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# The



# People.

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VOL. IX.—NO. 18.

NEW YORK, JULY 30, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

## OHIO.

### Through Socialist Eyes.

#### Graphic Description of the Condition of the People by the Party's Organizers.

We reproduce below the following letter of the Ohio State Organizers of the Socialist Labor Party from the "Cleveland Citizen":

Niles is a second Youngstown, only much smaller. The name of the latter, by the way, might well be changed to Povertytown. Of all the ugly, dirty, unsanitary, ill-kept cities in the country, Youngstown is the worst. The "little homes of the workmen" are "little homes of the workmen" are not fit to house dogs, let alone human beings. As a rule, they are old rickety and tumble-down, smoky, greasy, unsightly structures, the sight of which produces a melancholy feeling in persons unused to living in these modern slave stockades. If the tenements are mean the yards and streets are meaner. Dirt, dirt everywhere; ash heaps and cladders predominate, and green lawns, shrubbery and flowers are woefully conspicuous by their absence.

"Mansions on the hill tops and hovels in the hollow" is glaringly exemplified in Youngstown. From the beautiful homes of any number of the local parasitic plutocracy on the aristocratic hill one can throw a stone upon the roof of labor's ugly "little homes," owned by profit-mongering landlords. Large families of children are the rule, and the little ones are dragged up in poverty and ignorance and surrounded by every damnable influence that is possible in a plutocratic "civilization." This is modern capitalism, which is so doggedly defended by our Democratic and Republican workmen on election day.

The same conditions prevail to a large extent in Niles, which is also a mill town. So far as we could discover there are no uplifting influences in the latter place. As in similar towns, the workers, those who produce all the wealth, for the most part live in miserable ramshackles that a self-respecting horse would kick against, while the idlers somehow live in well-kept homes; the fleeing middlemen carry on their vocations of extortion as in other places.

The mills closed down this week and some of the fool workmen are busy putting away as much rot-gut whiskey in as little time as possible. Drunken men were reeling and staggering all about town when we arrived, and there were four-fifths on one block inside of an hour.

At night we had a large audience, some 250 to 300 persons being present, including many women. The meeting was a turbulent one, fire crackers, street cars and noisy drunks keeping up a perfect din. A precocious small boy threw a big cannon cracker under "Ike," but when it exploded the horse never moved a muscle. The p. s. b. went away in disgust. But despite these little discouragements the meeting was a success, the people remaining on the ground from 8 to 9:30 o'clock. The audience was largely sympathetic, which was made manifest when one smart Aleck declared that "Nash is the best man nominated for Governor," and when he was answered that Bandlow, a trade unionist workman, was a better candidate both as a man and from the standpoint of principle, there was loud applause. Then the smart fellow, who was a lawyer, bank clerk or something of that breed, went over to another corner and started a little "revue" of his own, which was broken up soon after by a kindly old lady driving her horse through the little crowd surrounding the Nash plunger. Hundreds of leaflets and papers were given away and all recipients promised to read them carefully and to study the present capitalistic conditions.

Warren is a beautiful little city of 10,000 inhabitants. Its streets are wide, clean and smooth as a billiard table, lawns and trees are well kept, flowers bloom everywhere, houses are neat and in good order, and altogether it is a town in which a human being can live with some comfort. Warren is the home of Carl Newton, another candidate on the State ticket, and everyone speaks in the highest terms of him as a citizen and a Socialist worker. There are half a dozen other active propagandists here, all highly esteemed by the laboring people. One of the hoop trust's plants is located here, and recently a Socialist organized an Amalgamated Association lodge in the institution. He is talked of as a candidate for the Legislature on the S. L. P. ticket, for like Columbiana, Trumbull County will likely have a local ticket in the fall.

We left application blank for Section charter and instructions how to organize in good hands, and not only will they form a Section, and perhaps start a permanent club room, but the local hustlers also promise to get an organization under way in Niles, six miles away.

There were only about 50 to 60 people at our meeting. This was due partly to the fact that hundreds of citizens were out of town, celebrating the national holiday and partly to the threatening weather, a shower passing over the place about 7:30 o'clock. However, after the rain we talked about an hour, amidst the boom of cannon cracker and the shouts of the festive small boy. The people listened patiently and many uttered words of approval during and after the speaking. Without a doubt Trumbull County will loom up with an increased vote for Socialism this fall.

Ravenna, in Portage County, was the next stop, but rain in the early evening kept the people at home and no meeting was held. Ravenna is another one of those lifeless agricultural burghs, whose residents belong to another generation. Conservatism has fossilized them.

Chargin Falls was our next stop. The town lies just within the eastern border of Cuyahoga County. On the map it looks as though Chargin Falls got disgusted with the mossbacks of Geauga County and seceded. There is a good deal of prejudice in this town against Socialism, so much so that a street railway man informed us that in case we had billed the town the inhabitants "would have remained in their holes." However, a fairly good meeting was held in the town, considering its size, some half a hundred voters being present, who listened attentively for an hour. They seized the leaflets as though they really meant to read them, and it is barely possible that our visit has resulted in inoculating some of the Falls people with a bit of Socialism. Within the memory of the oldest inhabitant no Socialist speech had ever been made in the town.

Leaving the Falls, we started for Chardon, the county seat of Geauga. Old-fogysm predominates in this county to the utmost extremity. The hay-seeds upon the hill-tops and in the valleys of this reactionary district seem to think that their only object in life should be to go to prayer meetin', keep liquor out of their little towns and regularly vote the Republican ticket. On every road, and perhaps to a greater extent than in any other county that we have yet passed through, are abandoned farms and homes. On the main road between Chardon and Painesville, a distance of ten miles, there are at least half a dozen deserted farms, and "For Sale" signs are also numerous everywhere.

"What is good farm land worth?" we asked an old settler.

"Well," he replied, "fifteen to twenty dollars an acre when the assessor comes around, and thirty dollars an acre is considered a good price in making a sale. Twelve years ago the same land fetched fifty to sixty dollars an acre."

Asked as to why farm land had depreciated to such an extent, the old fellow opined that "there wasn't enough money." It transpired that the Republicans had been playing a double game in that they preached goldbuggery to one class of capitalists and "inflation" to another class—the bankrupt farming element.

We arrived in Chardon in a steady, drenching rain, and no meeting could be held. The same thing was true when we reached Painesville, and there the meeting had to be abandoned also.

There is a sharp contrast between the poor homes of the farmers of Geauga and Lake counties and those of the land owners between Painesville and Cleveland. The latter, however, are not alone farmers, but are largely interested in vineyards, and as we draw nearer to the Forest City we find that the "farmers" who possess splendid, in fact princely mansions on the hills are substantial manufacturers, bankers and merchant princes, who own large establishments in Cleveland, in which thousands of the horny-handed, muscular laboring people are corralled and exploited.

The Republican and Democratic newspapers and orators will be telling us in a few days, when they open their campaign, that capital and labor are brothers, but they will not go into details and explain why labor always gets the worst part of the bargain in this relationship. And when gazing at the beautiful summer homes in the eastern part of this county, surrounded by romantic natural scenery, far from the smoky, dirty, foul-smelling slums, one cannot but marvel at the patience of wage workers. The many appear to be satisfied to build kingly mansions for the few and live in poor tenements themselves; they seem to relish piling up wealth for the enjoyment of employers, and to scrape and save and deny themselves and their families the ordinary modern comforts of life.

If there be any union man, who is struggling upon the industrial field to secure the full product of his toil, and thus be enabled to live as he ought to and has a right to, who, after reading these lines, cannot yet see his way clear to be a class-conscious union man on election day and stand up and fight labor's battles at the ballot box, asking for no compromise and giving none, he ought to take a few weeks' vacation and study the inequalities and glaring contrasts of the present capitalistic social system. His manhood would surely revolt, and he would just as surely join the Socialist Labor Party and prepare to put an end to the injustice suffered by labor.

MAX S. HAYES.  
N. P. GEIGER.

We will all meet at Cooper Union, Friday evening, July 28.

Don't forget the meeting at Cooper Union Friday evening, July 28. Socialist speakers of national prominence will address you there.

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

Thomas J. Morgan of Chicago, J. Mahlon Barnes and Fred. Long of Philadelphia, S. Sieverman of Rochester, and other prominent Socialist speakers will address the meeting at Cooper Union, Friday evening, July 28.

