harvest for the capitalist. During the crisis whole shoals of the smaller fry are swept out of existence; their competitive game, always difficult, then becomes impossible; and their property passes by virtual confiscation into the hands of the surviving' capitalists. Individuals go down, and the capitalist class becomes smaller but infinitely richer :-- the gains of these do not make them poorer; just the reverse; then it is that their character as CONFISCATORS steps forward into strong relief, swelling their gains.

This is no "fault-finding" criticism Sufficiently thankless is the task of pointing out errors in the works of one who has contributed as much as Bellamy has done towards disarming opposition to Socialism. The criticism is needed. It is needed for this reason:

Among the leading obstacles that the Apostle of Socialism encounters in his path is the superstitious reverence of the proletariat for the "industry," the "thrift," the "abstinence" that produces the "original accumulation" of capital; for the "Rights" of Capital; in short, for the "Sanctity of Property." as preached by capitalism, and its peaceful law-abiding nature. Again, quoting Marx:

It is not enough that the conditions for work are concentrated in a mass, in the shape of capital, at the one pole of society. while at the other are grouped masses of men who have nothing to sell but their ishor-power. Neither is it enough that these are compelied to sell it voluntarily. The advance of capitalist production de-velops a working class which, by educa-tion, tradition, habit, looks upon the condi-tions of that mode of production as self-evident laws of nature. That mental poise that induces the masses, by education, tradition and habit to bow down before and accept things, as they are, as self-evident laws of nature and proper, is a most difficult one to overcome. Among the preposterous lies of the capitalist repertory of lies, the lie about its instincts of peacefulness, of order and of respect for property is the most preposterous. It must be torn to pleces. The confiscatory character of capitalism can not be too frequently repeated or too much emphasized. Corner-stoned on downright confiscation, capitalism thrives into tyrannous over-lordship by confiscation.

THE PEOPLE, MAY 1, 1899.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Saginaw, Mich., "Exponent" seems to have lived so far with its eyes shut. It is "calling attention" to the fact that "several union men have been nominated for office" in the municipal campaign, and it urges their election on the ground of "the beneficial result of having a good-sized delegation of labor representatives in the Council."

The "Exponent" does not seem to know that fifteen and odd years ago the then powerful K. of L. captured whole municipalities; from the Mayor down they had it all, and in many other places they elected many candidates. Was Labor benefited thereby? Not in the least: the reaction set in, and things went from bad to worse.

Neither does the "Exponent" seem to know that in other ways many a "union man" came to office, and yet no good came of it: the condition of the working class going down all along and all the same.

Why was this thus?

Simply because these successful 'union men" candidates did not represent Labor.

Labor can not be represented but by class-conscious workingmen. The workingman who is not class-conscious does Labor no more good in office than any capitalist there. Nay, worse, being cass-unconscious, and, consequently, ignorant, he will slip at every turn, fall at every other, and wind up by throwing up the sponge; he will conclude that there is no hope of salvation for the WORKING CLASS and he will then seek to save HIMSELF. Corruption is the inevitable ditch into which all such "union men" fall into,--to the increased suffering of Labor.

Class-consciousness is the quality that distinguishes the "union men," who can really represent Labor, from the "union man" who can't and who will with the regularity of clockwork sell out Labor.

The Cincinnati, O., "Iron Molders' Journal" has an article from Fred. W. Long that triturates the Single Tax with deserved ridicule and satire. The following is one of its best passages:.

following is one of its best passages:. In the wax-works show of the Single One figure is labeled "GOOI CAPITALIST -Carries on production under great diffi-culties-Frierd of the laboring man, and not his exploiter (see George)-Couldn't rob if he wanted to-is himself robbed." An-other image bears this card: "LABORER-Good man, but doesn't know much-Won't believe he is Mark Hanna's brother, and cau't grasp the incidence of taxition." Further along a third dummy, rigged up to deniition": "LANDLOID-Regular old devil-Riohs both the gents you have just passed-Won't pay his taxes-Take a shot at the cus." Other minor figures, bearing antificate and young," which has at least addea amusement to the hun-drum ives of most of its aduit patrons and in-spired wide-eyed wonderment in the kids. As a means of livelihood for its proprietor it was a success, by reason both of the box-office receipts and the gold stundard sympathy of those who saw in the sacred leasons intended to be conveyed a long-needed vindication of character for them-neelves and other good things to be pushed along.

With ice-house cucumber coolness that suggests the question, Is the writer of such stuff a marble-hearted villain or a marble-headed block-head? the Newark, N. J., "New Education' says:

says: Equip yourself with a first-class business education. Arm yourself with a good hand-writing, facility in shorthand and type-writing, a working knowledge of book-keeping, business practice, and commercial inw. Learn to write an Al business letter, and acquire the habit and reputation of being a first-class enterprising husiler. Go to a good commercial school for a term or read good books, cuitivate good company and keep an eye out for an opening. He a genuine rough-rider in the pluck that leaps the ditches and tears down the barb-wire trochas of difficulty and adversity. Keep your eye on the advancing banner of suc-cress and follow it to the summit. This is the American. Press forward. Stay with the fight. Get there.

Get there? Where? Surely not into comforts; surely not into the possesTHE TRUST. By Daniel De Leon.

[This article was one of eight others, pub-lished in the New York "Independent," as a symposium on the Trust Question.] What is the Trust?

The trust is essentially a tool of pro duction. The difference between the trust and the oldest style of privately owned tool, seen now only in museums,

is a difference, not of kind, but of de gree. Man is a tool-using animal. The tool adds inches to his stature over nature by increasing the productivity of his labor. The same instinct that led man to fashion the first tool pushes him

on to improve it. The more perect the instrument of production, the more instrument of production, the abundant are the fruits of labor. The trend of civilization is to render the product of labor so abundant that the burden of arduous toil, together with want or the fear of want, for the may terial necessaries of life may be lifted from the shoulders and the minds of man, and, thus raised above animal needs, his individuality, his intellectual and moral faculties may have free play. The rungs of the ladder, up play. u which man climbs toward civilization are the ever more perfect tools of pro duction.

The development of the tool. or in-

strument of production, is twofold. It gathers power individually; it also gathers power collectively, by concentration

The tool gathers power individually by keeping lively step with the discov-eries of science and the maturing genius of man; the old handloom becomes a steam and Northrop loom; the agricultural implements become steam plows, reapers and harvesters. The collective power, however, of the tool is gathered by a bitter experience. In the course of its growth, the tool encounters a serious obstacle, that threatens it with nullification. Its aim, the increase of the store of wealth, is for a time balked. The tool is a weapon against the foe of the race-POVERTY. The wasteflness of competition turns the weapon's edge against itself. Only a long and bitter experience taught the lesson and suggested the remedy-CONCENTRA-TION. The discovery once made, it points and paves the way to further improvements. First is born the PARTNERSHIP of two individuals; then follows the partnership of two or more partnerships-the CORPORA-TION: next appears the partnership of

several corporations-the TRUST. The trust is that doubly developed instrument of production that com-bines both the highest individual and the highest collective development se far reached. It brings the productivity of human effort up to the highest point so far attained by the individual perraises man to glant's stature over ire; it is a weapon that makes for vivilization.

But this is not the whole truth.

It is not over nature alone that the tool adds inches to the individual; it also adds inches to him over the tool-less man. This pregnant socio-econless man. This pregnant socio-econ-omic fact does not from the start manifest itself.

So long as the tool is slight and simple, he who wants it can readily bring it forth by the direct application of his labor to nature, and thereby place himself on a par with whomso-ever already is in possession of its equal. But the tool develops. Its deequal. But the tool develops. Its de-velopment is not from within, like or-ganic matter. The feature of its de-velopment is the need and increasing need of other tools, besides increased powers of steam and electricity, to carve it out of nature with, and thus render it more potent by rendering it more fruitful. The tool used in production presently needs two, three, four other tools to bring it forth. Even then its acquisition by individual man to the end of enabling him to compete with those already in possession of its like, may not be impossible, though the process becomes harder by degrees When, however, the tool has finally reached that individual perfection of a Northrop loom, a Mergenthaler type-setter, a hydraulic press, a steam plow, reaper and binder, a Westinghouse electric engine, a cotton harvester, etc., and even long before that, none can

trations; they became dominant in the Harrison-Van Buren campaign; to-day This they are the all-absorbing topic. change in the physiognomy of our politics has followed closely, and has been brought on by the development of the tool under the system of private ownership.

Competition is predicated upon the capacity of competitors to sell equally cheap; this capacity depends upon the power to produce with equal abundance, and this, in turn, is in direct ratio to the development of the tool. With the approach and appearance in the country's industrial arena of a tool, privately owned and so far developed that its creation by those without it was no longer feasible, these ceased to be qualified for the competitive war-fare, and the commonweal began to be differentiated into three hostile social

First, the Proletariat-the wholly toolless class, who, no longer able to exercise their labor function without access to tools not owned by themselves, are reduced to the level of merchandise, and compelled to sell abor power in the labor market for a iving:

Second, the Middle Class-the class who, though armed with tools suffi-ciently powerful to exclude the toolless lass, find it harder and harder to hold their own in competition with the more powerful and ever-perfecting tools held by the class above; and.

Third, the Capitalist Class-the class who, possessed of the prerequisites for successful competition, can shift work from their own to the shoulders of the proletariat; can live in idleness upon "profits"-1. e., upon the difference be-tween what their employés produce and the "wages" paid to them-i. e., the market price of labor; and can, with their more abundant and cheaper production, undersell the class belo and reduce it to the grade of proleta

rians. These class distinctions-proletarian dependence, deepening misery and in-creasing numbers; middle class precarlousness of existence, declining powers and ruin; capitalist idleness swelling affluence and masterhood-together with the class conflicts into which capitalism casts society, long re mained veiled. The trust rends the veil. The several views held on the trust are mainly the class-conscious expressions of the three hostile economic classes into which capitalis clety is divided, and which are shaken into class-consciousness by the relent-less logic of capitalist development manifested in the appearance of the trust.

The capitalist class seeks to uphold the trust in order to maintain its own class supremacy. Its spokesmen tire not truthfully to point out the inevitableness of concentration in productive powers, together with the advantages that flow therefrom in increased production and cheapness; they conce however, the blood that stains the traff of the trust, or even deny the existe of such by inundating the country with rosy statistics, gotten up to order, or the condition of the people. But-OD "Meloria probant, deteriora sequun-

tur."* The middle class, though itself ready less proletariat, is up in arms against the trust, whose superior power is crushing it. It chooses to see only the ravages wrought by the trust; it in-veighs against "monopoly," while it up-holds "capital"; ignorant of the econ-omico-juridic contradiction implied in such a position, it clamors for the over throw of the "monster," or, at least, for the clipping of its wings; and lawyers who are not jurists, together with economists who are not scientists, en-

courage the folly with their twaddle. Lastly, goaded into mental activity by the smarts it suffers from the capitalist, and untrammeled by the class interests of the middle class, the class-conscious proletariat is pushed beyond both the conservatism of the former and the reactionary posture of the lat ter. Its class interests reveal to it the two leading features of the trust; the development by concentration of the development by concentration of the tool, which makes for progress, and its system of private ownership, which blocks progress; its class interests make it aware of the contradiction, and direct it to save the good and permanent feature by stripping it of the evil and temporary one. The class-con-scious proletariat pushes the evolutionary movement onward by straining for the public ownership of the trust.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan-I think Socialize would make decidedly more progress if they would do a certain thing. Uncle Sam-Which? if they

B. J.-They should accurately define Co-operative Commonwealth. U. S.-How define?

U. S.-How denne? B. J.-They should describe ac-curately how things will be instituted; the organization of society; how the various wheels will look and how they will operate. Do you catch on? U. S.-Gues I do. B. J.-You agree? U. S.-Let's see. You know all about Columbus, don't you? B. J.-I know source the could make

B. J.-I know some; he could make an egg stand on end; and he discovered America.

U. S .- We shall limit ourselves to his discovery of America. You know, too, that he went from court to court, from country to country, stating his con-clusion that by traveling westward he would scrike land?

B. J.-Exactly. U. S.-Was he believed by all who

U. S.-Was he believed by all whe heard him? B. J.-NC, indeed; he had a hard time of it to make people understand the soundness of his views. U. S.-Now, imagine some smarty, like yourself, had drawn him aside and whispered confidentially to him: "Oc-

lumbus, you are not making any great headway in convincing people. You headway in convincing people. You would make decidedly more progress if you would draw up a map of the land that you say lies westward; point out exactly how the coast looks; where the mountains rise and how high: the the mountains rise and now high; the lakes, the rivers, the planes, the high-lands. If you did that people would soon be converted." How do you imagine Columbus would have looked upon that friendly adviser?

B. J .-- He must have looked upon him as any one does at a donkey braying. U. S.-Correct. And why? B. J.-Why? Because it was sup-

B. J. Why Proceeding to Was sug-gesting an impossibility. U. S.-And so is your suggestion. Columbus reasoned that, the world be-ing round, if you travel westward you are bound to reach land-the shape of that hand could not be described. Like-wise, the Socialist. He reasons that the system of the ownership must tally with the system of operation of the tools of production. When the tools were so small that each individual were so small that each individual could operate them they were owned individually, i. e., privately. Now they have become so gigantic that they neither can nor are operated indivi-dually; they are operated collectively, consequently they must be owned—

B. J.-As collectively as they are operated.

S .- As the whole nation now collectively operates its land and capital, so should and will the whole nation, and not a set of individuals, be the owners thereof. The Socialist were foolish if he went a step further than to show the general outline of what is coming and why. Like Columbus, he says the Co-operative Commonwealth lies ahead of us, and, like Columbus, who never attempted to give the de-tails of the land, the Socialist will re-fuse to palm off dreams for facts. B. J.-I think I see.

U. S.—But look you here. Between the Socialist and Columbus there is this difference. Europe could have gone on without the discovery of America: but civilization cannot go of without the Co-operative or Socialist Commonwealth. That Socialist would be wasting his time who did not con-centrate all his efforts in the endeavor to demonstrate that Socialism is ine-vitable; and no sensible man wants or needs further information on the sub-ject than the broad outline of the pub-lic ownership of all that is needed for

equatorial line, that, crossing all nations, parts their collective population in two: the goats and the sheep; on one side the International Capitalist Class, on the other, the International Proletariat; on one side the Exploiter, on the other the Exploited; on one side the Idler and Parasite, on the other, the Worker.

On the anniversary of this stupendons international demonstration, the herald of Peace on Earth, sufficiently striking in itself, and rendered all the more so by the contemporaneous ntopian and hypocritical efforts at international disarmament on the part of the International Exploiter, the class-conscious, militant proletariat of America, located at one of the most important and responsible posts on the international field of the impending International Revolution, sends to its Comrades of all lands a full-throated cheer, a cheer born of the conscious ascendency of our common Cause, and of the consciousness of approaching victory.

THE PARABLE OF THE TANK One of the most exquisite passages in Edward Bellamy's last work, "Equality," is "The Parable of the Tank." It is exquisite in the neatness and simplicity of the presentation of an economic-social development that, carried on by extortion, must lead to collapse. Nevertheless, due, probably, to the very simplicity of the presentation, it omits mention of a certain vein that runs through the whole capitalist system, and that can not be omitted withent rendering the presentation itself. votes.

And this important fact "The Para ble of the Tank" slurs over.

The attention of Party members, and of all others who earnestly follow the Party's concerns, is hereby called to the important document--"The Situa tion In New York; Statement by the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., to the Party Membership and to Voters of the S. L. P. Ticket Throughout the Land"-, adopted at a special session, Sunday, April 23, and published on the 7th page of this issue.

