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The People.

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THE PEOPLE.

To be an Eight-Column Paper Beginning Next Week.

Ye, Socialists, hark! Hear the glad tidings and carry them to every wage worker in the land! With the next issue The People will enter upon a new era of usefulness in the work of enlightenment in the cause of Socialism. It will be considerably enlarged in size and improved in appearance and, it need not be added, that no efforts will be spared to make it as interesting and entertaining as far as contents go as the means at the command of the Party and the presence of Socialist writers of ability will allow. As it is published at present, The People contains a greater amount of reading matter than any Socialist paper published in the English language in this country or abroad. Unfortunately, the lack of sufficient means has made it necessary hitherto to compress this great amount of matter into as small a space as possible, thus interfering greatly with the outward appearance of the paper. The closely set-up type has caused constant strain upon the eyesight of the reader and has been a source of annoyance. To set the paper "leaded," as the printers call it, that is to leave greater space between the lines the way other Socialist papers do—and which is the right way, too—without at the same time increasing the size of the paper would have meant to reduce the amount of reading matter, which would never do. It has therefore been decided by the National Executive Committee and the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association to enlarge the size of The People to eight columns a page, instead of the six it contains now, and increase the length of the columns. This will enable us to effect the desired reform in the typographical appearance of the paper and to increase the amount of reading matter to the extent of over three columns. At the same time the price of The People will remain as it has been: 50 cents per year.

To the Sections and Members of the Socialist Labor Party.

In order to give the comrades throughout the country a chance to utilize the great improvements now made in The People while the campaign is on, and in order to introduce The People in its new garb to as large a circle of readers as the Socialists of the country can help us to reach, The People of next will be sent in any quantity at the reduced rates of half a cent per copy. No pains will be spared to make it an issue to be proud of. Articles of value of theoretical interest to Socialists as well as good Socialist agitation stuff to be handed out to workingmen who are not Socialists as yet will be found in plenty. An effort will be made to avoid all reference to the present Party trouble. Some of the best Socialist writers in the country will contribute. Among those whose articles will appear next week are such names as Peter E. Burrows, Fred. W. Long (S. L. P.), F. Scrimshaw (the author of "The Dogs and the Fleas"), Thos. J. Morgan, H. B. Salisbury, Algernon Lee (of the Tocsin), M. S. Hayes (Editor of the Cleveland Citizen), etc. Send your orders at once so that we may know exactly the number of extra copies to be printed. So far Philadelphia heads the list with an order for 10,000 copies for the next four weeks. Next!!!

ONLY ONE

Socialist Ticket in the State of Massachusetts.

The following statement is taken from "The Proletarian," the Socialist weekly published in Springfield, Mass., in reference to the proceedings of the last State Convention: "Two State tickets were nominated, and the legal authorities will decide which shall go on the ballot as official, but whatever the decision the defeated party's duty is to support with all their influence, the ticket legally nominated, and every interest must be sacrificed to retain the 3 per cent. vote of last year. "The S. L. P. will have but one State ticket, and every member of the Party must be loyal, in spite of real or fancied grievances."

BRAVO, CONNECTICUT!

Increase of Socialist Votes in the Town Elections.

The S. L. P. took part in the town elections in New Britain, South Norwalk, Rockville, and West Haven. In New Britain we polled, in 1898, 413 and last spring about 650 votes. The vigorous agitation of our comrades has forced the grand total up to 950. None of our candidates were elected, however. In West Haven, where we had 30 votes in the last election, 54 S. L. P. ballots were cast. Norwalk shows a large increase, but in Rockville, where we had 270 votes in 1898, a falling off is reported.

A WORD TO THE NEGRO VOTERS.

Events are transpiring upon which the future welfare of your race must depend. For 35 years you have enjoyed (?) the full measure of freedom granted your race by the Capitalism of our common country. You have among your numbers individuals of education, genius, culture and refinement. That with equal opportunities members of your race are able to attain the highest attributes of civilization is proven by conspicuous examples.

Your 35 years of experience with both Democratic and Republican parties has proven that as a race you will never be given equal opportunities so long as a capitalist system of production and distribution exists. The Republican party gave you the ballot, because it wished to use it against the Democrats. The Republican party never has and never will permit proper recognition of the abilities you possess. So long as you are their servile tools they give you professed friendship. When you demand political recognition they are as prejudiced as any Democrat. Thirty-five years ago there were such men as Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison who demanded freedom and equality for every troller, be his color white or black. There was an Abraham Lincoln in the White House who declared that Labor was above Capital, with superior claims and rights. To-day Labor has no rights which Capital is bound to respect. There is no choice between the Democratic and Republican parties so far as the rights of labor are concerned. They both wish to exploit the laborer and grow rich on the wealth which he creates. They wish to use the labor of both black and white and pay as little as possible for it. They wish to create an enmity between different bodies of labor so that they can play one against the other for their own gain. To this end they create and encourage prejudice and hatred between white workmen and negro workmen. When white workers strike for better pay they send negroes to take their places. They enlist negro regiments to be used against the white workers of the North, while they encourage the white workers of the South to lynch negroes on the slightest pretext whether the proof of guilt be clear or not. The only race war that we need fear is one stirred up by capitalists to distract attention from their own infamous crimes. They keep the poor workers both white and black in a state of ignorance and degradation which breeds crime, then punish and lynch the product of their own misdoing. Cuba, which they have given "Freedom" will soon be the scene of capitalist slaughters, for the working class there are not accustomed to be driven to work through the long hot hours which the capitalists demand. There will be a "race war" in Cuba next, fomented and caused by capitalist extortion. The war now progressing in the Philippines is waged in order that the dark-skinned races there may become "submissive" to the plans of the white capitalists, who wish to exploit the islands. There is but one hope, one salvation for the negro race. The system of society, the method of production and distribution, the higher civilization advocated by Socialists gives to every individual without regard to race, religion, country or color an equal opportunity to develop the best that is within him. Its conduct of industry and vast productive forces insure such abundance as to remove all the financial obstacles that now crush out ambition and genius in white or black. The social position of an individual in such a society would be determined by the use he made of his opportunities, with equal rights for all and special privileges to none. The hope of the negro, the hope of the white man, the hope of humanity is in Socialism. SS.

A SAMPLE

Of What the Presence of Socialists in Parliament Has Done to Labor in France—Something that the Free American Workingmen do Not Enjoy.

The protecting hand of the law was still further extended in 1892, increasing the limit of age, decreasing the hours per day of child labor, and for the first time applying regulations to all kinds of labor. Children under twelve years were now exempted from labor, and, at that age, were permitted to work only if provided with certificates of primary education and of "physical aptitude." For boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen the limit of a day's work was placed at ten hours. Girls and women were protected not only from underground work, but also from night-work, with certain specified exceptions; and they were, moreover, to have at least one day free in seven, though not necessarily Sunday. By this law women were to become labor inspectors; and the system of inspection was still further improved. With the law of 1892 the Third Republic may be congratulated on having systematized the protection of its children and women with a fostering care, such as never even entered into the dreams of the gallant monarchs who have ruled over France. From the protection of women and children to that of all workers appears a most natural step; but it was one which was taken late by the French lawmakers. The law of 1810, regard-

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THE JAIL

For Striking Miners in the Home of the Free.

How Workingmen are Treated by the Tools of Capitalism Whom They Choose to Elect to Office—Strike Leader Kept in a Filthy Jail Together With Murderers and Perjurers, Because He Refuses to be Bulldozed—How Strikers are Treated When Socialists are in Office.

LONDON, Ky., Sept. 16.—Editor Journal: With your kind permission I will occupy some of your valuable space for the purpose of letting the readers know how business is done in Kentucky. They send the miners to hotel De Rogers in Arkansas, to the bull pen in Idaho, but the place they put them in in Laurel County, Kentucky, is a disgrace to a pig pen—I speak from experience. I had one night of it and I have had plenty.

