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Beople.

VOL. IX.-NO. 28

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 8, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

To be an Eight - Column Paper Beginning Next Week.

Ye, Socialists, hark! Hear the glad ddings and carry them to every wage worker in the land! With the next issue The People will

with the next issue The People will in 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. Unformately, the lack of sufficient means as made it necessary hitherto to compress this great amount of matter into assmall 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 As it is published at present. The

three columns.

At the same time the price of The People will remain as it has been: 50 cents per year.

the Socialist Labor Party-

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. cialist agitation stuff to be handed out to workingmen who are not Socialists syst 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. Burrowes. 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.

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Send your orders at once so that may know exactly the number of extra copies to be printed.

copies to be printed.
So far Philadelphia heads the list with an order for 10.000 copies for the sext 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 Jear.

"The S. L. P. will have but one State ticket, and every member of the Party must be loyal, in spite of real or fancicled 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 1888, 413 and last spring about 680 votes. The vigorous agitation of our comrades has forced the grand total up to 850. 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 of 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, cuiture 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 Wendel Philips and William Lloyd Garrison who demanded freedom and equality for every toller, be his color white or black. There was an Abraham Lincoln in the White House who declared that Labor was anove 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 nese the labor 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. courage 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 wnite workers of the North, while they encourage the white workers of the South to lynch negroes on the slightest pretext waster the proof of guit be clear or and. 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. ist 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.

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.

A SAMPLE

Of What the Presence of Socialists In Parliament Has Done to abor in France- Something that the Free American Workingmen

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-

(Continued on page 2.)

For Striking Miners in the For Agricultural Laborers Home of the Free.

How Workingmon are Treated by the Tools of Capitalism Whom They Choose to Elect to Office Strike Leader Kept in a Flithy Jall Toge:her 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 Make, but the place they note: De Rogers in Arkansas, to the buil pen in Idaho, but the place they put them in in Laurel County, Ken-tucky, 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, the strike of the district executive board, the strike of the district executive board, the strike of the district executive board on Brother Howe and myself issuing a call for a strike. Some of the leading operators and their men. The men insisted on Brother Howe and myself issuing 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 year of the same of 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 all 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. 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

How long will it take the American 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 hosses? 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.

Who Work Like Slaves.

The Men Reduced to a State Near to Bestiality by Excessive Labor-Leisure for Reading or Rest A Frightful State of Affaire which Shows the Agricultural Prolets rist to be in Greater Need of Soalism 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 Cotra Costa
County. It embraces about 600 acres
of land. The owner lives upon it, near of land. The owner lives upon it, near the center, on a plot of ten acres, sur-rounded with a well-trimmed hedge, in a farge, well-built and well furnished houses, 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 rarm.

the farm.

Near the ranch house is the corral, a huge quadrangle of barns and sheds with an open space in the center. The nules and cows and men and other mandes and cows and men and other mandes. with an open space in the center. The mules 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 lookingglass, a bucket of drinking water, four bunks three sections high, with blankets more or less clean spread over straw in the bunks. The men who do the work on the farm (and make the little paradise possible) sleep here. And her article of furniture, and that the most essential one, must not escape enumeration—an alarm clock.

At 2 m, this clock wakes the men which labor, when they are shorthanded, 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 palls—an enormous task, While the Chinaman is cooking the dinner the redhot range heats the great boilers of water and she draws them off into tanks, where she puts the cans and palls, and there she toils and

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

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

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. are free to sleep, to smoke visit a saloon three miles down the road, or to study political economy.

To be sure, six hours is not much, and in it supper must be eaten and their bodies cleansed. Twelve hours milking in a filthy corral, with one's body ing in a nitry corrat, with one's body resting against a cow, hot, dirty and ill smelling; face and neck continually whipped with a cow's tail draggled in fifth; flies and gnats harassing the milker. Four hours in the field plowmilice. Four hours in the field plowing, saking 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 compensa-tion. 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 famber 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 als cousin, the foreman, could find (Continued on page 3.)

(Continued on page 3.)

CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION.

Children Robbed of Their Best Opportunities at an Early Age. In England as in America Capitallet Greed is the Greatest Mindrance to Civilication.

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, oblong 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 betwen 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 one-tenth; at twelve 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 there 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

cent, of the deaths of cotton operatives over ten years of age, took place between ten and twenty-five, and only 0.8 per cent, of laborers died between the same ages." A return for 1807 shows that there are some 110,654 half-timers, and the wast majority of those breast of the control of th scantily-clad little figures, their faces often beaded with perspiration, who pass to and fro in the cotton-spinning, weaving, and winding rooms, or in flax-spinning and weaving rooms, or in flax-spinning and weaving rooms, in a temperature of 80 degrees to 86 degrees, must feel convinced that to work constantly in this high temperature cannot but 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—he remained there, and was crushed—etween the 'carriage' wheel and the —he remained there, and was crushed etween the 'carriage' wheel and the wall." An examination of notified accidents to children in 1894 shows some 209 cases. Forty-seven of these little martyrs were girls. It must also be borne in mind that all accidents are by no means notified.

Red us is the system of half-time la-

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 lapulry, carried out by timer. A recent inquiry carried the Women's Industrial Council, show ed that out of 26,000 children of whom ed 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 21,962 hours per week, etc., at wages ranging from 4d. to 14d. per hour. Take a typical return from one school only:—As news paper seller, 50½ hours per week; as paper seller, 50% hours per week; as errand boy, 59 hours; as newspaper seller, 63 hours; as errand boy, 68% hours; as milk boy, 57% hours; and se 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 000,000 children, between ten and eleven years of age, in our elementary schools. At eleven years of age 27,000 leave school for ever. Between 50,000 and 100,000 become half-timers. At twelve \$5,000 more disappear. At thirteen 289,000, and at fourteen only some 48,000 are left in our schools. Mr. 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. Is it 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

(Continued on page 3.)