The Socialist Labor Party carried the village of Glen Carbon, Ill., at the elec tion held on the 18th of last month Peter McCall, the S. L. P. candidate was elected President of the village and Mat Harth, S. L. P., Trustee, The S. L. P. ticket received 40 straight

sion of sufficient wealth to insure the dignity of your old age; surely not into

the possession of sufficient funds to enable you to worthily provide for a wife and for the childhood pleasures of your children;-unless you "get there" by crooked ways, and then you blast your existence and transmit the leprosy to your descendants.

Where you WILL get to by strictly following the advice of the "New Education" is into the state in which. like a well-fed sheep, your capitalist fleecer will be able to get off you a larger clipping. The greater the abilities of man, if he has not the necessary tools of production to work with, only so much more wool is he a vielder of to the capitalist class; to himself, such increased abilities yield nothing.

Not unless, coupled with such abilities, a man equips himself with the economic and social knowledge that will enlighten him upon the fact that, without his ownership of capital, he can only earn his living at the mercy of some capitalist and is bound to be a wage slave; not unless he acquires that knowledge too, and, with it, joins the army of the militant proletariat, will be ever really "get there." With such knowledge, and only with such knowledge, will or could he hustle to a purpose. With such knowledge he would indeed tear the barb-wire trochas of difficulty, and smashing them up with the Arm and Hammer of the Socialist Labor Party, hew his way to the summit of success.

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

any longer bimself conjure forth its equal out of nature. When to this in-dividual growth is coupled the collective development or concentration im-plied in the trust, free competition ceases de facto, whatever it may remain in theory. The trust is the highest form of col-

lective development the tool can reach under the system of private ownership in the machinery of production. But the gigantic powers it wields over nat-ure accrue to those only who hold it; to ure accrue to all others it becomes a scourge. such, the trust blocks the nation's path on its march to civilization.

Once the tool has reached this stage stands transmuted into a socialindustrial power that emphasizes the changes which society has been under going since the privately owned tool first appeared, especially since the time when it entered upon the period of its rapid development: it carries these changes further, and it forces to the fore a new social problem.

We love to think that the Revolution-Fathers gave our people political dom. They did not. The ballot freedom. was conditioned upon property qualifi-cations. This simple fact is of deep import in the study of the problem presented by the trust. Then the tool of production was

slight; it was easily acquired; and, consequently, property was the ready reward of industry. At such a time the role played by property was not yet manifest; indeed, it escaped the Revolutionary Fathers, except the two wisest and most far-seeing of them all-Franklin and Madison. At that time, accordingly, economic issues were absent from our party platforms; the people divided on issues essentially political. With the turning of the cen-tury a change comes over the surface; economic questions force themselves more and n ore to the front; they were prominent during the Jackson adminis-

The ladder, up which mankind has been climbing toward civilization, the ever more powerful tool of production, is the storm center around which the

modern social storm rages. The capitalist class seeks to keep it for its own exclusive use. The middle class seeks to break it

down, thereby throwing civilization back

The proleariat seeks to preserve it and improve it, and to open it to all.

• They prove better things, but worse follows.

Attention is hereby called to a typographical blunder that crept into last week's report of the special session. held by the N. E. C. on Sunday, April 16. From the report it appears that the motion made by Stahl, granting the application of the "Volkszeitung's" Board of Directors to insert in THE PEOPLE a rejoinder to the article "Sign-Posts" of April 2, was voted on by only 5 out of the 7 members of the N. E. C., to wit, against: Sanial, Matchett, Murphy and Keep; for: Stahl. This was wrong. The vote stood. against: Sanlal, Matchett, Murphy, Keep, Brown and Kinneally; fors Stabl

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eigteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEO. PLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 7S pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 147 E. 23d street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

producing the necessaries of life.

In the Holvoke, Mass., Board of Alderman, M. Ruther, S. L. P., moved that the city laborers be given a hollday on Monday, May 1, with full pays The motion was defeated, Comrade Ruther alone voting for it; his Democratic and Republican fellow-members demonstrated their oneness as lackeys of the capitalist class by solidly voting against the motion.

When the vote was announced, Consrade Ruther notified the Board that next fall more Socialists would be elected and then such and still more important labor votes will be carried.

Onward, Comrades!

By Arthur Clough.

Say not the struggle naught availeth, The labor and the wounds are vals, The enemy faileth And as things have been they remain remain

If hopes proved faise, fears may be liant Perhaps, in yon smoke concealed, Your corrades chase e'en now the fliers, And but for you possess the field.

For. as the tired waves, ceaseless breaking Seem here no painful inch to gain. Far back, through creeks and inless meking Comes flooding in the main.

And not through eastern windows only. When daylight breaks, breaks in the heat In front the sun climbs slow how slower But westward look, the land lies bright.

Keep an oye on your wrapper. See what your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the IIII work at the office.

THE PEOPLE, MAY 1, 1899.

LABOR AND LABOR-POWER.

[Translated from the German of Frederick Engels for the MAY DAY PEOPLE by H. Simpson, New York.]

Most of the manufacture. That boys and pays for the LABOR of his work-ers. This idea sufficed very well for the basiness purposes, bookkeeping and price calculations of the manufacturer. Naively cartied over into political econ-static price and the second sec

Narey carries over the most wonderful error and confusions. Political economy finds it an estab-ished fact that the prices of all com-modifies, among them the price of the commodity which it calls "labor." concommonity which it chils information in a second state of the most diverse cr-imally change; that they rise and fall is consequence of the most diverse cr-imation constraints, which frequently have othing whatever to do with the pro-duction of the commodity itself, so that ces seem to be determined, as a rule. mere chance. So soon, therefore, as nomics stepped forward as a science was one of its first tasks to search the law that hid itself behind this for the law that hid itself behind this chance, which apparently determined the prices of commodities, and that in reality controlled this very chance. Among the prices of commodities, fuctuating and oscillating, now up-wards now downwards, it searched for and control point about which wards now downwards, it scarched for the fixed central point about which here fluctuations and oscillations were taking place. In short, starting from the PRICES of commodities, political economy sought for the VALUE of commodities as their regulating law, by many of which all price fluctuations means of which all price fluctuations can be explained, and to which they can all be reduced in the last resort.

Well, classical economy found that the value of a commodity is determined by the labor incorporated in it and re-quired for its production. With this explanation it was satisfied. And we too may for the present stop at this point. Only to avoid misconceptions, will remind the reader that this explanation has become to day altogether inndequate. Marx was the first to ex-amine thoroughly the value-forming quality of labor and to discover that not all labor which is apparently or even really necessary to the production of a commodity, contributes under all circumstances to this commodity a value-magnitude corresponding to the quantity of labor used up. If, there-fore, we say to-day for short with economists like Ricardo that the value economists like Ricardo that the value of a commodity is determined by the labor necessary for its production, we always imply the restrictions and re-servations made by Marx. Thus much for our present purpose; further in-formation can be found in Marx's "Zur Value and the public production of the service of the service service of the service of t Kritik der politischen Oekonomie," and in the first volume of "Capital."

But so soon as the economists applied this determination, of value by labor to the commodity "labor," they fell from one contradiction into another. How is the value of "labor" deter-mined? By the necessary labor incor-porated in it. But how much labor is embodied in the labor of a laborer dur-ing one day, one week, one month, one year? The labor of a day, a week, a month, a year. If labor is the mensure of all values, the "value of labor" dur-ing one hour's labor. But we know absolutely nothing of the value of one hour's labor, if all that we know about it is that it is equal to one hour's labor. With this we do not approach But so soon as the economists applied abor. With this we do not approach one hair's breadth nearer our nim; we turn ourselves endlessly in a circle.

Hence, classical economy essayed an-other turn; it said: the value of a commodity equals the cost of its produc-tion. But what is the cost of the pro-duction of labor? In order to answer this question, the economists are forced in question, the econinsts are forced to violate logic just a little. Instead of inquiring into the cost of production of labor itself, which unfortunately can-not be found out, they inquire into the cost of the production of the LA-BuRER. And this latter can be found with it surpresentations the found BURER. And this latter can be found out. It varies according to time and circumstances, but for a given condi-tion of society, in a given locality, and in a given branch of production, this too is given, at least within quite nar-row limits. We live to-day under the régime of capitalist production, under which a large and ever-growing class of the nonvolution can live only on the of the population can live only on the condition that it work for the possessors of the means of production (tools, machinery, raw materials and means of subsistence) in return for wages. On the basis of this mode of production, the inborer's cost of production consists of the sum of the means of subtence (or their price in money) that on the average are requisite to enable him to work and to replace him at his departure through age, sickness or death, with another laborer; that is, of the means of subsistence required for the propagation of the working class in sufficient strength. Let us as-sume that the money-price of these cans of subsistence is on the average

Classical political economy borrowed from the industrial practice the vulgar ides of the manufacturer that he buys which were in use and were reduced in their value to this extent through wear and tear. There remain 6 shillings, which have been added to the value of the raw material. But these 6 shillings can arise, according to the supposition of the economists themselves, only from the labor added to the raw material by our laborer. His twelve hours' labor has created, according to this, a new value of 6 shillings. Therefore, the value of his twelve hours' labor equals 6 shillings. So we have, at last, discovered what the "value of labor" is

"Hold on!" cries our machine work er. "Six shillings? I have received only three shillings? My capitalist swears high and dry that the value of my twelve hours' labor is no more than three shillings, and were I to demand six, he'd laugh at me. The two don't it together!"

fit together!" If before this we got with our value If before this we got with our value of labor into a vicious circle, without a way out, now surely we have gotten ourselves into an insoluble contradic-tion! We looked for the value of labor, and we found more than we can use. For the laborer, the value of twelve hours' labor is 8 shillings, for the capi-talist 6 shillings, of which he gives 3 to the laborer and pockets the remain-ing 3. According to this, labor has ing 3. According to this, labor has not one but two values, and moreover, two very different ones!

The contradiction becomes yet more contradictory as soon as we reduce the value, expressed in money, to labor. In the twelve hours' labor, there is created a new value of six shillings. Hence, in six hours a new value of three shillings is created,--the sum which the laborer receives for twelve which the haborer receives for twelve hours' labor. For the labor of twelve hours the laborer gets the product of six hours' labor as an equal counter-value. Hence, we are forced to one of two conclusions: either labor has two values, one of which is twice as large

as the other, or twelve equals six! In both cases we get pure absurdities. Turn and twist as we may, we do not get out of this contradiction, so long as we speak of the sale and purchase of labor and of the value of labor. And just so it was with the economists. The last offshoot of classical economy, the Ricardian school, was largely wrecked on the insolubility of this contradiction. Classical economy ran itself into a bilnd alley. The man who discovered the way out of the blind alley, was Kerl Mary Karl Marz.

What the economists considered the cost of production "of labor," was the cost of production not of labor, but of the living laborer himself. And what this laborer sold to the capitalist was this habor. "So soon no his labor really begins," says Marx, "it ceases to belong to him, can no longer, there-fore, be sold by him." At most, he can sell his FUTURE labor, that is, under-the the obligation to do a central most. take the obligation to do a certain work at a certain time. But in this way he does not sell labor (which would yet have to be done), but for a stipulated payment he puts at the disposal of the capitalist his labor-power for a certain time (in the case of time-wages) or for a certain work (in the case of pie a certain work (in the case of plece-wages): he hires out or sells his LA-BOR-POWER. But this labor-power is united with his person and inseparable from it. Its cost of production coin-cides therefore with his cost of produc-tion; what the economists called the cost of production of labor, is really the cost of production of the laborer the cost of production of the laborer and, therewith, of his labore-power. And so we can go back from the cost of porduction of labor-power to the value of labor-power, and determine the quantity of socially necessary labor that is required for the production of that is required for the production of a labor-power of a given quality, as Marx has done in the chapter on the

What has dole in the chapter on the purchase and sale of labor-power ("Capital," Chapter VI.). Now, what happens after the laborer has sold his, labor-power to the capi-talist, that is, has put it at his disposal for stipulated wages, whether time-wages or piece-wages? The capitalist takes the workingman into his work-shop or factory where all the things, necessary for the work, can be found, new materials any liner materials materials. auxiliary material (coal, coloring materials, etc.), tools and machines. Here the worker begins to toll. His wages are, as above, three shillings, and it makes no difference whether he earns them as day-wages or piece-wages. We assume, again as before, that the worker adds to the raw materials used up by his labor a new value of six shillings, which new value the capitalist realizes at the sale of the completed plece of work. Of these six shillings he pays three shillings to the laborer, and retains the re-maining three shillings. If now the Jaborer creates in twelve hours a value of 6 shillings, in six hours he creates a value of 3 shillings. After working six hours for the capitalist, the laborer has thus returned to him the counter-value of 3 shillings contained in the wages. After six hours' work both are even. neither owing one penny to the other. "Hold on!" cries now the capitalist, "I have hired the laborer for an entire day, for twelve hours. But six hours are only half a day. You have got to toll on until the remaining six hours are past—only then will we be quits!" And, in truth, the laborar has to submit to the conditions imposed by the contract upon which he "voluntarily" entered, and according to which he bound himself to work twelve full hours for a product of labor costing six hours' labor six hours' labor. Similary with piece-wages. Let us assume that in twelve hours our laassume that in twelve hours our la-borer produces twelve commodities. Each of these costs 2 shillings in raw material and wear sud tear, and is sold for 2½ shillings. On, our former as-sumption, the capitalist gives the laborer one-fourth of a shilling for each plece; this makes a total of 3 shillings for twelve pieces which the worker earns in twelve hours. The capitalist gets 30 shillings for the twelve pieces; deducting 24 shillings for raw material and wear and tear, there remain 6 shil-lings, of which he pays 3 shillings in wages, and pockets the other 3. Just as above. Here too the laborer works, six hours for himself, that is, to compensate for his wages (in each of the twelve hours, one-half hour), and six

hours for the capitalist. The difficulty which the best econ-omists did not overcome as long as they started from the value of "labor," dis-appears so soon as we make our startappears so soon as we make our start ing-point the value of "labor-POWER." ing-point the value of "labor-POWER." Labor-power is in our present capitalist society a commodity, like any other commodity, but yet a very peculiar commodity. It has, namely, the pecu-liarity of being the value-creating power, the source of value, and more-over, when properly treated, the source of more value than itself possesses. In the present state of production human the present state of production human labor-power not only produces in a day more value than itself possesses and costs; but with every new scientific dis-covery, with every new technical in-vention, rises the surplus of its day's product over its day's cost, diminishes that part of the working day in which the laborer produces a return for his day's wages, and on the other hand lengthens that part of the working day in which he must PRESENT his labor

gratis to the capitalist. And this is the economic constitution of our entire modern society: the work-ing class alone produces all values. For value is only another expression for labor, that expression namely, with which is designated, in our latter-day capitalist society, the quantity of so-cially necessary labor embodied in a commodity. But these values produced by the workers do not belong to the workers. They belong to the posses-sors of the raw materials, machines, tools and money, which enable them to buy the labor-power of the laboring class. Hence, the working class gets back only a part of the entire mass of products produced by it. And as we have seen above, that part which the capitalist class retains, and which it has to share, at most, with the land-lord class, is growing with every new discovery and invention, while the share which falls to the working class (per capita) rises but little and very slowly, or not at all, and under certain circumstances it may even fall. But these discoveries and inventions

which supplant one another with ever increasing speed, this productivity of human labor rising from day to day to unheard-of proportions, at last gives rise to a conflict in which present capi-talistic economy must go to ruin. On the one hand, immeasurable wealth and the one hand, immensionable weath and a superfluity of products with which the buyers cannot cope. On the other hand, the great mass of society prole-tarized, turned into wage laborers, and the buyers is a superprised of the superprised of the target of the superprised of the s thereby disabled from appropriating that superfluity of products. The splitting up of society into a small class, immoderately rich, and a large class of wage laborers devoid of all property, brings it about that this so-clety such are in its superfluity while clety smothers in its superfluity, while the great majority of its members are hardly, or not at all, protected from exhardly, or not at all, protected from ex-treme want. This condition becomes every day more absurd and unneces-sary. It MUST be got rid of, it CAN be got rid of. A new social order is possible, in which existing class differ-ences will have disappeared, and in which there will be—perhaps after a short transition period, which, though brief, will be very useful morally— through the systematic use and further development of the enormous producdevelopment of the enormous produc-tive powers of the members of society tive powers of the members of society even now existing, with equal obliga-tion for all to work.—the means of life, of the enjoyment of life, and of the de-velopment and activity of all bodily and mental faculties. And that the workingmen are becoming ever more determined to first for this new social determined to fight for this new social order until it is won, will be proven on both sides of the ocean by the dawning First of May, and Sunday. the third

of May. London, April 30, 1891.

