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Widespread Discontent Arisisc Among the Peasants,

an Interesting Secret Police Document. Made Public by "Free Russ a" Shows that the Peasants, So Long Patient and Submi sive, Are Being Reached by the Revolutionary Propaganda-An III Omen for Russian Despo-

and leaked out from the St. official pigeon-holes. It is adential circular, No. 4,884, 7th of June: 1808 (o. s.), and covincial Governors. It runs coording to information re-the Ministry of Internal Afnoticed that in certain pro-neighbly those of the South West, a series of disorders departic damage to the landinder guard of the villagers attacks on the landlords of patrols, and of extensive panied by fights with the

on the houses and farms of thies, devastating agricultural as and even dwelling houses, bodily injury to and mutilating ants and watchmen. Similar tolence have been accompanied distribunce, the police were beaten is woulded, while in the province of ronesh, in the month of May (1898), had was fired by some unknown misser at a farmer and the "Stanovoy star," who had taken part in puting down the disturbances (which is arisen on the ground of a misser-tanding between the peasants at the farmers' whereby the official and the farmer) whereby the official was killed. Besides this, another case accurred in which a landowner was thy handled at a market place by concly handled at a marget place of a growd of people, in consequence of some dispute as to the terms of pay-ment for field labor, and threats were used of obtaining in future satisfaction by similar means on other contractors.

similar means on other contractors of in the above-mentioned instances of dence and license by the pensants clocal authorities were helpless, and most cases, from fear of violence to emselves, took no means to repress

the peasantry, whereby private people are deprived of an assurance of safety for their persons and property, bear witness to the fact that the quiet and regular course of public life is insuffi-ciently secured, and this must in a cer-tain degree be attributed to the fault of the local administration and police authorities whose duty it is to take nessures towards a timely removal of all masunderstandings which may arise, and to firmly safeguard public

Recognizing, in consequence of this hatten, the urgent need of putting an al to such undestrable conduct of the assuts towards the landlords, I have the honor. Sir, to beg that you will di-fer the authorities under you, that they should take the most decided violence on the part of the these guilty of violence and taking the law in their own hands. With this aim view, the District Commanders, Bounds for the Administrations of the Peason's the Arbitrators of the Peace and all others of the police force

"its That increased observations be sirs, markets, and generally where the peasants and onle congregate. (2.) That ton be paid to the reciprocal owners and farmers, and steps be taken in time to remove any cause of ent and collision in those disagreements may occur. th closely rural advocates iers who have no fixed or agitators who were adremoved from other diswise to keep an eye on I misatisfactory behavior, and to acts of violence and means on their fellows may In cases where it is and the peasants, they ediately be arrested in view of the Statutes for the State of Siege: they be removed from any given locality. (4.) In those places where the rural/nopulation may be in a state of ferment it should be notified

persons or the Vice-Governor, in order to make the peasants hear reason. In more serious cases you should go yourself, and if the necessity arises the troops should immediately be called out, so that an agitation which might otherwise result in violence and rebellion may be ripped in the bud. In case of open disorder breaking out, measures should at once be taken for promptly and decisively crushing it, and in still more serious infringements of the peace it is imperative that the Vice-Governor or your Excellency

of the peace it is imperative that the Vice-Governor or your Excellency should be in command on the spot. In addition to this it is incumbent for the administrative authority to immediately arrest the ringleaders and participators in the disturbance before the arrival of the judicial authority on the base of the Statutes for the State of Siege, and a most careful investigation of the circumstances causing the tumult should be required from the police, so that the judicial powers may have at their disposal all the information necessary for a preliminary investigation and a successful prosecution of the guilty persons. After such persons having completed the terms of tion of the guilty persons. After such persons having completed the terms of the punishment, indicted on them by the law courts your Excellence on them by the law courts your Excellency should consider the question of the advisabil-ity of temporarily removing the said persons from localities where their per-nicious influence had been manifested. as a means of preventing new disturbances; then this question should be commended to my attention for my de-

mitted are not of such a character as nitted are not of such a character as to bring them under the jurisdiction of the law courts, your Excellency should act in the manner as prescribed by sec-tion 3 of this circular.

"Whilst placing the timely preven-

tion and stopping of disturbat tion and stopping of disturbances on the personal responsibility of the Pro-vincial Governors. I consider it indis-pensable to add that in all cases where disorder, violence or rioting may take place in any locality, the Ministry will pay a stern attention to the question of responsibility of those persons whose duty it was to ascertain and

prevent these outbreaks.
"Signed in the original by Goreny-kin, the Minister for Home Affairs; countersigned by the Director, Zvoly-ansky."

This document is, to our mind, of the greatest importance. It is a statement by the Government that the Russian peasantry, particularly in the South of peasanry, particularly in the sound of the Empire, is far from being so sub-missive and endlessly patient as is gen-erally supposed. It is a secret avowal of the Government that it entertains the greatest fears as to the frame of the greatest fears as to the frame of mind of the rural population. The cir-cular dates only some sixteen months back, and this period abounds in facts proving that hotwithstanding all the threats of making the administration responsible for any outbreak on the part of peasants, and all the measures part of peasants, and an the measures of espionage, imprisonment and exile without trial, and repression by armed hand recommended by the Ministry, the peasants' frame of mind has not guined much in peacefulness, Even the gagged Russian press gives us such facts. We shall have an opportunity of quoting them in one of our next

<sup>†</sup> That is, in so-called "political cases," in which the inquiry into the matter is conducted by the gendarmes, instead of an official under the Ministry of Justice, and which may end in punishment without any trial whatever—"administratively."

## THE ADDYSTON DECISION.

The Anti-Trust Victory Actually Means Nothing.

The United States Supreme Court's decision that the Addyston Pipe combine is unconstitutional, which is being hailed by reactionists as a blow at the Trusts, can only be regarded as in line Trusts, can only be regarded as with opinions handed down relating to railway pools. Not only is it not a hlow at Trusts, but at the conclusion of the syllabus, in referring to the production and distribution of sugar, for example, the sugar Trust is practically declared to be a constitutional associa-tion, for the court has adopted the convenient policy of making fine distinct tions between good and bad Trusts, a nice little piece of sophistry. It appears that the Addyston people had merely formed a ring, divided the country's business, and operated as individual companies, whereas the real Trust does business, as one company only does business as one company only, and is the result of the complete amaidoes business as one complete amalgamation of various interests. The additional fact that the stock markets paid to attention to the decision makes the proof pretty conclusive that the opinion was merely thrown out as a sop to quieten the howls of the bankrupt and disappearing middle class, and to enable the demagogues to blow their bazoos while the big plutocrats complete the job of corraling everything in sight. The Trusts are here to stay, and the courts cannot compel even the firms composing the pipe pool to compete and cut each other's throats, if they do not want to. They will find a way, perhaps by absolute combination, to evade the decision and hateful competition, and become a communation, to evade the decision and hateful competition, and become a "good" Trust. Trusts are blazing the way for Socialism more rapidly and classifically, then the trade "good" Trust. Trusts are binzing the way for Socialism more rapidly and scientifically than the trade unions themselves; therefore, Trusts are fundamentally all right. Those who, like ourselves, don't like the effects of Trusts should vote to nationalize them, and that can only be done by voting the Socialist ticket.—[The cleveland littless.]

Nineteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

The Convention Lasts a Long Time But Accomplishes Little-Social-ism Comes in for its Share in the Discussion—A Meaningless Resolution on Trusts.

The Nineteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was opened at Detroit, Michigau, on Monday morning, December 11. In the absence of President Gompers, the con-vention was called to order by Second Vice-President James Duncan. An address of welcome was read by Mr. Grivell, on behalf of the Detroit Cen-Grivell, on shehalf of the Detroit Central Labor Union; it was full of the usual fine phrases about "this great republic" and "justice and equality," and declared that the workers are to solve the labor problem "without loss of life or property," with particular emphasis on the "property."

"The Computers on Credentials reon the "property."

The Committee on Credentials re-

ported a list of over 180 delegates, the largest ever recorded at an A. F. of L. convention. The British organizations were represented by Alex. Wilkie, of the Shipwrights, and Jas. Haslam, of the Miners: the Canadian by D. A. Carey. While the Committee was acting upon protests, Delegate Duncan read a lengthy annual report from President Gompers. The report of Secretary Morrison followed, pointing Secretary Morrison followed, pointing to great gains made by the Federation during the past year, due, no doubt, to the improved conditions of industry. The income showed an increase of \$17,802.98 over that of last year, of which \$5,226.61 was derived from the three her contracting symmetry byted by the which \$5,220.00 was derived from the two per cent, assessment levied by the last convention to defray expenses of organizers in the Southern and Inter-Mountain Districts, Total receipts were over \$40,000; total expenses, \$30,000—an increase of \$11,400; balance on hand, a little over \$9,000. The heavfest single item of expenses was that of \$6,373.66 for organizing purposes, of which two-thirds was spent in the Southern and Inter-Mountain Districts. The total increase of memblistricts. The total native season bership was stated at 144,282. New unions numbering 2.264 were reported as organized during the year. The "Federationist" showed a deficit of \$900; total expense of publication, a

\$100; total expense of publication, a little over \$4,000.

President O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, read his report as fraternal delegate to the British Congress at Plymouth. He said that the majority of the delegates there were not is sympathy with Socialism, although they favored independent political action. J. H. Sullivan, fraternal delegate to the last Canadian Trade Union Congress reported that that body passed a resolu-Canadian Trade United Congress to-ported that that body passed a resolu-tion favoring independent political ac-tion and repudiating the capitalist par-ties, which resolution was then sent to

ties, which resolution was then sear to a referendum vote.

The Tuesday morning session was largely occupied by the introduction of resolutions and by the report of the Federation Council. This report deals at length with the attempt to lobby for labor legislation in Congress—generally unsuccessful. It dealt also with the troubles of the organizations of brew-ers and the coopers, the painters, the woodworkers, the bartenders and hotel woodworkers, the narrenders and notes and restaurant employees, the metal polishers, the Typographical and Ma-chinists' Unions, and others. If recommended closer connection be-tween the A. F. of L. and the national and international unions, especially that no boycott should be declared by that no boycott should be declared by local unions, but that all difficulties be referred to the A. F. of L. for pre-limifary adjustment, and that only on the failure of such attempted adjust-ment a boycott should be declared by

the Federation.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended that the resolution on the Idaho outrages be referred to the Council. The recommendation was adopted. Thus the first attempt to

adopted. Thus the mark acceptable side-track this question succeeded.