In explanation of the meaning of the above statement, I will say that on the 21st day of August I came to this county to look after the interests of the organization and found the men very much dissatisfied and almost ready to strike. The reason of their dissatisfaction was the failure on the part of the operators to give an advance equal to that given by the rest of the operators in the district. I advised the men not to strike until they had tried all honorable means to get the operators to give the advance or meet them in a joint conference and show cause for not giving the advance. The miners took my advice, but the operators refused to listen to them, saying that they had a contract with their men, which is denied by the miners, and they intended to have it fulfilled. In the meantime I had gone to Cardonia, Ind., to attend a Labor Day picnic and when I returned I found the men more dissatisfied than ever and more determined to strike. Brother J. W. Howe, of the district executive board, came the day after my return and we both advised the men to keep cool and we went to see some of the leading operators and tried to talk the matter over with them, but they talked very insulting, saying that they would insist upon the fulfillment of the contract that they claimed existed between them and their men. The men insisted on a call for a strike. Some of them went so far as to say that if the call was not issued that they would strike on their own accord. Brother Howe and I then decided to issue the call, which we did on September 8, asking the miners to lay down their tools on the 9th. The call was responded to by every miner in the county. Then the operators began to devise a plan to get rid of me. They first tried to get up a crowd to run me out, but they failed. Then they sent men to me to tell me that they were going to have me arrested, but I didn't scare, and then they trumped up the charge of interfering with men under contract and arrested me on five separate indictments. The deputy sheriff came after me just at dark and when I mentioned bond to him he told me that there was no bond allowed and he put me in a buggy and hustled me off to the county seat and put me in jail. And, boys, you ought to have seen the inside of that jail! It was reeking with filth. There were two cells in the cage that they put me in and there were six men already in there, one under sentence for murder and two charged with murder and being members of the Griffin side of the Philpot-Griffin feud, one charged with house-breaking, one charged with robbery and one charged with perjury, and me with being an all-round mean man, making seven in all. The sleeping accommodations consisted of two mattresses on the floor and a hammock swung to the ceiling. I made the best I could of a bad job and went to bed with two others on one of the mattresses. They let me out the next morning under guard and I am still under guard, and the men are still on strike and determined to remain so until they are successful. I will write further on this subject next week. Yours fraternally, G. W. PURCELL.

[The Mine Workers' Journal.]

When about two years ago the great strike broke out among the miners of France and the central capitalist government of France had sent troops to intimidate them, the Socialist majority of the municipal council of Paris voted immense sums of money in support of the strikers and their families and lent them every moral encouragement that was in its power to help them win the battle. How long will it take the American miners, and other workingmen, to learn the lesson, that the working class must take the political power in their own hands to be able to fight their bosses? If you don't vote the Socialist Labor Party into power you have no right to complain. And the Miners' Journal is one of those who are guilty of not preaching this truth to their miner readers. Will you do it now, Journal?

Have you or your Section placed a special order for next week's issue of the eight-column People? If not, hurry up and do so. Read all about it in the first column on the first page.

DRUDGERY

For Agricultural Laborers Who Work Like Slaves.

The Men Reduced to a State Near to Bestiality by Excessive Labor—No Leisure for Reading or Rest—A Frightful State of Affairs which Shows the Agricultural Proletariat to be in Greater Need of Socialism Than the Industrial One.

Let us visit a farm in California and look at the real condition of the laborers upon it. Here is a milk ranch in Contra Costa County. It embraces about 600 acres of land. The owner lives upon it, near the center, on a plot of ten acres, surrounded with a well-trimmed hedge, in a large, well-built and well furnished house, surrounded by fish ponds, hot-houses, lawns and flower gardens—a little paradise. Here he entertains his friends, lives and enjoys life in the country.

Not far from this paradise is the ranch house; a small, two-room building with a "lean-to-shed," at one end of which is a long table where the men "feed." Here the ranch foreman and his wife, and a Chinaman live and cook and sleep and superintend the work of the farm. Near the ranch house is the corral, a huge quadrangle of barns and sheds with an open space in the center. The milks and cows and men and other machinery for operating the farm are here. At one corner of the quadrangle the floor of the shed is raised about a foot above the surrounding portion. The front is inclosed and has a window and door. Inside are milk stools, lanterns, a piece of broken looking-glass, a bucket of drinking water, four banks three sections high, with blankets more or less clean spread over straw in the banks. The men who do the work on the farm (and make the little paradise possible) sleep here. Another article of furniture, and that the most essential one, must not escape enumeration—an alarm clock.

At 2 a. m. this clock wakes the men and summons them to do the milking, in which labor, when they are short-handed, the foreman, his wife and his children turn out and assist. From 2 until 8 o'clock in the morning is devoted to this work; then 30 minutes for breakfast. After breakfast they go into the field and work till noon. At 12:30 p. m. is dinner. While the men are in the field the foreman's wife is scalding the milk cans and pails—an enormous task. While the Chinaman is cooking the dinner the red-hot range heats the great boilers of water and she draws them off into tanks, where she puts the cans and pails, and there she toils and strains over the steaming, ill-smelling vats until one wonders why she does not jump into the seething lake and thus end the struggle in one brief spasm of pain.

From 12:30 p. m. until 2 p. m. the men rest. You would be astonished at the gratitude they manifest toward their employer because he does not make them stay in the field until 1 o'clock, as some of the milk ranchers do.

At 2 p. m. they begin milking again. They break the monotony of six hours steady milking by taking a turn at driving the cows into the corral, and driving them out again in bands, in the order in which they milked in the morning.

At 8 p. m. the milking is done and supper is ready. The remaining six of the 24 hours are their very, very own. They are free to sleep, to smoke, to visit a saloon three miles down the road, or to study political economy. To be sure, six hours is not much, and it is supper must be eaten and their bodies cleansed. Twelve hours' milking in a filthy corral, with one's body resting against a cow, hot, dirty and ill smelling; face and neck continually whipped with a cow's tail dragged in filth; flies and gnats harassing the milker. Four hours in the field plowing, making hay or spreading fertilizer, two hours for breakfast and dinner. This makes 18 hours. Now they must wash, eat their supper, roll up in their blankets and sleep five, or at most five and a half hours.

How men live under such a strain is hard to understand. One of these men said he had been there seven years—ever since his cousin became foreman of the ranch—and that during that time he had missed but three mornings. That is to say, he had "turned out" at 2 o'clock every morning save three for seven years. In consideration of his reliability he received extra compensation. He was getting \$35 a month, whereas the others were getting \$30 per month.

They all spoke well of their employer and his treatment of them. They thought the wages especially good. And then there was the certainty of continuous employment. They compared their jobs with that of working in a lumber camp, with which work some of them were familiar and considered themselves extremely fortunate. The only thing of which they complained was that they had no Sundays. They must do duty on Sunday the same as on other days of the week, except a few hours in the morning.

Only one man was saving money. The one who had been there seven years was saving \$300 a year. He was going to get married just as soon as he and his cousin, the foreman, could find

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CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION.

Children Robbed of Their Best Opportunities at an Early Age. In England as in America Capitalist Greed is the Greatest Hindrance to Civilization.

BY DAN IRVING.

"A good education," says Plato, "is that which gives to the body and soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they are capable." The early age at which children leave school to work in factory, mill, etc., either as half or full-timers, and further, the long hours which many children work in the early morning and late at night (attending school during the day), obviously precludes such children from obtaining the benefits of a good education, and also stunts their physical development. What this means is clearly shown by the tests instituted by Archdeacon Wilson in his own schools at Rochdale. "At the age of eight there is practically no difference between the stature of Rochdale school children and that of those of the country generally—it is only two inches less. At nine the difference is the same; at ten and eleven it is two inches and one-tenth; at twelve it is two inches and three-tenths; at thirteen the discrepancy has risen to more than three inches. Dr. Tarrop, certified surgeon for Heywood district, says that the deficiency of weight of factory children, as against those of all England, at eleven years of age is 7.5 per cent., at twelve 11.2 per cent., at thirteen 15.7 per cent., at fourteen 19 per cent., at fifteen 26.5 per cent., and declares "that this process is continued until a whole population becomes stunted, and thus the conditions of life in factory towns become a real source of danger to England's future."

Dr. Barwise, late Medical Officer of Health for Blackburn, says, "20.9 per cent. of the deaths of cotton operatives over ten years of age, took place between ten and twenty-five, and only 6.8 per cent. of laborers died between the same ages." A return for 1897 shows that there are some 110,654 half-timers, and the vast majority of these juvenile drudges are employed in the mills and factories of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. In all the Welsh counties there are but 75, and in Welsh county boroughs none at all. What half time means to the children will best be gathered from the reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories. "Anyone who had noted the scantily-clad little figures, their faces often beset with perspiration, who pass to and fro in the cotton-spinning, winding, and weaving rooms, in a temperature of 80 degrees to 86 degrees, must feel convinced that to work constantly in this high temperature cannot be injurious to the undeveloped little frames and constitutions." * * * "A boy was 'creeling' behind a mule near a point where the wall of the building projected, and forgetting that at this point the 'carriage' of the mule ran close to the wall—and, in fact, the 'carriage' wheel entered it—remained there, and was crushed between the 'carriage' wheel and the wall." An examination of notified accidents to children in 1894 shows some 206 cases. Forty-seven of these little martyrs were girls. It must also be borne in mind that all accidents are by no means notified.

Bad as is the system of half-time labor in the mill, those unfortunate children who attend school full time and work at various occupations both before and after school hours would seem to be even worse off than the half-timer. A recent inquiry, carried out by the Women's Industrial Council, showed that out of 26,000 children of whom particulars were obtained quite 5 per cent. were employed for wages, a large number of whom were under eleven years of age, and had not passed the fourth standard. A further inquiry, by the London School Board, brings out some startling results. For instance, 1,143 children work from 19 to 29 hours per week, 729 children work from 30 to 39 hours per week, 719 children are employed at newspaper and milk delivery for 21,662 hours per week, etc., at wages ranging from 1/4d. to 1 1/4d. per hour. Take a typical return from one school only:—As newspaper seller, 50 1/2 hours; as newspaper seller, 63 hours; as errand boy, 68 1/2 hours; as milk boy, 57 1/2 hours; and so on. It does not require a very wide stretch of imagination to convince one that such a tax upon the energies of young children must inevitably result in stunted frames and dwarfed minds, results such as would put a nation of savages to shame.