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 this 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 carrier. ning rapidly over the unclean career of Mr. Hillquit in the New York labor movement, at the time when the fellow called himself Hilkowitz, pointed to the fishiness 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 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 compli-

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 Party have had their origin 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 controvers.

The Party Lander Straight of the City of 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

Yorkers. Under those circumstances it is but 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.

City of New York.

In the light of these facts, of which

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 belive 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. usages of the Party.

2. That the said action was ne

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. This your statements in researd to

4. That your statements in regard to my career in the labor movement, my character and reputation, are vile and despicable siancers, and that you ut-tered them with a full knowledge of

tered 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

expect to run for the same office in the

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.

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.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

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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. All the votes must be in the office of the National Secretary by that time.

THE RED FLAG VS. THE STARS AND STRIPES.

Editor The People.-Is a man who expre Editor The People.—Is a man who expres-ses 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? is asked of us by a comrade.

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. To answer, therefore, the above question we must analyze the two, and see whether a Socialist can

consistently make such a statement.

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 Social ist can consistently swear his alle giance to it. Under the grab-and-hold system that we live, it is still neces sary for one nation to look out against the attacks of another, and as Socialists can not live off the earth and entirely escape from the influence of the surroundings, they must each remain members of separate nations besides being members of the International Army of Emancipation of the working class. If Russia, for instance, were to declare war against America to-morrow, Socialists would be just as ready to enlist in the army and help to re pulse the attack of the enemy, as any other set of citizens.

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. What is our attitude as Socialists toward all this? It is almost enough to put the question to have it answered. The Constitution this Republic drafted and adopted at the end of the last century was the result of a compromise between contending principles which represented opposing interests at that time. It is a matter of historical record that the Constitution, as then adopted and as subsequently amended, was not up to the height of the liberal ideas even of the 18th century. How far behind does it not fall when we think of the new demands evolved by the nation's growth of a century?

It has been a matter of commo 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. In the 18th century our statesmen might, or might not, have known how to guard against the rising of a special privileged minority. But in the light of the experience we have had in this century we know that the right of private property in the means of produc tion is equivalent to a special privilege on the part of the minority of the owners of the machinery of production, who exercise this privilege to the positive injury of the tolling majority of the people. To that extent the Stars and Stripes no longer embody our ideas, and can no longer get our sup-

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 co try and leave it untouched in all the would be worse than us Capitalism is international and Social-

ism, its heir, must likewise have th world for its arena. Recognizing that the triumph of Liberty and Equality, stood, is inseparable from the triumph of International Socialism; recognizing that the downfail of the states and civilizations represented by the various national flags of to-day is merely a stepping-stone towards a higher and oler civilization, of which the fathers of this Republic could never dream; we say that when it comes to choosing between the red fing 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 an other and for the prerogatives and privileges of one class to the detriment of another, we stand by the former. A man who deliberately chooses the latter says: "I stand for the system of private property as opposed to collect ive ownership; I stand for the right of exploitation of the workers, who do not own the means whereby to work by the idlers who by fraud and rob bery have come to own these means; I stand for international strife and in ternecine war between the tollers of different tongues and races as against the brotherhood and solidarity of the workers of all countries."

No such person can consistently call himself a Socialist.

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 workingmen 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 sup press the laughing fit which must have seized them when they looked in each others' eyes at the words of the Secre tary of the Navy, lauding the "good work" of the Admiral, uttered himself of this piece of brazen hypocrisy:

"And yet many of your grateful country "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 civilisation, the arta, the industries, the liberties, and all the good
things of the most enlightened and happy
nation of the world."

Shades of Washington Yan.

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 descendents, 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 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 cape ble of stultifying itself in a manner

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 back ward in bestowing a flow of sweet oratory upon "honest tollers" when there is a chance to begulie the work ingmen, even he did not accept the honor conferred on him by the union without stipulating expressly that be assumed that his new membership would "impose upon him no obligation or restraint inconsistent with his duty as Chief Executive of all the peop (read "of the capitalist class"). 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 to he reserved the right to repeat again the scenes enacted recently in Idaho by his orders, when the interests of the

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

By the way, it may interest the working people to learn that how they settled that dispute in Chicago. It is an other 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 Mc-Kinley, 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 imclined 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 independ ence by nominating prominent Demo-

cratic 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, Grove Cleveland of the Chicago railway strike fame. Nor does the whole proceeding lack the picturesque when see an expelled member of the S. L. P. now a meber 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 capital istic dailles in the Metropolis, in speaking of the trusts and the discontent they have created in the West, says: "But one looks in vain for signs of s 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 falled 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 over sight on our part.

The plan of Section Philadel which we published in last issue, of in troducing The People at once to a large class of readers is worthy of the attention and imitation of all Section 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

Then, again, the connection with the roter is not so apt to be lost. After he has read the leastet, 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, which ensures their further support of the Party and enables the press to exist and grow.

We, therefore, call again the attenrates of The People (which are the cost price of the paper) published at the head of this page.

There has never been yet suc array of brilliant and able write one issue of a Socialist paper as you will see in the next issue of The P Not to use every enors in the Section treasury to place it in the hand unconverted workingmen would i to lose the greatest opportunity of campaign! Don't you do it!

Have you or your Section pl special order for next week's issue the eight-column People? If hurry up and do so. Bead all abo in the first column on the first page.

This is the way several New Assembly Districts try to increase circulation of The People: A lie voters of the district is obtained. the City Record and as many as as the District can afford to pa are placed on the mailing list of People for about five weeks. At the end of this time, individual member of the District, elected for that pose, call at the respective in try to induce the readers to : The comrades are enabled in not only to do some good work for People, but also for the cause of cialism in general. The method cialism in general. The m proven so far to be very suc

BEBEL'S REPLY FRENCH SOCIALISTS

The "Petite Republique," the Paris ocialist 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 Drey-fus affair. The second related to the action of Comrade Millerand who ac-cepted the portfolio of Minister of Com-

cepted the portfolio of Minister of Com-merce in a bourgeois Cabinet.