At the afternoon session, a Mr. Kennedy, claiming to be a delegate of the "International Farmers' Union," appeared, but was refused admission. Most of the afternoon was spent in a wrangle over the admission of a delegate of the Omaha C. L. U., hinging on fight between rival painters'

Susan B. Anthony addressed the Convention, asking it to give its endorsement to a petition to Congress for a woman's suffrage amendment. The request was referred to the Resolution

Committee.
On Wednesday morning, Delegate On Wednesday morning, Delegate Fahey of Tennessee made a plea for greater efforts to organize the South, politting out that the unions in the South were helping to abolish the color line. This point was loudly applauded. The painters' fight was continued but not sattled.

tinued, but not settled.

Un the afternoon session, Mr. Wilkie, the British fraternal delegate, spoke. He flattered the A. F. of L., talked a great deal about international organization and independent politics, but paid particular attention to the Socialists, insisting, in the time-honored phrase, that "there is no short cut to the Millenium."

A resolution was passed, boycotting the Chicago "Hecord" and "Daily News." tinued, but not settled.

mions. He then drew the atten unlens. He then drew the attent of the delegates to the underly cause of the trouble, that the work people have voted into power representatives of the capitalist class, we are using all means to crush the ganizations of labor. To resist efficiency, we must back up our union fight against the "Sun" with a uni, and intelligent fight at the ballot is to refer to nower men representing

to place in power men representing own interests.

A resolution was passed condemns the use of Federal troops to enforce junctions against organized labor a declaring against the increase of declaring against the increase of sestanding army beyond the regular quota of 25,000 men. Another resultation protested against the control labor slave system in Hawaii and elemanding its abolition. Another pledged the support of the A. F. of to the seamen in their effort for an amendment of law that will allow seamen to quit work when they desire.

men to quit work when they desire.

The rest of the day was spent in sidering a number of resolutions of interportance. The question of the Cago "News" and "Record" came an again, and it was openly charged that there were men present who were the actual agents of that paper. Lobbying was, in fact, freely indulged in, fil through the convention. Among those represented is McKinley binnself, whose agent is Mr. Ratchford, formstruck the manner of the Miners Linea now a member of the Miners Linea now a member. ly of the Miners' Union, now a mem of the Industrial Commission, who, see gether with Richard Powers of Chical and others, urged delegates to vote in endorsement of McKinley's Philippine policy and to kill any Idaho resolu-

On Friday the Committee on Resolu-

On Friday the Committee on resona-tions reported on the following resolu-tions by Comrade Hayes:

"Whereas, the various reports sub-mitted by our trade union officials are in effect that, so far as our efforts ! y petitions and interviews with the leg-latures of the various States and th Federal Government are concerned, little has been accomplished by the above-mentioned methods, for where a so-called labor law is passed, it is either deciared unconstitutional by the course or allowed to remain unenforced, a dead letter on the statute books;

"Resolved, That this Federation recommends that the various central and local bodies of labor in the United their political power, on independent lines from the capitalistic political parties, in harmony with the action of our brother trade unionists in Europ., Australia, Canada, and other civilized communities, based on their class at-terests as wage workers, and that her-after members of labor organizations found on the platform and advocating the interest of the old political parties of the wage earners and as opposed of the advanced layer novement, and that this be submitted to a referendum vote of all the organizations in affiliation with this Federation, and should such a year less in the affirmative, then

immediately proceed on the lines sug-gested above." gested above."

The committee offered as a substitute "that the Federation recommends that the various central and local bodies of labor in the United States take steps. to use their ballots, their political power, on independent lines as enunciated in the platform of the A. R.

such a vote be in the affirmative, then

pointed out that the working people were forced to take independent poli-tical action. He went over the last street-car strike in Cleveland and showed that the working people lost the strike, although 95 per cent. of the people were on their side, because 5 per cent. of the people, the plutocrats of Cleveland, were on the side of the company. He cited the successful incompany. He cited the successful in-junctions and unsuccessful boycotts of the last few years due to the control of the courts by the capitalist parties. He urged the delegates that it was time that the workers cease to be di-vided, being good union men 384 days in the year and furning against their in the year and turning against their own class on the 365th. He showed how the growth of the Trusts was how the growth of the Trusts was making it harder and harder to conduct the struggle on economic grounds only and how the introduction of the struggle on economic grounds. only and how the introduction of new labor-saving machinery made the condition still worse. He pointed out that the best financial papers in Boston and new York advised their capitalist readers to call in their investments, predict-ing another crash in about a year, and told the delegates that another crisis in industrial pursuits meant a serious crisis in the trade union moven and urged the delegates to vote for his

Only one delegate spoke against it, and the vote was taken. The resolu-tion as amended by the committee was adopted by an aye and no vote. Some of the Socialist delegates demanded a roll call, but Chairman McGuire ruled that it was too late, as the vote was

hat it was up-already announced. In the Saturday, a resolution favor-ing the Saturday in a resolution favor-but marine subsidy bill, ing a merchant marine subsidy bill, which was strongly lobbled for, was defeated.

The committee reported on the res The committee reported on the resolu-tion by Comrade Hayes condemping President McKinley and Governo Steunenberg for the Idaho outrages and offered a substitute condemning the outrages, but not placing the was shut out; call for roll call was nied; on a show of hands, the sul tute of the committee was adopted a vote of 56 for and 28 against. He

rt submitted the following, relating

to Trusts:

"The President makes some fimely and truthful observations and your committee agrees in his opinion that the Trust should be considered by the labor movement as a natural outcome of the present keen competition in commercial activity. The evil influence resulting from concentrated capital can only be met by fully realizing that the State cannot successfully legislate against this so-called 'growing evil.' It is, therefore manifestly the duty of the State, as well as of the labor movement, to meet this situation and to Pittsburg, Pa., Dec. 12.—Joseph A. Kelle a Mount Oliver baker, was indicted by th Allegheny County Grand Jury to-day for malicious trespass. The Monospakels dis Coul Company, owned by the trust know as the Pittsburg Coul Company, fenced in the village of Red Town near hore. Keller State, as well as of the labor move-ment, to meet this situation and to treat the subject as a natural develop-ment. The Trust is an industrial dis-ease which can only be alleviated and finally cured by remedies taken from the industrial garden. Organization of labor free from all anti-combination innary cure of remembrances taken to the industrial garden. Organization of labor free from all anti-combination laws given full freedom to use its own natural weapons and the thoughtful and estructs support of all lovers of industrial freedom will meet this evil dustrial freedom will meet this evil

Trust may not have at its command the judicial, executive, and military machinery of the political State." Consideration of this remarkable document was postponed till Tuesday. On Tuesday, a large number of reso utions were passed upon, mostly relating to affairs not of general interest. The recommendation of the Committee on President's Report was then taken up. Comrade Max Hayes, delegate of the Cleveland Cr. L. Uz moved to amend by adding:

and overcome it in the natural evolu-tionary way. We, therefore, ask from

the legislatures not anti-combination laws, but the sweeping away of those now in existence, to the end that the

"And, furthermore, that this conven "And, furthermore, that this content tion call upon the trade unionists of the United States and workingmen gen-erally to carefully study the develop-ment of Trusts and monopolies, with a view to nationalizing the same."

This practically places the Federation in the position of endorsing the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, or, at least, opening the door to that prin-ciple. Delegate Hayes made a short speech on the question, in which he declared that the time had arrived for the trade unions to take a step for ward and encourage their members to educate themselves upon the logical and scientific solution of the labor question. The speaker was warmly re-ceived and his amendment was adopted almost unanimously.

Another remarkable passage in the report, referring to industrial crises, cannot be given now, but will be pre-sented next week. The Idaho outrages were condemned by President Gompers in his report, and this passage was approved. A very wordy declara-tion against imperialism was also

This report will be concluded next week, and editorial comment is re-served for that time.

## STICKERS.

Middletown, Conn., Dec. 13.—"Killed while trying to break into a bank. Justinable homicide." This epituph, made by a Coroner's jury here to-day, may be the only one that is ever written for a burgiar, the top of whose head was blown off this moraling by Harry Tyler, night watchman of the Deep River Savings Bank, while the fellow was trying to break into that lastitution.

Poor, poor fool burglar. Had he been properly brought up in the way he should go, he would have known that the proper way to rifle a bank is not to break into it at night, but to be a cashler in it in the daytime, to have "confidence reposed" in you, be a high-ly respected deacon of the church and respected deacon or the chart and superintendent of the Sunday school, "move in good society," and then move off with all the millions in it. Then nobody would dare to blow the top of your head off: that would be murder— most "unjustifiable homicide," for which the shooter would be hanged. If caught you might be put into prison

burgiar: it is had form, and exposes you to having the top of your head blown off. Learn to be polite, suave, and plous. You will find you can get on in the world much better and get off with the swag much pleasanter.

Artnur Farreit, of Windmonous, was sentenced yesterday by Justice Schatz, of Mount Vernon, New York, to six months in the Kings County Fenitentiary for striking a woman. Justice Schatz said: "Farreit, you ought to be ashamed of yourself. You are a coward to strike a defenceiess woman, Why ashamed, Judge Schatz; why a

coward? Is it not the universal morals, rule, and practice of this world to wailop the weak and defenceless every time chance offers. Does not every Christian nation do it and pray God for success before, and thank him af-ter? Does not Russia, Germany, France? Does not England particular-France: Does not England particular-ity? Did she not jump into this South African glory because she thought the Boers weak and defenceless? Ain't we doing a dirty little bit of that same in the Philippines even now? Don't our artillery-backed courts strike weak and defenceless miners' organizations? Didn't Sheriff Martin's boodlums shoot

held fer trial.

All which abominable trampling on civil rights shows that Magna-Chartas, Bills of Rights, Declarations of Independence, Constitutions, planting of Starry I lags on every school-house, stable, and dunghill, wearing of same on every horse-collar and in every button-hole do not make liberty. An eternally vigilant people who would instantly rap the knuckles of every hand of usurpation would be free without any of the foregoing paraphernalia, but to a people, like this, that does not to a people, like this, that does not know enough to possess itself of a club to use in its own defence, no amount of paper-decreed liberties will ever give liberty. In this world of brutes, where might makes right, the working class mill have just as much liberty it can TAKE and KEEP, and not a scrap mere, Workingmen, you'll have liberty when you seize it YOURSELVES, no

When Alaska was bought, what wa or American territory ceded to to be Trussianized? In view of Idaho and Chicago and Brooklyn and Buffalo and injunctions and railroadings to pri son everywhere, I'll be hanged if I know. Of one thing I am certain, though, that McKinley I, is Czar of the United States, and Nicholas II. is only President of Russia.