Sir John Gorst says that there should be some 900,000 children, between ten and eleven years of age, in our elementary schools. At eleven years of age 27,000 and 100,000 become half-timers. At twelve 85,000 more disappear. At thirteen 280,000, and at fourteen only some 48,000 are left in our schools. Mr. Rankine, one of Her Majesty's Chief Inspectors of Schools, says, "We lose the benefit of a great part of our expenditure on education, because just at the period when education in the proper sense begins, children are withdrawn from educational influences. It is wonderful when they turn up at continuation schools so many had forgotten what they had learned, and teachers have to go through the pretence of teaching science to those who require

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CHALLENGE.

Hillquit Defies DeLeon to Meet Him in Debate in New York.

New York, Oct. 3, 1899. Mr. Daniel De Leon, 61 Beekman street, New York City.

Sir:—Commenting on the challenge extended to you in my behalf by Section Worcester, Mass., you say in the last issue of your paper: "The challenge had been extended at the meeting in Horticultural Hall, and Comrade De Leon, then and there, running rapidly over the unclean career of Mr. Hillquit in the New York labor movement, at the time when the fellow called himself Hillkowitz, pointed to the fishness of a challenge to take place 190 miles from the town where the challenger and the challenged both lived, where the challenger was best known, where the living witnesses of his past betrayals of the working class could be easily produced, and where all this time the now 'challenger' did not dare to utter any such challenge. For these reasons—the manifest dishonesty of the challenge, and the challenger being convicted of having betrayed the working class—the comrade declined to debate with such a person."

Leaving aside the personal compliments which you bestow on me with your customary generosity, let us consider the substance of your remarks. The present controversies in the City of New York and almost all the events which culminated in the action of the General Committee on July 10, as well as those which succeeded that date, occurred in this city.

Our New York comrades have either been eye-witnesses to all those occurrences or even actors in them, they are, as a rule, pretty familiar with the facts involved in the controversy. The Party in New York, however, are differently situated; they have but little personal knowledge of those facts, and for their information they depend mainly on the statements of New Yorkers.

Under those circumstances it is but natural that the comrades outside of New York should desire to hear both sides of the controversy from men representing the two sides and coming from New York, and the request of our Worcester comrades was obviously justified and proper, just because these comrades live 190 miles away from the City of New York. In the light of these facts, of which you were, of course, well aware at the time you made the characteristic utterances reproduced above, it seems to me that what was really "fishy" in the Worcester incident was not my challenge, but your excuse for declining the same.

I do not believe in your good faith, Mr. De Leon, and in order to test it, I hereby challenge you to a debate right here, in the City of New York, the scene of my unclean career in the labor movement and the hunting ground of the living witnesses to my betrayal of the working class.

I desire to have the opportunity to prove and to give you the opportunity to disprove the following propositions: 1. That the action of the General Committee in deposing the former Party officers was entirely in accord with the Constitution, By-Laws, and usages of the Party. 2. That the said action was necessary for the preservation, welfare, and progress of the Party. 3. That you and your followers have no right or justification to style yourselves the S. L. P., and that your doing so is an imposition on the public and particularly on organized labor. 4. That your statements in regard to my career in the labor movement, my character and reputation, are vile and despicable slanders, and that you uttered them with a full knowledge of their falsity.

I am willing to meet you in public debate on the points mentioned, at any reasonable time and under any fair conditions, and a committee representing me in this matter will be ready to confer about arrangements, with any person or persons you may name as your representatives.

As to the place of debate I would make the following suggestion: As you may know, the members of the 16th Assembly District in this city have nominated me as their candidate for Assembly. I understand that you expect to run for the same office in the same District, posing as the regular candidate of the S. L. P.

I believe the voters of the 16th Assembly District are entitled to know whom each of us represents and who each of us is; my unclean career in the labor movement as well as your saintly ways and habits are matters of special interest to just those voters. I, therefore, propose that the meeting be held in the 16th Assembly District. I expect an answer to this challenge within one week from date.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table showing Socialist vote in Presidential elections: 1888 (2,068), 1890 (13,331), 1892 (21,157), 1894 (33,133), 1896 (35,564), 1898 (82,204).

At the request of several Sections the date for final returns of the general vote upon the question of holding a National Convention has been prolonged to October 15.

THE RED FLAG vs. THE STARS AND STRIPES.

Editor The People.—Is a man who expresses himself to this effect: "If it came to choosing between waving the red flag of International Socialism and the American flag, I would choose the latter"; a real class-conscious Socialist?

Of course, it is not the worship of this or that piece of rag that we call "a flag" that interests us in this case. The man who made the above statement has surely passed the stage of mere fetish worship of a flag, and in choosing between the two must have had in mind the different ideas and principles for which each of them stands.

What do the Stars and Stripes stand for? In the first place they stand for a nation promising protection of the organized power of the Republic to its citizens from the attacks of foreign foes. As far as that goes every Socialist can consistently swear his allegiance to it.

But besides being an emblem of a nation, the Stars and Stripes also stand for a certain order of society, for certain institutions, rights, and privileges, which are embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

It has been a matter of common acquiescence since the foundation of the Republic that no class of people are to have special privileges which may tend to injure the interests and well-being of other citizens.

We know, moreover, that the special privilege we complain of is not one of mere local or national origin, but is enforced the world over. We are convinced that to abolish it in one country and leave it untouched in all the rest would be worse than useless.

ism, its heir, must likewise have the world for its arena. Recognizing that the triumph of Liberty and Equality, for which the Stars and Stripes once stood, is inseparable from the triumph of International Socialism; recognizing that the downfall of the states and civilizations represented by the various national flags of to-day is merely a stepping-stone towards a higher and nobler civilization, of which the fathers of this Republic could never dream; we say that when it comes to choosing between the red flag of the Socialist Commonwealth which stands for the brotherhood of all men, and any national flag which stands for the rights of one nation as opposed to another and for the prerogatives and privileges of one class to the detriment of another, we stand by the former.

General Ludlow's work to which we referred in these columns in last week's issue was well done and we hope the capitalists concerned will reward him for his services. With the Gatling guns confronting them at every turn the Cuban workmen saw themselves compelled to take heed of the paternal advice of the Government which has come to free them from Spanish oppression and have submitted to be fleeced by the American capitalists as heretofore—let us hope not for long.

We hope that neither Secretary Long nor Admiral Dewey have suffered any internal injury when trying to suppress the laughing fit which must have seized them when they looked in each others' eyes at the words of the Secretary of the Navy, lauding the "good work" of the Admiral, uttered himself of this piece of brazen hypocrisy:

"And yet many of your grateful countrymen feel that in the time to come it will be your still greater honor that you struck the first blow, under the providence of God, in the enfranchisement of those beautiful islands which make the great empire of the sea; in relieving them from the bondage and oppression of centuries, and in putting them on their way, under the protecting shield of your country's guidance, to take their place in the civilization, the arts, the industries, the liberties, and all the good things of the most enlightened and happy nation of the world."

Shades of Washington, Jefferson, Adams! What will you say to this modern method of forcing down liberty in the throats of people across the seas, practiced by your descendants, even as old King George had tried to do with you?

The people of the United States generally and the working people particularly must feel happy now that the trouble between the Chicago trade unions representing the building trades and the Federal authorities of that city has been amicably adjusted.

It will be a curious thing for the future historian of the American Labor Movement to dwell and comment upon so assinine and unpardonable an act in the closing year of the nineteenth century as the conferring of an honorable membership upon a McKinley by a trade union!

Think of a trade union expressing its appreciation of a President by enrolling him as an honorary member in its ranks at a time when the cries and the groans of the murdered miners of Idaho shot in cold blood by order of that irresponsible tool of the capitalist class is still resounding in the ears of the workers of the country!

Socialists are accused of harping too much on that "narrow" idea of class-consciousness. Can anything done in that line be too much as long there is ONE union in the United States capable of stultifying itself in a manner like this?

And what a contrast that is to the perfect solidarity and consciousness of the community of interests which the capitalists of the country display! Even a McKinley who is never backward in bestowing a flow of sweet oratory upon "honest toilers" when there is a chance to beguile the workmen, even he did not accept the honor conferred on him by the union without stipulating expressly that he assumed that his new membership would "impose upon him no obligation or restraint inconsistent with his duty as Chief Executive of all the people" (read "of the capitalist class"). In other words, while he did not object to being honored and displaying his "honorary membership" in a trade union as a vote catcher when he would soon need the votes of the working people to elect him for a second term, he reserved the right to repeat again the scenes enacted recently in Idaho by his orders, when the interests of the capitalists so require.