More Municipal Returns.

JACKSONVILLE, Ill.—At the election on April 18, the vote was: D. F. Heinrich, Mayor, 89, L. Emerich, City Clerk, 87, Yal Martis, Treasurer, 9), J. E. Snyder, Alderman (Ward 1), 310½, Ed. Vasconcellos, Alderman (Ward 2), 117, G. Renner, Alderman (Ward 3), 57½, Ben Miller, Alderman (Ward 4), 196, Last fail the vote was 45.

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

At session of April 20, 9 charters were granted comprising an aggregate of over 1,000 members, as follows: Firchburg Weavers' Alliance, Fitchburg, 00 member Mass. Du Bols Miners' Alliance, Du Bols, Pa. Textile Workers' Alliance, North Smith-field, R. I. Dolgeville Weavers' Alliance, Attleboro, Mass.

LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

Growth of the Party's Literary Agency, and Significance Thereof.

The growth of the party is registered in several ways: the increase of the vote from 36,000, in 1896, to 82,000, in 1898; the increase in the number of Sections from 200 reported in the National Convention of 1896 to over 400 at present; the doubling of the circulation of THE PEOPLE; the establishment of THE PEOPLE; the establishment and maintenance of several local party papers, the "Class Struggle," "Tocsin," "Workers' Call," etc.; and finally the continuous and systematic agitation carried on in all parts of the country. All these elements of the party's life show unmistakably a healthy growth. There is however another factor, not less important to the progress of the

There is however another factor, nor less important to the progress of the party than any of those mentioned above. And yet, strange as it may seem, it is generally ignored not only by the enemy but even by active party members. We mean the spread of the carty's literature and the growth of the party's literature and the growth of the institution entrusted with this work: the N. Y. Labor News Company. The the N. I. Labor News Company. The reason for this seeming anomaly is obvious. All the other factors men-tioned above do their work in the open light of day and in full view of the public, while the Labor News Co. deals public, while the Labor News Co. deals directly with individuals only so that the general public was hardly aware of its existence. Though located until recently on the top floor of the Labor Lyceum, it did its work, so to say, underground, mole fashion. But the subjoined account of the growth of the party's literary agency during the last six years will show that the mole is "a worthy pioneer" and that it has "worked in the earth fast" indeed.

CASH INCOME

of the Labor News Company from 1803 to 1808:

1,104,17 2,548,47 2,548,47 2,542,93 2,774,55 2,774,55 The cash income does not represent the entire amount of literature sold.

But it shows that the sales have more than quadrupled in six years. The activity of the Labor News Co. has been most marked since August 1, 1999. It was then that the moust of the sales o 1898. It was then that the series of

changes was inaugurated which culmi-nated in the removal to 147 East 23d street, the opening of a store which will no doubt prove a great help to the agitation in the metropolis, and the establishment on a firm basis of a book business which has, we believe, the largest stock of bona fide Socialist largest stock of bona fide Socialist literature to be found anywhere in the English-speaking world. The cash in-come from that date, August 1, 1898, to February 28, 1899, was \$8,108.75. That is to say, the amount of business done in these 7 months exceeds nearly FOUR TIMES that of the entire year 1893, and is larger than the total amount of the entire preceding year, 1897.

But alongside of this quantitative increase there is also a qualitative improvement. Time was when "Merrie England" was almost the entire stock in trade. Now, whatever the merits of that book might be, it has one funda-mental defect: its thought is not entirely emancipated from the thraldom of bourgeois domination. Its enormous popularity is in fact due to this defect: it is easily understood to this defect: it is easily understood by the masses of the people filled as they are with bourgeois views, notions and preju-dices. Its writer has not raised himself to an understanding of the process of historical evolution and of the domi-nant role of the struggle of classes in that evolution. This is now changed. "Merrie England" has been dethroned from its supremacy and is now largely replaced by that class of literature which is imbued with the revolu-tionary spirit of the proletariat and supred by the might genus of Karl swayed by the mighty genius of Karl

Marx. During the entire year 1898, "Merrie England" was sold in 5,218 copies. During the 7 months from August 1, Control to February 28, 1899, the Labor

News Co. sold: Marx-"Capital," 108 copies; "Eighteenth Brumaire, '446; "Communist Manifesto," 551. Labor Library (the four Kautsky pumphlets, Engel's "De-velopment of Socialism," and Lavelopment of Socialism," and La-fargue's "Religion of Capital"), 4,348 copies; Lafargue's "Right to be Lazy," 523; McClure's "Socialism," 623; Connolly's "Erin's Hope," 1,007. De Leon-"Reform or Revolution," 925; "What Means this Strike?" 7,801. "What Means this Strike?" with its

CORRESPONDENCE

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

Who May Be in the S. L. P.7

Who May Be in the S. L. P. I Who May Be in the S. L. P. I To THE PEOPLE. —I am one of the class to its work, namely, a physician, though proletarian through the agency of machine FT, namely, hospitals and dispensaries. But what I write for is this. In your issue of the 2d instant you published an answer to a correspondent who related the case of a certain contractor who belonged to a Sec-tion of the S. L. P. and yet who was ob-light to pay his men low wages in order to compete with other contractors, and you and this man must get out of the party "because he says his economic condition is a watage of other." You know 'bait this is the condition of every business, man and employer of labor in the world. That he is hopeless to alter conditions himself, and if he wants to help, seeing that these con-ditions are wrong. is he not honest? That to give full value for all bay. If you know this is impossible, and hence, if you know that I have no yurantee under if you know that is have no yurantee under if you know that is does not and, besides. Yerry if whow that if does not and, besides. Yerry if who that if does not and, besides, terry if who that if does not and, besides, terry if the workings are labeled. Now if is the same manufacturer is in many instances to day receiving only sufficient to may for his own preceiving only sufficient to may for his own spreitive asystem and usually consume anufacturer is in many instances to day there have a stall show any relation when yere in proper of habor as long as he is an more there are also denotes and that the interests of the physer of habor as ing as he is an indifier on how are sick and there of in-show when yere ready to

Warren, Pa., April 10.

[Our correspondent does us an in-

justice. He not only has misunder-stood us, that is quite pardonable; but he misquotes us, puts in quotation-marks what we did not say, and that

is less pardonable. The case referred to was that of a contractor, who, to make a living, had to bid so low, that the wages he could to bid so low, that the wages he could afford to pay were cruelly below those paid by any others. In answer to the question whether he should be in the S. L. P., we did not say, as quoted, that he should not "because he says his economic condition is such that he can not live without taking advantage of others"; what we did say is: "The man's explanation amounts to this: "We economic condition is so low that My economic condition is so low that I can not live without I push down the living of others still lower.' Such a man has no place within the ranks of the S. L. P."-And that is quite a dif-

the S. L. P."—And that is quite a un-ferent thing. To simply "take advantage" of others does not necessarily mean to eke out an existence by systematically pushing down the living of others; the latter is a decided intensification of the former; t may be difficult to draw the line exit may be difficult to draw the line ex actly at the spot where the one ends and the other begins; but there can be no question that the case of the con-tractor in question falls decidedly with-in the latter category.]

As to Agitation.

As to Agitation. To THE PEOPLE.—After a close observa-tion, I have become convinced that the fac-tics pursued by some of the Sections of agitation only about two or three weeks prior to an election are wrong. It is my opinion that the Sections ought to begin holding open air meetings as soon as the weather permits, the speakers to explain is a clear manner the aims and objects of Socialism, our immediate demands and the reason why the working class will not, nor cannot, receive any benefit whatever through the Democratic or Republican par-tice, gold bugs, silver bugs, or potato bugs, as these parties do not represent the working diametrically opposed to the working class, to wit, the capitalist class. As the capi-talist class lives upon surplus value (pro-nits), it is therefore evident that any law or laws that would be enacted and enforced of toil of the workers would decrease the expitalists are class. But here reduce the hours of the of the capitalist class. But are pre-

guartera, trying to make themselves be-lieve that E. Debs is the true founder of modern Socialisms and that within 5 years the S. L. P. will belong to the pat. Tt must be said, that of an local unions in this city, the Brewert Union No. 110 is the most progressive, sithough it might be safe to say that among their members there is an awful wide difference as to there is an principles of Socialism. At the same time, a good opportunity is offered to our com-tation meetings every month where fre-discussion is had. What our commisses through teaching and the distribution of internate cannot get into the heads of modern wage sizes deplorable comides through teaching and the distribution of modern wage sizes deplorable comides through teaching and the distribution of modern wage sizes deplorable comides through teaching and the distribution of modern wage sizes deplorable comides through teaching and the distribution of these and the retined McKinley pro-petity, too sad for explorable coming elec-tion. Section Newport and Paducah are the uneour of votes cast next fall will be satisfactory to the whole part. THE PRESS COMMITTERS Louisville, Ky-, April 24.

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Cerrespon-dents.

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

m abolymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]
 E. S., NEW YCRK.—The value of a tendolar gold piece can not remain the same. In exchange, whither the value of rold inset, or to the production of rold inset, or to the production of order inset.
 If the production of gold, for whatever reason, requires more expenditure of social labor, bower than before, while the production of other goods remains unchanged, then the yrades of the production of gold files.
 If the production of gold, for whatever reason, requires more expenditure of social labor, bower than before, while the production of other goods remains unchanged, then the value of gold files, and the fail is manifested in the greater quantity of other goods that becomes equivalent to a tendolar gold piece.
 If the productions will eccar if the production of other goods, for whatever reson, requires nore or requires less social labor, bower, while the production of sold final, and the fail is manifested in the smaller quantity of other goods, for whatever reson, requires more or requires less social labor, be write to a fold file, and the fail is manifested in the smaller quantity of other goods, for whatever reson, requires more or requires less social labor, be an end of a solet. The production of other goods for whatever reson, requires dol gid suffer changes. This is the law in exchange, but as a "means of payment," then it is subject to previous contract, and is not affected by the subsequent fail or rise of gold.
 When the is the former cargolity is a means of payment, only that the mortgarge middle class looks at the tendolar gold piece; while it is in the former capacity is a meane is unchange, looks at the identical condition of piece distribution of other goods and gold suffer changes.

D. B., RICHMOND, VA.-Whether the S. L. P. in power would raise taxes? You bet! Just watch the Revolution enthroned: taxes will go up sky-high; it will tax the Capitalist Class out of its eye-balls.

taxes will go up sky-high; it will tax the Capitalist Class out of its eye-balls. M. J. G., MILWAUKEE, WIS.-Do you know that too much chewing is just as likely to produce dyspepals as too little chewing? The stomach should perform a certain amount of work; if the food is too hard, the strain on the stomach is severer than it should; if the food is too light the strain upon the stomach is too liftle; in either case disease follows. Now, the mind also has a stomach, and that stomach is granted; to imagine, however, that mattars would be improved by making that food not stomach should alcken the mind's stomach and produce mental disease, ust as readily as undigestible articles. You have an illustration at hand. Look at the newspaper readers; the light stuff furnished in the stomach of their minds has readered nine-tenths of their minds has readered nine-tenths of their monach the food in the stomach is crippied and may not be reckoned with."

C. L. DATON, O. The "Brother Jon-than" of our TON, O. The "Brother Jon-than" of our Durgeois of the days of the prother Jonathan is not; he lis depicted in the volution, and with a Quaker's hat on. The legend has it that Washington had a quaker friend in Philadeiphia who was dis-tinguished for his "practical sense"; he of correspondingly marrow intellectual horizon. In the 'Uncie Bam & Brother Jona-horizon. In the 'Uncie Bam & Brother and the of the analysis of the days of the sense in the output of the days of the prother sense of the days of the result of the inclusion of the days of correspondingly marrow intellectual horizon. In the 'Uncie Bam & Brother and the State and the output of the main horizon. In the 'Uncie Bam & Brother and the sense of the days of the protocol of the analysis of the days when while Brother many of the main and the incomposition of the days of the macular discusse" would critical sense hon of declasse" in the sense hon of declasse" in the sense hon of the sense critical sense hon of the sense of some other hought of by any means make blan, as a mile sense for from the institution of 'castes' would not the term is loose; more work and this his and so with a sense horize the word 'files and and the sequenting of of the will of any term, sense when he has an instate the could enter none other, hence head instate act of the individual who hought heaved, and the sequenting of of the will of any term, set and the sequenting of the deliberate act of the individual who hought heaved, and the sequenting of the deliberate act of the individual who has the deliberate act of the individual wh

Three shillings a day. Our laborer gets therefore a daily wage of three shillings from his em-ploying capitalist. The capitalist lets him work for this, say, twelve hours. Our capitalist, moreover, calculates somewhat in the following fashion:

Let us assume that our laborer-a machine worker-has to make a piece of a machine that he finishes in one The raw material-iron and brass the necessary, prepared form-cost shillings. The consumption of coal the steam engine, the wear and tear this engine itself, of the turning e and of the other tools with which our laborer works, represent, for one 7 and one laborer, a value of 1 ling. The wages of one day are on rassumption 3 shillings. This makes a total of 24 shillings for our machine piece. The capitalist, however, calcu-lates that on an average he gets for it in his customers a price of 27 shil-in, or 3 shillings over and above his

Whence the 3 shillings pocketed by the capitalist come? According to amodities are in the long run sold their values, that is, they are sold at prices corresponding to the neces-ary, quantities of labor contained in them. The spraward of the sold of the them. The average price of our ma-chine piece-27 shillings-would there-fore equal its value, or the labor con-lained in it. But of these 27 shillings, 21 shillings were previously existing values, before our machine before our machine worker be-work. 20 shillings were conQuidnick Weavers' Alliance, Warwick,

R. I. Riverpoint Textile Workers' Alliance, Warwick, R. I. Building Trade Helpers, Scranton, Pa. Greenock Miners' Alliance, Greenock, Pa. Cioth, Hat and Cap Makers, N. Y. City, N. Y.

Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers, N. T. City, N. Y. A large amount of correspondence was read denoting a very great general interest in the Movement. The correspondence from D. A. 15. Pittsburg, Pa., stated that Com-rade Schulberg was adiating in Clearfield County, Pa.; the United Mine Workers' fakirs had called a meeting for the pre-vious Saturday afternoon, but the hall was so packed with the "Red Button Brigade" that the leaders, Warner, McKay and sev-eral others, sizing up the temper of the meeting refused to call the meeting to or der. On Sunday afternoon another meet-ing was held where Comrades Schulberg, Munro and others spoke, completely knock-ing out the pure and simple fakirs.

Keep an eys on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the namer and facilitate work at the office.

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St. LOUIS, MO.: Henry J. Poelling, 2140 College ave_use, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.: G. Bempler, 1233 Madison street, MILWAUKEE, WIS.: J. Rummel, 310 18th street.

NEW BRITAIN, CONN.: Clinton H. Pierce, 49 Winthrop street.

NEWARK, N. J.: John C. Butterworth, 110 Albion avenu PITTSBURG, PA.: gmann, 7) Congress street.

J. 8. Berg J. S. Bergmann, 19 Congress street, PHILADELPHIA, PA.; Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, PROVIDENCE, R. I.; Lawrence Lee, Box 206, Oineyville, R. L.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.: Austin Beoudreau, 40 Lucas street.