The cable says: "Red flags were dis played, and revolutionary songs sung at the Paris Socialist Congress. The police interfered, but made no arrests.' more proof added to the millions that you cannot stay ideas with bullets, bayonets, and "Bull Pens." Must it not rankle in the soul of poor old Galli-fet, the "Butcher of the Commune," that the ghost of Socialism, thought to have been forever laid in blood twentyeight years ago, sits beside him, more alive than ever, in the Cabinet, in the person of Millerand! But there is no teaching fools, and I suppose Gallifet would try it again if he had the chance.

General Gatacre (who recently was defeated at Stormberg) is what is known as an "office general." and it was tacitly admitted by the authorities of the War. Office that he was selected in order to provide a sop for the clique of which he forms a unit. He has seen little active service, none at all under the conditions which the British troops have to face in the present contest, and it was freely prophesed in Loudon, when the war began, that disaster would overtake any column under his command.

A sort of Shafter, so to speak, who had several thousand lives of men given him to play with and experiment with. Suppose he would have pouted and sulked had he not been allowed to take part in the game. So, living men being very cheap, they give him some to help him learn how to play, and if he loses a thousand or two, they will send the dear man another consignment of such goods, with, perhaps, an admonition to mind better next time and not break so many toys.

We three-collected all the dead [after the battle of stormberg] over a wide area and buried them, the chaplain reading the burial

Burial service: Yes, I suppose those chaplains around the bloody pits, lifted up their lugubrious voice and droned out the old "Forasmuch as it hath pleased 'Almighty God, in his wise providence, to take out of this world the soul of our decensed brother," etc., instead of the truth: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Joseph Chamberlain and the Chartered South African Company," etc. But then, these praying machines are not hired to tell the truth.

London, Dec. 9.-It is stated semi-official ly that Great Britain is not negotiating for the Galapagos Island from Ecuador.

It must have been an exceedingly cold day when that was said; as it i a very cold day when Great Britain is not annexing something or some-

"Senator Mason will open the week [in the Senate] with a speech on his resolution declaring the sympathy of this country with the Boers in their war with Great Brit-It is now in order for Secretary Chamberlain to bring in a resolution

Chamberiain to bring in a resolution in the House of Commons, declaring the sympathy of Great Britain with the Filipinos in their struggle with the United States. One good turn deserves This was Governor Steunenherg's Thanksgiving Proclamation: "While just hearts
are ever grateful for favors, both spiritual
and physical, it is meet and proper that an
occasion of special prayer and thanksgiving
to Ainsighty God, to be respected throughout our common country, should be observed. By proper authority, Thursday, the
20th day of November, A. D., 1890, has been
set apart as such day of thanksgiving. Its
observance, in spirit and truth, throughout
our State, is earnestly enjoined."

The Shameful Abuses in the Cour d'Alene Forced U Public Attention.

Even the Yollow Dailles 8 Frightened by the Threat of Pu gressional Committee Ev

Now that the truth about the capitalist outrages in Idaho has been forced upon public attention, the great sensational dailies, after half a year of silence, are beginning to pose as champions of liberty. We know what estimate to place upon their sincerity, when they, so eager for "scoops" and the very latest news, wait five months before giving us this report of the interview granted by His Imperial Majesty William McKinley to a delegation, of which Edward Boyce, President of the Western Federation of Miners, was the spoxesman:

Miners, was the spokesman:

The President asked what the delegation desired.

Mr. Boyce answered: "We desire that the United States troops shall be used only to preserve order and not to destroy organized labor."

The President insisted that such a thing as the latter could not be possible. To him was quoted then a speech by Brigadier-General Merriam, commanding the United States troops in Idaho, and delivered soon after his arrival at Wardner. In this speech sterrism said:

"It seems to me since the trouble

aferriam said:
"It seems to me since the trouble arose originally in hostile organizations of men known as labor unions, I should suggest a law making the formation of such unions or kindred societies a crime. Surely, history furnishes argument sufficiently in favor of such a

The President was also shown a set The President was also shown a set of the applications for labor permits, and his attention was especially called to a proclamation drawn up by the attorney for the Bunker-Hill and Sullivan mines (the Standard Oil mines) and signed by Bartlett Sinciair, with this addendum:

"Examined and approved. H. C. Merriam, Brigadier-General, U. S. Army."

Army."

Merriam Approved Fermits.

This proclamation, addressed to the mine-owners of Shoshone County, declared that certain organizations existing in the county had shown themselves to be criminal in purpose, inciting destruction of property and life. No organization was named.

In the second paragraph it directed all mine-owners to refuse to give employment to any man who did not bring a permit issued by Dr. Hugh France (an employee of the Bunker Hill mine) or his deputy, and the conditions under which these permits were to be issued were stated, including a pledge that the applicant would not belong to the Miners' Union.

General Merriam's signature to the proclamation makes him a party to the permit system.

proclamation makes him a party to the permit system.

Mr. McKinley told his callers he understood Democrats were very much opposed to government by injunction, and yet the government of Idaho was Democratic. As for, Merriam, he added, the process of court-martial was always open for disciplining an officer of the regular army. His callers falled to see how miners imprisoned in the "Bull Pen" could secure a Merriam court-martial.

## **Publicity Frightened Pres**

When it seemed impossible for the delegation to secure from the President any frank expression of his purposes—and all they asked for was an investigation—one of the members, losing his self-control, said:

"Then the only thing for us to do is to see and begin a public setting."

"Then the only thing for us to so us to go and begin a public agitation and call the attention of the country to the conditions existing in our land."

To this Mr. McKinley responded:
"OH! NO, DON'T DO THAT. LET ME HAVE A LITTLE TIME, AND I AM SURE WE WILL ARRANGE

THE MATTER TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE WORKING PEO-PLE."

done except to make a military despot ism more and more stringent.

Evidently the Standard Oil capitalists and their servants, the State authorities of Idaho, have private assurances that the Congressional investigation will be a "whitewash," as anyone, who knows anything of such affairs, may expect. The Anditor, Bartlett Sinclair, who applied for the Federal troops, who devised the Bull Pen, and who wrote the infamous proclamation that Merriam countersigned, has issued the following statement:

"The State administration of Idaho will welcome a thorough Congressional investigation of the Cœur d'Alene riots of April 29, wherein two men were shot by the rioters and a concentrator, valued at \$250,000, was destroyed. The State would be pleased to lave the investigation go back as far as 1502.

"We will do all we can to induce

The New York "World" sent a to interview Sinciair and get his to f the story—as if his side were the sails of the sails were

an effort is being model.

## Populist Vagaries.

48 TO SUBSRIBERS.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post orfile on April 6, 1891

CIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED (Presidential) . In 1898 . . . . . . . 82,204

### NOTICE.

As will be seen by the report of the National Eventive Committee it has meeting of the National Convention from Monday, January 22, to Saturday,

### ANNOUNCEMENT.

A beautiful and artistic New Year's Greeting has been prepared for The People and will be ready by the tim this issue reaches its readers. It is's ter, suitable for the adornment, eithe homes of workingmen. The price of Orders should be addressed to The People, 184 William Street, New

"NO HOPE FROM THE MASSES." Under the head "Socialism Will Get Little Help from the Workers or Trade Unionists," our alleged Socialist contemporary, "Commonwealth," reprints and foolish article by Robert Blatchford, editor of the "Clarion," adding the note: "The situation so plainly stated by the 'Clarion' editor in the foregoing article applies equally well to

The tendency of modern development is toward the degradation and improverishment of the workers. Steadily as the capitalists play their game, setting the workers to unpower will come into fewer and is and the workers will receive a small and the workers will receive a small and the will be allowed the share. All that will be of the share o and and the workers will receive a small and smaller share. All that will be led then to gender the slavery of the sess permanent and complete will be a teral conscription by means of which the kers will be made to coerce each other defend their exploiters. All this is com-upon the workers, and I see no hope of

n and children, and of what furthers they will have to bear; and one it hard to respect the workman or to be in his wisdom and devotion, average trade unionist is not a hope

ain he takes too little interest in his aveifare, and no interest at all in the are of other men. If his own wages hours are affected he will move, but he and the man are affected he will move, but he one outside his own union. He will not for the general good. He seldom is OF the general good. Therefore I would home for him.

hillies Of the general part said the smart journalists and dignified legislators; all the smart journalists and dignified legislators; all the graid new laws and big, smbttleus programs—what höve they done for the woman at the weshitub? All the trade mion congresses; all the manifestors and strikes; all the macches and widhinh? All the trade union con-sect; all the manifestoes and strikes; all labor members; all the speeches and serriptions—what have they done for the men of the shums, for the children of the costs, for any of the friendless, helpless,

women of the siums, for the children of the streets, for any of the friendless, helpless, hopeless poor?

Do you think that the trade unionists of Lameashire or Landon ever lift a hand for those poor women and children, ever give them a copper, or a thought?

Now to me the labor question and Socialism mean before all the rescue and salvation of the women and the children. It is of the lowest and of the poorest I think first. But the trade unionist: he thinks first of himself, and I fear, he thinks LAST of himself. Therefore, I say plainly that I have a very poor opinion of him, and I cannot feet very deeply interested in him. Very little will be accomplished by men who think only of themselves. I cannot raise a spark of enthusiasm over the decision of the graworhers to run a candidate in Southwest Ham. When I see the first spark of anger flash out of the trade unions because of the cruel degradation and brutal neglect of Englishwomen, I shall begin to think there is bope for Englishmen. As things are I regard all these fine promises of a great labor party with suspicion. If the trade unions are to be indeed by their backers or by their own past action, they will not shale Parliament in the next century. Cremwell's broadens helieved in God; that is very different from a bellef is oldage pensions seed an eight-hour day. I would rutter have one William Morris on my side than a million of half-hurred, half-welcaned workmen.

of men in the labor moven Britain who, for their quiet, untiris nheard-of work, deserve greater ecognition than he. It is his part to applaud them, not theirs to applaud

It is true, the unions in England and in America, fall far short of being what they might be and ought to be. But it s simply false that the average unionist is as "narrow, shallow, and selfish" as the men of the middle class whom Mr. Blatchford admires. Leaders who understand the labor movement and who have the courage of their convictions (as Mr. Blatchford evidently has not, judging from his recent jingoistic turn of face on the question of the South African war)-such leaders have no cause to complain of the narrowness, shallowness, selfishness, or sluggishness of the working people.

As for "Commonwealth," it is asto ishing that this publication should en dorse Mr. Blatchford's statements Great ... are the shortcomings of America vionism, there is not one well-established union in the land that has not some a thousand times more for the education and disciplining of the workers than "Commonwealth" ever has done or ever will do, while it adheres to its present timid, trimming, inconsistent policy. ..