And the slap he dealt the union in its face was well deserved by it. Well done, Mac!

By the way, it may interest the working people to learn that how they settled that dispute in Chicago. It is another tribute to the self-respect these trade unionists have in them. The offer made by the unions involved is that they DONATE a corner-stone to be laid by union men, President McKinley, of course, included.

The rest of the building need not be unionized! Rejoice ye, wage slaves, over the victory of organized labor!

Having started on the inclined plane against which the Socialist Labor Party had warned it, by admitting to its midst a faction of the Democratic party, the Independent Labor Party is proceeding now to prove its independence by nominating prominent Democratic politicians as its candidates for public office.

At its last Tuesday night's county convention it nominated among others, Mr. Chas. W. Dayton, the Democratic politician who held the job of Postmaster of New York under that great Democratic friend of Labor, Grover Cleveland of the Chicago railway strike fame. Nor does the whole proceeding lack the picturesque when we see an expelled member of the S. L. P., now a member of the S. D. P., and a disgrace to any organization he belongs to, making a speech for the man who was associated with the Administration which sent Debs to prison. Will the S. D. P. members swallow this too?

A writer in the "Evening Post," which is by far the brightest and most intelligently edited of all the capitalist dailies in the Metropolis, in speaking of the trusts and the discontent which have created in the West, says: "But one looks in vain for signs of a popular appreciation of the only radical remedy for this restraining power, the abolition of"—the capitalist system?—no, "the protective tariff."

We will have an article in next week's People showing how well the trusts are thriving in that classical land of free trade, England.

Mr. Edward Kriz, whose interesting speech on the Labor Day in History we reproduced two weeks ago from the Duluth "Labor World," calls our attention to the fact that we failed to acknowledge our indebtedness to that paper for his speech. We take this opportunity to apologize to the "Labor World" for this neglect due to an oversight on our part.

The plan of Section Philadelphia, which we published in last issue, of introducing The People at once to a large class of readers is worthy of the attention and imitation of all Sections in cities and States having elections on hand. A paper, as a rule, is bound to prove of greater interest when given to a stranger than a leaflet. The latter deals usually with one subject only. Its method of treatment, its subject matter may not interest the average voter. A paper is quite a different thing: it contains a variety of matter; it is, as a rule, written by several persons, and has a better chance to be read by a stranger to our movement; if one thing proves unpalatable to him, another may please him and gain him for our cause.

Then, again, the connection with the voter is not so apt to be lost. After he has read the leaflet, if he reads it at all, he usually throws it away. But if he likes the paper, he is likely to subscribe for it, especially when the price is so low. Another point is that by ordering a bundle of papers a Section helps the cause in a two-fold way. First, by gaining voters, if they can be gained by argument, and secondly, by gaining readers for our Party press, which ensures their further support of the Party and enables the press to exist and grow.

We, therefore, call again the attention of the comrades to the bundle rates of The People (which are the cost price of the paper) published at the head of this page.

There has never been yet such an array of brilliant and able writers in one issue of a Socialist paper as you will see in the next issue of The People. Not to use every effort and not to spend every available cent in the Section's treasury to place it in the hands of unconverted workmen would mean to lose the greatest opportunity of the campaign! Don't you do it!

Have you or your Section placed a special order for next week's issue of the eight-column People? If not, hurry up and do so. Read all about it in the first column on the first page.

This is the way several New York Assembly Districts try to increase the circulation of The People: A list of voters of the district is obtained from the City Record and as many names as the District can afford to pay for are placed on the mailing list of The People for about five weeks. At the end of this time, individual members of the District, elected for that purpose, call at the respective houses and try to induce the readers to subscribe. The comrades are enabled in this way not only to do some good work for The People, but also for the cause of Socialism in general. The method has proven so far to be very successful.

BEBEL'S REPLY TO THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

The "Petite Republique," the Paris Socialist daily edited by Jean Jaures, addressed two questions, some time ago, to the leading Socialists of all the countries.

The first of these questions referred to the tactics the Socialists of France ought to pursue in regard to the Dreyfus affair. The second related to the action of Comrade Millerand who accepted the portfolio of Minister of Commerce in a bourgeois Cabinet.

We have quoted some time ago the opinions of some of the leading German and French comrades. This time we translate the reply of Comrade Bebel to the first question published in the "Petite Republique." His statement is perhaps more interesting for the light it throws on the general political situation in his own country, so different from our own, than for the direct reason for which he wrote this letter.

Dear Comrades:—The subjects upon which you have addressed to us your questions are a matter of the most lively interest to our comrades in all countries.

We have been discussing these questions in Germany for a long time. But the difference is that in Germany we have one united party and can therefore more easily cope with difficulties arising from differences of opinion among us, while our French comrades are as yet divided into different factions which makes it more difficult for them to agree on a common plan.

But, on the other hand, you have an advantage over us inasmuch as you live in a homogeneous State where you can take in the situation at a glance, while the German Empire is composed of twenty-six States, large and small, varying in size and population, in constitution and laws, especially those dealing with the method of electing members to the legislative bodies.

Many a difficulty arises on account of this in our party. With the exception of Wuertemberg, there is not a German State that enjoys equal universal suffrage. The laws relating to elections represent a mass of regulations of a most varied nature, and all of them equally aim at excluding the working class from political representation. The same holds true of the laws relating to local representation.

In their natural endeavor to acquire power and influence in these representative bodies our comrades in several States of the Empire have entered during elections into temporary alliances with bourgeois parties, which have precipitated animated discussions among the entire membership of the party. It is probable that these questions will come up for discussion at the next party convention at Hanover. Such questions, for instance, as arise from the action of our Bavarian comrades in the last elections to the lower House of the Bavarian Parliament, as to what tactics the party should pursue on similar occasions in the future are becoming more urgent from day to day, and it is likely that the party convention at Hanover may at last lay down a general line of action.

As far as the elections to the Reichstag are concerned, the situation very plain. The party puts up candidates wherever it has any followers. If our candidates drop out in the by-elections, the party members vote for one of the bourgeois parties which is prepared to support certain immediate demands presented by our party.

There have been but few deviations from these tactics, and these happened whenever the attitude of the bourgeois parties on some important question was such as to create indignation in our ranks. On such occasions they have usually decided to abstain from voting on the second ballot where the contest was between two bourgeois candidates. But whenever it came to a fight, common sense has always prevailed at the expense of sentimentality and hesitation.

As a result of this attitude of the party it is the usual practice in all cases where it is too weak to act on its own account to vote for the least objectionable of the bourgeois candidates in order to keep the most dangerous foe out of Parliament. It chooses the lesser evil of the two. And it will have to follow similar tactics wherever it takes part in the electoral contest under a system of election less favorable for it.

The Social-Democracy has two different problems before it. The more important one is the realization of its platform, i. e., the transformation of the present social organization of society into a Socialist organization. In order to gain adherents to this platform it must make propaganda wherever it has a chance.

But in order to attain this final aim, the party's next problem is to try to extend her field of battle in a way that would put her in the most favorable position possible. And for this purpose she needs certain social reforms which should help to make the working class more active and more capable of resisting the economic pressure of the capitalist order; she also needs political rights and liberty in order to be able to struggle with increased strength for the social elevation of the working class and the acquisition of political power.

In so far as our efforts to effect reforms under the present order of society find support in bourgeois parties, we have no reason to refuse their assistance. We must even consider it our duty to spur on the bourgeois parties to helping us in these efforts.

parties who also struggle against the reactionary attempts of the Government. This seems so plain that it hardly needs any argument. Such a policy is forced upon us both by our tactics and the instinct of self-preservation.

The same tactics ought to be carried out under all circumstances where right, justice, and humanity are concerned.

It is true that we are a party of the proletariat which must attend to the politics of its own class, but the Social-Democracy is at the same time the party of all victims of misfortune and oppression, for it fights for Liberty and Justice for the benefit of all human beings. Wherever injustice and abuse of power show themselves, the Social-Democracy must be prepared for the struggle. It is forced to act in such a manner not only by its platform, but also by purely tactical considerations: for such a championship of right and justice can make many opponents neutral and even win them over to the party.

Thus, from the moment that it became known that Dreyfus had been unjustly condemned, every Socialist had to be in favor of a revision of the case from a purely humane point of view. But when the Dreyfus case, through a chain of various circumstances became an event of the greatest importance and one behind which great and powerful parties concealed their plans against the people aiming at no less a blow than the overthrow of republican institutions, then it became the duty of the party as such to take Dreyfus' part and use every possible means and all the power it possessed in his favor. In spite of Dreyfus his cause became the cause of justice and civil liberty.

I do not conceal the fact that the vast majority of the German comrades has not understood and does not understand yet how a split could ever occur in the French Socialist party on account of the Dreyfus affair.

Had the Dreyfus case with all its consequences arisen in Germany, instead of France, there is no doubt that the whole of the Social-Democracy of Germany with Liebknecht at its head would have taken up Dreyfus' cause.