BALTIMORE, MD.: B. T. Maycumber, 1924 Christian street,

central idea of the class struggle and its uncompormising tone has supplant-ed in the favor of the public "Merrie England" with its invertebrate sentimentalism. It is now only about one year since the publication of 'What Means this Strike?" and nearly three editions. aggregating 15,000 copies, have been sold!

The following additional figures will be of interest.

From November 22, 1898, to February 28, 1899, were sold 442 of Lassalle's pamphlets ("Workingmen's Program"

and "What is Capital"). From December 13, 1898, to Febru-ary 23, 1898, were sold 167 of Marx's "Wage Labor and Capital," which has just been introduced to the American public.

From October 19, 1888, to February 28, 1899, were soid 1,877 of the "Social-ist Almanac."

From February 8, 1899, to February 28 were sold 1,925 copies of the first "Supplement to the Socialist Alma-1,925 in 20 days! Dac.

nac. 1,325 In 20 days! These figures show what the Labor News Co. is destined to become: not only a powerful agency of propaganda but also a source of income to the National Executive Committee for agita-tion and organization. And it depends on the zeal of the comrades to accomplish this speedily. In conclusion we would call the at-

tention of the comrades to the follow-ing significant fact:-The books of the Labor News Co. show that Massachu-setts, Rhole Island and Connecticut the last few years with a steadiness the last few years with a steadiness and a vigor that is amazing to old party politicians. May not the two facts have some relation to each other?

ADVISORY BOARD, L. N. CO.

of the capitalist class. But as the capitalists are class-conacious, their Rep-Demo party is not going to enact, and, if it does enact, will not enforce such a law or laws. Therefore, the only suivation that the working class has, is not only to vote the ticket of, but also become members of that party which alone represents the working class-the Socialist Labor party. I am positive that if these aritation tac-tics are adopted by starting early, not only will it increase our vote and party member-ship, but will make the workers sound, clear-cut Socialist, instead of so-called So-cialists who waste their time in chasing after all sorts of lighting express routes to Socialism. To prove the correctness of my opinion.

cialists who waste their time in chasing after all sorts of lighting express routes to Socialism. To prove the correctness of my opinion, I cite the following case: The City of Ho-boken has a Socialist Singing Society. Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Branch No. 9, three or four progressive (7) trade unions, two German and one Eng-lish Branch of the party: the Branches which time some comrades worked hard. The vote increased from 115 in the spring of 1898 to about 150 cast-April 11, 1899, while the town of Weehawken, having only an English Branch of the party which was organised the early part of this year. This Branch has held a meeting almost every week since its organization, at which one or more party speakers made addresses, and the vote increased there from 27 in November, 1896, to 64 in April 11, 1899. E. F. WEGENER. Jersey City, April 14.

Agitation in Louisville, Ky.

Agitation in Louisville, My.



THE CAROLINAS.

THE "COLOR LINE" DEVEL-OPS INTO THE "CLASS STUGGLE."

By B. F. Keinard, New York.

The meaning of the "color line" has been fundamentally changed. Instead of "race riots" being as formerly outbursts through which hostile Northern and Southern material interests found vent, now they are means of expressing the "irrepressible conflict" betwees united capitalists (Northern, Southern and European) and the wage workers (here predominantly negroes). "Color" playes no other part than that of locally expressing the class line, while at the same time obscuring it to the workers, just as with the nationality issue in the North.

The best example of these outbreaks is that of Wilmington, N. C., where capitalist interests, bringing to their service racial prejudice, etc., ousted the whole negro Government from its previously supreme control, the real ground being that the rule of this "improvident," "non-taxpaying," etc., etc., element had "disturbed and paralysed business."

First; Democrats,-and white Republicans at the suggestion of Republican Governor Russel-, united unanimously upon an exclusively business men's ticket. Second, the whole business fraternity, impatient and enraged, drove out the negroes by armed force, the Chamber of Commerce with its President, a New England Republican, dominating. To quote a special investigator present, an intimate of Mc-Kinley: "In the presence of what they believed to be an overwhelming crisis, THEY BRUSHED ASIDE THE GREAT PRINCIPLES THAT DI-VIDE PARTIES AND INDIVIDUALS AND STOOD TOGETHER AS ONE MAN." The whole capitalist class, North and South, Democrats and Republicans, Bryan and McKinley, have since endorsed this in numberless

The eld, anti-capitalist, South is gone: the new, capitalist, South is here, "loyal." "patriotic" and boisterously applauds the unctuous McKinley when he jubliates over "the unification of the "sections" and its "blessings." "Jubl-late Deo" while you may: the real sec-tions, the working class, are also unit-ing under the banner of the S. L. P., and merging all their local, nationality, color say and eccupation fractions of color, sex, and occupation fractions of the class line into one simple, enor-mous, iron line to crush wage slavery and send it to join its predecessor, chattel slavery, forever.

ALABAMA.

CIMERIAN CONDITIONS OF BACKWARDNESS.

By Harry R. Engel, Birmingham.

Nowhere can the progressive Labor Movement and Socialist agitation be more difficult.

For generations the Southern people have been dependent upon the negro, who is shamefully underpaid, to perform all manual and menial laber. So repugnant is the thought of work, that the suggestion of Socialism, which demands all of proper age and ability to do their share, arouses the ence proud dignat Belligerent and blinded by race prejudice, the deepest social problem he is capable of conceiving is the foolish and most needless cry of "White Supremacy," which gives rise to suspicion that there is a lurking instinct of selfinferiority, wholly ignoring the fact that the negre is an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class with which to beat the white wage slaves into sub-

hope can there be for an organization among these people, the great majority of whom can not read nor write, serfs, with no rights save the right to slave?! Rolling mill, railroad and the em-ployes of the trades in general are a great mass of class-unconscious wage workers, who devour the harangue of the fakirs with an avidity that is really amusing, with an occasional one maimed and ruined for life, thrown out like so much used up rubbish, to beg and starve, they are only another set of slaves who are as remote from our teachings as are the illiterate cotton mill hands.

Notwithstanding the crude state in which the dawn of the twentieth cen-tury finds us, all the conditions that will in time make us ripe for Socialism are here and rapidly developing, from the capitalist department store in its the capitalist department store in its first stages, down to that parsimonious, labor exploiting middle class,—all are organized to fleece the workers, who, content as yet in their misery, consent to be shorn of the product of their labor by voting the same Democratic-Republican Populists back into power. This view of the situation here is in no wise pessimistic, the truth shall not be sacrificed for a portrayal in glowing phrases bearing the stamp of men-dacity

TEXAS.

PROGRESS IN THE LONE STAR STATE.

By Frank Leitner, San Antonio.

It is only a few months since the Socialist Labor party made its debut in Texas politics. Great was the astonishment of the large dailies in this State when that lusty child of international parentage gave its first sign of life, and they commented on the new arrival according to the class interests they represented. The unvarnished advocate of greater capitalism of the Gold Bug variety, as well as the representative of the "gaping the last breath" middle class still praising the silver cure (of which latter class this vast empire of 265,780 square miles bears its stamp), had their funny or eraculous sayings,-little dreaming that this new aspirant for political supremacy is destined to make their quietus.

Let it be said right here that this was not the first attempt to organize the workers under the banner of the S. L.P., by no means. A Section had been formed several years ago but died prematurely for the following reasons: First, this pioneer Section consisted exclusively of German comrades, who, in spite of their earnestness and enthuslasm, were unable through lack of English speakers to make connection with or interest the native workers;

Second, our national organization had at that time no settled policy and was wholly at sea in regard to tactics therefore was unable to set an example to and guide the struggling Sections throughout the land. That memorable National Convention of 1896 brought order in the movement and since then our party has made rapid strides;

Third, the economic conditions of the Texas wage workers and farmers was such in those days as to make them almost unfit for disciples of Socialism. Railroads were built in all directions; plenty of work everywhere; living wages and good prices for farm and ranch products prevailed; land was cheap and open to everybody under the preemption law; credit easily obtain-able,—in short, Texas, with its great natural resources, was in the first, threes of capitalistic production, ac-companied with the usual boom

the Socialist chain that will reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canadian Dominion to the Rio Grande de Bravo and in time will encircle the whole civilized world. That is the greeting Texas sends out to all com-rades in the land for the first of May, 1899.

cate" until Texas has become a link of

MARYLAND.

THE MOVEMENT PURGING ITSELF CLEAN.

By Henry C. McAnarney, Baltimore.

There are in Maryland three Sections of the Socialist Labor party-Canton, Washington and Baltimore. The State Committee is located at Washington, D. C.; the Section there is progressive and is, by reason of its environment, in position to do a great deal of good in propoganda work. Canton's Section is small, but very active, and is located in a ripe field for the dissemination of Socialist principles. Section Baltimore, after a varied career of misfortune and misplaced confidence, has ridden itself of the riff-raff confusionists who in the past prevented progress, and is now working upon a sound basis. Formerly the Section was organized into but two Branches, these being centralized. Now the form of organization has been changed, and instead of two central Branches, there are three Ward Branches and two central Branches, the membership, under this system, increasing at a rapid rate.

At present a proposition is being dis-cussed whereby a permanent organizer may be placed in Baltimore city; and be shall devote his entire time to the organization of the party in the city. Lack of funds, however, is a serious drawback to the accomplishment of this aim at the present time.

this aim at the present time. That Baltimore is a ripe field for the organization of the party is beyond dispute, for the condition of the work-ing class is deplorable. Those street car employés who are regularly em ployed receive \$1.75 per day for twelve, hours' labor, and they are compelled to deposit \$50 to guarantee the "faith-ful performance" of their duties; and even under these conditions "political even under these conditions "political influence" is a necessary requisite to obtain a situation. The extra men are subject to the same obligations as the influence" regulars; and these work whenever opportunity offers. Damages to property of the company are charged to the men in charge of the cars causing the dam-ages. The condition of the factory workers, and their name is legion, is similar to that of the street car em-ployés-deposite, fines, long hours of labor, low rates of wages and irregular employment. In the mining region, in the northern

part of the State, there is no Section, and the need of a State organizer is very urgent. The field is there, the material for a great party is at hand, ready to be molded into a compact, class-conscious organization. The only drawback is an alert organizer-AND FUNDS. There was at one time a branch of the United Mine Workers in the mining regions; but it is now either dead or dying. A "workingman" miner is a State Senator; he is also Assistant State Labor Statistician; he is also one of "the industrial props" to the Governor of Maryland; he repre-sents "organized labor" as a Baubil sents "organized labor" as a Republi-can in the State Legislature. Thus all

the miners are happy (?). On the castern shore of Maryland child labor is the mainstay of the middle class farmers and fruit and ovster canners. Children carrying doll bables to the canning factories is a common sight in Cambridge. The alleged sight in Cambridge. The alleged "child labor" law enacted by a recent Legislature, prohibiting the employ-ment in factories of children under TWELVE YEARS OF AGE, EX-EMPTS THE EASTERN SHORE CANNING FACTORIES from the ope-ration of the law. ration of the law

Maryland is RIPE. Let there be an Organizer to Reap the Harvest.

GEORGIA.

THE S. L. P. AT WORK.

. White, Atl

wage workers and people in general in Georgia are learning the meaning of Socialism and the Socialist Labor party, and splendid progress is being made. Atlanta is the largest city in Georgia, having a population of about 125,000, and is a good field to work in. The smaller cities of Augusta, Savan-nah, Macon, and Columbus, have each a population of about 40,000. The agitation is being carried on in all the places named, and before many months the Atlanta Socialists are confident that the requisite three Sections will be well organized, and a State organization effected.

Section Atlanta of the Socialist La bor party now has a permanent home at 30½ South Pryor street, Atlanta, Ga., and is doing its utmost to spread the agitation. Among its members are two active organizers—English and German—who go to adjacent cities and towns and address the people when opportunity allows. Special effort is now being made to

strengthen Section Atlanta, so that or-ganizers may be sent from this city to organize the Southeastern States.

The Fopulist party, which a few years ago, polled 96,000 votes in Georgia, has gone to pieces, and when the S. L. P. enters the political arena with its first State ticket, many of those who were former Populists will be found voting the S. L. P. ticket

straight. The States of North and South Carolina, Florida and Tennessee, in which little Socialist agitation has been done, will make a task for the Georgia Socialists to perform. Alabama is organized, having several Sections, while Texas is also organized. Georgia, Ala-bama and Texas are the only extreme Southern States in which the Socialist Labor party is organized, but these three States can, with the proper effort, organize the entire South.

VIRGINIA.

THE PROUD MOTHER OF PRESIDENTS.

By B. H. D. McTier, Manchester.

My intention is to make as clear as it is possible for me to do the condition of affairs in this State of ours, so that our comrades throughout the United States may glean some idea of the magnitude of the work cut out for a few earnest workers in the Cause of Humanity in this old moss-back State of ex-chattel slave owning Bourbons. this Virginia, the proud mother of Presidents, as she is commonly called by the fakirs of all creeds, especially when they sniff in the distance the aroma of the public pie counter, which they hope to enjoy by the votes of the suckers caught by such silly milk and water clap-trap.

During my sojourn of 10 years in this State, I have experienced the best of treatment from a people whose hospitality is without reproach, whose sympathies, time and money are freely given to those in need of them. Proud of their descent from the old feudal Barons of England, proud of their 11lustrous ancestors-the Washingtons, Jeffersons and Henrys-this pride is one of the obstacles in the way of propaganda work for Socialism. In our State, yea, among the working classes even, (although they may be as poor as the church mouse) the caste sentiment is very strong. They would rather have as their (mis)representer one picked out from among the frayededged malodorous aristocracy than one selected from their own class (they are hell on stock, you know); and they are prepared to follow those misleaders (their Daniels and Lees) to a pauper's grave, or, if necessary, farther, rather than one of their own class to certain emancipation from the thralldom of

wage slavery. Thus the worship of false heroes is one of the obstacles which we poor but intrepid Socialists have to overcome in the old Commonwealth of Virginia. Our task would be easier if capitalism was more fully developed here, which it will be soon. Wait till the roughfooted capitalist gets these Virginia aristicratic noses to the emery wheel. and then, as the sparks fiv, we will tell them something, and laugh when we hear them confess that "those damned Socialists were right!" Another great obstacle (and one which is indigenous to all Southern States) is the race question. The feel-ing on the part of the whites is that of those who view their former chattels placed on political equality with them-selves. Which acrimonious feeling was selves. Which acrimonious feeling was intensified by the Federal Carpet baggers, who, after the war, used the ignorant colored man's vote to hoist themselves into office. So powerful is that race weapon, and so well used by our political fakirs, that when on various occasions a reform party has flash ed forth which threatened to overthrow the powers that be, it was smashed by no other argument than that of the cry of "Nigger; Nigger!", at the sound of which the poor ignorant white slaves fied in terror back to their masters to hug and kiss their chains with more fervent love than ever. These are the main obstacles, which coupled with the dense economic ig-norance of the masses (the result of norance of the masses (the result of their blind worship of false leaders), are the lions in the pathway of the Socialist Movement in our State. These are the obstacles we have to overcome, and will—if truth is truth, and courage are essential. Thus having briefly outlined the work before us here, I will state that our munitions of war consist alto-gether of a few rough-handed sons of toil, occupying the widely separated forts of Roanoke, Newport News and Richmond. Therefore, knowing these facts, I hope our comrades, who oc-cupy more favorable positions in the fight, will sympathise with us if we are only able to do little more than hold the fort for sometime yet.



MICHIGAN.

HISTORY OF CLASS - CON-SCIOUS FORMATION.

By Meike Meyer, Detroit.

I shall here give a short history of the Socialist Labor party and the political labor class movement of Michigan.

The first Socialist Section in Michigan was organized in Detroit as early as 1874. In 1877, the Section entered the political arena as S. L. P., but the Socialists, who composed Section Detroit at that time, did not know anything about class interests, and their party was, therefore, swept away by individualistic interests.