## THE MAN WITH THE LONG NOSE AND ANOTHER FELLOW.

By PETER E. BURROWS.

He who disables the mind is a useful man in days of economic subjugation. The gentlemen whose pillows are the steel safes of the trust companies would sell all that they have to-morrow and give it to the poor; that is, if the grateful recipients would only stop thinking; for then, you see, the precious old dollars would all soon return to their precious old places, and peace would reign at Warsaw.

The one spot upon earth most drenched by the man who thinks himself born to rule, is that little free spot under the dome of an honest man's skull, where the dreadful microbe of thought is generated. To check the propagation of this microbe is the most honorable and profitable business of our generation.

This is a good time to take by the nose that ancient lie which writes in the registry of every radical thought and popular man where formerly they employed twenty, have they also taken a firm hold, my comrade, the owner of this nose will make to you many strange revelations. He will tell you that Socialism was also born there. That all the strikes are born there. He will tell you that seventy per cent. of the prison stripes are painted by the world's disinherited man; I have no longer right to food or shelter as the ox and chattel slave; I have a right to nothing.

Who will do anything for me? Nothing is wrong that can stand against me successfully; for not until it is overturned is it discovered to have been wrong; I am the poor laborer trying my own hands.

No laws of others' making can unmake the disaster of my making. It has nearly cost the human race its own life to slay me. A little more science in the art of disinheriting, a little more permanency added to the lives of the demigods of weights and measures, a little more! and the mechanism of life, the mechanism of success, the mechanism of making books, votes, opinions, governments, art, everything, heretofore the goon of high strung men will congeal. A little more mechanism in life, then everything men had thought and fought for, could be set on the counter, with a price upon it. And the mystery of iniquity would have worked itself out, and demigods would reel and stagger under the appalling blow; they would rise and cry in their golden desolations: "Where is life?"

I am the labor of the world becoming articulate. Denied the power to breathe one economic breath, a workless hungry man am I denied the right of common dogs—to beg. And when I tried to urge my claims upon my age, invoked the nation's flag, the nation's God, the human right to life; and got for answer an injunction only; bidding me forever to be still—I murmured: "This is death."

When I no hand possessed to till the soil, no seed to sow; no sickle and no scythe to mow; no earth to touch, I whispered, "This is death." When I, and the harvest shared, had neither right to help or share; when I of all the world's clothes had neither right to make nor wear, I whispered, "This is death." Smitten by suspensions, rude, by the Gods all golden shod, down with white faced multitude there to fight or curse for food; then to get it, if I could, "surely" cried my poor manhood: "This is death."

When in tenements I sobbed, with air hunger when I throbbled, with air a pleasant lake, had no power my thirst to slake; saw the ocean heard the roar; must not touch nor tread its shore; breathe its ozone must no more; spread a sail nor dip an oar; then I groaned from heart full sore: "This is death."

When, 'mong thousands of my kind, suffering like myself; but blind, speak I may not of my mind. Though I see in narrow cells labor withering in its hells, hypnotized by liar's spells, fooled by fakir friends or lost where the trail by gold is crossed and I cannot anywhere give the outrage vocal breath, then I quiver: "This is death."

When I see my family all so pinched, so silently asking food and safety; while I, false paternity, am disarmed most cruelly. Quite a social match for me on my floor creeps infancy. What can I that cannot be? Then my manhood gasps for breath, and I mourn: "This is death."

Thus the money master is driving himself scientifically and mechanically by the best of all machinery into such a condition of easy-getting that life will soon become to him an aimless sliding to nowhere on golden wheels and rails. And while he, in his palace car is beavalling a relentless life, the slave who drives him is groaning forth his own lamentable experiences: "This is death." Yet thought revolution is very rapid, they may agree to divide the honors or disagree to a fight.

of silence. Wounded am I but I cry not."

"I am the hunger that was forced to lie down and slumber. I am the darkness which peering through the thick walls of prisons and want found the true light. I am class-conscious."

"Had the demigods kept me in stalls and fed me, howsoever they might have worked me, I had never become the brotherhood discoverer. Had they kept me in chattel slavery, valuing me for so much, and my fodder, I would have still been, and perhaps, a prosperous animal and have never discovered class-consciousness. But they pinched from me in the shed and in the stall, and in the field ever desiring a cheaper way, and at last liberated me to the free bare commons of competition where we were forced to play the devil on one another and rend our brother laborers down to the weakest and the uttermost; and the man whose foot trampled upon the last man just down-fallen became, with every such a fall, an ally-partner in the crime of Kings. For a meal's meat is he a trampler; for a meal's meat he is thinking the thought and speaking the speech of Kings."

Thus, even among the slaves, turned out into the delusive freedoms of the common competitions there are no slaves! They lie in the same mud, and eat the same grass with us and are not of us who are the down-most.

By this conquest, through deputy, the demigod, the money master, has pinched between himself and me, every dog to whom was ever cast a bone. The science of slavery and of liberty appear together, and at the same moment, and are uttered from the same lips—I am the dust of the laborer, the world's disinherited man; I have no longer right to food or shelter as the ox and chattel slave; I have a right to nothing.

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## ITALY.

### Recent Achievements of the Socialist Party.

Described by Comrade Enrico Ferri, the well known Professor of Criminal Sociology.

We have translated for our readers the following correspondence of Comrade Ferri recently sent by him to the Berlin "Vorwaerts" for the information of Socialists throughout the world:

Rome, July 6, 1899.

The famous utterance—"Legality is killing us"—which Odillon Barrot made half a century ago in France, expresses the leading principle of that reactionary and lawless policy which the governments of several countries are now pursuing.

To capture the public powers which had been monopolized under the feudal regime by the nobility and the clergy, the bourgeoisie was forced to proclaim equal civil and political rights for all the people, for it would have been unable to demand them for itself only. As a matter of fact, however, the bourgeoisie has exercised all political rights for its own benefit for two-thirds of a century in order to concentrate in its hands the monopoly of public power as a means for insuring its economic monopoly.

But when the proletariat was cured of its sickness of political abstinence which had been preached to it by the anarchists and the reactionists, and began to make good use of these civil rights, the right of suffrage, of combination, of assemblage, and of the freedom of the press, for its own emancipation in its own class interests, the constitutional capitalistic governments have been irresistibly and, naturally, enough, driven to the conviction that their monopoly is threatened. And since the governments had neither the energy nor the sense to meet the new popular current with discussion and rational reforms, they gradually came to regard the free use of these rights which have become more dangerous weapons in the hands of the class-conscious proletariat than guns and barricades as injurious and inimical to the State.

In Belgium the government proposed a suffrage bill designed with the express purpose to create an artificial majority for the government party. But the people of Belgium who live under comparatively advanced economic conditions and are therefore better developed intellectually, and are guided by Socialist thought, have shown to the world an example of a wonderfully strong and successful resistance.

The Belgian government which remembered Barrot's saying, has been forced by the Socialist people to return to lawful methods.

In Italy, however, with the exception of a few provinces in Piedmont and Lombardy, the economic condition of the people is so miserable that a state of complete exhaustion has been reached and the people no more have the power to render any active and victorious resistance to the oligarchy which keeps its foot on the people's neck and stifles and drains it of its life-blood.

The absolute inability of General Pelloux to subdue the extreme left led him next to adopt the plan of adjourning the chamber for a few days and then making public a royal decree containing under a new form the gag-laws against the rights of unions, assembly, coalition and the press, with the threat that unless the Chamber pass the bill before the 20th of July, this unconstitutional and therefore illegal decree would take effect on that date.

In the session of the Chamber June 30, the majority, supported by a partial and servile President, made an attempt to trample upon the parliamentary rights of the minority and to force a decision by surprise. This could not be tolerated by the extreme left, the Socialists and the Republicans; we met force with force, and prevented the violation of the legal rights of the minority by physical force.

In the morning of that day, June 30, a royal decree was proclaimed closing the session of Parliament.

Italy that a few drops may cause an overflow.

The municipal elections which took place recently in all the provinces of Italy, are a significant sign of the times. Before these elections were not of a political nature. Now it is different. They have become political struggles, and since the victories were achieved in Mailand and Turin the interest and enthusiasm for the struggle has been growing with every new election. In the South, in the North, and in the central part of Italy we have scored victories over the priests and the government reactionaries who have become, inspite of their old hostility, one heart and soul against us. We have combined in these elections with the Republicans who are being more and more forced to Socialism, and the banner of the Social-Democracy is proudly waving now in all the principal cities of Italy.