### PIOUS FRAUDS

The New York "World" exploits in three-column, front-page article, with cuts and glaring headlines, the misery of a mother and son in this city, wh have to eke out a living on an average income of \$1.20 a week-and that earned by hard, long-continued labor. Now he case is not an isolated one. It is typical of the misery of thousands in this one city. As such, it deserves pub licity. But what is the motive of the "World" in making it public? Is it to expose the infernal system which allows millionaires to live upon the wretchedness of such widows and or phans? Is it to propose a remedy? No It is simply to advertise the kind and charitable "World." which is getting up a "Christmas Tree Fund" for the poor. Shame on such "charity" Shame on the dirty commercialism which turns "all the evil that is don under the sun" merely into free adver tising for yellow journalism! And shame on the workingmen who, forgetting all self-respect and class-feeling. buy such a paper and so support it in its vulgar career! The "World's" great exposé is a most gigantic indictment of the system that the "World" supports. It ought to bring a blush to the cheek of every workingman who sees it drag the sufferings of his class into the light only to offer them the mockery of a Christmas tree. The same issue of the paper at

nounces that "Dr. Felix Adler is to lead the forces of a mighty crusade against vice on the East Side," and devotes two columns to the explanation of his plans. The spectacle of a yellow journal as a champion of virtue is enough to make the Sphinx laugh. But enough of the "World." How about Dr. Ad-Jer? Adler is a well-informed man; he is supposed to be able to think a little; he is probably a very well-meaning man, too. But what a monument of stupidity and actual, if not conscious hypocrisy he makes of himself with his crusade against vice. Does he imagine that the degradation of the East Side has no cause—that by stirring up the police captains, he can end it Does he not know that if he closes the dives of the East Side, he will simply start dives in other places-the cause remaining untouched? Does he not know that prostitution is one of the inevitable outgrowths of wretched poverty, of unearned wealth, of class rule, of profit-grinding capitalism? If be knows these things, he is a consclous hypocrite. If not, his crusade is simply an example of the ignorance which the environment of the "better class" produces, even in the intelligent and sincere members of that class.

Horace Boles, the Democratic ex Governor of Iowa and erstwhile prophet of free silver, now announces that the silver question must be dropped as a leading issue in 1900, and that the campaign must be fought upon the issues of anti-imperialism and opposition to Trusts. Quite right, Mr. Boles. Your party has, for lo, these years, been a party of fake issues, having no other reason for existence than to keep the working people, disgusted with the openly capitalist Republican party. from uniting in any effective movement against capitalism. Free silver served very well us a false issue, a few years ago. But it is worn out. People see that there is absolutely nothing in it. So now you must have a new fake. Anti-imperialism, with its glorious opportunities for sentimental gash and oratory soaring to the clouds. is just the thing. And an anti-Trust thk is a splendid feature, too, giving the spell-binders a chance to weep creedile tears for the poor working-But the workingmen are learn-, surely though slowly. Many of on are ready to say: "A plague o' a pour parties." Your anti-imperial-is too thin, supported by the party put Steunenberg to rule Idaho,

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And your anti-Trust plank is rotten because everyone knows that antithat, after all, the Trust brings us on step nearer to Socialism. gentlemen of the Democracy. Play all the political farces you can. But know that, whether Democrat or Republican goes to Washington next year, the hold of both parties upon the American pr letariat will have been weakened and Socialism will have grown.

The New York "Times." like the "Post" is supposed to represent the relatively decent and respectable side of capitalism (as the "Sun" represents its class-conscious brutality, and the "World" and "Journal" its cheap and shoddy vulgarity). As we have said. before, in commenting on the "Post," a lie in the columns of a decent paper is doubly reprehensible. The comment applies to the following editorial say ing of the "Times":

"We are aware that the nev ism holds that wealth is culpable be cause it promotes business, which is a erime."

The editor of the "Times" know very well that what he says is both false and foolish. It is foolish, because it is quite meaningless. It is false for Socialists say no such foolish things. What Socialists do say is that "business" or capitalism consists in the legal robbery of the workers by the nolders of capital-the lawful owners of the land, the mills, the railroads, and the other means of production. It is not "criminal" only because it is not unlawful. We do not, indeed, blame the individual capitalist. We know that the individual capitalist cannot abolish the system of exploitation, and merely takes his part in the inhuman game. We may take the individua capitalist as an example, showing how he is a non-producer, but a gigantic consumer, and therefore a social para site. We know, too, that the individual capitalist, however good a man he may be, is to be counted as an enemy, un less he openly and unquestionably proves himself a friend, because he be longs to the class which is the enemy of our own. Blame and praise are quite out of the question. We count our fellow workers as our friends and the capitalists as our enemies, not because all poor men are virtuous and all rich men wicked, but because the interests of the two classes are opposed, because all men are and must be moved and guided chiefly by their interests, because the system force upon us a class-war which can en only with the overthrow of the ruling

## NOTE AND COMMENT.

Randolph Guggenheimer, President of the New York Municipal Council, delivered an address before the New York State Household Economic Association last week, in which he said that a man's well-being was focussed, not in the street, but in the home; and, as long as his house was well-ordered, whether he was a millionaire or an artisan, he could laugh at all the blows of circumstance. He congratulated the association upon its success in instructing the poorer classes in cooking nutritious foods, and therefore improving their life; and said that the greatest need of the present day in relation to the lives and prosperities of the working classes, in this or any other community, was to learn that well-being can be secured first, by living in a wholesome and pure atmosphere; secondly, by living within one's income, however small; and, thirdly, by eating plain but nutritious food, well cooked.

This Guggenhelmer is the man who conceived the brilliant idea of gathering up the refuse at the back-doors o hotels, restaurants, and boardinghouses and converting it into "plain but nutritious food" for the poor. Doubtless the idea was suggested to and women picking crusts of bread or apple-cores out of the ash-barrels to satisfy the gnawings of hunger. Mr. Guggenheimer belongs to the same class of practical philanthropists with D. O. Mills, who says:

The most wasteful and extravagant peo-ple in the world to-day are the poor of our American cities. As a class they have not the slightest idea of the value of saving. Years of study and observation have con-vinced me of that, Economy is the one great need of the very poor in the city of New York to-day.

great need of the very poor in the city of New York to-day. It was to teach them the value of eco-nomy that I built the Mills Hotels—to show them how very little they can live on it they only make the attempt. When the poor learn properly the value of economy, the necessity of charity will to a great ex-tent be done away with. But when I see the extravagance on every side, the false standards of living, the pretention, the shouldy initation, the perpetual straining affer luxuries of all kinds, I grow hopeless of ever having the poor learn the lesson of

strict economy.
. Why, in Europe the problem of living it with the poor a science. I say positively that the man in Austria who receives 40 cents a day gets more real comfort out of that 40 cents than does his fellow-laborer in that so cents than does has fellow-indoers in New York who receives \$3 as his daily wage. The American is not content unless he buys whiskey and cigars, and, in addition, his false sense of honor tells him that he must

Then the American feels that he must have meat, if not three times, at least once a day. Well, he doesn't need it even once

ter if these We we moke a cigar or eat meat as often as once a day. But, of course, that is an mpertinent question. They are not poor; they have a right to enjoy luxu-

The controllet class would be w well pleased to have the American workers adopt the Austrian-or, better still, the Chinese standard of living. Wages could then easily be reduced and profits would be bigger. Fortun ately, as Mr. Mills so sadly remarks, the poor are not likely to "learn the lessor of strict economy." They are growing more and more inbued with the idea that they, who produce the good things of the world, have a right to enjoy those good things.

Lassalle once said, in effect: "If there is one thing above all others that I wish to impress upon the German workingmen, it is that they must want better living. So long as they are satisfied with cheap beer and bad sausage, so long they will have nothing better." He also pointed out that the "right" to a better life is of no value, unless it is backed by "might and the will to use it. The time is coming when the Mills-Guggenheime school will be shocked at the sight of an American proletariat rising to demand and enforce its right to enjoy the comforts and luxuries that its

Mr. Edward Atkinson, by the way, s another redoubtable, "ec His panacea for all the ills that the working class is heir to is-good cooking. Just equip all proletarian house-wives with the Atkinson cookbook and gas stove, and the labor question will be solved. Really, it was very inconsiderate of the McKinley administration to talk of prosecuting Mr. Atkinson for treason on account of his anti-imperialist agitation, forgetting the great service he sought to do the capitalist class by teaching the workers to live on 40 cents a day. The anti-imperialism of the Atkin-

ons, and, incidentally, of the whole "anti" combination, is a very harmless affair from the capitalist standpoint. and a very shabby affair from the standpoint of the workers. Someone has said: "What a beautiful thing is brotherly love-at long range." These gentlemen who denounce the crime is the Philippines and have nothing to say of the crimes daily committed against wage workers in Idaho, in Kansas, in Pennsylvania, in this very city of New York, are either very su ficial or very insincere.

It is alarming to hear that over 70 pe cent. of the American people are homeless-conditions having gradually driven ther away from the land. Is it any wonder tha

The "Mercury" has an inkling of the

truth. The old ideals of democracy good citizenship, and individual liberty were very good for a nation of eco nomically independent men-farmers and artisans who owned their own means of production, who did not have to ask for permission to work, who had neither masters above them nor servants beneath. But conditions have changed. The majority of the people engaged in agriculture are either wage laborers, tenants, or nominal owners of mortgaged land, and of the fortunate remainder, the majority are heavily fleeced by transportation companies. As for the mechanics, their plight is still worse. Very few, indeed, are able to own the materials and the implements with which they must work: the capitalists and pay for the privilege of working with the major part of their product. To talk of equality and the blessings of American citizenship, in the face of such conditions, is to mouth empty phrases "New conditions teach new duties." The old ideals of national independence, political equality, and individual liberty were good in their day. But the age of capitalist oppression calls for new ideals-the ideals of international solidarity of labor, economic freedom, and collective industry -the ideals of Socialism.

In a daily paper of December 15 we find these three bits of news:

Coroner Yates of Paterson, N. J., issued warrants last night for the arrest of Gould W. Catwell and William Snedecker, the conductor and flagman, respectively, held accountable by the Coroner's jury early yesterday morning for the recent wreck on the Delaware, Lackawana and Western Rallroad, at Paterson, N. J. Neither man lives in Paterson, and they have not as yet been taken into custody.

Although the Coroner's jury did not men-

in Paterson, and they have not as yet been taken into custody.

Although the Coroner's jury did not mention Engineer John Riordan of Harrison, N. J., the engineer of the train that crashed into the Buffalo Express, at Paterson, N. J., killing seven persons, Prosecutor Emley of Passalc County, to-day caused a warrant for his arrest to be issued. He is accused of mansiaughter. The Delaware, Lackawana and Western Railread Company, in an official statement, issued after the collision, held Riordan responsible.