In 1886, an attempt was made by the economic labor organization of Detroit to start an "Independent Labor Party.' Socialists participated; but this attempt, too, failed because the movers were ignorant of class interests.

In 1887, Section Detroit "took a stand against the Prohibition movement" and among others, Chas. Erb and Wm. Krieghoff, two of the old leaders of the S. L. P. of Detroit, went on a stump tour through the State to speak against "Prohibition" or rather "local option." Henry Kummerfeldt, another old leader of the party, became President of an anti-Prohibition society called "Verein zur Wahrung der persönlichen Freiheit" (Society for the Safeguarding of Personal Freedom). That these men could be carried off by a simple beer and whiskey question, shows that the name "Socialist" was very loosely applied, when applied to these men. That no progress was made with that kind of Socialist agita-

tion can not be wondered at. In 1891 and 1892, the Nationalists and the Socialists jointly nominated a ticket under the name of "Citizens' In-dependent Party." Here, too, class

lines were ignored. It was not until the occurrences of 1893 and 1894, that the S. L. P. found bed-rock in Detroit.

bed-rock in Detroit. When, in the early part of 1894, city employés-the laborers working for the Water Board of Detroit-went on strike, because the Water Board at-tempted to establish a piece-work sys-tem, and when these laborers found that they could not make their sait at the rate the Water Board wanted to the rate the Water Board wanted to pay, then they went on strike to re-tain their old pay and to protest against the new plece-work system. The Board immediately called upon C. P. Collins to protect the men who would be willing to scab it. The scene of action was just beyond the city limits at "Conners Creek," and the city Police

had no jurisdiction there. When Sheriff Collins arrived, he did not wait until he was forced to protect scabs; but when the crowd started to jest him, he ordered his deputies to "fire," and he himself is said to have emptied the rounds of two revolvers, one in each hand, into the crowd. The result was that several died of the wounds received, while many others was after this occurrence that

something like class-consciousness be-gan to creep upon certain individuals in the Labor Movement of Detroit. in the Labor Movement of Detroit. The hard times of '33 helped along to ripen the idea that Labor must enter the political arena, independent of the old parties. In 1894, in the fall, the Trades Council took the initiative and called a convention of all supposed la-bor organizations of Detroit. The conbor organizations of Letroit. The con-vention was held in Germania Hall and the name "Independent Labor Party" was adopted. But before the conven-tion was over, a dispute arose about "endorsements" between the fakirs and the honest elements of the convention. The majority favored "endorse-ments"--and Sheriff C. P. Collins, too, was endorsed. This broke the camel's back: the minority bolted. The Populists too accepted the endorsement scheme; and, with this attempt, the different independent labor party fa-kirs du; the graves for their partles, but temporarily helped themselves into rolltion pardters political positions. Another convention was then called by the Central Labor Union in Finnette's Hall, and all those societies that had bolted were invited to attend. Among the societies that sent delegates were the S. L. P., the C. L. U., the Cigarmakers' Union, the East Side Turn Verein, etc., and the name "Strictly Independent Workingmen's Party" was adopted. The platform, as Party" was adopted. The platform, as adopted, was a nonsensical mixture of single tax-and Socialism; class inter-ests were entirely ignored, but in its address to the voters of Wayne County -the address preceded the platform--"the working people" were called upon "to sever all affiliation with these (the old parties) and create a movement of their own." S. Goldwater, one of the cigarmakers' delegates, dropped out again, started a Ward movement which he called the "Cliizens' Independent Party" took the anderson the Party," took the endorsement of the Democrats and was elected Alderman. After the S. I. W. P.'s convention, Ward Clubs were organized after the manner of the previous opportunistic and utorian attempts for political ac-tion. The East Side Turners especially were active in organizing Ward Clubs, and the 9th, the 11th and the 13th Ward Clubs were organized in their Hall. Immediately after the election, the 11th and the 13th Ward Clubs adopted the name Socialist Labor Party, and instructed their delegates to the City Committee to work towards the change of the name of the "Strictly Indepen-dent Workingmen's Party" into "So-cialist Labor Party." The delegates of the 9th, the 11th and the 13th Ward Clubs, together with one or two des-gates from Section Detroit, S. L. P., on the East Side Turners, were the only ones left in the S. I. W. P.'s City Com-mittee; to change the name was, there-

ones left in the S. I. W. P.'s City Com-mittee; to change the name was, there-fore, no hard task. A few of the active Ward Club mem-bers had been members of the 3. L. P. during the S. I. W. P.'s campalign, the others joined the Section shortly after-wards. In this way the class-con-scious, active element found its way into the Section and succeeded in silencing the old pessimistic and utopian ideas of the older members. At first the vote cast for the party was very small, but in a few years the vote of Michigan increased enormously. Sections had been organized in several cities, and the S. L. P. became tae ter-ror of all capitalist politicians, political schemers and labor fakirs. The failurs of the 16 to 1 middle class movement unloaded upon the S. L. P. some of these utopians and schemers because side-tracking movements had become side-tracking movements had become impossible on account of the aggres-sive, uscompromising attitude of the ruling element of Section Detroit to-ward such side focus. ward such side-shows. The active, ar gressive element ruled, at least, in the agitation of Section Detroit.

But by the combination of these aforesaid two reactionary elements-they instituted a wholesale remission of dues, by the aid of which unconstitutional members were enabled to vote in the Section—thus the reactionary in-clined elements were enabled to temporarily regain control of the agitation of Section Detroit. But, owing to the crooked, stand taken by them in public questions as well as in party and Sec-tion affairs, they broke their own power within the short spap of one year.

The S. L. P. stands now before a period where all rubbish will be cast off and where it will grow faster and sounder on account of its purity and its uncomportioning stand against all the foes of the wage working claus.

NOTICE.

Several very good articles, sent in for this MAY DAY issue, came in too late for insertion. Being of permanent value, they will be published in later issues

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eigteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEO-FLE, is now to be had bound in an ele-The, is now to be had bound in an ele-gant volume of 78 pages, with Marr' pleture as frontisplece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist. can afford to be without it. Apply La-bor News Co., 147 E. 23d street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "What Means this Strike?" is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facililate work at the effec.

Hunger and Cold!

Sisters two, all praise to you, With your faces pinched and hine; To the poor man you're been true From of old: You can speak the keenest word, You are sure of being heard From the point you're never stirred Hunger and Cold?

Let aleek state-men temporise; Palsied are their shifts and lies When they meet your bloodshot even, Grim and bold; Polley you set at naught, In their traps you'll not be caught, You're too honest to be hought Hunger and Cold;

Bolt and bar the palace door; While the mass of men are poor.

Chained to such a political and economic tread-mill of thought, the haughty Southerner dare not look to the right neither to the left, lest he step off into public opinion which carries more weight than his own convictions.

The work of agitation and carrying on the affairs of the Party for the time being must be accomplished by and among people who have taken up their abode here from abroad, these are chiefy miners who work long hours and who, after returning home from their drudgery, feel little disposed to attend meetings, thus the work is necessarily slow and ardnous.

essarily slow and arduous. The wide-spread illitaracy due to a woeful lack of schools and the im-pervious minds of the negros are among the barriers, well nigh insur-mountable, encountered here. Our literature and mode of reasoning is abstruse to people who use only a measurylabic dinlect or the patow of the segre. With this state of affairs it would be folly to make any great ex-penditure on propagands or bring in aid from the Farty at large, which can be applied to better advantage in locali-ties where the minds of the working class are receptive to progensive ideas. ideas.

Cotton mill employes, receiving from ten cents to one dollar per day, with twelve to fourteen hours at work, what

But conditions have changed mightly since. Wages have been gradually re-duced to the level of the Northern and Eastern States; the idle land was gobbled up by the railroads and large cattle and land companies; the bonanza arm put in its appearance. The smal farmer and ranchers are unable to compete with their greater competer. The cities are crowded with idle men, willing to work at and for anything, finding themselves displaced by wo-men and children and the LABOR-SAVING MACHINE. The smart business men of larger means are having ness men of larger means are having their work done by firms of the East and North, employing the best and latest improved machinery, thereby either leaving the smaller mechanics either leaving the smaller mechanics at home out in the cold or compelling him to work for nothing and pay his employes (if he has any) starvation

wage What the earnest efforts of those early comrades could not accomplish the impoverished condition of the the workers did. It set them a-thinking workers and. It set them a thinking that something was radically wrong in the social mechanism. But instead of saying "pater peccavi" and turn to So-cialism, they fell a prey to the various "Reform" movements, chiefly among therefore Derivite terms "Reform" movements, chiefly among them the Populist craze, with its heal-serum of 16 to 1 and the radical ilon skin drawn over its reactionary as-sinine body. Shortly after the last Presidential election, in which Popu-liam was buried too deep to be resus-ciated, 10 men got together in this city and formed a Section of the S. L. P. which proved a stayer and became the nucleus of the existing State organiza-tion. tion

That Socialism is a fixture in this State, never more to be effaced is proven by the synonimous appearance of a number of "me too" Socialists and a number of "me too" Socialists and -called Socialistic organizations for whom our party is too "narrow" and "autocratic." Well, we give those fel-lows a wide berth and rope enough to

hang themselves. The comrades of this State are deter-mined to "organize, agitate and edu-

When chattel slavery was abolished in the South there arose in its stead a system of slavery as bad or worse than chattel slavery. That system is the system of wage slavery that prevails to-day, and not only the blacks, but the whites also, are the slaves.

Under the rule of capitalism, education has been denied the workers, and as a result, illiteracy is so general that thousands of the workers can neither read nor write at all, and the majority of those who are able to write, cannot write intelligently.

In the last State election in Georgia. of 850,000 eligible voters, less than 150,000 voted, a majority of the latter number controlling the election. Thus when a majority of three-sevenths of the voters control the State, the indifference on the part of the four-sevenths clearly shows that dense ig-norance prevails among them as to their duties toward government

The white workers have the full privilege of the ballot, but the blacks, as a general thing, are prevented from voting through a system of white primaries, in which they are not permitted to vote. In the regular election they can vote, but never having had any other than the maculate make white primary ticket to vote for, they have usually refrained from voting. Thus the workers in Georgia have

Thus the workers in Georgia have had no voice in making the laws that govern them. But the rule of capitalgovern them. But the rule of capital-iam has so forcibly oppressed them that they are beginning to realize their situation, and in Augusta, Ga., re-cently, 6,000 white cotton will workers revolted, on which occasion they were shown the only way to achieve shown the only way to achieve their emancipation from wage slavery by a Socialist Labor party organizer. Through the efforts of Section At-lants of the Socialist Labor party, the

ontrolled; You had never yet. I gues, Any praise for bashfulzes, You can visit sans court-dre Hunger and Cold!

While the music fell and rose, And the dance receied to its close, Where her round of costly woes Fashion strolled, I beheld with shuddering fear Wolves' cycs through the window pears Little dream they you are near, Hunger and Coldi

When the toller's heart you clutch Conscience is not valued much... He recks not a bloody smutch On his gold: Everything to you defers, You are potent reasoners, At your whisper Treason stirs, Hunger and Cold!

Rude comparisons you draw, Words refine to sate your maw, Your gaunt limbs the cob-web linw Cannot bold: You're not clogged with foolish pride, But can selze a right denied: Somehow God is on your side, Hunger and Cold!

You respect no hoary wrong More for having triumphed long: Its past victims, haggard throng From the mould You unbury: swords and spears Weaker are than poor men's tears, Weaker than your silent years Hunger and Cold!

Let them guard both hall and bowers Through the window you will glower, Patient till your reckoning hour Shall be tolled: Cheek are pale, but hands are red. Guiltiess blood may chance be ahed, But ye must and will be fed, Hunger and Cold!

God has plans man must not spoll Some were made to starve and toll, Bome to share the wine and oil We are told; Devil's theories are these, Stifling hope and love and peace Framed your hideous insta to please Hunger and Coldi

Scatter ashes on thy head. Tears of burning sorrow shed, Earth! and be by Pity led To Love's fold: Ere they block the very door With lean corpses of the poor. And will hush for maught but gore Hunger and Cold! LOWE LOWELL



statement by the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, to the Party Membership and to Voters of the S. L. P. Ticket Throughout the Land.

forging ahead over obstacles pre eemed insurmountable, it nat rest deemed insurmountable, it nat-ing happens from time to time that the of those who formerly were in front rank, unable to keep pace with the advancing column, fall be-ind, and, after vainly calling for a set, are left in the rear if not lost to

tauch times it unavoidably happens that bitter personalities that bitter personalities are in-d in; because the great fact is not rally comprehended-or is too

senerally comprehended—or is too requestly lost sight of by those even to comprehend it—that social movents, or diverging tendencies within the movements, tre not the product their so-called 1. aders, but that the their so-chief i inters, but that the memo proposition is true. The exist-sec of differences is therefore, as a us, wrongly imputed to those who, dected as agents or mouthpleces of movements or tendencies to which are respectively contribute their in-terior offsets symmethetically reflect idual efforts, sympathetically reflect their acts or utterances, with such a their acts or utterances, with such swers as they possess, the collective estiment of their respective constitu-nts. Manifestly, a mere change of nons, while any sort of compromise with a view to "harmony" could only wait in emphasizing the divergences g closer friction; so that in the end the area(dable crises would come, intenoldable crises would come, intensified by additional elements of dis-

It is through such a crisis that the It is through such a crisis that the Socialist Movement in now passing in New York City; a crisis hought about, not suddenly by the deeds or words of impetuous men, but gradually by the slow and logical working of forces, which, originally starting from the same point and for a time apparently memory in the same direction, began oving in the same direction, began years ago to display opposite tenden-cies. But it is precisely from such crises that the Socialist Movement has always and in every country emerged stronger, until at last it became irre-sistible wherever it had succeeded in overcoming the internal resistances to is advance along the lines plainly marked out by the Class Struggle.

marked out by the Class Struggle. On occasions of this gravity, how-ever, it is highly important that every fact of unquestionable authenticity and value, tending to enlighten those whom the movement must depend for its integrity and progress, be submitted to their most dispassionate consideration. With this end in view, and hoping that no previous associa-tion, no present environment, no in-fluence other than the sense of right, and no irrelevant or secondary matter of dispute, may interfere with the exrcise of judgment and consistent ac-tion, the National Executive Committion, the National Executive Commit-tee of the Socialist Labor Party has therefore deemed it its duty to the membership of the said Party—and to those who, though not yet members, are in full sympathy with its great alm and support it at the ballot box, but might be misled by inaccurate in-formation—to publicly issue the follow-ing statement ing statement

This step, in fact, has been rendered imperative by the hostile position which certain members and non-memrs, availing themselves of their editorial command over a paper hereto-fore considered a Socialist organ, and claiming a right of criticism to the extent of public attack, have publicly taken upon questions, not only of so-called "tactics" but of fundamental principle, pertaining to the party, re-peatedly settled by its National and State conventions, settled again, through the referendum, by an over-whelming majority of its membership,

yet always open to free discussion with its organization. Comrades:-As you all know, the seed of modern Socialism was first planted in American soil by German militants a generation ago. Their self-imposed task was onerous and thank-tes; their labors remained for a long time unproductive. There may have be unproductive. There was here in true meaning which a class-conscious proletarian attaches to this expression. The undersloped country was still then stording numberless opportunities to middle class aspirations. Individualan of the meanest sort was rampant; solidarity an unknown word. The only parpose of such labor organization as there could be under the prevailing conditions was to maintain wages at a point where, by "saving," the worker could at last become a small "boss." He resigned himself to be skinned for time in order to become a skinner of his fellows. The "smartest" man-that is, the most cunning and un-terquilous in the choice of means to attain this end-was the natural leader a labor body composed of such ele-ments. And as politics presented oc-casions of pecuniary and social ad-vancement to men of glib tongue and absent conscience, every labor leader The six years' crisis that began in 1678, by reducing the American work-ing class to a condition of helplessness micieatly suggestive of its inexorable into ander capitalism, gave the Ger-man comrades, chiefly in New York City, their first opportunity of agita-tion among people of other nationali-the timited means. But economic their limited means. But economic their limited means. But economic methon is a plant of slow growth, method is a plant of slow growth, method is a plant of the rankest their limited means. Moreover, Socialist agitation, we so well systematized in Germany. The still here in its experimental stage. at any rate they spread Socialist doc-tions, made some converts, and in order ently suggestive of its inexorable the made some converts, and in order a rive a practical illustration of their bethods and purposes, they constituted a metallist Party and boldly undertook, with their scant resources, to issue a metallist daily paper in the German insuage, namely, the "New Yorker Volkaseltung."