We have quoted some time ago the opinions of some of the leading Ger-man and French comrades. This time we translate the reply of Comrade Bebel to the first question published in the "Petite Republique." His state-ment is perhaps more interesting for the light it throws on the general poli-tical situation in his own country, so different from our own, than for the different from our own, than fo 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

ountries. 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 there-fore more easily cope with difficulties arising from differences of opinion among us, while our French comrades are as yet divided into different fac-

are as yet divided into different rac-tions 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 con-stitution 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 poli-tical representation. The same holds true of the laws relating to local repre-

In their natural endeavor to acquire power and influence in these represen-tative bodies our comrades in several States of the Empire have entered dur-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 party convention at the next party convention and the next party convention at the next party convention the action or our Bayarian contracts in the last elections to the lower House of the Bayarian 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 Hannover may at last lay down a general line of action.

As far as the elections to the Belchster are concerned, the situation is very

tag are concerned, the situation is very plain. The party puts up candidates wherever it has any followers. If our

wherever it has any followers. If our candidates drop out in the by-election"), 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 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 prevalled 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 context un-der a system of election less favorable st dangerous

for it.

The Social-Democracy has two different problems before it. The more important one is the realisation of its platform, i. s., the transformation of the present social organization of social into a Socialist organization. In order to gain adherents to this platform to must make propagands where-

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 con-

right, justice, and humanity are con-cerned.

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 inctical considerations; for such a championship of right and justice can make many opponents neu-tral and even win them over to the party. 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 of republican institutions, then it be-came the duty of the party as such to take Dreyfus' part and use every pos-sible means and all the power it pos-sessed in his favor. In spite of Drey-fus 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 under-stand yet how a split could ever occur in the French Socialist party on ac-count of the Dreyfus affair.

count 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 Macchianelli and Napoleon had discovered if 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.

and the reason for existence of a part of human society.

The great bourgeols of the Revolution, the conventionalists like Levasseur and Baudot, who went abroad as sexiles, 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 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 disable comes a crime in a class which

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 failing 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
the class has tried to inculcate the control of the class has tried to inculcate the class has tried to inculcate

the hostile class has tried to incurcate 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

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 workingmen thus reason logically each one for his part, there are a number of people among them who want to stand outside of class, who still cherish old ideas and who talk of justice and truth, forgetting that these delites 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 mialed people are scientists and intellects who don't realise that these delites 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 fatheriand had sach a morality of its own, but as

conscience and morality have expanded.

The tribe, the family, the fatheriand 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 nomade 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 on his side and it approved of serious Last, the bourgeois sincerely believe to-day that profit is an excuse for al sorts of exploitation no matter hos

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 bourgeoisle has reproduced feudalism, but it adopted it to the new economic conditions, and the projeta-

economic conditions, and the project-riat will take hold of the industrial or-ganisation of the bourgeoisie, and will adopt it to the collectivist surround-ings. Just as the forms of social groups are transforming and adopting themselves, so do moral ideas of just-ice and truth form and adopt them-selves.

lee and truth form

acives.

But the preletariat, after conquering the public powers and beaming Dictator, will found a accept 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 As I pondered, sad and weary.
O'er the basket with the mending from
the wash the day before;

As I thought of countless stitche To be placed in little breeches, Rose my heart rebellions 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 me Sat and read the Yankee Notion With no thought of the co Which within me rankled sore, "He," thought I, "when day is end Has no bables to be te

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

Every nerve within is he Aching, throbbing, overw

Bafe behind the closet door
Goes the basket with the mending
and I'll haunted he no more.
In the daylight shall be crowded at
the week that I will do,
When the evening lamps are lighted, I
will read the papers, too.

—[The Brisbane, Australia, "Works."

The chief problem about getting a everis to our cause is how to preve sele cooling of after they had be warmed up" by a Socialist speaks

"BALLOT OR BULLET" AGAIN.

Logic of History in Determining the Course of Revolutions.

is June, 1897, an article appeared in be People written by the then Editor reply to a query of a reader on the old but ever new" question of "balor bullets." Comrade Slobodin owed this up with an article der the above headline which oduce here. The recent falling of a few S. L. P. Sections in the est whose members, disgusted with pbles in the Party, suddenly lost a faith in Socialism as a politcal ment and declared for Anarchism the article timely. Incidentally reproduce the letter which the Boss ple at the time to Comrade Slobodin. will show the comrades that he very well at that time that Com-Slobodin's first and middle names ere Henry Leon and gives the lie to recent statements to the contrary. talso shows that, at that time at least, thought Slobodin's English to be of enough to adorn the columns of IIS People. The article we reproduce peared in The People July 4, 1897.

New York, June 24, 1807.

Mr. H. L. Slobodin.

Der Sir and Comrade:—I would much like sefut your interesting article a propose of Mr. Wells, for the sake of its special se of thought. But here and there it stains passages that I deem injurious to exigencies that determine some of our sent tactics. These passages are not estain to your main line of argument, and send have taken the editorial privilege "editing" them. Nevertheless, the mold which your article is cast restrains me, spon reside in the city, I would be pleased a lave you call at this office some afterwishis week, for me to point out to your swink in mean, and leave it to yourself reake the changes, if you care to.

Fraternally,

D. DE LEON.

D. DE LEON.

he People has in its article, "Bal-or Bullet," in the issue of last June a or Bullet," in the issue of last June a 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 mised, is of great importance.