The recent acquittal by the Jury in Florence of our Comrade Pescetti, the Socialist member of Parliament, was a mighty protest against the reactionary policy of the government.

In May, 1898, a small riot in Florence furnished the pretext for the ruling clique to move the government, which was only too anxious to comply with the request, to declare martial law. Then followed the court-martials before which the Socialists were dragged. Member of Parliament Pescetti was accused, without any ground, of having caused the riot. Luckily he was able to escape prison by flight. For a few months he found an asylum in the House of Parliament in Rome, where he took up his abode and where the police did not dare to arrest him. After the close of the session he fled to France. But the court-martial sentenced him to twelve years imprisonment. When the state of siege was raised, our friend returned to Florence and came before the officers to be tried by a jury of citizens. At his request the Chamber consented to his trial (a member of Parliament can not be tried on a criminal charge without the consent of Parliament—Ed.) and Pescetti remained under preliminary arrest until the trial last week. We-my friend engaged me as his counsel—made use of the occasion to demolish the structure of contemptible slanders which the police and the court-martial have built up to kill him, and in his person the Socialist Party of Tuskany, morally, economically, and politically.

In this trial I was able to reveal the whole infamy and the whole filth that were hidden in that state of siege, and, on the other hand, the purity of the Socialist propaganda, the self-sacrifice of our foremost fighters and the loftiness of our aims. The Jury of Florence acquitted Pescetti and thus branded the shameful sentence of the court-martial.

These are undoubtedly symptoms of a national state of mind which may rightly be called revolutionary, since with the economic exhaustion of the Italian people and specially the working people we can not expect such healthy passionate outbreaks as those which took place in Belgium. Under such circumstances the government remains on the path of lawlessness and violation of the constitution, and does not perceive that by his conduct Gen. Pelloux exposes the person of the King and the monarchical principle to the immediate wrath of the people—a fact about which we, the Socialists, have the least ground to complain.

During the summer months, until the reopening of Parliament, the political life, as may be foreseen, will drag along as heretofore—for I do not believe that the Ministry will be so blind as to dissolve Parliament and order a new election, from which only we could expect any advantage.

The carrying out of the royal decree will not present any special difficulties, our officials being a servile lot.

But with the reopening of the session of Parliament the Socialist Party will resume its campaign of resistance to lawlessness. And then we, the Socialists, will also remember Barrot's words that legality is killing the government.

The wisser spirits among the conservatives are in deadly dread of the results of the insane government policy which sets in danger the King and the monarchy in order to gain a momentary advantage; and from day to day the confidence of the country is turning more decidedly toward the Socialist Party, as the only party which knows what it wants and which has not in view any personal, class, or special interests, but solely the interests of the people and of the community.

ENRICO FERRI.

A report in the daily press on the proceedings of the "Peace" conference at The Hague contains, among others, the following interesting news:

The second point, prohibition of the use of applying projectiles, was agreed to by all except the United States and Great Britain, WHOSE ABSTENTION NULLIFIED THE AGREEMENT OF THE OTHERS.

Thus giving the lie to the boasts of capitalist flunkeydom that the Anglo-Saxon people being the most civilized, are the foremost in furthering the efforts for peace. Nothing of the kind: The Anglo-Saxon being the wealthiest of all nations just now can best afford to stand the expense of an "armed peace" and are not going to give the relative advantages which may accrue to them on that score just to please the Russian Zar who is afraid of bankruptcy his State.

All other considerations, such as sympathy for struggling humanity, alleviation of the horrors of war, realization of eternal peace on earth are good enough to be used as bait for the gullible but not to guide actions of "statesmen."

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table showing Socialist vote in the United States from 1888 to 1898, with a total of 82,204 in 1898.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION BY THE WORKINGMEN.

How many times had this cry come up in the history of the Labor Movement of this country...

Last among them in point of time was the great Henry George campaign of 1886...

And now the daily press is again teeming with sensational news of a new labor party...

At first we were inclined to treat the matter as a joke...

It is our object to point out to those who may repose any trust...

To begin with, it is a class movement. It is started on the occasion of an unsuccessful strike...

with any but the workingmen's votes. There may be some votes cast by men who sympathize with Labor's cause...

As to the statement coming from the National Executive and not from the Section that was due to the fact that the General Committee left that work to the newly elected N. E. C. it being composed of New York members...

We now come to the most important part of the "Call's" editorial which we quote in full: We believe that recent events have shown that Section New York is absolutely incompetent under present conditions...

And now the last question: Whence the need for a new Labor Party? Have not we a Socialist Labor Party?

And now the last question: Whence the need for a new Labor Party? Have not we a Socialist Labor Party? A party which has stood all the tests...

"THE WORKERS' CALL" AND SECTION CHICAGO.

The "Workers' Call" of July 22 contains a resolution of Section Chicago which the readers of THE PEOPLE will find reproduced on another page...

With all due regard for the "Workers' Call" as a Party organ, and with all our esteem for the able and clean manner in which our sister organ is edited...

in the editorial in the order they occur. The Editor of the "Workers' Call" is entirely mistaken when he says that the communication informing the Party membership of the suspension of the National Executive was signed by an individual member of the Party...

Next comes the assertion that "the two factions have each mutually suspended the other leaving New York with practically no organization." This is again not in conformity with actual facts...

We believe that recent events have shown that Section New York is absolutely incompetent under present conditions to longer remain the seat of the national organization...

It is therefore clear that the first and only step which can now be taken by the N. E. C. is to submit the action of Section New York for ratification or disapproval by the membership of the country...

The paramount issue before the members of the Party now is the late action of Section New York. The duty of all Party papers at present is to take part in the discussion pending the vote of the members...

It is important also for Section Chicago to realize that it places itself in a self-contradictory attitude, when it on the one hand refuses to recognize the National Executive, and, on the other, wants it to submit a certain proposition for a referendum vote...

from either body to do certain things which only a legally constituted body can do? The way out of this inconsistent position is very simple. The constitution very plainly provides the right of Section New York to suspend National Officers...

As far as we know the sentiment of the comrades of this city, we believe we are not mistaken when we say that they would cheerfully submit to the removal of the seat of the National Executive if that should be the desire of the majority of the Party...

The same is to be said with reference to the other proposition in the Chicago resolution calling for an early national convention. Art. VI, Sect. 1, of the constitution makes ample provision for just such an emergency...

As for the rest that is contained in the editorial we have nothing but satisfaction and acquiescence to express. That "there must be no deviation from the clear, class-conscious revolutionary tactics which has marked" the Party's course in the past...

It is however doubtful whether the other statements in the "Call" would find such unanimous approval as the foregoing. When it says that "the will of the Party must be paramount to that of its created officials" it is surely saying something that would not get the unqualified approval of the deposed Party officers...

As far as we are concerned we welcome the manly utterance of our Chicago organ which has been the first since the memorable events of two weeks ago to put itself squarely on record for progress and democracy as opposed to reaction and bossism.

THE TRIO SLAPPING EACH OTHER'S FACES.

In the last issue of THE PEOPLE we reproduced in an article entitled "An Interesting Historical Parallel" Vogt's speech of ten years ago when he, together with "the Volkszeitung crowd," helped to overthrow the old N. E. C. Simultaneously with that comes the Beekman street "People" with an article "Ten Years Later" in which all that Vogt has so expressly and pointedly advocated is called "deep villainy"...

gentleman has learned a lesson now we do not undertake to tell. What we are wondering is which of the two leaders is to be the fakir from now on, and who is next to be kicked out of the small band of would-be leaders?

"Now, then, all these interests the German Labor Fakir, the German bourgeois workingmen and the singing, etc., society tired-out Socialist—clustered in this city around and centered in a German paper that, sailing under the name of Socialism, was, from its inception essentially a practical business enterprise for its own employes."

"A great deal has also been said in certain quarters about the 'private' and 'capitalist' character of what is insinuatedly called the 'Volkszeitung Co.' and it may not be amiss to state briefly a few facts about this institution and the manner in which it is conducted."