a states:-As the Socialist Move-tates:-As the Socialist Move-cialistic Co-operative Publishing Asso-ciation." But it was understood that the paper was actually, then and for-ever, the property of the Party, sub-ject in all its utterances to the will of the Party, and amenable at all times to that truly social-democratic, self-imposed and self-enforced discipline of the Party, of which Germany, under the anti-Socialist Bismarckian "laws of exception." was at that very mo ment giving the world a magnificent

example. Of course, within the Party, but only within it, the editors, like any other members thereof, not only could venti-late with the utmost freedom any per-sonal views which they might enter-tain, but were expected to do so; and it was not deemed possible that the day might come when a non-member of the Party could be called upon to example. of the Party could be called upon to occupy the chair of editor-in-chief, or even the position of sub-editor, and, as such, oppose in the columns of the paper the tactics of the Party, criticize its programme, or do aught that could infus way give aid and comfort to its enemics—all in the name of freedom,

as understood by the Anarchists. The "Volkszeitung" went on. Armed with this precious weapon, the New York Socialists of 1878 placed a muni-cipal ticket in the field and cast about 1.700 votes for their Mayoralty candi-date. Whet of the trade unions that date. Most of the trade unions that had survived the crisis were mere skeletons. The only ones that showed satisfield and a state of the set of the showed shy signs of life were German organi-sations, thoroughly imbued with the Socialist spirit. With the revival of capitalistic business in 1879 and 1880, trade unionism emerged from its torpid state. The most active, the most earnest agents of this awakening v German Socialists, seconded by a few men of other nationalities, who pro-fessed conversion to Socialism or at least sympathy approximating conver-sion. Their great cry, "Organize! Or-ganize! Organize!" was taken up every-where. They did not at first conceive that an organization for economic war against individual capitalists could not of itself so emphasize the class strugof itself so emphasize the class strug-gle and so plainly suggest the right mode of action, as to logically, neces-sarily bring about its own evolution into an organisation for political war against capitalism. Lulled by fakirs who fattened on their dues and pro-fited by their misspent activity in the building up of pure and simple trade unions, they patiently waited to see unions, they patiently waited to see the "inevitable" result. Seeing noth-ing, they finally began to "bore from the inside." They bored so well that in 1880 they found themselves outside of Socialism and in the mire of Green-backism. Batracing their stone they backism. Retracing their steps, they backism. Retracing their steps, they bored again from within and in 1886 fell out into the still deeper mire of Single Taxiam. Disgusted, as they might well have been, they withdrew their economic organizations from the Central Labor Union formed a central Central Labor Union, formed a central to their economic fights. At about that time (1888) the Party was so low that, Nork City for the mere purpose of test-ing its strength, only about 2,000 votes were cast for its candidates-or hardly more than ten years before, despite the enormous growth of the wage-working German population in the American metropolis and the immense progress of Socialism in Germany. In no other part of the country could the Party give even so weak a sign of remaining

Such was the outcome of the "tac-tics" which the "Volkszeitung" would have us revive.

These tactics, so-called, were aban-doned in 1890, and others substituted, of which the present ones are the diof the Party since then is a matter of such well known record that we may dispense with any comments upon it. The fact, however, should right here be stated, that at no time and under no circumstances did the "Volkszel-tung" ald the Party in carrying out its changed policy; but that many times and in many ways-by editorial silence or innuendoes, by reportorial incom-pleteness' or blue pencil work, and at last by outspoken opposition-it en-deavored to discredit that policy which it was in duty bound by the laws of ethics, by its professions of loyalty, and by its constitution, to sustain and promote As we have already observed, diverg ing tendencies are not the creation of their respective mouthpleces. The con trary is true, and it were idle to blame the mouthpieces for their own existthe monthpieces for their own exist-ence. But the actual fact in the case of the "Volkszeltung" is that it attempted the impossible task of not being the monthpiece of any particular tendency in the labor movement, and that, when the divergences became too great to permit of such "impartiality," it was driven by the legitimate dis-satisfaction of the S. L. P. with its tepid loyalty, into an attitude of hot dislocation disloyalty. The admission has indeed repeatedly been made, by members of the Socialbeen made, by members of the Social-istic Co-operative Publishing Associa-tion and by members of its Board of Directors, that if the "Volkszeitung" were to sustain the uncompromising policy of the S. L. P., its existence might be placed in jeopardy by a loss of the support which it now received from various labor organizations: This is, we dare say, a contession of impotence not less painful than suggestive, and for which there would be no occasion if, applauding as it should have done the abandonment of cowardly tactics, if, applauding as it should have done the abandonment of cowardly tactics, and welcoming as it should have done the adoption of an energetic policy.— of the only policy consistent with the teachings of Rerolutionary Socialism— the "Volkszeitung" had cast away such support as it could get from Pure-and-Simplers and their Anarchist asso-ciates, revived the drooping spirits of German comrades exhausted by fruit-less attempts to travel ån impracticable road, and faced the enemy at every point. Nor is it too late for such manly action. With \$2,000 Socialist votes be-

hind us and daily reports before us of question incalculably safer than it was eight years ago. Moreover, we do not believe that a majority of the Social-istic Co-operative Publishing Associa-tion are cowards or traitors. On the contenue was do believe that all of its contrary, we do believe that all of its members, with the exception of a few Anarchists and some other pronounced Party enemies, are loyal to the Party; that they are willing to sustain it at any cost and at all hazards; but that minds of a number of them have been poisoned in an atmosphere long impregnated with timorousness and disloyalty, and now filled with the subtle venom of personal animosity. It is, therefore, with a friendly feeling that we publicly call upon the Social-istic Co-operative Publishing Associa-tion to discown the hostility of its pre-ent odires, and the press its locality by ent editors, and to prove its loyalty by enforcing its constitution. Of the claim which those editors set

forth, in defiance of the said constitu-tion, that they commit no act of dis-loyalty in publicly opposing the "tactics" of the Party, we should not spe-cially speak here if what they term "tactics" was not so closely related to the fundamental principle of the class struggle as to involve the Socialist Movement in its entirety. That the at-titude of the Party concerning the nat-ure of trade unionism is erroneously completed by a more Company company considered by some German comrades in this country as a mere matter of tactics, happens from the fact that in Germany, as is France and Belgium, trade unionism is overwhelmingly So-cialistic. There was no occasion in in those countries for asserting in the So-cialist declaration of principles the necessity of a condition which was in existence and the existence of which was taken as a matter of course. But the occasion arose in the International Congresses, as soon as the Socialist Parties and the Socialist trade unions of those countries found themselves confronted by the pure and simple anti-Socialist trade unions of Great Britain and by the Anarchists of everywhere. Hence the emphatic declaration at London, in 1896, that no labor organi-zation shall be entitled to representation in International Congresses unless it recognizes the necessity of political action upon class lines; that is, upon the Sachurg and the second se the Socialist lines of battle. That setues this issue.

Another matter to which we must here call attention is the rash act of the said editors in attempting to dispute the position of the S. L. P. on the subject of taxation and hiring for that purpose a voluble logomachist who never knew on what side of the fence he could most safely stand upon any question

The disloyalty here is most flagrant. The disloyalty here is most flagrant. After years of silent acquiescence, dur-ing which the editors of the "Volks-zeitung" not only had every oppor-tunity of making themselves heard in the councils of the Party, but were in duty bound to express their dissent in those councils if they actually enter-tained contrary views, they now sud-denly-without provocation, without warning, and in the same spirit already displayed in their attucks upon the Party's trade union principle-opened in the columns of the paper a camin the columns of the paper a cam-paign of confusion against the simple, clear and radically true formula which the S. L. P. is victoriously opposing to the most insidious and most bambooz-ling declarations of middle class parties There is no room in this address for

a discourse on taxation: and we must for the present confine ourselves to an emphatic reassertion of the fundamental principle enunciated in the New York State platform of 1805 and in the Municipal Programme of the S. L. P.; which, together with the not less fundamental position of the Party on trade unionism, has been loyally maintained by the Party's English organ, "Vorwaerts." (See Appendix.)

"Vorwaerts." (See Appendix.) But whether the editors of the "Volkszeitung" be permitted to con-tinue in their perverse course, or whether the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, aroused by their conduct, takes against them such their conduct, takes against them such action as the case obviously requires, the duty now devolves upon this National Executive Committee of presenting a complete and dispassionate argu-ment, setting forth all the grounds upon which the S. L. P. rests its gen-eral declaration. With this end in view a leaflet is being prepared on the sub-

ject of taxation. Lastly, attention is called to the be-low APPENDIX, in substantiation of

the practical form of organizing the strikers into the Socialist Trade & Laber Alliance; owing to this circumstance the expectation was justified that Socialist agitation would not then prove barren, it would withdraw the workers from the fakirs' influence.-THIS ARTICLE WAS SUPPRESSED BY THE "VOLKSZEITUNG."

2. "Vorwaerta," Feb. 26, 1896, has article on same subject and same lines, and suma up saying: Whether this (Socialist) propa-ganda among the strikers will prove of last-ing effect depends upon whether these strik-ers are brought, also in their economic ef-forts, into permanent contact with the So-cialist Labor party "by joining the Socialist Trade & Labor party "by joining the Socialise WAS MUTILATED BY THE "VOLKSZEI-TUNG": the above passage, given, in quo-tation marks, WAS STRICKEN OUT, and the whole article was thereby deprived of its only point, and given the tone of the old time Party's tactics and principles that had been rejected by the National Conven-tion of 1896.

96. The forecast in the "Vorwaerts" of 1800. B.-The forecast in the "Vorwaerts" ; the new trade union principles and les of the Party justified the expecta-of tangthle results was speedily veri-At the by election for Congress in r Bedford, June, 1806, the Party's vole from 154 to over 700, and, at the follow-November elections of the same year, vote rose several hundreds more.

3. On Dec. 14 and 19, 1895, commenting upon the Kanass City convention of the pure and simple A. F. of L., the "Volks-zeitung" made successively the two follow-ing more open attacks upon the Party's trade nulon policy.

pilting made successively the two following more open attacks upon the Party's irade union policy: "The comfort of these two elements was formerly not quite so well provided for at the time there were more Socialist pikes in that pond; at the time, namely, when a part of these had not yet chosen to lead, outside of the American Federation, a separate existence of doubtful success, instead of a softwarely, tirelessily, unfaggingly, step by step, boring their way forward from within. At that time, the corruptionists of the Labor Movement always felt quite uncomfortable at the opening of every annual convention, because they were in the dark as to the strength in which the Socialist might turn up, as to the weapons of attack these might be equipped with, and as to how far these would succeed in making breaches in the ranks of the shaky. "Does it not now dawn upon certain of our own comrades that their own favorite, the quite unconsocialist trades union movement, and, in connection therewith, their own favorite the hom-Socialist trades union movement, and that trades union the soft to we for the hold soft the soft the soft the strength of the soft of th

50Claimt Current - Loca Any 4. "Vorwaerts," March 18, 1890, de-korlbes the effectiveness of the S. T. & L. A. In the Allegheny strike, and the needful-ness of the Party's tactics on trade union-ism, and clinches the point with HUMSITA-tions.-THIS ARTICLE WAS MUTILATED IN THE "VOLKSZEITUNG" OF THE SAME DATE: ALL ALLUSION TO THE IN THE "VOLKSZEITUNG" OF SAME DATE: ALL ALLUSION T S. T. & L. A. IS STRICKEN OUT WHAT IS LEFT THUS CONVEY IDEA THAT THE RAME OLD T. HAD BEEN ADOPTED AND PROVED SUCCESSFUL.

5. "Volkszeitung," March 25, 1899, has an original article in which the Allegheny strike and its excellent results for the Cause of Labor are referred to as though the tactics to which these were due were the old tactice recommended by the "Volks-zeitung." He who is not posted, would miss the point that only through the S. T. & L. A. was such success had, and would be misled into confidence in the old and rejected tactics.

6. Comrade Forker, writing from Rhode Island on the elections just held there on April 5, 1899, sent to the "Volkszeltung" a communication in the course of which the important role of the S. T. & L. A. in that successful election was described.-THE OF NEW YORK THE BENEFIT EOF, THE FORKER COMMUNICA COULD NOT BE FOUND.

TION COULD NOT BE FOUND. 7. On April 3, the "Volkszeitung" re-ported about the Whitestone Association of Marbie Pollshers, which, in order to pre-vent the organization of its trade and to keep a monopoly of the trade to itself, placed the admission fee at 350, then raised it to \$100, and then, failing in its purpose to keep a way applicants, absolutely refused to take in new members. Commenting upon this, the "Volkszeitung" of April 4 and 5 declared that, EVEN SO. THE ORGANI-ZATION OF A RIVAL UNION IS NOT ALLOWARLE, and would be "a blow in the face of solidarity." a blow that "never and nevermore could promote the advance of the working class whether on the econ-omic or the political field."

omic or the political field." 8. The "Vorwaerts." April 15, 1899, had an article exposing the fraudulent claims now being made of increases in wages in the cotton industries, of New England espe-cially; and it drew black upon black the dismal, helpless future of the textile work-ers—were it not, the "Vorwaerts" closes saying, for the ray of light and hope shed across their path by the election returns from Rbode Island where, thanks to the organizations of the S. T. & L. A. among the textile workers, such an intelligent and vigorous spirit animates the men that their struggies will be successful and benefacent for the textile proletarist.-THIS WHOLE CLOSING PARAGRAPH IS SUPPRESSED BY THE "VOLKEZEITUNG" of the same date, thus leaving the article a dead stone.

II. VIOLATIONS OF THE PARTY'S PRIN-CIPLES AND TACTICS ON TAXA-

TION.

fahing for bourgeois support, and soching to establish harmony between talists and Workingmen, were suppo pure and simple politics in Mariboro were considered "good Socialists" by and ware

wave considered "good Socialists" by that bourgeois press;
 c) It suppressed the information that the spolatment of a notoricous Democration;
 bourgening to "redeem pledges"; and
 bourgening to "redeem pledges"; and

(d) it suppressed the more recent info mation that the "Haverbill Social Demo racy" had raised funds from the "Liqu Internsts."

2. 'The "Volkszeltung," Dec. 31, 1808, while declaring with general phrases that the conduct of Carey, in supporting and roting for a \$15,000 appropriation for huild-ing a new Armory, is not a class-conscious roung nor a shown appropriation for build-ing a new Armory. is not a class-conscious act, dodges the real point at issue, the evi-dent corruption of the act, and the still more evident dishonesty of the defence. The 'Volksmeitung' of that date gives edi-torially Carey's defence in fail, including the idloit claim about his "liability to a severe fine." had he acted otherwise, and then it says: then it says:

"So much for the plea of his supporters, UPON THE CORRECTNESS OF THE DE-TAILS OF WHICH WE ARE NOT ABLE TO JUDGE." !!!