The correspondent of The People la the correspondent of the Feople in-bors 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 as scademic interest in determining the present attitude of the S. L. P., it is of material weight for the purposes of prepaganda, in as much as the degree remoteness of the final goal influces the minds of the comrades to beas the capitalistic system is a seach in the nostrils, and of the sympathizers who vaciliate between the left 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 on will be peacefully developing with the majorities of the nation as 75 per at, and the capitalists remain all the me in undisputed control of gun and amon, hor are the forces of this revo-tion determined by the apparent imber of Socialists at the time of its socialists are the complete conditions aception, once the economic conditions we ripe for a social change, and the in-electual development has grasped hese conditions. Let us be taught by and experience.

Had a plebescite vote been taken be fore the English, American or great ore the English, American or great freach Revolution, asking the people thether it was their express will to rethrow the respective governments at establish a new political system, the thickness the spirit that actuate the masses, doubts that such a reposition would have been snowed after by an overwhelming negative at. The great bulk of the people, lough conscious of suffering and loud its complaints, had not then, nor has complaints, had not then, nor has by yet, clearly determined the cause its calamities. So much does the mid general intelligence adhere to and general intelligence adhere to difforms and recoil from a radical charge that it will much prefer to put to with evils that are familiar than to make the chance of a trial of things unknown, be they ever so promising. It were was the task of a solid and tansible minority, that clearly saw the signal cause of a disease in the body solite, and had some defined remedies, arise and eradicate the one and apply the other. The passive majority looked as where it was not forcibly led to the parts with one or the other side. Hence a principle is advanced in political science that, no matter what the term of government may be, active amorities rule passive majorities. Thether or not so in time of peace, the deciple becomes manifest during every great social upheavel. Then the two of each active individual is such to bear directly upon the ultimate aim, and the influence of his policial didesyncrasy upon the character the political state is proportional to consciousness of purpose and the simily of the original motive which related the scope of its aspirations, but had the scope of its aspirations but nd recoil from a ra

French Revolution was bound in the scope of its aspirations, but much as it aspired to be universal purpose was vague and its aim was ar only where it was true to the histical moment. It was a most combe and thorough-going change of so-cal forms. There was no reform of system—they were completely dissal dorough-going change of sosol forms. There was no reform of
system—they were completely disdiscounties. There was no reform of
system—they were completely disdiscounties. The system—they were completely disdiscounties. The system of the main of the main of the main of the main of the majority. But there was
active minority sufficiently nutous to force things to an extreme.
The superations of the English Revome were by no means as universal,
it is aims were modestly circum—
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the system of programme with ferocious clearness

and consistency.

The Puritans were people of an extremely positive turn of mind, and always 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 oposed 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 king, and the Puritans knew their own king, and the Puritans knew their own

Now, a Socialist knows what he vants whether or not he is able to ex 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 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 imand 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 with the three concentrations. ment point to the only-the true 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. Garnalin. out-Co-operation; emancipation from or St. Germain.

This clearness of purpose of every Socialist strikes with dismay the un-Socialist strikes with dismay the un-holy gang, and invariably routes all the apologists of capitalism of the "liberal," "reform" or "pure and sim-ple" type in their argumentative en-counters with Socialism. How useless it is to write books and devise new sys-tems of philosophy to demonstrate the impossibility, impracticability, iniquity, etc., of a Co-operative Commonwealth. It is so much muscle-tissue and gray It is so much muscle-tissue and gray matter wasted. The Socialists know 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. And as in the constitution of modern society the Socialists are the only class that is consciously and progressively active. 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 destinles of mankind are intrusted. 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 indivi-

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 hew roads towards better lands, the great humbers 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 act-ing in a different direction retard the motion of the masses, but, though the almiessness of their course lights upon 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 MAJOR-ITY OF MEN WILL STAND. Now let us reason from general de-

ocial cataclysm to throw them out

terminations to particular cases. We assume that we have reached a we assume that we have reached 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?

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

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 can 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 civilisation.

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. Piespont Morgan type, who infuse the leproay 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

Or shall we fear those soft-brain 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
do nothing but blink at the dawn of a
new era?

In our area of feet.

In our age of fast extinction of all unfit 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 tollers of the brain and the tollers of the brawn—the proletarians outside of the S. L. P.

I have and the seriously the seriously that they are the seriously the seriously the seriously that they are the seriously the seriously the seriously that they are the seriously the seriously the seriously that they are the seriously the seriously the seriously that they are the seriously that they are the seriously the seriously that they are the seriously that they are the seriously that they are the seriously the seriously that they are the seriously that they are the seriously that they are they are they are the seriously that they are the are they are the are they are they are the are they are the are the a

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 I have endeavored to prove that tory halt to the robber classes. The conflict ensues and the clash of arms resounds throughout the land, rever-berating in the hearts of men, breaking through the moss-grown shell of habit, and firing all the doubting and indifferent with enthusiasm propor-tional 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 advant-

age of:-1. Organization, as means of trans portation and communication, militia rms, finances, etc.

2. Position, as armories, forts, etc. 3. External aid: extradition of political criminals ide with Russia. Witne

All this the capitalists do possess just 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 bravado 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

talists 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, companication, etc., as production, communication, etc., are being run, not by a Vauderbilt, 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, hromen, engineers, etc.—the millions of unsung, unknown toilers. These millions are now organizing and reorgan-izing, and in every way perfecting their forces that they may be brought to bear at any time or place when nec-essary, 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. His-tory does not change its course to tory does not change its course to please sentimental qualms, 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 buster, 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 at his bluding. 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 newer are grievously blundering. They build armories to inspire terror into the revo-lutionary Socialists. The Socialists calmiy study the fine buildings, calculating what use the Revolution The capitalists, terrorized by the

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, immure and oury 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 uniten, but all the smaller manufacturing and mining districts where manufacturing and mining districts

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 deliverance expeditions. And who may deliverance expeditions. And wh those deliverers be, anyhow? England? France? Germany? Austria? Italy? Russia?

inner 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 new
forms that favor their expression. He
who runs can notice how the centre of

who runs can notice how the centre of social gravity is bourly shifting from

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

ance, 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!