The "Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association," for this is the real name of the society, which in conjunction with the National Executive Committee, publishes THE PEOPLE, and "Vorwaerts," is organized as follows:

- 1. It is incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. 2. Only members of Section New York and Brooklyn, i. e., only members of our Party, can be admitted; hence the Association is controlled by men who hold the red card. 3. Each member has but one vote, immaterial how many shares (at \$5 each, payable in small instalments) he or she may hold. A capture of the Association by purchasing a majority of the shares is thus rendered impossible. 4. No valid action of any kind can be taken, unless there be a quorum present, and since a quorum means one-quarter of the several hundred members of the Association, it stands to reason that there is not much opportunity for a coup d'etat on the part of a small clique. 5. According to the constitution nine-tenths of all profits must be set aside for a reserve fund, to be used exclusively for Socialist propaganda. It is only nine-tenths because the law forbids that the entire profits of such an association be disposed of by its constitution, and thus the disposition of the remaining one-tenth is decided upon each year by the July general meeting. So far, even during the most prosperous period of the Association, the meeting has always voted that this last one-tenth also go to the aforesaid reserve fund.

In obedience to these regulations the New Yorker Volkzeitung, though, like most labor papers, often in straitened circumstances, has spent by far over \$12,000 for an English Socialist Press and in support of German weekly and daily Socialist papers outside of New York.

This is what backbiters and trigger-men, in order to injure the Party, call a "private capitalist" corporation. "By order of the National Executive Committee," HENRY KUHN, in a pamphlet addressed "To the Members of the S. L. P." in 1894.

Roosevelt is an upright, honest, fearless man who stands for law above all. He will enforce a law even if it is unpopular. Do you smile, reader? But has not he fought bitterly against the "saloon evil" when Police Commissioner? It is true there is also a little bit of a law on the statute books providing that ten hours shall constitute a day's labor for street railway employes, which is not enforced. But then, how can you expect Roosevelt to attend to all little details of this kind? Has not he been kept busy at Oyster Bay consulting with his military advisers about the best ways of shooting down the strikers who are striking for the enforcement of that law?

THE LATE REIGN OF TERROR.

The stage, through which our Party has passed during the last two or three years; can be compared to that phase of the Great French Revolution, which is known in history as the "Reign of Terror." The French Jacobins inaugurated their Reign of Terror through fear of foreign invasion aided by internal treachery. The extremists of the S. L. P. started their Reign of Terror through fear of invasion by that great foreign foe—Eugene Debs and his mighty polyglot army, aided by an infinite amount of internal disloyalty.

"The Fatherland is in Danger!" was proclaimed by the leaders of revolutionary France. "The Party is in Danger!" was announced by the leaders of the S. L. P. And then similar events followed. The Saviours of the French Fatherland resolved themselves into the famous "Committee of Public Safety" with Robespierre at their head. The Saviours of the S. L. P. constituted themselves as a Committee of Party Safety with De Leon at their head. And then the saving began. In both instances the method was the same: inquisition and demolition. Free discussion was prohibited; criticism and all expressions of dissatisfaction with the regime were declared to be nothing short of treachery. Martial law was proclaimed, the Saviours assumed dictatorial power, and every citizen had either to bow his head or be prepared to lose it entirely. The guillotine or exile awaited every Frenchman who fell under the suspicion of the great Robespierre. Suspension or expulsion awaited every member of the S. L. P. who did not show enthusiasm enough in reading THE PEOPLE or in its almighty Editor. No citizen was safe from the ears and eyes of the self-constituted spies of the Committee of Public Safety even in the sanctum of his home. No comrade was safe from the veers and eyes of Sultan De Leon even in his own district. The axe of the guillotine hung over the head of every citizen of poor France. The axe of suspension hung over the head of every member of the S. L. P.

All means were considered worthy for the glorious end—of strengthening the Republic in one instance, the Party in the other. But that glorious end was slow in arriving. Foreign foes had been repulsed, but then internal treachery was suddenly discovered. Every Parisian that wore a decent pair of pants became suspicious. Every comrade that used decent language in speaking or writing of a labor union or another labor party was marked as a candidate for expulsion.

The terror grew in intensity. The most rabid Jacobin was not sure, in opening his eyes in the morning, whether he would not have to close them forever before the next morning. The most loyal comrade was never sure that he would not be declared a traitor some day and "fired out" the next.

Such state of things could certainly not last forever. France became at last tired of her Saviours and saved them the trouble of further saving her by sending them to the guillotine. The members of the S. L. P. became tired of their self-constituted Saviours and with one mighty shake threw them off their shoulders. The decapitators have been decapitated, the professional suspensors—suspended, and the terrible nightmare has at last disappeared. We are free men again! We can breathe freely once more!

Freedom's Day.

[From the "Workers' Republic."] My noble lord, With spur and sword, Has swept the world's broad highways While L. his peer, In all but gear, Have slunk along the byways; While he has rolled In cloth of gold, I've roughed it, wet and dry day, But freedom's light Breaks on my sight, And freedom's day is my day! Yes, freedom comes, With roll of drums, And freedom's day is my day! I plough and sow, My lord doth dine, And feast on wine, But yet he does not labor; And hence I sup The pauper's cup, For every day is Friday; But freedom's light Breaks on my sight, For freedom's day is my day! Will some one tell My lord how well The world can do without him? How all the years Of all the years Surge, like a sea, about him, He's had his way, But, lo, his day Of judgment is a night day; For freedom's light Breaks bold and bright, For freedom's day is my day! Oh, Lord of lords, What will their swords And guilty power avail them When men unite For truth and right, And in Thy name assail them? When all the world With flags unfurled Will rise to welcome Thy day When freedom's light Will bless my sight— For freedom's day is Thy day; Yes, freedom comes, With roll of drums, And freedom's day is Thy day! MICHAEL SCANLAN.

CLASS STRUGGLE.

The History of Poor Tom.

(Concluded.)

The class struggle continued between the class of Toms and the class of masters. The state of mind of Tom, of all the Toms, one can easily imagine. But there are millions of Toms; actually the majority of the community consists of Toms. Now the fact that a majority of the community goes around in a particular state of mind must necessarily manifest itself in some social movement. The Toms are slow to observe and to learn. But the cumulative experience of being knocked over the head with hard facts cannot fail to attract the attention of Tom to the cause of local disturbance within the region of his cranium.

Tom learns slyly that he does learn. He learns that the troubles of all other Toms are very much like his own. He learns the force of organized action.

Some of the Toms get together and in their inarticulate but striking way formulate their grievance into some sort of an economic demand. They form a trade organization to realize their demands; to carry them through. The unions carry on a systematic campaign and with progress of all things public opinion crystallizes itself against some particularly flagrant oppression of the worker—Tom.

At the same time this economic movement of the large class of Toms cannot fail to influence the course of political events. It is ridiculously little that Tom can accomplish alone, and it is wonderful how much the mere number of Toms accomplishes. The politicians, with an eye to popularity, are forced to act and labor laws are enacted.

In the meantime the class of employers—capitalists is by far not idle. They buy those that lead the workers in their economic struggle. They hire the politicians to direct any conscious Tom into the swamp of insane reforms. The interests of the capitalist—employer on one side, the interests of Tom—the proletarian on the other, are arranged against each other in constant strife. Now one takes the upper hand, now the other. And it is the conflict of these material interests that is the determining factor of social development. Class struggle is the method of social evolution in capitalist society. The vast majority of the individuals, the mass of the people are utterly unconscious of this basic law; still are they, not the less, subject to it. Like clay in the hands of the potter the habits and the character of the individual are shaped by this great social force. His standard of right and wrong, his moral conceptions, his idealistic or artistic aspirations not less than his individual egotistic inclinations are mere manifestations of the conflict of social forces. They indicate the relative triumphs of one or the other class.

The philosophic theories advanced in scientific treatises or in fiction; the contents of the novels of the day; the psychological state of the collective mind; the veriest schools of abstract speculation; the division of political parties; all these are merely the play of the forces of the social class struggle.

The class struggle determines all dynamic manifestations in society, whether or not individuals are conscious of it.

Descend into the crowded streets of the city and take the average man or woman; take the farmer from his plough; the professor from his chair; the preacher from his pulpit; the agitator from the street corner; the gambler from the exchange; the poet from his garret; the maiden from the bower; ask each of them what are his regrets of yesterday, his care of to-day, his hopes for tomorrow. Analyze and classify them intelligently, in the light of scientific deductions elaborated by our minds. Trace them to their original cause, and you shall find that it is always the economic conditions, individual position in this or that class, transition form this to that class, which in one case more, in the other less remotely, but always ultimately, underlie individual character, as well as social manifestations.