Not able to judge upon the details of a plea, that bears on its face the stamp of fraud, and that could hardly impose even upon a child of average sense!

upon a child of average sense: 3. 'The "Volkaseitung." Jan. 24, 1800, puts in a good word for the corruptionist and hourgeois Mayor Chase by misiating an important fact. In the article of that date entitled, "Two Mayors," it compares Mayor Jones of Toledo with Mayor Chase of Haverhill. It has much general talk against both on their "humanity." etc., language, bat finally mys of Chase:

"What, indeed, distinguishes him favor-ably from the other (J ies) is that he evi-dently addresses him ' knowingly to the right element, i.e.,' he workingmen who are organised for the nomic battle against

capital." The facts are just .don't capital against illustrated in this very city at the very ime that article was written. Jones was just then in New York addressing "organ-led! workingmen." the Letter Carriers, while the information, all along suppressed by the "Volkszeitung," showed right slong that Chase was pre-eminesty addressing himself to bourgeois while Jones was di-ences. Indeed, Jones, who imagines he has the bourgeois with him, is straining for workingmen supporters, while Chase, who imagines he has captured the workers, is complexously straining for a bourgeois foi-lowing.



(Continued from page 2.)

when they organized on more rational lines and conducted the campaign of that year with the name as well as the

platform of the S. L. P. In the campaign of 1894, the candi-date for Governor was Charles G. Baylor, and in the subsequent year George E. Boomer headed the ticket. Both of these candidates typified the failure of the comrades as yet to grasp the logical dictates of scientific Socialism and to master its tactics, for Baylor was a political freak and Boomer a political crook, the former leaving the party to embrace Anarchism, and the latter deserting it to sponge on Populism.

It was not until 1896, that the move-ment in this State was established on the rock-bed of the Class Struggle and scaled off the dubious following at-tracted to it by Boomerish wiles. Since then Anarchists, traitors and hybrids of the Debs variety have cut no capers with the party's sanction. Campaign have come and gone, and the Party. fanked by its twin-sister, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance-, has met each one with increasing numbers. with higher hopes, with more united front, with its militant elements anchored hard and fast to the principle of the class truggle and the tac-tics it proclaims, and quite naturally with ever ascending success. In the future as in the brief past the Rhode Island column of the S. L. P. can be relied on to shun nistakes, to squelch traitors and mongrels, to join its wage slaves into one solid, fighting, fearless, class-conscious mass with wills set on transforming Little Rhody from a hot-bed of capitalism into a pillar of the Socialist Commonwealth. . .

The attention of comrades in Providence and vicinity is called to the May Day Cele-bration by the Rhode Island District Coun-cil of Textile Workers (S. T. & L. A.) and the Socialist Labor party in Textile Hall. Oineyrille, on Mondar, May 1. at 8 p. m. Comrade Keinard, of New York, will deliver on eddress and dancing will close the even-

and championed by hundreds of wo ers who a few years ago denounced as intolerant, parrow and bigoted.

But suppose the S. L. P. had tolerated every scheme that pretended to be going our way, where would it be to day? Just where they are; wrecked on the shoals of class-unconsciousness. And the workers abused, humbugg the workers address, humbuged in a hopeless state of despondency, out of which it would be almost impossible to

bring them. The crucial test of class-conscious ness is not in the mere knowledge of Socialist doctrine but how one ACTS upon that knowledge.

upon that knowledge. In trades unions we find the fakir element so scared of the omnious signs of growing class-conscionsness that they are adopting the gag law. Only in those unions where the political question is discussed is there any life among the rank and file, and this has been brought about by pressure from been brought about by pressure from members of the S. L. P. In Bridgeport when a reduction was recently made in the Warner Bros. Cornet facmade in the Warner Bros. Corset fac-tory many at once remarked that it was easy to see how the plous Dr. Warner could afford a new yacht, build a \$40,000 monument and make gen-erous donations to the Y. M. C. A. The connection between a REDUCTION connection between a REDUCTION and a DONATION is becoming clear to them, and the first glears of class consciousness are illuminating their minds.

Minds. We look forward to the coming years with boyant hope, recognizing that every social factor is drawing the class line more clearly; that the alarm and consternation into which the middle class has been thrown by recent devel opments along the line of trustification can only bring the Social Question more to the front. The splendid victory of our comrades

The spielald victory of our commades in New Britain, where four Council-men and one Alderman were recently elected, the magnificent gain of New Haven, where they jumped from 600 to 1,000 votes goes to prove the correct-ness of the factics of the S. L. P. and the growth of class consciences. Let us press on to victory.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

THE CAPITALIST'S FAC. TORY IDEA CARRIED OVER INTO GOV. ERNMENT. .

By Julian Pierce, Washington.

The subject "Socialism in the Dis-trict of Columbia" is a difficult subject to handle because of the fact that there isn't enough of it to handle. Washingisn't enough of it to handle. Washing-ton is the heart of this capitalist Government of ours. Three-fourths of the population is dependent directly or in-directly on the Government for a liv-ing; and to him who knows anything of the methods of capitalism this fact

In the factory, the injunction of the capitalist is: "Do your work and shut your mouth; or, if you do open it, say something in favor of the capitalist." The United States Government is run by a group of capitalists. They bring: to the Government the factory idea to the Government the factory idea, and their injunction to their tens of thousands of employés is: "Do your work and shut your mouth; or, if you do open it, say something in favor of your employer." your employer.

The employee of the Government are classified as laborers, mechanics, and clerks; and with rare exceptions every one of them, from a janitor to the chief of a department, has to have political or a department, has to have political influence to get his job, and, further, he has to have political influence to keep his job. Capitalist "civil service" does not change this principle at all, and to-day political influence is just as essential to appointment as it was fifessential to appointment as it was fif-teen years ago. As a result, every "labor leader" here is looking for a political job. There is but one way to get it—stand in with the politicians. And Washington is filled with "labor leaders" who beat the drum for the Democrats, and "labor leaders" who beat the drum for the Republicans. In fact, this political job business domi-nates so thoroughly every thing else that about the only way a map can get lickspitte for one of the two "great" to be a "labor leader" is to become a lickspittle for one of the two "great" political parties. And many of the trade unions here are nothing but poli-tical clubs. Under a Democratic administration they are political clubs tor getting pointical jobs for Democra-tic "labor leaders"; and under Repub-lican administrations they are political clubs for getting political jobs for Re-publican "labor leaders." for getting political jobs for mocra The quintessence of this principle is seen in the attitude of the Central Laseen in the attribute of the Central La-bor Union, which is dominated by Samuel Gompers, and which spends a large portion of its weekly meetings in passing resolutions "endorsing as a friend of labor" practically every poli-tician that has appointed some fakir to a job. Furthermore, the citizens of Wash-ington are not allowed to vots. Con-gress passes the general laws, and the executive function is carried out by three commissioners appointed by the President; and this system of Govern-ment can only be changed by the con-sent of Congress. For these reasons, and others equily a job. For these reasons, and others equally cogent, the soil is not very well adapted for the truths of Socialism. If a man who is out of work and belongs to a trade connected with the Government service thinks Socialism would be a good thing, he dare not say so; for if he did, he couldn't get a job. If he is in the Government service, he dare not say much; for if he did, he would lose his job. And we can't ask him to vote for Socialism, for he has no vote. For these reasons, and others equally

"offasseitung." In this last enterprise they had to wapply with the capitalistic law of the late of New York by forming an asso-ciation that would nominally own the

the charges herein made and in further evidence of the "Volkszeitung's" hostility to the Party's interests, as displayed by the editors of the said "Volkszeitung" in their treatment of the "Haverbill Armory Social Dem-

In conclusion, Comrades, having laid before you a chain of facts so specific, so indisputable, and so closely related in nature and sequence as to leave no room for misinterpretation or sophis-try, we may fully trus: for the rest in your clear Socialist perception and ompromising Socialist spirit.

ALVAN S. BROWN, PATRICK MURPHY, JOHN J. KINNEALLY, C. H. MATCHETT, LUCIEN SANIAL. ARTHUR KEEP

Dissenting: HENRY STAHL.

(Countersigned and in favor): HENRY KUHN, National Secretary.

APPENDIX.

[NOTE.-For the perfect understanding of the faisifications, suppressions and other wrongs purposely committed by the "Volks-seltung." as shown in the following quota-tions, it is necessary to know and to bear in mind that the "Vorwaerts," official German organ of the S. L. P., is also the weekiy edition of the "New Yorker Volks-seltung." The editors of the latter cannot adulterate the weekly "Vorwaerts," but they boldy, unscrupulously, adulterate its articles when taking them over into the columns of the daily "Volksseltung."]

I. PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO PARTY TAC-TICS ON THE SUBJECT OF TRADE UNIONISM.

1. "Vorwaerts," Feb. 39, 1896, has article on New Bedford strike of that month, showing how the strike of 1894 had not fructified the Labor Movement of that city, despite Socialist speakers: the efforts of these redounded. as formerir, only in favor of the Fakirs: the S. L. P. vote remnined small, and subsequently even went down (154); in Feb., 1396, however, the Socialists adopted new tactics; their agitation test

TION. 1. The "Volkszeitung." March 7, has an article (evidently directed against THE PEOPLE'S "Uncle Sam & Brother Jona-than" of two days previous), in which, con-trary to scientific economics, contrary to sintistical facts, and contrary to the Par-ry's National declaration (Munic)pal Pro-gramme issued by N. E. C.), and the decla-ration of the Party of the State of New York, the "Volkszeitung" maintains that the taxes are paid by the working class out of its wages; and in which, seeking to show the importance of the discovery, it argues with faise figures that the 55th Congress has imposed a burden of taxtion of \$100 A YEAR ON EVIERY FAMILY; and it has during the last four weeks continuously pursued the same lines, combating THE standing of the principle involved, and to the injury of the party, whose otherwise supporters can not fail thereby to be rendered accessible to bourgets "Tax Be-form" political planks in their endeavor to quickly throw off so heavy a burden of that they are loaded with. 2. "Vorwaerts," April 22, has an article on "Demagencic Taxtion of Dities," in which

Taisely made believe by the "total setting that they are loaded with. 2. "Vorwaerts," April 22, has an article on "Demagogic Taxation Politics," in which it proves with statistical fourse that "the question of taxation can, under no circum-stances, be of importance to the working-men," that "their condition is not affected by changes is capitalist taxation policies," that "the theory upon which the tax-polit-cians seek to taik the workingmen into feel-ing interested in the question of taxation fen on the workingmen, and that the re-moval or curtailment of taxes would bring an improvement of their condition," and bring an improvement of their working article WAS SUPPRESSED by the "Volkssei-rung," thus suppressing the Party's volce and rendering the Party tongue-tied toward the German element in this city.

III, HOSTILITY TO THE PARTY'S INTER-ESTS , BY GIVING AID AND COM-FORT TO THE MANIFESTLY IGNOR-ANT AND CORBUPT "HAVERHILL SOCIAL DEMOCRACY."

1. The "Volksseitung" has systematically suppressed all information appearing in THE PEOPLE or the "Vorwaerts" that is damaging to the "Haverbill Social Dem-ourage".

damaging to the checora letter and ocracy": (a) It suppressed the Corcora letter and all the other numerows letters that were published from Massachusetts comrades abowing Mayor Chasse to be a crook and an ignoramus; and showing, from hourgeols papers-clippings themselver, how Chase and Carey were desping the class straggie, were

Comrade Keinad, of New York, will deliver an address, and dancing will close the even-ings entertainment. Schults' Orchestra will provide the misic This will be the initial observance of Ia-bor's International Holday in Rhode Island and comrades are urged to assist in making it a complete su

The State Committee. T. CURRAN, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT.

THE BROADNESS OF "NAR-**BOWNERS," THE TOLER-**ANCE OF #INTOLER-ANCE."

By C. S. Merser, Bridgeport.

The comrades of Connecticut have The comrates of connected have persisted for years in maintaining a strict, clear-cut, class-conscious organi-zation. Despite the apathy of the workers, and criticism and abuse from all sides, they knew no "broadness" or "toleration" for any fake, no matter what guise it assumed.

what guise it assumed. Often a young enthusiast would cry out against the firmness of our attitude and the unpitying lash we would use on everything "going our way." But slowly we would bring him out of the clouds of sentiment and show him the necessity of planting his feet on the bed-rock of his material CLASS IN-DEPERS. It was certainly at times necessity of planning in level of the bed-rock of his material CLASS IN-TERESTS. It was certainly at times disheartening to see many refuse to join us because we persisted in the tac-tics which our class interests dictated, but we saw that every excuse made was a sermon urging us on our course. Reforms and fakes have come and gone, from the Social Democrats up, and at last the workers are dimly per-ceiving that this intolerant party will tolerate ONLY that which is based clearly on the interests of the working class, and is only broad enough for honest workers who stand upon these interests. Hence throughout this State, as of course it will be in every ether, the S. L. P. is being respected

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "What Means this Strike?" is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for.





BIRDS-EYE VIEW OF THE "LIBERAL" WITCHES' CALDRON.

By Richard J. Kerrigan, Montreat.

That the upper capitalist class has long ago abandoned the moral standards of medieval times is admitted even by the most veciferous of its defenders; that no apology is offered by the well-paid clergy, for the shortcomings of its patrons, is a standing complaint of the smaller fry of the clergy, who have not as yet secured jobs high up in the service of God Mammon. Railway steals, land steals, and all other steals, when of sufficiently large proportions, have only encountered the protests of the great, great middle class, on economic, and its moral bottle-holders, the minor clergy. on moral grounds. This is particularly se regarding the sexual relationship existing among the Upper Ten: so long as a man had the means to keep a Harem his social and moral standing remained unquestioned.

The middle class alone in this coun try stood for the sanctity of the sacraents, the State and other social institutions; they leaned thereon for support, sustanance and hope, since. the upper class no longer respects what it possesses and merely uses these institutions to further its own shameless ends-familiarity therewith having bred contempt therefor.

The working class, being as yet un conscious are indifferent. The surface of Canadian politics would at present indicate a mange of sentiment in the middle class mind of sufficient magnitude to satisfy even the most fastidious. Church property and brothels are to be taxed impartially. Its government has defiled itself by making a compact with a troupe of Anarchists embracing the various brands of "Parlor Anarchists," "Scientific Society Anarchists." "Bomb-throwers (by proxy) Anarchists," and possibly Monarchs and police officials of sufficient quantity to provide propaganda by dend. In consequence of this deal the Canadian Criminal code is torn to shreds. Marringe is no longer a legal requirement; one would think that the fires on the watch towers of Faith were quenched. And hereby hangs a tale to adora the Socialist moral, viz., that profit, immediate or prospective, is the basis of middle class morals and aspirations. It matters not when coquetting with Labor whether it has vitriol for the capitalist and molasses for the worker, or honey for the capitalist and chloro-form for Labor. It is still the great, great nilddle class.

In the last general elections, the middle class won the day, or thought it had when it swept the Tories out of office and elected the Liberals with "economy," free this and that, and words, words galore.

Tuen we had the meeting of the Liten we had the meeting of the British Association for the Advance-ment of Science burlesque. It don't matter which came first. Peter Kro-potkin was a delegate, and this Reve-lutionary Prince had a scheme to ease the revolutionary strain in Russia by founding colonies in Canada to trans-fer thereto the social discontent of the Telatotics. The Government was ap-proached; Russian Princes in droves surveyed our Northwest (by the way, those Princes are as pleatiful as Ken-tucky colonels); railways and steambip companies, ranways and steam press teemed with the rascality of the Caar, told of the benefits to be derived by securing good, healthy, strong settlers for our Northwest; money was voted by the Government of Economy; is order to square that class which is so careful of its coppers, it was pointed out that trade would be brisk, supply-ing the wants of the intending settlers. Every small dealer in shody closed his mouth at the expenditure of the public "stuff." and flattered himself on securing a share of the spoils. Seven thousand five hundred Dookoobours handed on our shores. This group of Christian Anarchists of easy virtue did not please the moralists; but they had taxed themselves, the dollars to be made covered the sins of the Dookoo bours; mum was the word. A watch-tower here and there in Israel bleched forth a little fire, at the scandalous sexual relationship of the Deokoolours; but that was easily fixed. Six or eight hundred were married in an hour with a nephew of Michael Bakunin as Best Man or Bishop (it matters not which), in order that the deal might be completed between the "Anarchist Communists" and "God and the State." Thus we have the Anarchist hand in hand with the State and "God" to secure a few acres of bush. Religion, and the mid-dle class with Anarchy and vice to secure trade. The world do move and the situation becomes clearer every day. Interests are uniting. That this pack will not are uniting. That this pack will not last goes without saying. As to who will get the best of the bargain, that is alroady fixed. The railways and steamship companies have the money for transportation; the Dookoobours have the bish and hard labor to face;

talist to appropriate Dookoobour prop-

erty. Let this be as it may, all serves to Revolutionary Let this be as it may, all serves to light the path of the Revolutionary Army of Labor. Middle class amber-codes and bogus flags of truce are to be shelled, as well Anarchist guerilla expeditions in the Campaign of the Re-volution. Let us hope that this historic episode will enlighten the Canadian more to the and that he max units worker to the end that he may unite with the workers in all lands in a re volutionary sentiment and action.