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

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 workingmen would mean

to lose the greatest opportunity of the campaign! Don't you do it! SOME OF THE THINGS THE SAN FRANCISCO CLASS STRUCCLE HAS TO SAY ABOUT THE

SITUATION IN THE

PARTY. • * • Prior to July 10 did "The Class Struggle" stand squarely for the doc-trines of the S. L. P. as outlined above? It never wavered a hair's breath 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 lota. "But," say the ultra backers of the old N. E. C., "all the op-ponents of that body are reactionists. ponents of that body are reactionists, 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 378 votes. The second vote was on deposing the old N. E. G. and 796 votes were cast there. for. It is evident from this that when one faction was voting the other faction fefrained from voting, but the total vote—1,174—was only 27 short of the total paying membership one year 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.

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 oponents 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 nanrchists, 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 hap-

Another question: How does it hap-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 speches made, the most Socialist literature been distributed, and the Sections have longest been in touch with the center of Social-ist 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 won-der? most So cialist literature been distri-

der? • • • The old N. E. C. has recently taken a vote on an endorsement of all its actions since its election March 28. 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 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 therwise, 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.

You can never print a small leadet at so small a cost as The People is offered to you now. Nor will you ever have such an array of talent in a cam-paign leaflet as the one you are going to be treated to. Be sure and order a lot of it. Read all about it on the first

Keep at tip an year wrapper. See when your substription expiret. Second in time. It will prevent interruption in the smaling of the paper and hadden work at the office.

DRUDGERY.

(Continued from page 1.)

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 is cousin 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.

gin 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 set stunted, stupefied and brutalized, with all the sins of Sodom resting up all the sins of Sodom resting up all 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

that they can retain their "jobe" and remain in their miserable state; no de-sires other than a vague wish for one day in seven all to themselves, and the chance, perhaps, some day of making other men slave in the same way for

other men slave 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 make no difference where you look for him, you will find him slayish, dull

him, you will find him slayish, 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

seeking employment. Strong, healthy and robust, eager for work. A band of them meet a ranch fore-man 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 above 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 har-

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 four or five hours' work fail the day's 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.

exertion.

During their six months of labor they During their six months or labor they will see no butter for their bread, no milk for their coffee. Bread, beef and black coffee are their diet. On Sundays, as 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 will give them credit for all the beer

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 comfing to him. Let us follow this lucky one awhile.

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 start out picking grapes or hops or whatever crop remains to be harvested during the autumn months. He is a home or family ties can ever be formed or hoped for by his class. He is, in-deed, below the mules he kicked through the dreary days of last winter. —[The American Fabian.

CHILD LABOR.

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 posery years of the posery years (the posery years the posery years of the posery years years the posery years the posery years years the posery years years the posery years show that he has made 250 attendances per year for each of five years (the pos-sible 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 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 chi e en in English and Welsh elementary schools were over ten years of age. In Scottand it was 48.80 per cent.; whilst Switzerland and Austria do not permit child labor under fourteen of age. Germany under thriteen, 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:—

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.

vated 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 flay. 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 time a ternoon. 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

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 calidren not half-timers would improve; ten half-days per week would become the ofinary 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.

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 duliness and apathy is very evident, for the con-tagion 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

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 organising 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 and payment of fees or charges for books, etc., and last, but not least, IT IS ALL IMPORTANT THAT FRHE 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 ing 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.—[London Monthly "Social-Democrat."

A SAMPLE.

(Continued from page 1.)

ing factories producing obnoxious or ing factories producing obnoxious or unhealthy odors, considered only the comfort of the neighborhood. Even the law of 1889 requiring the periodical inspection of boilers may be looked upon as intended as much for the safeupon as intended as much for the safe-ty of property as of human life. But with 1800—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 em-ployees." Two years later a series of decrees regulated the inspection of quarties. Next, the law of June 12, 1893, empowered the administrative authorities to issue rules, in consonance with modern ideas of hygiene, for the health and protection of laborers; spe-cifying lighting, ventilation, drinkingcifying lighting, ventilation, drinking-water, water-closets, the carrying off water, water-closets, the carrying off of dust and fumes, fire-escapes, etc. Aremd with this authority the Government, March 10, 1894, issued a decree with minute regulations relating to ventilation, 'disinfection, cost- and wash-rooms, the cleaning of walls and foors, the guarding of approaches to machines, etc. The passing of mealtime 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 perfactly fulfil 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 1,755.351 persons, of whom 718,909 were women and children; and some 3,000 cases of failure to comply with the law were noted.

—["A Cestary's Labor Lepishtien in France," by water 3, Scatte in the October Forum.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in pript 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 built of Intelligent Received this country, a lesson that we must try to digest and remember if we desire to have a strong Receible erganization. That our Party is in a discrepanized state to-day, no member without perjodice will key, in spite of the assertions of a few blind fanaties that every thing is all right, that the Party sever he any louding of difficulties. We have closed our cyte for years to the ceal stration until now when we are forced by conditions to look the matter straight in the farc. Let us therefore not shirk our duty; a thorough reorganization is absolutely accessor. The

Party must be planted on a more solid basis and fitted to the conditions of the time, place and people of this country. It is utopian to attempt to develop ideal individuals who should be members of a perfect Socialist Party. Such was never possible and never can be made possible, not even if De Leon had twenty thousand years to live.

Wherein lies the cause of the present intense strife in the Party? In the fact that De Leon. Vogt, and the rest of the leaders of the ex-members of the N. E. C. and the minority faction in New York looked upon themselves as the only great and reliable Socialists in this country. For years they have interpreted conditions and scientific Socialism to the bulk of the membership, for they were in control of our press. In the Month of the Month of

"Active Statistics".