The conditions of production and distribution in capitalist society divide it into two hostile camps, pitting one class against the other.

The interests of one class lie in the present system of production and distribution. The dominating capitalist class, armed with all the authority and prerogatives of the State and Government, may, more strongly leaning upon the traditions of the past, men the habits deeply imbedded in our nature, this class stands for the preservation and perpetuation of the present system.

The class of producers—proletarians, the class of workers, whose interests, antagonistic to those of the capitalist class, lie in a change of the system of production and distribution, this class—having at its side the social development, the all pervading force of social development; having only one ally, the irresistible pressure produced by change in the tools of production; this class struggles for a change in the political code of society in accord with the economic evolution of society.

It is well to point out here the strikingly strange, wonderful tendency in the progress of all things as well as in economic development. The economic conditions in the course of their development produce an element in society whose interests lie in a change of these economic conditions. Tending to negate (annihilate) themselves the economic conditions lead all their force and sanction to the struggle for their change. Thus economic conditions tend to remedy the evil they produce.

Such is the argument. It is the compensating principle of a miserable present that it bears in its womb, and is the necessary mother of a better future.

All the patent, apparent powers are with the dominating capitalist class; all the latent, hidden social forces are on the side of the proletarian class.

This principle of negation, of self-annihilation is a philosophy whose boundaries coincide with those of nature. For this principle applies to all things in nature.

To recapitulate: The meaning given by the science of Socialism to the principle of class struggle is the following:

It is a law of social development acting through the individuals whether or not the individuals are conscious of it. Consciousness of the agent is not a necessary factor in laws of nature which grade below conscious class struggle; as the laws of aggregation, of sexual affinity; descending from the organic to the suborganic, and the simplest of all laws, the universal law of gravitation.

I shall endeavor to present here the most salient of the arguments advanced against the doctrine of class struggle as here expounded. It is said:

If the laws which determine social development are outside of the sphere of human desire, of human intent, of human will, if all things are so to say predestined in the inalterable course of nature; if the misery of the present tends to remedy itself, anyhow; tends to remedy itself whether we want that or not,—i. e., without our being conscious of it; tends to remedy itself in its own way and not ours,—why, then, should we exert ourselves at all? Why should we, with our limited knowledge, bungle in our attempts to fix the course of things, perhaps in opposition to their ultimate aim? Would it not be far more rational to sit passively by, and wait for things to better themselves, to drift without any effort into the millenium?

This argument is often uttered by learned heads. I will not discuss its logical contradiction. First, it assumes the celebrated doctrine of iron necessity, of fatalism. That all things happen, and will happen, in society as elsewhere, whether they will or not; that if there be such a thing as individual will, it has not an iota of influence upon the course of social development. And after thus denying that man is a free agent, the argument reproaches him for NOT exercising his will. It tells him not to do a certain thing as it is of no avail.

Such a proposition further assumes that social development is one thing in itself, that individual desires, intentions, etc., are another thing in itself. It tells the individual: "Remain calm and peaceful. Rest in philosophical contemplation of the course of things in society. Make no effort, for it is of no avail,—things will adjust themselves in their own way."

But how? There can be no social life and activity without a society. There can be no society without individuals. Social activity means the collective activity of the individuals. If each individual should do nothing, but lie in the shadow of a mangrove tree or vine,—what society will there remain to develop? It is self-evident that there is no social development taking place outside of what the individuals are doing. We cannot sit idle and contemplate social development as something besting on the shore of a passing stream of events and languidly let social development run between our fingers as the running waters.

One might as well speak of the population of the City of New York which will go on increasing though each individual being retire from the limits of the city. Just as the population of a city must necessarily include every human being in that city, even so it is true, that we are the society and within us and between us is all there is of social progress and social development.

I have stated before that there are great historical causes which, in ultimate instance, give shape and form to our ideas, passions, tastes, inclinations, and also our will. These are the laws which out of apparent chaos caused by strife of forces evolve the modern man, evolve the future man. The strife of blind forces shape our mind and our spirit; but there again intervenes the great compensating principle of self-destruction of a present for a higher future. This principle is pregnant with a promise that the blind social forces, that hammer and forge the intellect and spirit of man, will in their turn be conquered and bent before the well-tempered intellect and spirit. At present we are in a period of transition, on a broad road to that destiny.

Still we continue to act mainly because there are irresistible forces which impel us to act. We desire because there are powerful causes that make us desire. It is useless to argue why we do so and not otherwise; why we do at all, since it is of no avail. Our passing thought, our aspiring ideal, the smallest shade of our tastes, the fury of our passions are all the same blind energy evolving in and through us to some higher purpose.

We do because we cannot help doing. Our desires are utterly uncontrollable. And there is no social development outside of what we do and of what we desire.

Another argument is advanced against the doctrine of class struggle. It is argued: The principles of social science, as expounded by Socialists, do not show the necessity of independent political action. Since the law of class struggle is so self-assertive that it pervades all manifestations, it must necessarily manifest itself in the struggle of political parties. The strife between the interests of the capitalists and the interests of the proletariat must rage in all political parties, whatever their name and ostensible principle. And since the Socialists claim that the latent social forces are in league with the working class, it follows that this class must continually gain ground wherever they give battle; gain in the old political parties in proportion to the progress of all things, and not a iota less; and in new independent political parties just in proportion to that progress, and not a iota more.

Why, then, found, with so much gusto, new political parties if the same purpose is achieved through the old ones. Why claim monopoly of the principle of class struggle for the Socialist Labor Party,—claim that this principle asserts itself only through independent political action of the proletariat; that capitalist parties are void of conflict, only the capitalist being represented there and, therefore, no struggle taking place.

Such is the argument. Now, the proposition that the principle of class struggle permeates all the forces of society and asserts itself even in capitalist political parties is true. The Socialists claim no monopoly of the principle of class struggle. What we, Socialists, understand by

taking the principle of class struggle as the guiding star of political action, I shall presently explain. We are not bound to give any justification for independent political action. As I have stated before, no social phenomenon stands in need of justification by the cause of desire or intent. For there are other, deeper causes that determine all things. The proletarian political movement has its legitimate justification in its very existence. For there must be great natural causes which have produced it. This practically settles the question. But let us assume, for the sake of argument, that we may test the movement of the proletariat by the standard of universal fitness of things, and then at our will do or reject it according as we find that it has or not a place in social progress.

Undoubtedly, no political party could reasonably claim to be the sole source and author of the progressive social development. As I have stated before, the causes which determine the state of human spirit and human mind will, in their turn bow before that spirit and mind. Human consciousness takes gradually the ascendancy over unconscious forces. As yet these forces largely determine the path of society. But science can be and is greatly helpful in facilitating and accelerating the course of mankind. The higher the plane in which society has reached, the more important are the elements of science and conscious action. In the past, as new systems of social life were ushered in, even then there were those who stood at the threshold of the new world, and with penetrating knowledge and conscious action smoothed the path to a better life, to a higher ideal.

In the course of development of all things in nature, there are moments when the accumulated elements of new life gather sufficient force to assert themselves. They suddenly break out: the old principle of life and existence is discarded and a new principle of progress is substituted. The slow process of development from lower to higher phases is called Evolution; the sudden assertion of new forces is named Revolution.

The Socialist Labor Party is pre-eminently the party of Revolution. After its natural period of gestation in the womb of the capitalist state, the Socialist state will, by an act of natural Revolution, be ushered into the world. At this critical moment the Socialist Labor Party will act the midwife. This act of midwifery; this smoothing of the path for a new civilization; this awakening of the consciousness of what is coming is the great historic function of the Socialist Labor Party, and the rational justification for its place in the universal harmony of things.

It is still further argued: If the principle of class struggle is a law of social development, and is as such a primal, elementary law of nature as the law of gravitation or any other physical law, by what right of reason do the Socialists take it as ground for their political demands? We all obey the law of class struggle,—agreed. Does then a law of nature stand in need of endorsement by political parties; of promulgation by political parties? As well might you make the dispute over the nature of light a party issue. Class struggle may be a legitimate subject for disquisition in schools and academies, but it is manifestly absurd to make it an issue of the day. Moreover, the Socialists who claim that they alone stand on the ground of class struggle gainsay, again, their own proposition that this is a law of social development pervading all social manifestations.