II. NORTH . WESTERN TERRI-TORY AND MANITOBA.

By Robert Baker, Brandon, Man.

The Labor Question in Manitoba and Northwestern Territories is rather unique at this time, as far as the Northrather

western Territories are concerned. The farmers far from the railroad are happily situated, as they have all their labor for themselves. Of course, they cannot raise quite all they use and wear; while those nearer the line of railroad are supporting the railroad elevator and grain monopolies, and in a number of instances have the loan company thrown in as a gleaner. As company thrown in as a gleaner. As in other parts of Canada, these plo-neers prepare the way and improve the land. They borrow from the loan company for sustemance while the land is being improved, then the mortgage company very kindly takes the whole thing off their hands as the returns prove. There is a colony at Tantallon, Assimbola, also a co-operative store at Lethbridge about 48 miles north of the United States line at Western Montana and having seen the progress made in the past by these little miss-fires it is

a waste of time to enlarge upon them. a waste of time to entry the tabor In regard to Manitoba, the Labor Question is in a more advanced state. Some few farmers, by working early and late throughout the short season we have, and taking all they can get out of the hired help either 1, 2, 6 or 8 months in the year, mostly 1 month at harvest time, when they keep so busy thay don't have time to think how long a working day make out somehow. The amount of remune-ration that the hired help gets depends on the length of time they are hired; the longer, the less per month; and, if man h luckr shough to work sight a man is lucky enough to work eight months and get his wage, he can enjoy hotel life for the next four months, waiting for spring, as a number do. 1 am personally acquainted with men who have been farming here since 1882 who had a little of their stored labor power, but am sorry to say many have to get the grocer to supply them on the expectation of the crop they have just put in. But, as I said before, the railroad elevator and grain mono-polies kindly protect them from having a troublesome banking account;---and still they stick to one or the other of the dear old parties who use the same molds in making their porous plasters warranted to fit all over."

Two of our enterprising one horse manufacturers here hire their laborer for about 6 months in the open season for the large remuneration of \$1.25 per day of 11 hours, making for the whole year 6215 cents per day to support themselves and families; and one of these gentlemen keeps back 25 cents per day out of the colos-sal sum until the end of the season for self interest, seeing that at harvest time these laborers could easily get \$2 either with farmer or thresher; and if they leave they loose the quarters.

The system of farming is more primi-ive to the extent if we take for extive to ample the wheat farms to be seen in California with their steam plows, steam headers or harvesters and vast areas of land, where they can raise wheat for less than one-half the price we can here. The best a few men have here is the 4-horse sulky, which is twice as good for the farmer as the walking plow. As far as the barvester is concerned, the climatic conditions here are against it, and the grain must be cut, stooked, then stacked, then threshed and cleaned by the farmer bimself or elevator monopoly and bagged by hand, while in California the harvester does all the work and turns out the bags of grain ready for market. Again, the farmer is not troubled as to what he shall sell his troubled as to what he shall sell his grain for, but what the monopolies will give him after-they are satisfied, and, like all dealers in labor, they get enough to keep themselves allve so they can raise more next year or the railroad and other monopolies would die themselves, so they leave the porous plaster off the soles of the farmers' feet. farmers feet. Our educational department is prog resesting slowly. We have a few of the "Appeal" and of Socialists here. but they are mostly holding Govern-ment jobs and are afraid they might drop them. so they keep posted for that "Reason." The Proletarian.

THE PEOPLE, MAY 1, 1899.

[Written for the MAT DAY PEOPLE.]

By Stanislas Cullen, Spokane, Wash.

I am a Proletaire: Propertyless, powerless, oppressed. A mud-sill, a wage worker, a slave; Desplaed, condemned and shunned. In lands where the pharisee's cant of "Democracy" Should cause the God of Truth to smite the

breathe their poison to the shudder-That

Iring mouths That breathe their poison to the shudder-ing air: There-where once the red sword of Justice Cut down the traffickers in black fiesh-There are al easily and and worse! Mocked with a gleaming bauble! Solaced, forsooth, with the dead Letter of a law called Freedom! The ark of the covannt which the respect-able thieres Have despolled of its treasure. Deluded, tricked by couning chariatans! Made to clash my chains and lift'my voice in load song of plaise: Sweilling the triumphant chorus of the all-conquering Capitalism. Feeding this brute with whe and meat; Sacrificing to this cruel and greedy God My life, my soul, my wife, my brains. But the phillistine, the pharisec, And ail the brass-lunged pack Of bourgeols phrass-mongers cry aloud: "Lo!" "This is Liberty!" "Rejdec!" "For thou art not like those in other lands." "Even as the greatest thon can'st enjoy the Right to Vote and make thy con-tracts."

"other lands." "Even as the greatest thou can'st enjoy the Right to Vote and make thy con-tracts." Hark: again they shout: "Long may our inad be bright" (Harken, O God) "With Freedom's holy light." (But God seems deaf to blasphemy.)

In other lands the phrases change. The cant of Liberty gives way to that of cant of Church.

The cant of Liberty gives way to that of Church. There casts disdains to wear a mask, And bare-faced Right of blood and Right by Grace of God. Support the Right to rob. The Church proclaims: "It is the will of God that thou should suffer here. "Bo thou will rewarded be in heaven; "So kiss the rod and murmur not; "To thy masters be obedient." And the king's sword gleams; and his army draws up; Proving that the church is wiser than the

Proving that the church is wiser than the

Who said: "All men are brothers."

I am a Proletaire. On me rests the teeming earth. I. I alone, with my two toil-stained hands, Produce and fetca and carry all the food, The clothes, the heat, the light; Construct the poor man's but and dwell therein; The cloth man's palawa and depart there.

The rich man's palace-and depart there-

The from man's parties and depirt there-from. Like my forbears—whose toil-worn lives is muticly testified or. Egypt's stones— Day after day I toil and drudge and starve, That pampered idlers may feast and joy. The diamonds finsh, which I have dug. But not ou bosoms where my head can rest. The bright wine sparkles in the roue's cup, I pressed the grape but must not taste the luce.

The bright whe sparse in the tot inste the Juice. The gown yon lady wears with such fair grace Has dimmed and dulled for age my daugh-tors eyes. "A costly gown." they say-and costly 'tis. by God! The broadcloth which yon gilded youth dia-niasa.

My piars, duced—MY coat is worn and my piars, duced—MY coat is worn and my acted. All: All: your temples, ships and wares, Your railways, commerce and your art, I build and carry on. Nay more, yon bourgeois State: Ton scoundrel ruling by the Grace of God; At your roommand I cut my brother's throat, In murderous frenzy, when you cry "to war".

Defending with my proletarian blood The spolls you've stolen from my pieblar sweat.

sweat. All this I am and have been. But I are a gleam of light; And, like the Wise of old, Who followed faithfully the star-fit road, And found the new-born babe, -s proletaire, The arpenter whose words made Systems, States and Empires turn to dust. Like them I'll follow true the light I see. And if the infant-who has been forefold In louder tonce from cell and gallows-tree-My my class Shall cut the bourgeols bond, the capitalist if he bo born I'll pour my treasures out As those wise men of old. My toll, my sweat. my blood, my life. I'll guard him from the molo of leeches and exploiters: Who would wade, like Herod. Through the blood of me and mine to crush shalk will out Hope.

Ye tremble at his name, and yet 'Tis one that Christ himself would joy to

hear: "Solidarity of Labor 'round the world," His voice proclaims, "All workers brathern

Giad music in the Infant Socialist's volce. Goad music in the Infant Socialist's volce. For "Socialist" is he named. Justice and Love stood sponsors for the And hade his mother, Labor, to rejoice. For that her Son would overturn a world Of sin and suffering and break every chain. That Caste and Cant and Craft had forged: And give the Proletariat the place In the world new-built that long had been usurped by those exploiters, "Who," so Justice said. "Too long have gone unwhipped."

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention essembled, easerts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness. With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can

the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness. With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, further-more, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common. To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class. A gain, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy. Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated,

that the people may be kept in bondage. Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

enslavement of women and children. Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence. The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall. own downfall.

own downfall. We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organise under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying con-ditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of jull the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Com-monwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands: 1. Reduction in the hours of la bor in proportion to the progress of

production.
2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all otner means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
8. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable, Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with. production.

complied with.

The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money 6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the of the nation.

Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be excempt.

to be excempt. 9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary. 10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Un-abridged right of combination. 11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the em-lowment of femule labor in occupations detrimental to health or morelity.

Abolition of female abor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system. 12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county,

city, state and nation).

city, state and nation). 13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equali-sation of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed. 14. Laws for the protection of life and Mmb in all occupations, and an

Laws for the protection of the and and and to vote upon all efficient employers' liability law.
 The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
 Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and

municipal), wherever it exists. 17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative

chambers.

chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituents.

21. Uniform civil and criminal is w throughout the United States. Ad-ministration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punish-

Standing advertisements of Trades Un and other Societies (not exceeding lines) will be inserted under this heat bereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per snawn Organisations should not lose such as portunity of advertising their places meetings.

Trades' and Societies' Calenda

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRA AND LABOR ALLIANCE: 23 De street, Room 56, New York City. Ge-ral Secretary: William L. Browse. Financial Secretary Murphy. Jer Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 3d Stå Thursday erenings at 8 p. m. Se tary Board of Appeals: Max Keller, 1 Hope street, Philadeiphia, Pa.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. County Committee representing the tion meets every Studay, 10 a. m. the hall of Esser County Socialist Co 76 Springdeld avenue, Newark, N. J.

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUBICIAN UNION). Meetings every Tuesday at a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New Yo Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: A

CIGATAMAKEUS PHOGRESSIVE INTER-MATIUNAL UNION NO. D). Office a Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th arr -District 1 (Bohemiau), 331 East trict 11 (German), at 10 Stanton arre-mets every Saturday at 8 p. m.-District 111 meets at the Clubhouse, 205 East and Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.-The street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.-The street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.-The Board of Suppervisors meets every The-day at Faulhaber's Hail, 1551 2nd areas at 8 p. m.

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

MUSICAL PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE, NU 1028. D. A. 40, S. T. & L. A. Her quarters 79 East 4th street. Must every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fr Hartmann. Pres.: Aug. Lants, Cr Sec'y, 70 E. 4th street.

SOCIALIST SCIENCE CLUB, S. L. 1 34th 35th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d an and 140th street. Open every even Regular business meeting every Frida.

SKANDINAVIAN SECTION, 5. L. Meets second and fourth Sunday every mouth at 10:30 octock a. m. Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 158-160 avenue, New York City. Subscription ar ders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weet ly, Scand. Am. Arbetaren.

J, Scaud. Am. Arbetaren. PROGRESSIVE CLOTHING CUTTER & TRIMMERS UNION, L. A. 68 of B. & L. A. Headquarters. 64 East 40 street, Labor Lyceum. Hegular meetin every Thursday evening at 8 p. m.

THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY OF YORKVILLE meetis every Monday evening at 205 E 86th st. The Society aims to educate its members of a thorough knowledge of Socialism by means of discussions and debates. Compared and join.

WAITERS' ALLIANCE "LIBERTY" MA 19, S. T. & L. A. Office: 237 E. Housing Sireet. Te-ephone Call: 2321 Bpring Moets every Thursday, 3 p. m.

WORKINGMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 14th Assembly District. Business mices ing every Munday evening, at 8 o'clock in the Clubhouse, 528 East 11th street. English lectures every Sunday evening. Howling alley and billing'r oom open evening.

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 1886 by workingmen imbund with the point of solidarity and socialist thought, its numerical strength (at present cos-posed of 155 local biranches 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 melierable in a principles of the second class. Members belonging and the second class. Members belonging a state of the tranches upon pryment of a deposi-of the branches upon pryment of a deposi-of the branches who weeks and of \$4.00 for the second class. Members belonging a with interruption. Members belonging a structure and unmarried daughters a may be admitted to the burial benefit and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit and \$3.00

to do so. Address all communications to HINEY TAHL, Financial Secretary, 25-27 34 ave bue, Boom 53, New York City.

Workmen's Children Death Benedit Fun-of the United States of America, The address of the Financial Secretary of the Executive Committee is: REINHARD LACEMER, 13 Bible Horse Room 42, Astor Place, N. Y. City, N. Y.

WORKMEN'S

III. THE SOCIALIST GIRDLE COMPLETE.

By A. M. Mulrhond, Halifax, N. S.

Our Section here is newly organized, and is the smallest of the Canadian Sections. The Socialists for a year near hed been query the nom Sections. The Socialists for a year past had been operating under the nom de plume of the "United Labor party." In February of this year we passed a motion to form a S. L. P. Section in support of comrades in other parts of the Dominion. The change was made not without loss, for the "Girondist" element was strong. Our charter was granted March 3 and, with Vancouver, B. C., forms one of termin of the Sohave the bish and hard labor to face; the traders will be disappointed, the Dookoobours having few wants that they cannot supply themselves. Be-fore long we may expect to hear the moral fog-horn blow about the im-monility of the Dookoobours: mis-sionaries will be sent to convert them; one or two holy men may even be alaughtered on paper to enable the capi-

I am a Proletaire. But no longer blind. I stand erect: Conscious, not only of my class, but more: Knowing the destiny and place in life. I and my brothers shall full soon attain. The Intant Socialist is wating strong: And even now-while but comely youth-beards stare. Contounding scribes and doctors learned in Inw. "The Proletariat." so he says. "shall rule "When it becomes class-conscious and aware.

"When it becomes class-conscious and "Of all its rights and duties in the world. "It will desiroy and bury out of sight "The putrid system built on brothers" "The bod.

"The putric system built on obtilet." "The monster Competition it will kill. "Barter and sale for profit and the ruck "Of blood and war and hate which those produce. "Together with wage slavery, shall be sent "To join the camibal and blue-blooded thief. "The Proletariat shall not be a class, "But something nobler, greater, grander far.

"Its name shall be Humanity-for all men. "Shall pride and joy themselves on doing

"Each for the Commonweal and all for

each. "Then man shall first know Freedom. "Like brightest gem long buried in the

"Like brightest of the centuries, you shall "Of dark and sullen centuries, you shall "And light the path of man: "Dispelling all the gloom and fear "Which long have crushed his heart."

1

- I am a Proletaire. Triumphant and giad I take my stand Benoch bis banner bright: A field of red that typffes our blood, With Arm and Hammer raised. The glorious eublem of our conquering With every fibre of my being thrilled With tore and hope and courage for the Sume take.

Cause. Swearing no rest to know until we,strike The capitalistic God with death. Penceful, but firm, class-conscious, seeing

clear. My hand outstretched to meet in friendly

rapp grapp The hand of every worker in the world. Knowing no race nor creed nor color: Burning those barriers which theres have built To separate and keep apart our class. More proudly than the Roman cried of old-Because more universal is my ken.-Greeting the dawning century with loy. I cry alond that all the world may hear: I am a Proletaire.

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