Tacoins, Wash., Dec. 14.—A despatch to the "Ledger" from Carbonado, Wash., says that the Coroner's jury investigating the mine disaster, yesterday rendered the fellowing verdict: "We find that the thirty-one men igiving their nameal came to their death by an explosion of gas from some unknown cause. We find that the Carbon Him Coal Company used the diligence to heap the mine free from gas for the safety of its employees, and has complied with the

nvenient victims. Did anyone ever hear of a railway president being inwn that the engineer had been kep on duty till he was too tired and sleepy to perform his duties? Maybe ther have been such indictments, but they ese rare as angels' visits. But in the Carbonado disaster, the situation is quite different. The thirty-one men killed were merely employees, a part of the equipment of the mine. Of course, their killing was unfortunate and is deeply regretted. But there is occasion to blame the owners of the mine. That would be very unjust. If these were isolated cases, exceptions to rule, we should not take the view we do. But they are not isolated cases they are not exceptions; they illustrate

The Massachusetts cities which have holding municipal elections this month plied the principle of the referendum timportant matter of administration question has been submitted whether eight-hour system should be adopted as gards all employees of the city governo if is not surprising to find that the position has been carried in every city, use by an overwhelming majority, in a cases about three to one in the affirms Of course, "organized labor" has been thind this movement. Its theory is that application of the eight-hour system by municipality will hissten its adoption by vate employees, and the fact that the S day half-holday made slow headway if was taken up by cities is cited in sujof this claim. The only curious feature The Massachusetts cities which have b It was taken up by cities is cited in support this claim. The only curious feature the incident is that "organized labor" one act upon this principle sooner. I doubtedly it could have carried the eigh boar promostion in its present form yet. hour proposition in its

the general rule, which has very few

exceptions, that capitalists can safely

disregard the safety of their working-men, and that, where any attempt is

made to fix the responsibility for such

catastrophes, the blame is shifted upon

employees.

The "Post" forgets to say that orga ized labor had the stimples of Social. ism and the active support of Socialists in this agitation. But it is quite right in saying that what has just been done in the Massachusetts cities might have been done in any city years ago. When the workingmen make up their minds to use the ballot for the advantage of their class, they can do what they will. Let the workingmen of Massachusetts. however, not rest content with this victory. If they do, they will find the victory worse than a defeat. To have shortened the labor-day for city en ployees is a very small thing in itself. It is important only as "the application alght-hour system by the muni cipality will hasten its adoption by private employers." But this result will not follow automatically. It is the duty of the workingmen to follow u their victory in this skirmish and to force the private employers to submit. And when that is accomplished, still only a partial victory will have been gained. It will be only a step in the work of complete emancipation of la bor, which must end in the elimination of private employers and of the wag system and the establishment of the

Socialist Commonwealth. The London School Board, by a decisi-majority, twenty-seven votes to five, hi-refused to entertain the proposition to pr-vide dinners for hungry school-children, of the ground that the scheme is far too S the ground that the scheme is far too So-cialistic in its character, and would only be a prelude to feeding all children in the pub-lic schools as well as educating them. The original proposition came from a special committee which reported that many of the poorer children came to school too hungry to learn, and that although some of them were fed by voluntary charity, this was but an uncertain resource, and that the matter was one that called for official supervision. On the other hand, the opponents of the measure contended that the Board had no authority to spend school money for any such purpose, that, if they had, such a prac-tice would only tend to paupe ization, as many drunken purents would be only too many dranaen parents would be only too glad to be rid of the responsibility of feed-ing their children; that it would be impos-sible to discriminate between the deserving and undeserving poor, and that no decent artisan would be willing to have his chilarfisan would be willing to have his dren regarded as objects of charity, whole subject was referred back to the cial committee, with instructions to a some plan which would not involve the penditure of public funds. The writer of that paragraph is mis

taken in speaking of a "decisive majority." The majority, though large was anything but decisive. Those five votes were on the right side and were not lost. The question is not settled. It will appear again and with more than five votes. And in the end the majority will be reversed. Our Socialist comrades in London are not dis couraged at an expected defeat. The demand for assistance to the school children of the working class "will not down." Hunger is a powerful argu-

Sir Rudolph Slatin, in a recent interview in Vienna, expressed the opinion that the death of the Khaliff was equivalent to the instant and permanent pactification of the Sudan. He said that it was his conviction that all the European Powers are equally interested in the projected line of communication from the Cape to Alexandria. Until this great Trans-African road had been essented the inexhaustible natural resources of the interior of African would not be available for the trade of the world. He regretted that Austria had not taken any direct part in colonial competition. The Austriana, he thought, possessed qualities mitable, for colonial life, although they might not be known abroad. Unfortunately, the split of enterprise which characterized commercial circles in other countries was about among the Austriana. Ferhaps, after as, it would be remined in Austriana.

sary to give a chance for in creased employment (with capitalist profits), "Perhaps, later on, it will be realized" by the working class of Austria (and America) that employment for all can be secured at b simply cutting off the profits-and that this will be vastly better than employment under capitalism, because the whole product of labor will go to the worker.

Let the workingmen get together an

Let the carmen and other wage w ers learn that "prosperity for the workingman" is inconsistent with "prosper ity for the capitalist"; that the workingman can secure prosperity only by such "legislative enactments" as will strike at the very root of capitalism.

## To the Wage Workers.

toiled. It has crushed your children, your family, your life beneath its ceaseless advance. It has been the means of your enslavement. It should be the means of your liberation. Are you men enough to seize your oppor tunity? Will you, in these closing years when the long battle of man with Na ture is at last over, and man, through machine, has conquered at every point-will you now permit that the very instrument of conquest shall be held by another class and used to crush its creators? Or will you gather with your fellows at the polls and declare that you will no longer be misled by the idle tales of your oppressors who bid you meekly follow false leaders to the shambles, while you vote yourself into ever-recurring slavery, by voting for the puppet parties of your master but that you propose to unite with your fellow workers of the world on the platform of Socialism. It is for you to choose. Which will you do? Will the marvelous powers of produc-tion which have conquered nature and are incarnate in the almost living, thinking machine of to-day, prove to be the triumphal charlot upon which you will advance into the new cen will it be, as in the past, the Car of Juggernaut that you painfully tug onward over the bodies, minds and class? Will the laborer of the future e upon or beneath the machine? You, he workers of America and of the world, can alone decide, and because I have infinite faith in you and yo class I know that the red glow that seen around the coming days is not that of a social conflagration nor yet the reflection from the blood-stained the reflection from the blood-stained society of to-day, but is the first glimmering of the dawn of the better time that is to be.- [From "The Man Unde the Machine," by A. M. Simons

-Wages! what are they? Wag are but the latter-day equivalent for the rations of the slave, the fodder for human beast of burden.-[Work ers' Republic, Dublin.

-There is going to be a mighty howl in the State of Illinois very soon. Trusts with a combined capital of \$500,000,000 threaten to move out of the State, declaring that legislation is too hestile. Of course, the bluff will work to perfection. The newspapers, capitalists and politicians will unite in one grand howl of condemnation about throwing labor out of employment." Then the Legislature will back water. -[The Cleveland Citizen.

-It is pitiful to contemplate the distress which would be brought upon the country if the war in South Africa should bring on a diamond famine just at the beginning of winter.-[Kansas City Star.

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## ETHICAL STANDARD OF CONDUCT.

I think I have smooth this heading, communications under this heading, what a headiess, tailless, bodyless jumble and confusion our ethical "sys-

m" is, which is consistent with noth

ing but inconsistency. It is the morals of the Chaos in which we live; where

systemless, where all law is utterly lawless and coasists entirely of the

bosses of the hours; where all "order" is disorder, and where every part of the structure of society rests, in the

last analysis, on the physical force of

blind, stupid, obstinate brutes. Herein is the explanation of our bi-ethical, or. rather, hodge-podge-ethical, system of conduct. Our social "system" lacks the one fundamental thing that is necessary to give it rability, cohesion and symmetry-justice, therefore, lacking that, it lacks everything, and therefore, for the attainment of that for which alone society should exist-happinesswe might as well be an aggregation and mere juxtaposition of heter primitive savage elements. I are in fact that, for, the world over, dis trust, suspicion, hatred, enmity, is the universal law and practice of peoples and individuals; the state of all na-You have long been tied, a helpler tions and communities is the state of siege, their normal attitude hand on sword-hilt or trigger, all countenar ness, fear, and defiance. Out of such mighty aggregations of mutually repellent elements, therefore, no con-sistent SYSTEM of ethics can ever come. Canons of morality must ever depend in such case on the effectiveness of cannon, and righteousness of conduct on the power to have one's own way. Laws will ever be made to bless the sins power is inclined to, and to damn the sins it has no mind to. Constitutions will always be interpreted in the interest of those who car pay the interpreter the highest and intimidate him the most; and every statute will be discovered to be a cryptogram, reading most lucidly in favor of the most fully armed and In short, the transient whims of the mighty will be the only rule of right,

be the mood of the fashion of the day. Thus comes it that stealing is not tealing when power wants but is especially damnable when trarily drawn between the things that I want and the things YOU want, and all the things on my side the line are mine by divine right, and all the things on your side ought to be mine; that all taking that is done by law is right if it is to increase the stock of those that have, but an taking without law is wrong. Thus also it comes that all killings of men are so arbitrarily classi-fied that all private killing for revenge. profit, and extension of domain is called murder, but all killings done from the same motives by "nations," so-called, are glorious,

so-caned, are giorious.