Thus the Socialists are to be confounded. Nay and nay.

This social law is not negated by the attitude of Socialists but borne out by it. The Socialists act not in conflict with this social principle but in full accord with it. More than this,—the Socialists are the only ones that act so.

There is a fundamental distinction between the law of economic class struggle and the conscious class struggle advocated by the Socialists. It is the distinction between a law of nature and a METHOD of deriving from it the greatest benefit. The distinction is similar to that between the Nautical Almanac which every sea captain follows and the astronomical laws upon which it is founded. Such obedience of the sea captain to the laws of nature does not mean that he enforces or promulgates those laws; that they can manifest themselves through his voluntary action only. It means, on the contrary, that if he wants that his actions effect, in the best and quickest way, what he intends they should, he must act in accord with the natural laws to which such acts are amenable.

The Socialists do not promulgate the law of class struggle. They simply awaken the consciousness of the individuals to the law. For knowledge of the laws which determine the course of society is of as much vital importance to the Socialists, as the knowledge of astronomical laws is in navigation. This knowledge will facilitate and accelerate social progress. Nature, certainly, forces man along the path of progress, but nature's ways are tortuous, painful and wasteful. The Socialists recognizing the opposition of interests of the two classes, urge upon one class, the more numerous and the one whose interests will be furthered by the change, to act consciously in accord with the law of class struggle.

The mandate of the law of class struggle must be realized in either of the two ways. The capitalist class may subdue and crush the working class, holding him down till all resistance exudes out of him, together with his ideals of liberty and brotherhood,—a state incompatible with the modern spirit of progress; or the proletariat will capture the reins of government, abolish private property in the instruments of production and distribution and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. All the tendencies of modern life converge in favor of the final victory of the proletariat.

To recapitulate: Social class struggle is the organic law of social development in a capitalist state. Political class struggle is a method of conscious political action. It awakens class-consciousness. Class-consciousness shows man the identity of his interests with the interests of the community, of progress.

ORGANIZERS' STATEMENT

As to true Membership of Section Greater New York.

THE PEOPLE has been in receipt of several letters from the country asking for a detailed statement of the membership of Section New York, the number of delegates in General Committee and the number of members remaining loyal to the Party, as well as those who have followed the old and new administration, respectively. We now submit a statement of Organizer Gerber in reply to these questions.

The number of members given below is that published by ex-Organizer Abelson in the month of January, and is naturally somewhat below the actual membership at present; a new semi-yearly report was about to be published when the former organizer was deposed. The number of members credited as favoring the old and new administration, respectively, is based on reports of meetings and votes usually cast for and against the administration, on reports of members of the respective Districts, and on the personal knowledge of the organizer who has attended the meetings of most of the District.

Table with columns: Assembly District, Membership in good standing, Members against deposed administration, Delegates for deposed administration, Delegates against deposed administration. Lists districts 1st to 21st and Brooklyn organizations.

BROOKLYN ORGANIZATIONS.

Table with columns: District, Membership in good standing, Members against deposed administration, Delegates for deposed administration, Delegates against deposed administration. Lists Brooklyn districts 5th to 21st.

Thus out of a total of 1,120 good-standing members, there were before the meeting of July 8, 384 members favoring the old administration, or slightly over one-third of the total membership. Since the suspension, however, of the old Party officers there has been quite a stampede to our Districts of members formerly favoring the administration who have now left that side in disgust; besides that several comrades who for months or years have not attended Party meetings, driven away by the spirit of De Leonism, have now again joined our ranks. The 28th Assembly District (place of De Leon's residence), for example, has now 55 good standing members; the 23d has increased to over 40, etc., in nearly every District.

And now as to the alleged 76 delegates which met in the so-called General Committee at New headquarters, as given in Mr. De Leon's "People."

2d A. D.—Max Kaplan, a suspended member of the Party, and now the sole "member" of that District which he represents.

6th and 10th A. D.—Henry Ehrenpreis, representing two members. 8th A. D.—Steinberg and Berdichevsky, representing six members. 12th A. D.—Represented by three delegates. Since 16 members withdrew from that District, preferring to remain with the Party as against the officers, the District, according to the rules of Section New York, could not be represented by more than two delegates.

13th A. D.—One delegate, representing three members besides himself. 16th A. D.—Four delegates. As there are only 28 left in that Branch it was entitled to only two delegates. 18th A. D.—Two delegates. Since the members withdrew, entitled to only one delegate.

21st A. D.—One delegate, representing himself. 23d A. D.—One delegate, representing his co-member. 28th A. D.—De Leon's "American" Branch of seven men represented by two delegates: Deutsch and Eichhorn. 32d and 33d A. D.—Four delegates, representing 25 members (entitled to two).

34th and 35th A. D.—Four delegates, representing 35 members (entitled to three). BROOKLYN. 3d and 9th Ward—Two delegates. That Ward was never organized before, and is seemingly the result of splitting up of the 6th Ward into two parts, since Keep, one of its delegates, has been a member until now of the 6th Ward.

5th A. D.—Two delegates representing nine members. 6th and 12th Ward—One delegate. Has never had more than seven members. The rest of the Districts mentioned in Mr. De Leon's "People" were en-

titled to their representation as far as number of members is concerned.

It will also be seen from their own report that the 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th, 15th, 17th, 22d, 24th, 30th A. D.'s and Polish Branch of New York, and 15th, 14th, 16th, 18th, 19th A. D.'s, and 16th, 22d and 23d Wards and Polish Branch of Brooklyn were not represented at all in their "General Committee," thus proving that they do not have a single man in those Districts on their side, since he would otherwise come as a delegate representing himself, as is the case in the other of their "Districts."

So much for our relative strengths and their "representative" General Committee!

JULIUS GERBER, Organizer Section New York.

THE SITUATION IN BOSTON.

The Financial Secretary of the Section in that City Making Grave Charges Against Certain Members there.

Section Boston has for the past six months been engaged in an internal struggle that has caused us to lose entire cognizance of all but our own affairs. In fact it was only last week that we have been enabled to wrest the full control of our sub-branches from an element that had up to that time been ruling to ruin. Being in no manner scrupulous as to methods employed, there was barefaced mismanagement and diverting of Party moneys for personal purposes. I as financial secretary of Section Boston state these facts not from hearsay but from evidence in the possession of Section Boston. This particular element, it is important to note, are now going the rounds as great howlers for De Leonism, and brazenly circulating petitions for the endorsement of the deposed National Executive Committee, and I have no doubt should De Leonism be sustained but that this element will again come to the front and rule the roost.

As to the general outlook in Section Boston I am frank to admit that the situation here is very grave. The trouble with our Boston comrades is that they very seldom attend meetings, generally are content to pay dues and mind their own business, overlooking in this entirely the fact that a Socialist must be so not only in name but in act, that it is his duty to be the aggressor at all times just as soon as he becomes conscious of his opportunities.

Furthermore, and this particularly must be realized that principle can at no period of development be embodied and expressed wholly in personality. There are men, many of them, undoubtedly, in our Party who are very brilliant, very aggressive, and very dogmatic, who may wield a mighty pen which at times does magnificent and at such a homogenous element, but—and this is where the danger lurks—once forget that man is fallible, that man's power is limited, that no armor has been invented that can't be pierced, that "to err is human," and we immediately fall into the error of assuming that not only is principle embodied in person, but that personality is above principle.

Again, Boston comrades have so long been accustomed to reading the one-sided arguments presented in THE PEOPLE under De Leon's editorship, so much accustomed to its vicious attacks upon individuals and its sneering refusals to entertain contrary opinions, because the I AM of one person's intelligence was in the estimation of that "One" greater than the sum total or collective intelligence of all the Party members. It is not surprising therefore that decency has been put to slumber, let us hope not of death, but a semi-stupor, that energy and perseverance can overcome. Then, again, we have had within a number of weeks a few samples of De Leonist organizers (Hickey, Keinar, Keep), who followed well the teachings of the "master," Hickey, who prior to coming here, writing up an article published in THE PEOPLE defaming vobis, one of the most cowardly concocted attacks ever printed. This very individual when here had the brazen effrontery to inquire of me how I liked that particular specimen of his writings, for to him it appeared to be a most wonderful composition and in his own mind, at least scored a point that destined him gaining both "name" and "fame."