Why should it be different in France than in Germany? This I do not understand. My answer to your first question is, therefore, "Yes."

COLLECTIVE MORALITY.

By C. BONNIER.

A strange spectacle presents itself at the present moment and one which ought to surprise those who still believe in the reality of such a thing as Justice and Truth. Professor Nisard who admitted the existence of two kinds of morality was laughed at very much; but people forgot that he was not the originator of this theory, and that Macchiaveli and Napoleon had discovered it before him. The problem, however, becomes broader as soon as you get to deal with the morality of a class, a morality which in the last degree is equivalent to the conscience and the reason for existence of a part of human society.

The great bourgeois of the Revolution, the conventionalists like Levasseur and Baudot, who went abroad as exiles, when asked if they felt no remorse for having condemned Louis XVI, simply replied that they had obeyed the doctrine of public good, which is nothing but the welfare of a class. They had no hesitation, and if individually they felt any pity at all, it disappeared before what they considered their duty towards the bourgeoisie.

Before this categorical mandate, to use the language of professors of philosophy, disappeared all passing sentimentality, and Napoleon who well understood the conscience of the masses had uttered these words of profound meaning: "There are no collective crimes."

What might be a virtue in an individual, becomes a crime in a class, which always has for its object its own preservation and which cannot commit its own suicide without falling to carry out its historical mission. Those who are able to elevate themselves to this highest conception of morality of class get rid at once of that burden of precepts and doctrines which the hostile class has tried to inculcate in them. The education given in high schools and colleges is, in fact, nothing but a slow and sure process of suppressing this class conscience among the proletarians, who like Burdeau, finally come to adopt the morality of the enemy. The fact is that when you have come to consider everything from the standpoint of the class to which you belong, you care very little for the reproaches of immorality which are thrust at you from the enemy's camp. For when you are accused of immorality it simply means that you have not got the morality of your neighbor.

Let us take two cases which will show us the difference between morality and morality according to the point of view from which they are looked at. A bourgeois, a shareholder in mines, reads in his morning paper of an accident that has happened in this or that mine, about the number of killed and wounded, and of those who have remained buried in the pit. No doubt, the man will feel sorry for them, but it will be the same sort of a vague feeling of pity with which he would regard the death of a Chinese Mandarin. Seen this first impulse of pity will give way to the consciousness of the absolute necessity of a system which leads to such accidents. He will reason coolly and will come to the conclusion that it is better that a certain number of workmen should die rather than that the society of shareholders should entirely disappear. This cold reasoning is what could be called "class conscience." And one must not deceive himself, this bourgeois is not a monster; he simply belongs to a class which cannot exist without exploiting other beings.

Let us now take a workman: he will deplore the fate of an officer unjustly condemned, but this will not stop him from trying to attain political power, nor from the work of organizing his class. He will understand that behind that officer is a machine which may have bruised one of its directors

through some accident, but which performs its functions systematically towards the soldiers in the ranks. If it should be said in a case of condemnation, like the one of recent date, that "It is better that one soldier should perish unjustly only that discipline be sustained," the proletarian may add: "And this holds true so much more when the victim is an officer." The proletarian understands that to take an isolated case means to avoid an attack against the whole system, against militarism. Does not the Bible say, "Let the dead bury their dead?" and the words of one of our comrades after the fire at the "Opera Comique" will always remain true: "These are not our dead."

While the bourgeois and the workmen thus reason logically each one for his part, there are a number of people among them who still cherish old ideas and who talk of justice and truth, forgetting that these duties cannot exist as long as there is such a thing as a class struggle; the class struggle being the social and historical expression of the struggle for existence among inferior beings. Among these misled people are scientists and intellectuals who don't realize that these duties contain no more life than the formulae that adorn our public monuments and are as empty as those statues of the bourgeois Republic which block our streets.

Thus morality had to go through different stages of classes in order to be transformed; it had been the expression of different factions of society which cracked, so to say, one after another like too narrow moulds, while conscience and morality have expanded.

The tribe, the family, the fatherland had each a morality of its own, just as every form which has given new shape to society, every form of exploitation had a conscience of its own. The hunter, the nomad had no scruples in taking possession of the territories of those whom he reduced to slavery. The Roman citizen was sure that justice itself presided over the foundation of his city. The feudal baron had religion on his side and it approved of serfdom. Last, the bourgeois sincerely believes to-day that profit is an excuse for all sorts of exploitation no matter how cruel.

But in order to develop morality has to go through all these transformations. Instead of remaining one, indivisible, and dead, which is the case with all those idealistic conceptions of justice and truth, it lives and develops in history and in society.

Every class has, so to say, enlarged morality, by forcibly taking possession of what the preceding class has acquired, and transforming it at the same time. The bourgeoisie has reproduced feudalism, but it adapted it to the new economic conditions, and the proletarian will take hold of the industrial organization of the bourgeoisie, and will adopt it to the collectivist surroundings. Just as the forms of social groups are transforming and adopting themselves, so do moral ideas of justice and truth form and adapt themselves.

But the proletarian, when conquering the public power and becoming Dictator, will found a society without classes, as there will be no other interest but the collective interest, to which will be added a collective morality, a morality of all for one and one for all. Then, and only then, will there be a morality, and only then will it be able in its turn to modify the economic conditions by which it itself has been determined so far.

—[Le Socialiste (Paris).]

A Woman's Strike.

Once upon an evening dreary, As I pondered, sad and weary, O'er the basket with the mending from the wash the day before;

As I thought of countless stitches To be placed in little breeches, Rose my heart rebellious in me, as it oft had done before.

At the fate that did condemn me, when my daily task was o'er, To that basket evermore.

John, with not a sign or motion, Sat and read the Yankee Notion, With no thought of the cottons

Which within me rankled sore, "He," thought I, "when day is ended Has no stockings to be mended, Has no babies to be tended,

He can sit and read and snore; He can sit and read and rest him; Must I work thus evermore?" And my heart rebellious answered, "Nevermore; no nevermore."

For though I am but a woman, Every nerve within is human, Aching, throbbing, overworked, Mind and body sick and sore.

I will strike, when day is ended; Though the stockings are not mended, Though my course can't be defended, Safe behind the closet door

Goes the basket with the mending, And I'll haunted be no more. In the daylight shall be crowded all the work that I will do,

When the evening lamps are lighted, I will read the papers, too. —[The Brisbane, Australia, "Worker"]

The chief problem about getting new converts to our cause is how to prevent their cooling off after they had been "warmed up" by a Socialist speaker. Of course, the only way is to supply them with Socialist literature before they leave the meeting. The new bundle rates now announced at the head of the second page will enable the Sections to do it without great expense.

You can never print a small leaflet at so small a cost as The People is offered in your view. Now will you ever have such an array of talent in a magazine mailed to the one you are going to be treated in. Be sure and order a lot of it. Read all about it on the first page.

"BALLOT OR BULLET" AGAIN.

The Logic of History in Determining the Course of Revolutions.

In June, 1897, an article appeared in The People written by the then Editor in reply to a query of a reader on the "old, but ever new" question of "balloets or bullets." Comrade Slobodin followed this up with an article under the above headline which we reproduce here. The recent falling off of a few S. L. P. Sections in the West whose members, disgusted with the troubles in the Party, suddenly lost all faith in Socialism as a political movement and declared for Anarchism makes the article timely. Incidentally we reproduce the letter which the Boss wrote at the time to Comrade Slobodin, which will show the comrades that he knew very well at that time that Comrade Slobodin's first and middle names were Henry Leon and gives the lie to his recent statements to the contrary. It also shows that, at that time at least, he thought Slobodin's English to be good enough to adorn the columns of THE PEOPLE. The article we reproduce appeared in The People July 4, 1897.

New York, June 24, 1897.

Dear Sir and Comrade:—I would much like to read your interesting article, as it proposes a "Ballot or Bullet" for the sake of its special logic of thought. But here and there it contains passages that I deem injurious to the agencies that determine some of our present tactics. These passages are not essential to your main line of argument, and would have taken the editorial privilege of "cutting" them. Nevertheless, the mold in which your article is cast restrains me, as you reside in the city, I would be pleased if you will call at this office some afternoon this week, for me to point out to you what I mean, and leave it to yourself to make the changes, if you care to. Fraternally,

D. DE LEON.

The People has in its article, "Ballot or Bullet," in the issue of last June 24, fully mastered the burden of Mr. Wells' question, and its argument is conclusive upon the main point. But the form of the question is pregnant with an assumption, which, though only slightly bearing upon the point raised, is of great importance.

The correspondent of The People labors apparently under the conviction that an absolute majority of the people must be enlisted under the banners of the S. L. P. before a social revolution may be reasonably expected.