Editor The People.—There are three degrees of lies.—lies, damned lies, and statistics. The Beekman street sheet, of Sept. 24, indulges in "Active" Statistics of its usual brand and states that "the 4th Assembly District is recorded with 38 votes; IT MAY HAVE 20 MEMBERS." Now yours truly is an indifferent Statistician and therefore instead of figures I subjoin the ames of the 38: I. Pines, Magdodf. Dr. J. Halpers. Pines, Miss Kahner, M. Schodin, L. Houdin H. S. Cohn, Olinecy, A. Reinlieb, Statefor, Sechmovitz, Slotkin, Miss Gunberg, Miss Boudianoff, Miss Fox, Cohn, Weinberg, Dr. M. Glersdansky, Davis, Josephson, Paper, Nauman, Rendin, Dr. Caspe, Benran, Mattison, Bockshitzky, Benison, Soshinsky.

All of the above, with the possible exception of two or three, were members of the Party before July 10. N. S. L. P.

Colorado active for Socialism

Member of 4th A. D., S. L. P.

Colorado active for Socialism.

Editor The People.—During the present harvest season of Bad Blood in the S. L. P., it appears to me a good time to express an opinion touching matters over which the Party is now disturbed.

It is a mistake to think that the trouble is all in New York. Members have been, and are, in every Section in the ence, are quarrelling. On the quarrel in elementary, taking sides in the quarrel and disagreeing, ever where where the party to the extent that the growth, and destroy the induences for good, of the Party, to the extent that the disturbances have affected the membership. The spectacle of a lot of Socialists, men who profess to lead the van in the direction of pure democracy, quarrelling over matters over which there ought in common sense he absolute freedom of opinion, is not such a phenomenon as will inspire confidence and respect for their manhood or intelligence anywhere. The expression is becoming common aiready evereywhere that "All parties look alike to me." The same evil apirits seems to thrive in them ail. The Socialist Labor Party apparently is no existed as well as outside the Party apparently in ore ception. This opinion is gaining growners and everywhere apparently. I because members mudering where nothing apparently but disagreements cuil for expression. Respections everywhere apparently. I because members mudeting where nothing apparently but disagreements cuil for expression. Respection in the production of opinions on certain lines, have ceased to be fashionable. The iron rule of factional majorities rules supreme. A fine predicament for Socialist, the champions of economic freedom, to find themselves in. But for its seriousness it would be truly laughable.

In this predicament the referendum is turned into a farce comedy. With two heads, each calling for a referendum viet therefore its impossible, and the system is respected to live? It is time to be errored to live? It is time to be respected to live? It is time to be respected to l

convention at the village of Williamsbur and nominated a full county ticket to voted for at the coming fail election. Village of the coming fail election will ignore all differences arising out of the national nonsense and work together harmony for our ticket and the diffusion information among the people concerni Socialism, and the aim and object of the county of

cheers for our ticket and the Rockvale, Colo., Sept. 26, 1899.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE— Secretary, Henry Slobodin, 184 William street, New York.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secre-tary, Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain street, Cieveland, Ohio.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CAN-ADA-National Executive Committee-Secretary, Henry B. Ashpiant, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY— 64 East Fourth street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE Secre-tary, Charles B. Copp. 64 E. 4th street, New York. Meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., at above place. CITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTE, Section Greater New York—Organizer, Rudolph Grossman/64 E. 4th street. Meets every Thursday evening at above place.

GENERAL COMMITTEE, Section Greater New York.—Organizer, Rudolph Gross-man. Meets every 2d and 4th Saturday of the month at 64 E. 4th street.

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

Massachusetts.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE COMMITTEE.
Pursuant to instructions from the Socialist Labor Party Convention, held at Worcester, Mass., on Sept. 25, 1800, Section Worcester has elected a State Central Committee. This Committee bereby calls upon ail members and Sections who stand for principles rather than persons, for Socialism rather than Bossism, for construction rather than destruction to unite with us in the support, both moral and material, of the Acting National Executive Committee (Henry Slobodin, Secretary). In future, Sections of Massachusetts should address all communications to Comrade C. E. Fenner, 554 Main street, Worcester, Mass., who has been duly elected State Secretary. By order Massachusetts State Committee: C. E. WILLEY, Chaliman.
WALTER GLOORE, Secretary, DENNIS DOLLE, Treasurer, NIMA DOLLE, Treasurer, NIMA GOSWANSON.
J. HENDERSON. MASSACHUSETTS STATE COMMITTEE.

Michigan.

COMRADES OF DETROIT, ATTENTION:

There will be a mass meeting at Arbeiter Hall, corner of Catharine and Russell streets, on Sunday, October S, at 2 p. m. sharp. All comrades are invited to attend irrespective of faction, as the meeting is held for the purpose of making arrangements for entering the municipal election, not as one or more factions, but as the 80-CIALMST LABOR PARTY of Detroit, with a solid front united on class lines, fighting for the same interests. Come! Let us recognise the solidarity of the working class and show that it is for the working class and show that it is for the working class and for the St. L.P. we are fighting and so the Party that we fight if we refuse to so into the election as one Party. Let us not make mistakes but let us assemble and the socialist organisation in this city will be held on the same evening at Finnett's Hall, where a good program into city will be held on the same evening at Finnett's Hall where a good program has been arranged. Complimentary tickets can be procured at the afternoon meeting. All are invited.

By order of City Committee: COMPADES OF DETROIT, ATTENTION!

By order of City Committee:

GEO. H. EASTMAN,
Secretary pro tem.

New Jersey-HUDSON COUNTY COMMITTEE.

HUDSON COUNTY COMMITTEE.

Hudson County Committee met last Sunday and eight new members admitted. The referendum vote thus far shows 151 votes. (Party members will please look up the 'Tidal Wave' vote for Hudson County in the Beckman street paper.)