This mixed blessing and cursing of
the same acts, of the same quality,
runs all through the jumble of humanity we call "society." With the same breath wherewith we curse stealing retail, we bless theft wholesale: we'c murder and bless war; we curse debt and bless bonds and mortgages; we adultery and bless all urse adultery and bless all marriage, which is two-thirds, at least, adultery; we curse the prostitution of wor and yet bless and compel the pros tion by men and women and children of every noble gift of body and mind for bread, in every walk of life; we curse cowardice in individuals and then by our infamous industrial system turn nearly all classes of men an women into sneaks and reptiles that dare not say their souls are their own lest they forfelt position or living or penny's profit; we praise, bless and preach truth telling everywhere, yet are a nation of liars and by pocrites and cheats, in a whole world of hars and hypocrites and frauds and swindlers and cheats. Everywhere it is high private ideals and low, devilish public

How is it that good, plous, loving, virtuous, charitable, tender-hearted gentlemen, each one, singly and alone, possessing a decent soul, can unitedly become a corporation having no soul at all, no conscience, no pity, no heart, no bowels? How is it that such very godly and, privately, altogether lovely gentleinen as Depew, the Vanderbilts, John I. Blair (now in heaven), Mills, and a number of others whose names are familiar in the temple of financial fame, who would shrink, as indivi-duals, from picking pockets, or murder-ing anybody, did not see anything immoral in forming themselves into four companies by means of a swindling interchanging and regrouping of their own names, and as a series of collec-tivities, by their "agents," lying to bamboozling, seducing, deceiving, plot-ting against, robbing, and plundering several hundred coal-miners, their wives and children—even unto death by starvation of babies on their hungry mothers' breasts, and the fiendish re-fusal to let Governor Altgeld's food of charity be distributed amongst them —in Spring Valley, Illinois, as detailed in H. D. Lloyd's book, entitled "A Strike of Millionaires against Miness". in H. D. Lloyd's book, entitled "A Strike of Millionaires against Miners". How is it that such highly exalted and honorable citizens as Andrew Carnegie and Frick and Rocke-feller and Wardwell and Searies, and Rossiter and Flower and Morgan and Webb and Sage and Lewis and Norton and Everett and Hanns and Hobart and a thousand other such, who, individually, would die of remorse had they stolen a child's doll, or a lady's watch, or a gentleman's diamend pin, or shed a fellow-creature's blood, do, as companies and corporations, he and cheat, and rob and grievously oppress the producers of the wealth they aguander, and whom, when rebellious, they cause to be shet med imprisenced and hanged meet pittently, as witness Homestead, Buddia, Brooklyn, Chicage, Brooklyn again,

Free Americans that we are let fashion for the senson, in either mo yell for a "hero, have an erupt bunting, stampede after a blown pet or a beaten drum, get them his own individual conscience and con-ception of what is right, is promptly howled down, spat upon, and rotten-egged as a "traftor" and a "koon;" Firstly, they how! "Thou hast a devil, and art mad"; secondly, they take stones to stone him; thirdly and g erally—, the "traitor" and the "loor bows down to the mob's rods and howls and stampedes with the crowd; that is, merges his individual and private conscience and convictions the communal one and become

And this is not altogether excuse. Communal sentiment, whether right or wrong-and it is almost always most always equivalent to bet the wilderness nearly always loses his head-always his standing; the Ch are always are standing the Christs are always crucified; the mob has al-ways arrogated to itself the right to sufforate the would-be free thipker either in the smoke of the stake, in the boycott of his business, or by blue laws and vilincation from newspaper, platform, and pulpit.

platform, and pulpit.

Pigs keep very much warmer and
comfortable when they huddle together; 'its their nature to. Even so, all peoples-not excepting this people all peoples—not excepting this people-being not much more advanced in moral development than pigs, still com-munistically huddle, morally and spi-ritually and intellectually, for warmth and corange and convictions and mo-tives for action. In gaugs, swarms, flocks, mobs, and troops, they live and move and think and feel and worship, shouts of freedom are all to order and anous of freedom are all to order and at the behest of the impalpable, and in-visible thing they bow down to-authority.

In this great glaring fact lies the ex-planation of the

planation of the phenomenon that our national, state, city, and community morals are all bad, vile, savage, beast ly, while our private code is professed. ly so high. The brute tendency in us is still THE tendency; not having yet attained, in any large degree, to tri manhood, the world's manhood bein only exemplified in sporadic instance the hopeful promise of what humanit is to be. Our brute life, with its cow ardly, shivering, communistic hud-dling, being yet our REAL one, ITS morality is, of course, our only real, moving one; and therefore our parade moving one; and therefore our parade gorgeous aspect is THE SHAM, the

But it will not be ever the in the world there is a growing recog-nition that the quality of our collective life is base and utferly at variance with our professed high standard of morals; that already too'long has the communal permission to lie and cheat and plunder and murder and massacre and lestroy and devastate, in companie destroy and devastate, in companies and corporations and gangs and mobs and armies, violated our conscience of right and wrong and decency, and mist cease; that the time is come when the THOU of the commandments must be emphasized again and again, without cessation, until it is recognized that every one who is a part of any company or gang or mob or army that lies and steals and muyders and destroys is a llar, a chent, a thief, a murderer, and a llar, a chent, a thief, a murderer, and a destroyer; when no one shall shield himself behind his neighbor and excuse In that day there shall be but one single standard of right and wrong, and communities shall be judged as in dividuals, and individuals as der, he or cheat shall mean YE shall not steal, murder, he or cheat. This is Socialist teaching. Is it not good? is there any better?

F. SCRIMSHAW

## Socialist Publications.

ENGLISH.

The People. Weekly, Official organ of Socialist Labor Party, 184 William street, New York. The Class Struggle. Weekly. 117 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal.

The Workers' Cail. Weekly. 36 North Clark street, Chlengo, Ill.

The Proletarian. Weekly, Labor Lyceum, Foot's Block, Springfield, Mass.

The Citisen. Weekly. 193 Champlals street, Cleveland, Ohio. GERMAN.

The Vorwarts. Weekly. Official organ of the Socialist Labor Party. 184 William street, New York. The Volkszeitung. Daily, 184 William street, New York.

The Tageblatt. Daily: 117 Turk street. San Francisco, Cal.

The Tagebiatt. Daily. 613 Callowhill street, Philadelphia, Pa. JEWISH.

• Volkassitung. Daily. 147 East Broadway, New York.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN. befderen. Weekly, 35 North Clark, street, Chicago, Ill.

The receipt of a samply copy is as avitation to subscribe.

TO CURE A COLD IN ONE DAY
Take Lazative Bromo Quinine Tablets.
All draggists refund the money if it
fails to cure. E. W. Grove's signature
to on each lox. 25a

ed all ladies fair (and nd Christmases all happy is the use of adjectives? he children in the Eas have added greatly to th way, n large eater—when of their condition before to distend his righteous as much turkey at d even more plum-pud-could hold. Why over be held as a sign of re known only to the devout ough, they refuse to trans h category I almost fear

art good to look out (as hungry, wife ragged and and see the snow lying in happy Christian children for their Christian dead cats embedded in it.
of sight to make a man employed, stage coaches esnow, holly berries and all trade marks which notoriereate the proper frame of hielr we should all indulge

is a giornous season, from ev-t thex will tell you so. s brief period the never-dying ween the Christian sects is ad all agree for one brief week ir religion-of course, their les the founder's teachings aters take the best places, aven, hats neatly brushed, by blacked, all the year's nelanced to the uttermost beir wives arrayed Englishrustling with starch and Each man, after having week in cheating man, deong as the service lasts. In e poor in the front "en evi-show mankind that in God's men are equal.

ic, even, rightly apprehended aspects, feasting, starvation, psia misery, preaching, praying, fanaticism, all enough to make a looking from the broken window e East End garret, mumble a or, if only that for the High Court ament, at this present time

with a triding touch of rheumatism, fell a thinking what Christmas (in s snow) and rheumatism really ant to the poor, and whether it was to deal (not with the snow or atism, but) with the ordinary the poor endure at this most good old gracious Christmas

nd how did it present itself to the or-larry workingman in the city? A time of dire and dismal cold and

Ten to one a time of lack of tills to be paid and children to white, and seasonable snow, indignation probably—except wries of beer and bible and billy and Liberal reform seem to have crushed out even the faculty for indignation in the hearts of the British poor-indignation at the waste of fixed and money and at the flow of cant all round.

A lime to tramp the streets trying to get work of endeavoring to work at some instinuliar trade or occupation, and retting mainted or hurt by handling mainted or hurt by handling unfamiliar trade for the more in their cases except that one has wrought hard all his life, and by an illness finds himself by no fault of his own crippled by debt, and that the other never perhaps having done a hand's turn in all his days, suddenly fails for thousands, and brings ruin and despair by his failure into countries homes? The only difference is that betwixt theft and embezzlement. Theft is a small affair of pence or

hermatism to the rich man past in the one case, with secretly swathed in fiannel, fore the fire and curse the attack . cold. Lumb is ten minutes late, then clare with eaths like Simon Peter) that you cannot think to what pass servants son will come, and that it is surely strange von cannot get a potato de-cetily baded even in your own house, and we know, at least we should, our

louses are our castles.
The poor man feels the wrist or kneewell, and how is he affected? The poor man, he who occupies the by assumd inhor-for have not rival a certain inherent dignity in manual labor? Perhaps that is the reason why they never practice it.

The poor man gets his rheumatism just like the rich man, for his tissues nuscles, lones, are just as subject to a chill as if he were a stock-broker. Work he omes hard, at last impossible, the foint swells, turns stiff, he cannot work or use his arm. What then Home to his two-roomed cottage. What is it looks your sould then? Home to his two-roomed cottage. What is it, Jack; you are early least to-day? his wife says. "Yes, I have had to drop it; se. I can hardly hobble." They look at one another, and instinctively their eyes fall on the children, for, they know what is to come. No warm fireside, no leg so warmly swathed in financi (financi costs 2s fol, a yard), for the dignity of labor. From the moment he is taken III, instead of pouring generous wines into his carenss, instead of doctor's visits with pleasant chat and exhortstions after having seen our tongue and fait our guine; to continue our light, nourishing.

and how much the mahoga t of drawers (bought for our w o will tetch, if the worst come worst. No doctor's chaff for out the red and white corpuscle thered, about the phagocytes the blood, about the phagocyt fight the bacilli, and are devot fight the bacilli, and are devoured by or devour them, adding a side proof to the Darwinian theory so beautifully exemplified in modern civilization; no doctor's chats, but if the joint gets worse then to the hospital, the cheerful place where the poor serve as a sort of cheaper guinea-pig for the youthful sawbones to flesh his bistoury on, and from whose allments (all men are brothers, even the rich and poor, especially in Christmas week) he may learn to cure the dyspepsia of the righteous rich. The hospital, with wife and children starving at home, tramping through the lightsome snow

tramping through the lightsome snow to see him once a week, whilst his only relaxation is to listen to the complaint

man, no drinker, thrifty, working hard, and abstinent (abstinent is good), that you had been a loafer passing your time outside the Horns or Checquers looking for work, your case had been

no better nor no worse.

It is good to think upon these things

them in Christmas week, or the week

in which in the country districts under the mistletoe, the lads and lasses play,

and are happy, never dreaming there is a world in which plum-pudding is un-known. It is good to reflect that a slight accident, a fit of thenmatism, or

a cold on the lungs, may plunge the honest, abstinent, hard-working, self-

reliant workingman in difficulties from

work, he never may emerge, even

though he never smoke or drink, or is a practical Malthusan. The place filled up, no work, the bills to pay, the accounts at the grocer's and baker's, which the family have increased in

order to live at all, often prove a bur

den which may never be laid down again. Think what it is to pay a deb

of £30 (with wife and children) on a

wage of thirty bob a week.