Though the question has only an academic interest in determining the present attitude of the S. L. P., it is of material weight for the purposes of propaganda, in as much as the degree of remoteness of the final goal influences the minds of the comrades to whom the capitalistic system is a mesh in the nostrils, and of the sympathizers who vacillate between the logic of fact and history on one side, and their inherited social and traditional proclivities on the other. Having in view this end, I shall endeavor to demonstrate that neither is it at all probable, if we are to draw analogies from history, that the Party of Revolution will be peacefully developing with such majorities of the nation as 75 per cent, and the capitalists remain all the time in undisputed control of gun and cannon, nor are the forces of this revolution determined by the apparent number of Socialists at the time of its inception, once the economic conditions are ripe for a social change, and the intellectual development has grasped these conditions. Let us be taught by reason and experience.

Had a plebeian vote been taken before the English, American or great French Revolution, asking the people whether it was their express will to overthrow the respective governments and establish a new political system, who, that intelligently reads history and understands the spirit that actuates the masses, doubts that such a proposition would have been snuffed out by an overwhelming negative vote. The great bulk of the people, though conscious of suffering and loud in its complaints, had not then, nor has it as yet clearly determined the cause of its calamities. So much does the world general intelligence adhere to old forms and recoil from a radical change that it will much prefer to put up with evils that are familiar than to take the chance of a trial of things unknown, be they ever so promising. It was the task of a solid and tangible minority, that clearly saw the original cause of a disease in the body politic, and had some defined remedies, to rise and eradicate the one and apply the other. The passive majority looked on, where it was not forcibly led to take parts with one or the other side. Hence a principle is advanced in political science that, no matter what the form of government may be, active minorities rule passive majorities. Whether or not in time of peace, the principle becomes manifest during every great social upheaval. Then the voice of each active individual is brought to bear directly upon the ultimate aim, and the influence of his political idiosyncrasy upon the character of the political state is proportional to the consciousness of purpose and the intensity of the original motive which impels him to action.

The French Revolution was boundless in the scope of its aspirations, but as much as it aspired to be universal the purpose was vague and its aim was clear only where it was true to the historical moment. It was a least complete and thorough-going change of social forms. There was no reform of old system—they were completely discarded. Economic, political and religious creeds were thrown overboard, and the nation was for a time left to itself, with the best thing at hand. Such a wholesale sweepout was not the manner of the majority. But there was an active minority sufficiently numerous to force things to an extreme.

The aspirations of the English Revolution were by no means as universal, and its aims were modestly circumscribed by the exigencies of the moment and locality. The ideas of the English Revolution were insular in scope but intense and clear in purpose, and it carried out every letter of its

programme with ferocious clearness and consistency. The Puritans were people of an extremely positive turn of mind, and all ways knew what they were about. Cromwell, though himself nothing loath, could not, with more than regal powers in his hands, be crowned a king. The majority of the nation would not have opposed him—the majority were passive observers, but there was a minority exercising an active will. The Puritans did not want a king, and the Puritans knew their own minds.

Now, a Socialist knows what he wants whether or not he is able to express it in definite terms. Bourgeois society, based upon the maxim, "Every one for himself, and the devil take the hindmost," was an unavoidable link in development of social forms. This last social form has outlasted its necessity, and now exercises a sinister influence upon the growth of the race and the course of progress. Any justification of the system of Free Competition, of "Laissez faire, Laissez passer," has passed away, leaving society in a state of war of one against all and all against one; where the few hold grimly on to the tools of production, and the mass of mankind is cursed to misery. These monstrous relations cannot continue, and if there be no exit mankind must perish in the chaos. But Socialism points a hope to despair, and assumes the Herculean task of cleansing and rejuvenating society. All the impartial conclusions of a pure human intellect; all the cravings of oppressed humane sentiment; all the logic of events; the trend of economic development point to the only—the one way out—Co-operation; emancipation from wage slavery; no paid slave and no paying master; the final crowning of labor; to humanize toil, so that every man freely works for all, but for no British lord, for no French count; not for the dissipated band of prostitutes and thieves of Fifth Avenue, St. James', or St. Germain.

This clearness of purpose of every Socialist strikes with dismay the unholo gang, and invariably routes all the apologists of capitalism of the "liberal," "reform" or "pure and simple" type in their argumentative encounters with Socialism. How useless it is to write books and devise new systems of philosophy to demonstrate the impossibility, impracticability, inequity, etc., of a Co-operative Commonwealth. It is so much muscle-tissue and gray matter wasted. The Socialists know what they want, and are secure in their future, for when issue is joined Socialism will be sustained by the Reason of Impartial Philosophy, by the Ideal of the Poet, by the Logic of History and by PHYSICAL FORCE, as in the constitution of modern society the Socialists are the only class that is consciously and progressively active, and impelled by proximate motives of ever increasing strength, it is to them that the future destinies of mankind are entrusted. The Socialists are the makers of history for the time being. All opposition to them must vanish as chaff before the breath of the storm. So much for the lessons of history.

Now, we shall attempt to determine the function of human character in the evolution of society.

It is only the strong-minded individuals who first discern and become consciously susceptible to new acting causes as they arise. It is only singular characters that always seek fresh channels for thought, new directions for their course. The great unwieldy mass of mankind follow the trodden paths, though the causes that had, generations ago, prompted their ancestors to take that particular course have long ceased to act. While the pioneers of civilization explore with torch and axe the never light-stirred darkness, and new roads towards better lands, the great numbers continue their cycle in the beaten track. And the greater the number, the greater is that inert force which the acting causes must overcome in order to change their course. The new motive powers acting in a different direction retard the motion of the masses, but, though the aimlessness of their course lights upon them more and more; aye, now and then glares them to the face; though they wistfully listen to the song and the sound of the axe of their comrades exploring and clearing the wilderness; though yearning to extend a helping arm to their fellow toilers—yet, so deeply is habit imbedded in their nature that, with all the voices of the morning calling to them to awake, to arise, on and on they drift in a hopeless chaos. It requires an earthquake, a social cataclysm to throw them out of the rut, but once out, there is no mistake on whose side THE MAJORITY OF MEN WILL STAND.

Now let us reason from general determinations to particular cases. We assume that we have reached a state of social progress when not a majority of 75 per cent, but a minority of say 30 per cent, numbering approximately four millions, strikes at the ballot box for the S. L. P. What sort of men are those four millions of voters?

Are they the voting cattle, traded off by the "pure and simple" labor fakirs to different "reformers" for so much per hundred? Is it they that are selling their votes for cash, jobs or beer? Do you find them among the stay-aways, the disappointed, the pessimists; among those that have lost all faith in human institutions, in human integrity? Friend or foe? You know this not to be the fact.

No! Every Socialist is one and a self-acting unit in himself. Every Socialist is a conscious volunteer in the militant army of the revolution. Every one of the four millions is ready on the first call to lay his life for the cause of emancipation of the wage slave. If you count four millions of voters for the S. L. P., then may it be known to all of you, doubting Thomases, that these are so many men willing and ready to fight the fights of Socialism, the battles of civilization. And who is our foe in the other camp? Count them! The capitalist class of this nation, so graphically and truthfully depicted by The People; a class that has in its short but infamous career learned nothing but to steal and to run. "Patriots" of J. Pierpont Morgan type, who infuse the leprosy of official corruption into the American institutions. "Gentlemen" of the Chapman type, who swear by their honor of a thief, whose motto is "Steal and Mum." These knights of easy plunder are not our foes on the

field of battle. We dismiss them with contempt. Or shall we fear those soft-brained ideologists whose weak reasoning faculties are completely befogged by the mental legerdemain performance of the various Socialist killers, and the ferocious logomachy of the Anarchists?—birds of the passing night, that can go no nothing but blink at the dawn of a new era?

In our age of fast extinction of all unit species, so few of those degenerates will survive to witness the fray that they cannot be taken seriously.

Last come the great millions of our own disinherited brethren; the toilers of the brain and the toilers of the brawn—the proletarians outside of the S. L. P.

I have endeavored to prove that their numbers, though not readily responsive to the new motives, will have their sympathies enlisted with their comrades struggling for the common weal. Small doubt but that the capitalist class will, by that time attempt to cut the talons and the wings of the young eagle—to tamper with universal suffrage or with the republican institutions, or some other "patriotic" scheme will be hatched out to save the "nation," "civilization," and what not. Then there will be the Socialist Labor Party to stand guard over the liberties of America, and it will call a peremptory halt to the robber classes. The conflict ensues and the clash of arms resounds throughout the land, reverberating in the hearts of men, breaking through the moss-grown shell of habit, and firing all the doubting and indifferent with enthusiasm proportional to the length of time they have held back their natural sentiments on the assumptions of their exploiters. To what side will the great millions naturally gravitate? It may still be argued that the capitalist class has the advantage of:—

- 1. Organization, as means of transportation and communication, militia, arms, finances, etc.
2. Position, as armories, forts, etc.
3. External aid: Witness the treaty of extradition of political criminals made with Russia.

All this the capitalists do possess just now, and this is one of the reasons why the Party of Revolution will not allow itself to be lured into a trap by the "agents provocateurs" of the foe or precipitated into a hopeless conflict by some in discreet hotspur in its own midst. The Socialists have too great a mission to fulfill, to notice every bravo or engage in crazy adventures.