Comrades Betsch and Edelmann, treasurer respective financial secretary of Branch West New York, will be arrested for embezslement if they do not hand over to that Branch the books and cash amounting to shout \$30.

The plenic netted a neat sum, but unfortunately may have to be used up to contest the lilegal nominations of the class-conscious' DeLeonites, so keep our movements secret as the lader of the DeLeonites, the ex-Democratic Assemblyman Jacobs, has been described by both Democrats and Republicans as "one of the foxiest political tricksters in New Jersey."

New York.

ONEIDA'S SOCIALIST TICKET.

The Socialists of Oneida met on September 22, at No. 16 Williams street, and held the judicial county and town conventions to nominate candidates for the fall elections. Comrade Franz Mueller acted as

tions. Comrade Franz Mueller acted as sechairman and Herman Quade acted as secretary. The following ticket was nominated:
For Justice of Supreme Court, 6th Judicial District—John J. Kefka.
For Member of Assembly—Franz Mueller, For County Judge and Surrogate—William Cebring.
For Sheriff—Frederick Schuck.

For County Judge and Surrogate—William Cebring.
For Sheriff—Frederick Schuck.
For County Treasurer—Frank Steinmiller.
For Coroner—Herman Quade.
For School Commissioners—Karl Fischer and John Selts.
Town candidates:
For Super Samuel Corper.
For Super Clerk—Andrew Rennicks.
For Assessor—Leo Sadowski.
For Overseer of the Poor—Karl Lindhorn.
For Collector—Theodore Lindhorn.
Comrades Henry Punke and Theodore Muthig were appointed as committee to fill vacancles and file the nominations.

SOCIALIST LITERARY SOCIETY.

The New York Socialist Literary Society will hold a public mass meeting on Sunday, October 8, 8 p. m., at its Club Rooms, 264 East Broadway. The speakers will be Chas. H. Matchett, S. Lissauer, and Dr.

Ohlo-

A PLAIN STATEMENT OF FACTS. To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party of Ohlo.

dum call emanating from the headquarrers of the opposite faction, a referendum vote therefore is impossible, and the system is powerless in the premises. What then? Convention. But the convention plant stands a fair show to be a failure equally with the referendum system. Both factions have appealed to a referendum vote upon the convention proposition. One side most likely will declade against such a convention, the other side will likely decide for it. In such a case what will the convention be convention proposition. One side most likely will declade against such a convention, the other side will likely decide for it. In such a case what will the convention be convention proposition. One side most likely will declade against such a convention, the other side will likely decide for it. In such a case what will the convention be national or factional, which? Surely, the whole situation spell administration of the such decide of the whole out it is being well damned. The whole out it is being well damned and it is being well as the proposer. The present chootic condition in which our Party of Ohio. The work of the well of the manifest of the will often metally in the decident of the legally elected of the Party will die. Such deaths will not affect so in the work of the seal of the well of the manifest of the will of the manifes

comrades who have sacrificed their whole lives in the labor and Socialist movement.

On July 20, at a duly called meeting of the 190 and a collection of the collection of all Sections of Ohio, but the majority of the members of said committee being opposed to the action taken, sent out a garbied and biased circular letter, called for a general voice tuncountries, and the collection of the members of the members of the collection of th

M. S. HAYES, Secretary.
M. S. HAYES, Secretary.
OSWALD FISCHER, Treasurer.
State Committee Socialist Labor Party.
Please bring this circular letter to the attention of your Section and address all communications to M. S. Hayes, 193 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

PHILADELPHIANS, TO WORK!

PHILADELPHIANS, TO WORK!

Thus far results in reference to ten thousand four-week subscribers to The People Just preceding election have been most gratifying. The preparation of subscribers list is well under way, a number of lists for been distributed. We still a purpose been distributed. We still a purpose in the supply of lists for all who desire to aid in this tremendous undertaking. All comrades willing to render assistance will please apply to undersigned at regular Section meeting, Sunday evening, Oct. 8, or regular Central Committee meetings, first and third Wednesday evenings, at Labor Lyceum, 6th and Browne streets; or any time at United Trades' Association Hall, SII Callowhill street, or 1316 South 13th

time at United Trades' Association Hali, 631 Callowhill street, or 1316 South 13th street.

All comrades who have taken lists are urgently requested to report each Sunday afternoon at 931 Callowhill street.

Here is an excellent opportunity for the humblest comrade to be of some real service to the cause of emancipation.

The street of the cause of emancipation that because they cannot make or pulic speech they are of no use to the movement. This is a gross mistake. The speakers are of little or no consequence unless they are energetically supported by all who cannot speak by rendering whatever service they are capable of, be it little as it may. The indifferent ones must bear the blame of all failures.

Comrades, each of you is hereby personally addressed, come, COME:

By order of Campaign Committee:

CHAS. DREES, Literary Agent.

COMRADES OF PENNSYLVANIA!

COMRADES OF PENNSYLVANIA!

Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1898.

By circular letter of State Committee issued Sept. 12, you were informed of the filing of Socialist nomination papers and steps, saken for the protection of the Party name.

steps, also consists anomation papers and steps, also consisted on the Party name.

To present fully the situation confronting the State Committee facing a campaign notice must be taken of the personnel of the nominees of the Aitoona Convention and their subsequent course.

Samuel Charf was suspended by Section Party of the mount of the consistency of the consequently is not maken the committee that the consistency of the consi

duly nominated and accepted the nomination:

For State Treasurer—Herman Kreimer.

For Justice of Supreme Court—Edwin
Kuppinger.

For Judge of Superior Court—H. C.

Parker.

Each comrade above has been a member
of the Party in good standing for seven
years or more continuously and each has in
the past been a standard bearer in both
State and municipal elections.