Now comes the duty of this self-same
High Court of Parliament. Parliament, that assemblage of "fantocchini," in which the puppets are so little

perhaps, that prayer might be made on their behalf to save them from the ut-

tent.
Curious old prayer it is, that for the
High Court of Parliament.
Once in Pentonville, in the gladsome

the whole congregation of brother Christian felons looking at me, realiz-

ing in a sort of way that some infinite simal fraction of that prayer was my

of man scarce human; such a sort of

knave as vice has used as a palette to try all colors; as yet, perhaps, from lack of opportunity, more sinned against than sinning, in a hoarse whisper, saying, "That's for you, I reckon, No. 8."

Yes, Parliament can help the work-

man in a case like that I have allude to. Not a cheating tradesman, not a pious, swindling banker, not a mer-chant but can shift off the burden of

his debt "honestly," compound ("convey," the wise call it) for 4½d. in the f with his creditors, and after bank-

uptcy start fair again to run his course of cheating. Could we not pass a law (when we are prayed for even in Pen-

Theft is a small affair of pence or pounds, and merits prison accordingly. Embezzlement of millions is almost a

of other sick folk, and to reass

membership of 184,247. All nationalities were represented—Germans, Poles, Ozechs, Italians, Ruthenians, etc.

The Congress, after animated debates in various languages, expressed its approval of the action of the Socialist Party (there are sixteen Socialists in the Austrian Reichsrath). It condemned the action of the Government in trying a suspend the Consticondemned the action of the Govern-ment in trying a suspend the Consti-tution, it denounced Ciercalism, and advocated the establishment of uni-versal suffrage in all elections—Parlia-

members of the Municipal Council at Gratz.

A congress of Austrian Socialist has been sitting at Vienna. There were 112 delegates, representing 2.29 political groups, with an aggregate membership of 184,847. All nationals

of other sick folk, and to reassure him-self as to his future state of almost sure perdition by the perusal of a penny hellifre tract, dropped after prayer at his bedside by the pious lady visitor, who, if she had known that which she wished to know to soothe the miserable, would have brought to-bacco. To feel yourself get well, then worse again, and know that if instead of all your life having been a steady man, no drinker, thrifty, working hard. A Socialist, Titus Draginda of Ra dauts, in Austria, has been sent to pri-son for four months for biasphemy! The case was tried behind closed doors. The complaint rested on the denuncia tion of a Roman Catholic priest, who charged that Draginda, in an agitation speech, had used expressions that were blasphemous and brought the Christian church into contempt.

The Belgian miners have been holding a congress at La Louvière which was presided over by A. Defuisseaux. It appears from the report of the dis-cussions that on the whole the organ zation is defective, and that strikes had taken place which had no reason-able chance of success. It was resolved to improve the organization, to increase the subscriptions, and to carry on a vigorous agitation in favor of old-

voted the sum of \$5,900 francs (\$1,000) to defray the expenses of workmen delegates to the Paris Exhibition. The Socialists tried, but unsuccessfully, to get this subsidy increased to 10,000 francs.

L. Fagnart, the Socialist Deputy for Charleroi, has just died. He was a good fighter and served the people well.

A\_meeting of Socialist doctors was recently held at the Maison du Petple, Brussels. They decided to form a so-ciety for the propagation of Socialism among medical men, and also, among other things, to study questions relat-ing to school hygiene. ni, in which the puppers are so little authropomorphous that often, sitting there, I have wondered what on earth they have done, or ever are like to do to entitle them to be prayed for, save, ing to school hygiene.

Our English comrades have won an termost damnation, as their sins of-tener proceed from folly than from inother local victory. London "Justice"

> After years of seemingly use After years of seemingly useless pr pa-ganda, sleepy, God forasken, and apparent-ly hopeless. Norwich has at last awakened from its lethurgy, and has returned a def-initely-avowed Socialist to the Schoot Board. Not merely has it returned him, but it has placed him in the sixth position from the top on a board of fifteen members—and the capitalists are surprised! Comrade G. H. Roberts, the successful candidate, is a mem-ber of the I. L. P., but the election fight was carried on by a joint committee of S. was carried on by a joint committee of S. D. P. and I. L. P., and was fought out on a straight Social-Democratic program in wh'ch nothing was hidden. It is therefore a clear Socialist victory, and Norwich Socialists are both proud and pleased at the result. Of course the Liberal-Labor men and the local Liberal "Daily Press"—which not so very long ago published a leader on the "Need of Labor Representation"—worked against us, and not by the most straightforward methods either. It was all in vain, however. And to-day Mr. George White, one of the leading spirits in the Masters Association of the Boot and Shoe Trade, leader of the local Liberal Party and candidate for Northwest Norfolk, and who previously occupied the proud position of heading the list, has been relegated to a position very near the bottom, SEVENTH BELOW OUR COMRADE. The election is unique in more respects than one. It is the first that has proved successful. It is the first which has been run by a joint committee of S. D. F. and I. L. P. It is the first in which the Radicals of the "left wing," as our successful comrade cuphemistically terms them, openly and actively supported Socialists. The result is not to be regret ted. Try some more. A word to the Radicals. "These should now seriously consider the advisability of joining hands with one or other Socialist bodies in the city and thereby give full expression to the principles of Socialism they claim to believe in. was carried on by a joint committee of S D. P. and I. L. P., and was fought out on

## GERMANY.

At the supplementary election in Rie-men the Socialists were victorious in both districts. The vote has increased considerably.

J. B. Askew writes a Berlin letter to "Justice":

Embezzlement of millions is almost a virtue, for it argues a greatness of character which had it been well directed might have served to build a giant business up and let the originator die a pious baronet, after having taken the money from the public's pockets by means of a balance-sheet and neat prospectus, instead of clumsily from the till or strong room of his emplayer.

Still, Christmas is a glorious seasonfor the rich, to those who are rather amused by feeling cold, for those who walk and skate, attend church, and eat the Christmas dinner. giant business up and let the originator die a plous baronet, after having taken the money from the public's pockets by means of a balance-sheet and neat prospectus, instead of clumsily from the till or strong room of his employer. Still, Christmas is a glorious seasonfor the rich, to those who are rather amused by feeling cold, for those who walk and skate, attend church, and eat the Christmas dinner.

Christmas dinner.

Christmas, the glorious season!——IR. B. Cunninghame Graham, M. P.——If we all practice thrift, and become capitalists, who would do the work?—[8ydney Worker.——In Cleveland, Ohlo, the Street Rallway Union is still waging war with the Big Consolidated. It has organized an Automobile Company and is going to compete on the streets with these up-to-date vehicles. While wishing them godspeed with the "mobes," we trust they will not forget to vote the Socialist ticket at the next election.——The [English] recruiting returns for November, so far as they are made up, showed a low record in spite of the pravailing war fever. Indeed, it appears that candidates for the army poars that the reserves are milital has created at the fact that poarty selection of the reserves and milital has created at the fact that poarty selection that the values are milital has created at the fact that poarty selection that they volk and a remarkable for the supposite of the prevention in that the calling up of the reserves and milital has created at the fact that poarty selection that the proposals are string picture of "freedom" in agricultural districts in Prunsia.

The debate was also remarkable for the supposite of the prevention of the reserves and milital has created at the fact that poarty selection to the proposals the delication of the fact that poarty selection that the calling up of the reserves and milital h

proposals against the trade unions had aroused in all ranks of the workers.

These navy proposals are indeed most remarkable from the sudden change of policy which they involve, and the best explanation of them is what I have seen from the pen of Mr. Franz Mehring, in the "Neue Zeit" of November II. It is in brief this: It may be remembered by English readers that this summer the Emperor came to log, gerheads with the Conservative Party, who, it may be said, are the Government Party, and who practically monopolize all the administrative positions in Frussia if not in the empire, over a canal scheme, which he had then taken up very warmly and which he, in a speech which, he delivered, practically commanded them to vote in the Prussian Diet-but which command these worthy people, considering their own interests as landowners, would be endangered by the fact that this canal would facilitate the importation of foreign wheat, promptly defied in the most categoric fashion. This canal scheme was warmly desired by the big capitalists, notably by Mr. Krupp, whose organ, the Berlin "Neueste Nachrichten," threatened the Conservatives with dire penalties should they persist in obstructing the royal will, and this language was also shared, by the whole Radical press, who showed themselves prepared to go to any lengths in order to take the place of the royal will, and this language was shared, by the whole Radical press, showed themselves prepared to go to lengths in order to take the place of Junkers in favor of the court, But to leave this side of the question

But to leave lins sine of the quession, consequence of the proceedings over the nal bill was neither very pleasant to Emperor nor the Conservatives, whose like to being opposed to the monarch only overcome by their greater dislike paying out of their own pocket for the n antagonistic interests of the capitaniss and the landowners. Hence here was the occasion for the statesman. Dr. Von Miquel-the present Pinance Minister and at one time a Communist and an ally of Marx-was the man for the job. A new fleet. This would afford a chance for appeasing the Ceaservatives, by giving an excuse for imporing still heavier duties on wheat to pay for the ships, it would also pleage the big capitalists, especially big frommasters such as Baron Stumm and Mr. Krupp, the ship and gun maker, who would make enormous sams out of it. These people, it may be remarked, especially Mr. Krupp and other shipbuilders, enjoy an enormous infigures in the press, and practically run the German Navy League. It also afforded a chance of diverting the Emperor's attention from the sunb which his faithful supporters had indicted on him. Thus it comes that after declaring themselves bound, only last year, the statehols for money for money for inflicted on him. Thus it comes that after declaring themselves bound, only last year, to ask the Ricichstag for no more money for seven years for the navy, and after repeating this promise through their official representative this year, the Government now are going to come and ask the Reichstag 13 bind themselves for seventeen years for a scheme which would give them a fleet twice as big as the one which they declared only this year to be all that would be required. And in view of the anxiety of the Cierceal Party to regain Court favor, it seems not impossible they may get it. Of course, ethical motives, as Bernistein says, are more and more tending to take the place of the struggle of interests. No class war!