Then, again, we had Keinar, whom if I do not respect I at least pity, for he who speaks not what he means when forced to do so should not be condemned. However, he played his part quite well, for the very first question put to him at his "lecture" in Boston immediately brought down a torrent of abuse upon the arrogant questioner, in which above the din we could hear such terms as "thief," "liar," "crook," "fakir," etc., etc., the questioner himself being told he was crazy and, of course, he had to accept the appellation or stand another onslaught of abuse.

Keinar calling personally upon me the next day, I bluntly asked him what grounds he had for calling certain people not present to defend themselves, liars, etc., etc., and if he had thieves to back up his assertions. His simple answer was that everybody knew it and, furthermore, did not THE PEOPLE publish it?

As to Keep, we all remember his article attacking Hyndman and his continued slurs upon different persons. Surely, no self-respecting person can uphold such despicable methods. In conclusion permit me to add that I am in accord with the action of Section New York in suspending the preceding National Executive Committee, and whilst I do not agree with the sentiment of the composition of provisional committee, I recognize the necessity and expediency of the time and the possibility of improvements by suggestions of Party members.

M. KAPLAN. Boston, July 17, 1899.

We will all meet at Cooper Union, Friday evening, July 28.

Thomas J. Morgan of Chicago, J. Mahlon Barnes and Fred. Long of Philadelphia, S. Sieverman of Rochester, and other prominent Socialist speakers will address the meeting at Cooper Union, Friday evening, July 28.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. Note other will be recognized.]

Students like "The People". To the Editor of THE PEOPLE.—It has been a matter of great pleasure to myself and many of my friends to see that affairs have taken a different turn and that THE PEOPLE has been taken from the hands of those who were unfit to edit it.

Most of us are students in the various universities in the city and we have found it a great pleasure to be able now to hand it to our fellow students a Socialist paper which is free from that disreputable language and sentiment which has marred the issues of the previous issues. We hope that in the future THE PEOPLE will contain far more educational material than the personal prejudices and ill will of the Editor will and no room in its columns. We would like to see an absence of capitalized expressions as they do not at all add to the beauty of the paper.

Wishing you all success and pledging my support against bossism and tyranny, I beg to remain, Respectfully yours, EUGENE J. SCHOLER. New York, July 21, 1899.

A Follower Worthy of his Master. To the Editor of THE PEOPLE.—I do not think that I will ever change my opinion. De Leon is right. I have been in PRACTICAL POLITICS and know that De Leon's way is the only right way to win.

Having the faith and drive to go to hell, your mild mannered Dutch Socialism, tinged with the worst form of Anarchy and free-love business does not go down the gullet of the average American. I have read the free-love doctrine preached in the "Volkzeitung" and have no use for that rant. You get out of the narrow path of clean cut scientific Socialism and bring up your middle-headed Dutch nonsense in it, will refuse, for one to follow you, and there are others. Respectfully, C. C. CROLY.

Injustice to the Workmen. To the Editor of THE PEOPLE.—Last week, while in a severe thunder storm here, an employe of a capitalist drove his team under a shed on his place until the storm passed. While there, the barn was struck by lightning, the effect of which stunned the driver, knocking him off his feet, and also causing the team to run away, damaging the wagon and harness. Because the driver was not killed he is obliged to make the damages good or lose his job.

CHUISS SCHLINKE. To the Editor of THE PEOPLE.—I want Socialism because it will bring justice, pleasure and plenty, and shield me from the tyrant. I pay my dues and vote the S. L. P. ticket because it advocates what I want. Not because I vote on the name S. L. P. or like the egotistical and dominating arrogance of De Leon and those who emulate him in Rhode Island. Their "Socialist" tactics have certainly retarded the growth of the Party. On the 14th, Comrade T. Curran said: "We know a little about the English language in this State," etc. Yes, he is a college graduate and does possess a fair vocabulary, but long words, some of which he forgot to learn the meaning of. And when he refuses to read your side of the argument he proves himself to be a poor judge. Comrades of the United States, BE MEN! do not blindly follow the leadership of such bigots. Read both sides of the trouble. Weigh it, and support whom YOU believe the best. People who delegate their thinking to others cannot be free. Yours for the cause, A. MAN. Providence, R. I., July 24, 1899.

LETTER BOX. [No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.] C. S. SMITH'S LANDING, N. Y.—Sorry can not publish your communication with the letter from the clergyman. Would take up too much space. The other part is published in this issue. R. A. MORRIS, CHICAGO.—Perhaps the resolution of Section Chicago to which you refer in your letter of July 15 went astray on account of change of Editor. If you send on another copy it will be published. KRUSE, HOLMES, and TUTTLE, LOS ANGELES.—The copy of the resolution you sent in does not bear the seal of the Section, and all the three names for the resolution published, please send in another copy signed by the secretary of the Section with the seal of the same attached. ERNEST SHERWOOD, PROVIDENCE, R. I.—I am every Branch in Section New York represented or entitled to representation? Yes. 2. There are a number of outlying Sections, such as that of Rhode Island, which on account of the comparatively great distance, are not represented in the General Committee. Their votes, however, cast by the members of Greater New York, as is shown by the vote cast for National secretary last January. The total vote cast for the two candidates was 817, of these the Sections not represented in the General Committee, viz.: Scouting, Wood Point, Corona, Long Island City, Woodhaven, Richmond, and Wyckoff Heights, cast 108 votes. As to your suggestion that the General Committee could not of its own accord suspend the officers, this is answered by the fact that the action of the General Committee is to be submitted to a referendum vote of the New York City membership.

R. B. CLEVELAND.—A detailed statement of the membership of Section Greater New York and the delegates representing it in General Committee will be found given in another column of this issue. Reports of the present membership of the various subdivisions are now coming in and will be published by the organizer within two or three weeks, when all the reports are expected to be in. The vote on the Liebertafel was not declared before the meeting of July 8. If you consult the Reekman street "People" you will find there in the report of the Liebertafel a report by Abelson as to the vote on the Liebertafel. It goes without saying that the Section New York as now constituted can not take the statement of Abelson and a new vote has been ordered taken.

Labor Songs.

The attention of the readers of THE PEOPLE is called to the following labor songs: 1.—"The Workmen's Marseilles," arranged by W. L. Bar. 2.—"Down with Slavery," words selected from Shelley; music by Platon Bronnoff. 3.—"The Hand with the Hammer," by Peter E. Burrowes; music by Platon Bronnoff. 4.—"On the first of May," by Elizabeth Serber; music by Platon Bronnoff. Price, 10 cents per copy. Send your orders to: NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., 64 E. 4th street, New York City.

To All Members of the S. L. P. in Greater New York. Comrades—All correspondence intended for the Party Organizer, elected by the new General Committee, should be addressed as follows: JULIUS GERBER (Personal), 64 East 4th Street, New York City.

The word "personal" will prevent correspondence intended for one regularly elected Organizer from being delivered to anybody who might be personating the Organizer without being authorized to act in such capacity. JULIUS GERBER, Organizer of Section New York.

Don't forget the meeting at Cooper Union Friday evening, July 28. Socialist speakers of national prominence will address you there.

APPEAL OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party and the Progressive Trade-Unions.

Comrades:—You are all aware, no doubt, of what has occurred in the Party within the last two weeks. The deposed officers of the N. E. C. have defied the Party's will and under the protection of the capitalist police have taken away with them all of the Party's property which happened to be in their possession.

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OFFICIAL.

Secretary, Henry Slobodin, 184 William Street, New York.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary, Comrade Handow, 183 Champlain Street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee—Secretary, George Moore, 61 Hyde Street, Montreal.

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

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

National Executive Committee. Meeting of July 25, 1899, at 184 William Street, New York.

Acting Secretary reported: Engaged several members to act as organizers for the S. L. P. Approved and further instructions were given to the organizers.

Decided to instruct Editors of THE PEOPLE and the "Vorwarts" to submit all resolutions coming from Party organizations to the N. E. C. before their publication.

Income for the last two weeks, \$413.21; expenses, \$85.00. E. KIRCHNER, Rec. Secretary.

New York State Committee. The newly elected provisional State Committee met for its first meeting on July 23, in the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th Street.