Comrades, these are the Party candidates
in Fennsylvania, notwithstanding the
puerile attempts of the ex-officials' followers to question the validity of the ticket of
the Socialist Labor Party.

Fraternaily.

J. MAHLON SARNES.

Fraternally,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
Secretary of State Committee of Pa.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every clizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive

the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owined and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class. Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labus is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

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

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are-perpetuated, that the popule may be keeped and content of the content of the product of the property of the property of the product of the p

may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are-perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

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

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist.

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

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to oper ate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable, Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been compiled with.

compiled with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientiac management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources.

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

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes

8. Progressive means to be excempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality.

Abolition of the convict labor contract system

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equali-

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all mensures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

17. Aboliton of the United States Senate and an upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective consti-

encies. 21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Admistration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punish-

LETTER BOX.

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

E. K., DULUTH.—When you will learn write letters like a gentleman you may to send one here. Until then you will hat to confine yourself to, the Beekman streorgan. As to your reproach, why we donot give credit to the Duluth "World," we thank you for calling our attention to to versight and take occasion to apologize the paper in this week's issue.

K. H., NEW YORK.—If you can conveniently step in the office some time during the day on Thursday, Friday, or Saturday, the Editor would be glad to see about your contributions.

K., CHICAGO.—If we tried to publish every communication showing up the lies of De Leon we would have no room for anything else in The People. Your communication can therefore not be published, the more so that the important points have been covered in the letter of Morris and Smith in last week's People. Another point for you to keep in mind in the future is that when you are exposing others and you want the comrades to believe your statements, don't hide yourself under an initial but give your name in full.

INQUIRER. KANSAS CITY.—We learn on inquiry that the mill in Slaterville has never shut down. It has been running all the time during and after the strike, though we can not give you as yet any particulars as to where the mill owners got their help from.

C. E. W., WORCESTER.—The first sentence in the reply to K., Chicago, refers as well to you. Most of the facts you mention have been moreover covered in last week's People's account of the convention. As for the rest let us try to keep the space of The People as much as possible clear of these fellows and train our guns on capitalism.

PARTY PARADE!

All Sections and Progressive Trade Organizations are requested to send delegates to a conference to meet at Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th at, Saturday, Oct. 7, 8 P. M. sharp. The purpose of this conference is to arrange for a Party Parade, to take place, as customary, a few days before election.

L. BOTH, Sec'y of Conference.

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.

Have you or your Section placed a

Campaign meetings will be held from now on until the close of the campaign, Nov. 4, at the following places:

MONDAYS: Cor. Mifflin, Passyunk and 13th streets, Cor. 20th. Pt. Breeze and Federal streets.

TUESDAYS:
Cor. Front and York streets.
Cor. Girard avenue and Hancock street. WEDNESDAYS: Sixth and Diamond streets.

Girard avenue and Marshall streets.

THURSDAYS: THURSDAYS:

Fourth street and Snyder avenue.

Girard avenue and Taney street.

FRIDAYS:

FROM street and Fairmount avenue.

Broad street and Girard avenue.

SATURDAYS: Lancaster avenue and 40th street, Lancaster avenue and 42d street.

Lancaster avenne and 42d street.
In addition to the above, meetings at
Main and Cheisten streets, Germantown,
and Main and Seliers streets, Frankford,
will be held on alternate Saturdays.
Comrades are urged to advertize these
meetings and turn out in good zumbers, as
their presence will add to the interest and
enthusiasm.

New Jersey Socialist

Socialist Organisations are requested to correspond with the only regularly and legally elected State Commit-tee and Secretary.

John P. Weigel, Trenton, N. J

Trades' and Societies' Cale

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

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INTENTAL CONTROL OF THE PROGRESSIVE INTEN

EMPIRE CITY LODGE (MACHINISTS meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday even ing at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, Secretary: HERM, STUKE, 27

HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, needquart of 32d and 33d A. D. S. L. P., 118 110th street, N. Y. Business meeti every Thursday, Free reading room of from 7.30 p. m. to 19:30 p. m. every et ing. Subscriptions for this paper recei

Socialist Science Club, 8. L. P. 34th & 35th A. D. a. 547 E. 157th street. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

SECTION PHILADELPHIA, S. L. P. Labor Lyceum, 809-17 North 6th street, Meets second Sunday of each month, s. p. m. Ed Kuppluger, Secretary, 1228 Brown street.

PROGRESSIVE CLOTHING CUTTERS & TRIMMERS' UNION, L. A. 65 of S. T. & L. A. Headquarters. 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum, Regular insecting 1st and 3d Thursdays, at 8 p. m. 30.

THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SO. CIETY OF YORKVILLE meets every Wednesday evening at 200 E. Softs at This Society aims to educate its members to a thorough knowledge of Socialism by neans of discussions and debates. Compand

Workingmen's Co-operative-Publishing Association.

Under the above name the Jewish Socialists are about to organize a corporation of the co-operative plan for the purpose of publishing a Jewish daily and other Jewish literature.

Arbeiter - Kranken- und Sterbe - Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of

the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought its numerical strength (at present composed of 165 occal branches with more than 10,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe is the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 61 years of age numerically increasing among workingmen who believe is the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 61 years of age numerically and the second class. Hembers belonging to the second class. Hembers belonging to the first class are calification and fit of 80.0 for the first class and fit of 80.0 and whether continuous a with interpuption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 as \$2.00. respectively. A burial benefit of \$2.00. Monthly and the wives and unmarried duplaters a members between 18 and 45 years of as may be admitted to the burial benefit up and the working and the vice and to burial benefit up and the first of the state of the second properties are layled burial for the first of the second properties are layled burial for the second prope the United States of America.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fast of the United States of America. The address of the Financial Becretary of the Executive Committee is: PAUL FLAESCHEL, 13 Bible Hous, Room 42, Astor Piace, N. Y. City, N. L.

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