But all these particular advantages will slip out of the hands of the capitalists long before the time given. It is the current phrase that Vanderbilt, Depew, Sage, etc. run the railroads, telegraphs, etc. It is safe to assume that at the time given it will be fairly well established that all the means of production, communication, etc., are being run, not by a Vanderbilt, however much vital energy he spends in clipping coupons, nor by a Depew, much as this individual contributes by his well seasoned jokes to the digestive powers of his patrons, but by the long list of employees—clerks, brakemen, firemen, engineers, etc.—the millions of unsung, unknown toilers. These millions are now organizing and reorganizing, and in every way perfecting their forces that they may be brought to bear at any time or place when necessary, preserving their compactness and unity throughout the conflict. The railroad employees are among the most intelligent proletarians, and they will form the backbone of the S. L. P.

Arms? Finances? Expropriation and confiscation? The capitalists have appropriated what they do not own. We shall take what is our own. History does not change its course to please sentimental quails, and it has exacted a fearful penalty from our French comrades in the seventies for disobeying its mandate. Militia? The Emperor of Germany, with all his bluster, has at this time some misgivings as to the readiness of his well-drilled and highly disciplined soldiers to massacre their own friends at his bidding. Will the American militia always allow itself to be enticed by their exploiters into the "patriotic" duty of committing fratricide in order to save to the capitalists their stolen pennies?

Armories? There the ruling powers are grievously blundering. They build armories to inspire terror into the revolutionary Socialists. The Socialists calmly study the fine buildings, calculating what use the Revolution will make of them.

The capitalists, terrorized by the steady step of the approaching Revolution, are erecting fortresses in the centre of the crowded cities. The Revolution will overtake, immerse and bury there all who will be foolhardy enough to offer resistance.

Position? One of the greatest securities of the final victory of the Social Revolution is its advantage of position. Paris, Hamburg and Berlin are entirely in the power of the Revolution, while other great cities of Europe are gradually being vanquished by the S. L. P. When the Revolution has on its side pronounced 30 per cent. of the population of the United States, it will have in its power not only all the great cities of this union, but all the smaller manufacturing and mining districts where the population is most congested. The forces of the Revolution will be concentrated and compact units, while the strength of capitalism will be scattered in the equivocal sympathies of the rural population.

External Help? When the International Socialist Labor Party issues a call to arms, it shall guarantee to every capitalist of whatever country ample employment at home, and he will find but little stomach for embarking into delirious expeditions. And who may those deliverers be, anyhow? England? France? Germany? Austria? Italy? Russia?

In every one of those countries, with the single exception of Russia, the S. L. P. has made strides far in advance of the proletariat of this country. Why? Some of the European capitalists seriously contemplate the United States as a safety haven for their long forfeited skins and a fence for their stolen goods, in case the Revolution overtakes them at home.

To recapitulate: When the forms of social development come into conflict with the direction of social forces, the latter will naturally gravitate towards the forms that favor their expression. He who runs can notice how the centre of social gravity is hourly shifting from

the capitalist class. The bourgeois is drifting further and further out of the pale of social progress. He has fulfilled his appointed mission in history, holding now over as a tenant at sufferance, and may be ejected any time without notice.

While the debile bourgeois class is wedded to the past, dreams of the past, and is sighing for turning backwards the course of time, the Social Democracy throbs with the energy of youth, and turns a radiant face towards a hopeful future. To labor belongs the future!

Labor omnia vincit! H. L. SLOBODIN. New York.

There has never been yet such an array of brilliant and able writers in one issue of a Socialist paper as you will see in the next issue of The People. Not to use every effort and not to spend every available cent in the Section's treasury to place it in the hands of unconverted workmen would mean to lose the greatest opportunity of the campaign! Don't you do it!

SOME OF THE THINGS THE SAN FRANCISCO CLASS STRUGGLE HAS TO SAY ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THE PARTY.

*** Prior to July 10 did "The Class Struggle" stand squarely for the doctrines of the S. L. P. as outlined above? It never wavered a hair's breadth therefrom in the two and one-half years it had been an S. L. P. organ. The very people who now boycott it have again and again declared the paper to be all right from an S. L. P. standpoint. Since July 10 has the paper wavered in the support of the above doctrines? Not an iota. "But," say the ultra backers of the old N. E. C., "all the opponents of that body are reactionists, fakirs, skates, etc., and you proclaim yourself one of them when you fail to unequivocally endorse the old N. E. C." Let us consider a little. Two votes have recently been taken in Section Greater New York. The first vote was on the election of a member to the old N. E. C., who received 878 votes. The second vote was on deposing the old N. E. C. and 796 votes were cast therefor. It is evident from this that when one faction was voting the other faction refrained from voting, but the total vote—1,174—was only 27 short of the total paying membership one year ago according to a printed report of L. Abelson, city organizer, and a backer of the old N. E. C. Thus we find that less than one-third of Section Greater New York stands for the old N. E. C. while more than two-thirds is against that body and in favor of the new N. E. C. and this in the Section charged with the work of electing or deposing the N. E. C.

At this point a leading question: If the charges made by the old N. E. C. and its backers against the opponents of that body be true, how does it happen that in New York City where the S. L. P. movement has been planted twenty years, where the National Executive Committee has been located ten years; where The People edited by Daniel De Leon, has been published nearly ten years, that a Party membership has been built up more than two-thirds of which are fakirs, labor skates, traitors, small traders, bourgeois reactionists, lager beer anarchists, etc. Such a condition seriously reflects on the influence and teachings of the N. E. C. and The People; and if such conditions exist in New York, what ought to be expected from California which is more than 3,000 miles removed from this fountainhead of "straight Socialism"?

Another question: How does it happen that in big cities and towns like Philadelphia, Worcester, Mass., Rochester, N. Y., Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Kansas City, Oakland, San Francisco, where the movement has longest been organized, the largest number of Socialist speeches made, the most Socialist literature been distributed, and the Sections have longest been in touch with the center of Socialist propaganda, that a membership should have been built up like unto that described in the above paragraph? If the mass of these old Sections are fakirs, skates, traitors, etc., then if the younger and smaller Sections fall into the grossest reaction, who should wonder? ***

The old N. E. C. has recently taken a vote on an endorsement of all its actions since its election, March 23. The N. E. C. is parading this vote as the largest ever cast in the Party—2,861 and 141 Sections voting. Let it be remembered that the Party membership July 10 was 7,000. Hickey in this State recently announced it as 7,000. Hence the total vote cast was over 600 less than half the total vote of the Party. Then, too, there are not less than 400 Sections in the Party and only 141 Sections voted. Why? We know it to be true that a large number refused to vote because after the illegal suspension of so many Sections this vote could not be considered a vote of the Party, while many others through their illegal suspension were denied a vote. We challenge the old N. E. C. to restore to membership all who were in good standing July 10 and take a vote on the same question. If the Party trouble is insignificant, if the opponents of the old N. E. C. are few in number, it can well afford to do this, for there would be no danger in it, and the N. E. C. would strengthen itself by coming again into line with the Party Constitution which it has violated every time it has suspended a Section. The whole Party membership would abide by the results of such a vote, and could not afford to do otherwise, for it would be a vote of the whole Party; but the vote recently taken was after the N. E. C. had rid itself of opposition by the illegal suspension of Sections, hence in no sense a Party vote.

CHILD LABOR.

(Continued from page 1.)

drill in elementary subjects." As the law stands at present, a child may leave school at eleven years of age, if he has passed the bye-law standard of exemption, to work in a factory or workshop, or full time outside a factory, workshop or mine. At thirteen the child may work full time outside a factory, workshop, or mine, if he has passed the fourth standard, or can show that he has made 250 attendances per year for each of five years (the possible attendances being at least 400 in each year). At thirteen the child may be employed in a factory or workshop if he has passed the fifth standard, and can obtain a certificate of previous attendances as described, and at fourteen years children are entirely exempt. On August 31, 1897, only 35.25 per cent. of the children in English and Welsh elementary schools were over ten years of age. In Scotland it was 48.80 per cent.; whilst Switzerland and Austria do not permit child labor under fourteen of age, Germany under thirteen, and Holland, Russia, France and Belgium under twelve. The effect of the half-time system on the schools is entirely prejudicial.

The condition of schools without half-timers:— Classification.—This would be more uniform and just to the child. The presence of a half-timer in a class must involve injustice to the full-timers, who must of necessity mark time when the half-timer is not present.

Organization.—Where half-timers attend, there must of necessity be a repetition of the morning lessons in the afternoon, or vice versa. This must be

DRUDGERY.

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a milk ranch that they could buy. He thought this all the aim needed to fill out a complete and rounded life. If he and I could get hold of a milk ranch and have others doing for them what they are now doing, the world and all its conditions would be bright for them and for all others.

As for the others, each one counted upon catching a tramp every few months who would take his place for a week or two, while he went to San Francisco on a spree and spent his savings; then he would return and begin anew.