Comrade Kirchner was present and presided. Comrade Feigenbaum was elected secretary of the committee.

A committee of Section Philadelphia was asked for information to the effect of the suspension of the old officers. The desired information was given to the committee by Oran.

A new stamp is to be ordered, since the old one has been taken away by the suspended members. It was decided to procure 1,000 stamps.

Decided not to write to the Sections in the State until the City Executive Bill has been passed.

Comrade Kirchner was elected chairman and Comrade Feigenbaum was elected secretary of the committee.

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ity of those who came turned their backs upon the police-protected clique and re-elected the National Executive Committee of G. C. of July 10. Made donation to N. E. C.

21st A. D.—Endorsed action of G. C. of July 10. Made donation to N. E. C.

22nd A. D.—Acted as above. 23rd A. D.—Ditto. 24th A. D.—Ditto.

25th A. D.—Reorganized. With more new members than were left in the old among the few De Leonites, endorsed action of G. C. of July 10. Made donation to N. E. C.

26th A. D.—Endorsed action of G. C. of July 10. Made donation to N. E. C.

27th A. D.—Endorsed action of G. C. of July 10. Made donation to N. E. C.

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29th A. D.—Endorsed action of G. C. of July 10. Made donation to N. E. C.

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63rd A. D.—Endorsed action of G. C. of July 10. Made donation to N. E. C.

Thursday, July 27, will be very important and all the members should be present.

Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The following resolution was adopted at the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the above organization, July 20, 1899:

WHEREAS, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America by a referendum vote taken in April this year has almost unanimously resolved to recognize as its official organs the "New Volkszeitung," the "Vorwarts," and THE PEOPLE, all of which are published at 184 William Street;

WHEREAS, Henry Kuhn, member of this organization, appeared at our convention in 1895 urging the delegates to work for the support and the increase of the circulation of the above-named organs;

WHEREAS, said Henry Kuhn has now in connection with a gang of unscrupulous, self-seeking men who suffer to an extent from an unduly developed sense of their own greatness, and in the protection of the police is striving to injure and to ruin in a shameful manner the "New Volkszeitung," the "Vorwarts," and THE PEOPLE, because the class-conscious workingmen of the city of New York have refused to be abused for their own selfish purposes the above-mentioned labor papers;

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RESOLVED, That we brand all those members of our organization who support in any manner the actions of said Henry Kuhn and associates as untrue to the principles, decisions and aims of our organization;

RESOLVED, To call upon all members to resign from the office of our organization, and to become subscribers and readers of the official organs of our organization, THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

CHAS. KUERSCHNER, Chairman. HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary. STEPHEN BACHER, Treasurer.

WILLIAM SEUBERT, Recording Secretary. EDW. BEHNKE, JOHN HENNING, HENRY STUETZ, FRANK HARTH, R. BECKER, Trustees.

Section Hudson County, New Jersey.

A special meeting of the Section was held last Sunday in Fehren's Hall, Beacon Ave., Jersey City, on the occasion of the rejection of the motion to recognize the new Executive Committee.

The motion was carried by a vote of 12 to 8. Comrade Backsath was elected chairman.

A lively debate ensued in which the proposition to recognize the new Executive Committee was discussed.

Comrade Backsath stated that when he appeared in his capacity as chairman of the Executive Committee, he was asked by the chairman whether he endorsed the tactics of the administration; when he declared that the question was impertinent, he was refused admission as delegate.

Several comrades took part in the discussion after which Comrade Backsath was elected chairman.

The motion to reject Comrade Backsath as delegate to the State Committee was then carried by a vote of 48 to 39.

Ward I., West Hoboken, Branch I.

1st Ward, West Hoboken, Branch I. had its regular meeting on Thursday, July 27, 1899, at 8 p. m., at 62 Pitt Street.

All comrades present were asked to contribute to the Secretary, Sam Christensen, 294 E. Broadway, c/o New York Socialist Literary Society.

Section Clinton abides by the Constitution.

To the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., 184 William Street, New York: Dear Comrades:—At the meeting of July 18 of Section Clinton it was

RESOLVED, That the Section Clinton recognizes the new Executive Committee as constitutionally elected, but stands in full accord with the old Executive Committee.

JOHN BANKER, Organizer Section Clinton, Mass.

Revolt against boss-rule in the Alliance.

We will all meet at Cooper Union, Friday evening, July 28.

Don't forget the meeting at Cooper Union Friday evening, July 28. Socialist speakers of national prominence will address you there.

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

Thomas J. Morgan of Chicago, J. Mahlon Barnes and Fred Long of Philadelphia, S. Sieverman of Rochester, and other prominent Socialist speakers will address the meeting at Cooper Union, Friday evening, July 28.

Sections of the State of New York, Attention!

COMRADES! Your connections with the S. L. P. must, according to Constitution, henceforth be maintained through the newly elected State Committee.

Secretary's address: B Feigenbaum, Sec'y State Committee S. L. P. 64 East 4th St. NEW YORK.

DR. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST, 121 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

I. Goldmann's Printing Office, cop. New Chambers and William St. works with Type Setting Machines German and English.

MORRIS HILLQUIT, Attorney at Law, 120 Broadway, Telephone: 171 Franklin.

The following speakers will address the meeting: THOMAS J. MORGAN, of Chicago. J. MAHLON BARNES, of Philadelphia. FRED LONG, of Philadelphia. S. SIEVERMAN, of Rochester. MORRIS HILLQUIT, of New York. ALEXANDER JONAS, LISSAUER, 457

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A NEW JEWISH SOCIALIST DAILY.

The De Leon-Vogt-Kuhn ring, which was so effectively turned down by the New York Socialists, but which still claims that it represents the true American element in the S. L. P., has so far succeeded in gaining control over the former S. L. P. daily, the Jewish "Abendblatt."

The man who but very recently ridiculed the "comrades of Essex and Ludlow streets" now clings to the paper, which the Jewish comrades have built up, and tries to make it his mouthpiece.

De Leon succeeded in capturing the "Abendblatt" by sheer violence. He had in the "Abendblatt" a few of his tools who happened to be officers of the Association, that published that paper. The majority of the members of the Association, the entire editorial staff, and the business manager were opposed to De Leonism.

The members of the Eastside Districts were unanimously opposed to the ring. The readers of the "Abendblatt" have on various occasions shown that they did not want the paper to be a De Leonite organ. In a word, the entire Jewish wing of the S. L. P., with all its orators and writers is unanimously on the side of the new National Executive.

The only thing De Leon succeeded in capturing is the name of the paper and its property. As stated, he accomplished this through violence. It happened this way.

On July 11, the day after De Leon's downfall, the Board of Directors of the "Abendblatt"—mostly tools of De Leon—suspended two members of the editorial staff, Feigenbaum and MacGloff, for taking an active part in the special meeting of the General Committee on Monday, July 10.

On the following day the Board of Directors suspended also the editor, Ph. Kranz, for defending the stand taken by his colleagues, and a literary scab by the name of M. Beer, a man who until two weeks ago was constantly expressing himself as opposed to De Leonism and refused to enter the S. L. P. on that account, was put in Kranz's place.

The action of the Board of Directors is subject to approval of the members of the Publishing Association. A special meeting of the Publishing Association was called for July 18 to consider the action of the Board of Directors.

Knowing that the majority of the Publishing Association would sustain the Editors and repudiate the Board of Directors, the tools of De Leon committed a coup d'etat. They took possession of the hall early in the evening, just as Tammany politicians used to do at their primaries, prevented by force (hiring for the purpose the janitor of the place and calling in the police) 17 of the members who were declared suspended by the Board of Directors, without any constitutional right to do so, succeeded in securing a majority for themselves. Now the "Abendblatt" is entirely in the hands of the De Leonites. Legal proceedings have now been instituted with a view of dissolving the Association for illegal procedure against its members.

In the meantime our Jewish comrades are making active preparations to start a new Socialist daily which will be called the "Jewish Volkszeitung." They already published a special issue making public the state of affairs and announcing the appearance of the daily "Volkszeitung."

Our Jewish comrades have shown their devotion to the cause by subscribing \$400 dollars at the very start, and hundreds more are now being collected on subscription lists. It is to be hoped that the undertaking will succeed, and the Jewish daily with the same editorial staff as the old "Abendblatt" will continue as heretofore to spread the teachings of Socialism among the Jewish proletariat.

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