The sorry effect of their monotonous round of daily drudgery could be seen in their faces. The absence of leisure, with its opportunities for reading and association, was evident in their conversation and actions. There they sat, stunted, stupefied and brutalized, with all the sins of Sodom resting upon them. They coarsely boast of their bestial condition, having no ideals higher than so to please their employer that they can retain their "jobs" and remain in their miserable state; no desires other than a vague wish for one day in seven all to themselves, and the chance, perhaps, some day of making other men slaves in the same way for them that they are doing now.

Like all divisions of the grand army of labor the farm laborer fares better in some details in certain localities than in others. For instance, in the harvest field he will get better wages than in the vineyard; in an orange orchard he will work less hours than on a wheat ranch. In the main, it will make no difference where you look for him, you will find him slavish, dull, brutish and retrograding. Here is a picture of him as he lives and looks in the great wheat growing district of the San Joaquin valley:

It is seeding time. Rain or shine, hot or cold, there is a continuous column of men moving along with their blankets tied to their backs by bits of bale rope which they have probably stolen from some farmer. They are all seeking employment. Strong, healthy and robust, eager for work.

A band of them meet a ranch foreman and are told there is a chance for them. They can go to work now, in January, and have steady employment till the harvest is completed, next June or July. There will be no money paid to them till the crop is turned off. They can have board and tobacco and boots and shirts, but no money. Six months' work ahead is a regular bonanza for them. They take hold eagerly. They must work faithfully; they must stay with their job till through with the harvest. No matter what wages may be offered by another during the rush of harvest time, they cannot collect wages for past work unless they fulfill the contract and remain where they are until the crop is turned off.

During the winter they get up long before daylight, care for the mules and prepare for the day's work in the field. The "day's work" consists of all the daylight there is to be utilized in the field. The four or five hours' work caring for the stock and tools do not count. Curses, and often blows, together with the ever-present threat of discharge, are the stimulant to extra exertion.

During their six months of labor they will see no butter for their bread, no milk for their coffee. Bread, beef and black coffee are their diet. On Sundays, if they are not required to go into the field, they can care for the stock, wash their shirts and then go down the road to the saloon, where their good friend, the saloon keeper, will give them credit for all the beer and whiskey they want, waiting for his pay "till the crop is turned off."

After the harvest—their tobacco, shirts, shoes, and the saloon keeper's bill having been deducted—they are paid off and sent adrift. He is the lucky one who has one-half of his wages coming to him. Let us follow this lucky one awhile.

With his \$75 he goes to the nearest city, buys a "hand-me-down" suit of clothes, and perhaps a new pair of blankets, pays a month's board and then goes on a glorious drunk. If he is very lucky he gets run in early in his spree and the police court takes what money he may have left in the way of fines. His month over, he is now ready to roll up his blankets and start out picking grapes or hops or whatever crop remains to be harvested during the autumn months. He is a degraded, immoral, brutish tramp. No home or family ties can ever be formed or hoped for by his class. He is, indeed, below the mules he kicked through the dreary days of last winter. —[The American Fabian.]

CHILD LABOR.

(Continued from page 1.)

As the law stands at present, a child may leave school at eleven years of age, if he has passed the bye-law standard of exemption, to work in a factory or workshop, or full time outside a factory, workshop or mine. At thirteen the child may work full time outside a factory, workshop, or mine, if he has passed the fourth standard, or can show that he has made 250 attendances per year for each of five years (the possible attendances being at least 400 in each year). At thirteen the child may be employed in a factory or workshop if he has passed the fifth standard, and can obtain a certificate of previous attendances as described, and at fourteen years children are entirely exempt. On August 31, 1897, only 35.25 per cent. of the children in English and Welsh elementary schools were over ten years of age. In Scotland it was 48.80 per cent.; whilst Switzerland and Austria do not permit child labor under fourteen of age, Germany under thirteen, and Holland, Russia, France and Belgium under twelve. The effect of the half-time system on the schools is entirely prejudicial.

The condition of schools without half-timers:— Classification.—This would be more uniform and just to the child. The presence of a half-timer in a class must involve injustice to the full-timers, who must of necessity mark time when the half-timer is not present.

Organization.—Where half-timers attend, there must of necessity be a repetition of the morning lessons in the afternoon, or vice versa. This must be

tedious and tiresome to both teachers and scholars, and involves a serious breach in the continuity of the lessons. In some schools a separate section is formed of half-timers separate from full-timers, but even this must clog the work of the school as a whole, and prevent that uniformly high tone which is inherent in a good school throughout. A barren wilderness near a well-cultivated spot looks worse by the contrast.

With the half-timer it is difficult to arrange the time-table of the schools so that lessons that demand exercise of the intellect can be taken during the best part of the day. Arithmetic, for instance, in the morning. Half-timers, after being in the mill from early morning, cannot be expected to be able to bring a clear and bright intellect to bear upon a problem in arithmetic in the afternoon. The teacher of the half-timer in the forenoon must be harassed and worried to awake him out of the torpor and lethargy produced by the noise of the machinery and the close atmosphere of the mill.

Recreation.—If due justice is to be done in the ordinary instruction of the half-timer with the half-day, there is no time for recreation of any kind. Even if he had it, he cannot enjoy it; he is, in nine cases out of ten, too tired.

Conduct, etc.—The half-timer is bound to bring into the school the language, tone, and habits of the mill, which are very seldom good.

Status.—The whole status of schools would be raised; the attendance of children not half-timers would improve; ten half-days per week would become the ordinary attendance. A child attending half-time in a school must be a standing bad example to the others. A brighter and more cheerful spirit would be infused throughout the whole school. The recreative part of education would have greater prominence, and children would naturally be attracted to the school, and compulsion would disappear.

In schools where there are no half-timers the attendance is often found to be over 95 per cent.

The half-timer lacks the brightness and buoyancy of the ordinary child, and in a school with a large number of half-timers, this inherent dullness and apathy is very evident, for the contagion very soon spreads throughout the place; a kind of feeling that makes children and teachers glad to get out of the school as soon as possible.

Whatever and varied political party has been in power, the all-important question of education has been merely tinkered with; and there has yet been no statesman who has had the moral courage to deal with the subject, even with ordinary fairness and justice either to the child or the country. In addition, secondary education needs thoroughly organizing and correlating to the work done in elementary schools. The path leading to higher, university, and technical training requires broadening, and made more easy of access to all children, irrespective of class, who show any aptitude to benefit thereby. In order that this may be so, all education must be made free from any payment of fees or charges for books, etc., and last, but not least, IT IS ALL IMPORTANT THAT FREE EDUCATION SHOULD COVER MAINTENANCE AS WELL, because only so can the children of the working classes—that is, the great majority of the children of the community—ever hope to remain sufficiently long at school to obtain a really sound and complete education. —[Lodge Monthly "Social-Democrat."]

A SAMPLE.

(Continued from page 1.)

ing factories producing obnoxious or unhealthy odors, considered only the comfort of the neighborhood. Even the law of 1880 requiring the periodical inspection of boilers may be looked upon as intended as much for the safety of property as of human life. But with 1890—the law of July 8—came a decided change, regulating in detail the semi-monthly inspection of mines, "with the sole object of examining the conditions of security for the employees." Two years later a series of decrees regulated the inspection of quarries. Next, the law of June 12, 1898, empowered the administrative authorities to issue rules, in consonance with modern ideas of hygiene, for the health and protection of laborers; specifying lighting, ventilation, drinking-water, water-closets, the carrying off of dust and fumes, fire-escapes, etc. Ared with this authority the Government, March 10, 1894, issued a decree with minute regulations relating to ventilation, disinfection, coat- and wash-rooms; the cleaning of walls and floors, the guarding of approaches to machines, etc. The passing of meal-time in the work-rooms was forbidden. Indeed, the work-rooms were to be vacated during that time and the air entirely changed. These laws are by no means dead letters; and, though admittedly neither the Government nor the employers perfectly fulfill their requirements, excellent results have been achieved, thereby. Not to mention mines and quarries, there were made, in the year 1897, inspections in 125,775 factories, employing 1,755,851 persons, of whom 718,506 were women and children; and some 8,000 cases of failure to comply with the law were noted. —[A Century's Labor Legislation in France, by Walter B. Scoble in the October Forum.]

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. All communications should be written on one side of the paper only. The appearance of an article in these columns does not commit the editor to its views.]

Pleads for a Convention.

Editor The People.—Recent events in the Party offer a valuable lesson to the bulk of intelligent Socialists in this country, a lesson that we must try to digest and remember if we desire to have a strong Socialist organization. That our Party is in a disorganized state to-day, no member without prejudice will deny, in spite of the assertions of a few blind fanatics that everything is all right; that the Party never has any trouble or difficulties. We have closed our eyes for years to the real situation until now when we are forced by conditions to look the matter straight in the face. Let us therefore not shrink our duty; a thorough reorganization is absolutely necessary. The

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