The congress of the Social-Democrats The congress of the Social-Democrats of Lombardy, which was opened on Sunday, December 10, at Milan, was attended by 151 delegates, representing 136 groups. In brief, the proceedings were as follows:

were as follows:

As no congress of the whole country is taking place, the Executive Committée, consisting of five Deputies, was elected here. With respect to the trade union movement, the Party comrades were pledged to support it actively and to join the unions and labor exchanges. A notable debate took place over the question of the tactics to be followed at the next elections; but all were agreed that at the next elections; but all were agreed that reaction must be fought Social-Democrats should vote at the first election for the Liberal candidates, ment candidates can be nullified therethese tactics should only be followed at the secondary or supplementary elections. The latter view, which, be-sides, permits of the support of the Radicals, and not the Liberals, finally prevailed by 66 to 54.

At the elections to the administrative bodies the democrats should be sup-ported, since the Socialists, so long as they have not the majority, have to decline responsibility. Concerning the press, it was decided to consider whether there was a possibility of is-suing a Milan edition of the "Avanti," the central organ of the Italian Social-Democracy.

The proceedings were conducted in

a business-like manner, and showed a good spirit, so that the comrades look hopefully to future struggles.

## The Miners' Battle.

Notices have been sent to different States from the miners' headquarters in Indianapolis notifying the workmen that agents representing the coal com-panies of Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, and Indian Territory are trying to secure miners to work in these mines by false representations. The agents represent that there is no strike in false representations. Incompresent that there is no strike in these States, when, as a matter of fact, the men in Arkansas and Indian Territory have been out since March. The miners are preparing to fight the case of Organizer Kelly, who was arrested in Arkansas ten days ago and taken to Springfield, Ill., at the instance of Federal Judge Allen.

of reasons for using pseudonorm

### NOTICE.

It is impossible henceforth to give to this department as much space from week to week as it has previously occupied. Corre-spondents are requested to brief, and are

The Constitution provides (Art. VI.) as

ditional delegate for every major fraction thereof.

"Sections whose Congressional District or Districts poll a smaller vote than one thousand shall be entitled to one delegate.

"Where several Sections have jurisdiction of one or more Congressional Districts, they shall jointly elect the delegates to which they are entitled.

"Delegates must be members of the Section or of one of the Sections electing them."

1. If a Congressional District contains only one Section that had no ticket or polled less than 1,000 S. L. P. votes, the Section is entitled te one delegate.

2. If a Congressional District contains more than one Section, none of which had a ticket, or which had polled a total of less than 1,000 S. L. P. votes, such Sections are entitled to one delegate, whom they shall elect jointly.

3. If a Section of Sections are

entitled to one delegate, whom they shall elect jointly.

3. If a Section, or Sections, contained in a Congressional District, have polled more than 1,500 votes, they are entitled to one delegate for each 1,600 S. L. P. votes cart

Congressional District is entitled to one del-e, ite for each 1.000 S. L. P. votes cast and one additional delegate for a major fraction No proxy delegates are allowed.

### SOCIALIST UNITY.

hame under which the commitment is to be known is a secondary matter and can easily be solved. The main question is: Shall we amalganate? The advocates of the plan tell us that it is a crime to have several Socialist parties; that unification of Socialist parties; that unification of Socialist parties; that unification of Socialist parties is both a duty and a necessity, and they point to the example of France, where the same object is about to be consummated, and to Germany, where it was brought about years ago.

Our friends lose sight of one important factor: In France, as well as in Germany, the different Socialist schools existed from the beginning. They were organised almost simultaneously, and grew side by side until the situation forced on them the accessity of abolishing the anomaly of Socialist combating each other instead of the common enemy. The difference between them was merely in tactics, not in principle, and, what is most important, all recognized the "Class Struggie" as the test by which Socialists are to be judged. In the land of "chiss-consciousness." The working class there has long since recognized that there could be no harmony between it and the capitalist class. The situation here is radically different. In order to unite there must be something that is capable of union, something that is capable of union, something that is capable of union something that is capable of the leverable of the leverable of the leverable of the loverable of the loverable of the loverable of the loverable of the loverage in the s there we no excuse for its organization so far as the interests of the working class are concerned. The S. L. P. fully represented them. We were told that the S. L. P. is intolerant, and so forth, and therefore a new party was necessary. The organization of the new party, its platform and its leading spir its soon revealed the true reason for its organization. The S. L. P. was too marrow, too intolerant, because it insisted on the in evitable "Class Struggle," and refused to recognize any harmony between the capital lift class and the working class, and, worst cill, refused to recognize any identity of interest between the working class and the middle class. The new party was broad and tolerant in the extreme. Arowed ensemies of Labor were admitted if they would only declare themselves for the party's platform, capitalist politician out of a job, adventurers, political tricksters, workingmen both honcest and dishousest—all were to unite in a great party and to take the wind out of the sails of the narrow and intolerant S. L. P. A cloak was needed in order to get the workingnen into the party and was found in the person of Eugene V. Deba, labor there is still minuse in the party and was found in the person of Eugene V. Deba, labor into the sails of the narrow and intolerant S. L. P. A cloak was needed in order to get the workingmen into the party and was found in the person of Eugene V. Deba, labor into the sails of the sails

amall and have not enough of strong, clear-headed class-conscious comrades, our organizations will be awamped by the unclean confusionist membership of the S. D. P. they will soon have control of the majority of our Sections, and then they can legislate by referendum, they can fuse and confuse, and we will be helpless, as they will be in the majority. And we will again have to leave and reorganize. No, comrades! The time for such union is not yet. There is no reason why we should not treat the S. D. P. with consideration and avoid unnecessary antagonies wherever their attitude will allow it. But to amalgamate? No!

It seems that our next convention has a much more important step to consider—a unification of mileh greater Importance. That is whether or not it is possible to heat the breach in our own ranks; whether or not the class conscious, well-disciplined membership of both factions can find a mu-

but each other for the sake of a few would be leaders? Cannot the convention devis a scheme by which the party membershi of both organizations can speak out and the will of the majority ascertained? Both side ought to be willing to bow to the will of the majority.

I should be more in favor to invite a Sections of De Leouites to send delegate to our convention for consultations, or elect a committee on each side and call a joir convention, as our brethren did in France No question of principle separates us. Quetions of tactics can be fought out and determined by the majority, once the mean rue interests of the movement?

LEON A. MALKIEL

As in every year after election, so this year the question arises. What next? Only the difference is that it comes up this time more seriously than usual.

When we contemplate the result which the Beekman street Party has attained in the city of New York, we must say that if the real Socialist Labor Party had been inited for common agitation, an esourmous result would have been attained. It is a fact that the seed which for decades has been scattered here is now beginning to take root. It would have rejoiced the hearts of those tried old courades who for a lifetime have been joined in the interest of international Socialism. Instead of which the party has to be shattered and success is held back. We know how this came about. A large number of comrades, dissatisfied with the tactics adopted for years, sulked be-

always allow themselves to be used as a tail to an old political party are laughing in their sleeves over the mutual squabbling of the Socialistically minded working people. Hence I allege that a really successful ag-itation is not possible without the uniting

tary, for a National Executive elected in the same way as at controlled by, and responsible to

bers, against which no Constitution emguard.

In conclusion I offer the following plan:
That the National Executive Committee be
composed of seven (or more) members,
clected by the Sections in towns near the
sent of the committee, may, within an hours
ride of the meeting place; that each delegate be controlled by the Section electing
him, which may recall him at any time;
that the time of meeting, the authority and
duties of the committee shall be the same
as at present.

I believe that this method would secure
sufficient control of the actions of the committee without injuring its efficiency or
greatly increasing the expense.

W. E. WHITE.

For Tanimany tricks and badness, for Bepublican "boss rule" and gophistry, the continent affords enough ignoramuses; to sustain another organization of the above type it is not espable. With the interests of Quay and Croker are connected vast interests of capitalist pirates. The interests of the Spanish leader and the German bureaucratic secretary of the "legal" H. L. P. are but loosely connected with the interests of a few politicians who are foolish enough to believe that, by throwing their induces in the scale for the would-be basenes, once in the Socialist ranks, they could make capital for themselves.

The Socialist of the United States who have been ousted by a few thieves and professional disrupters, would have done well if they had submitted, from start to faish, without a struggle, because the effects

holding.

What is now wanted in a union of well-principled forces. International Socialism manifests lined in a union of national Socialist forces. Before Socialism becomes international it must, therefore, nequire a manufacture of the socialism of the social socialism of the social socialism of the social social

# OFFICIAL.

SATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEEretary, Henry Sheet, New York.

SATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS Secre tary, Robert Bandlow, 193 Champian street, Cieveland, Ohio.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CAN-DA National Executive Committee eccetary, Adolph B. Barter, London, int.

YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY 64 East Fourth street, New You (The Party's literary agency.)

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE, Secr

Greater New York Organizer, Rudolph Grossman, 64 E. 4th street. Meets every Monday crealing 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 sireet.

95.	otal	
	EXPENDITURES.	
To	Organizers:-	
	F. Seubert	į

-	Organizers:-
뫢	F. Seubert \$35.00
	F. Sieverman
	Wessling 2.70
	M. Hillquit 14.50
	R. Becker
	T. Morgau 211.23
	Behaffer 7.01
	B. Feigenbaum
	J M Barnes
	Defence Fund 523.04
	Jewish Volks-Zeitung donation 50.00
	Mail and telegrams 88.16
	Stationery and Sxtures 40.71
	Office help 21.00
	Printing, Ochler 118.00
	Salary, National Secretary 270.00
	Transit contributions 47.00
	Transit stamps
	Cook on bould

H. SLORODIN, National Se HENRY STAHL, Tressurer. C. MAHLER, Auditing Committee.

on of the National Executive ComDecember 18, 1800. Comrados H.
and R. Woodrull subsent (excused)
de J. Hulpern absent without exSection Chicago, Ill., forwards vote
pension of national officers. For amof Heury Ruhu 25 votes, against
ampension of Luclea Sanall 397 votes,
(c) for suspension of Charles H.
at 281 votes, against 25; for suspenArthur Keep 291 votes, against 1;
pension of A. Brown 256, against 0;
pension of I. Murphy 256, against 0;
pension of I. Murphy 256, against 0;
pension of J. J. Kinnesity 285,
6.

## LOS ANGELES.

Section Los Angeles holds an open meet-ing every Saturday evening at the Eks' Hall. 231 S. Spring street. The following is the list of lectures:

December 16-F. J. Spring, "Objections to Socialism."

December 23-L. Biddle, "Socialism the Remedy."

Remedy."
December 30—B. R. Baumgardt, "Something Different from Socialism."
January 6—Dr. A. J. Stevens, "Is Socialism Scientific?"
January 13—James S. Roche, "Our Des-

January 20-Prof. George James (Normal School). "Pressing Questions in Education."
Each lecturer is limited to 45 minutes and 5 minutes to close. Audience has 15 minutes to question the speaker, and 30 minutes for 5 minute speeches. Above conditions are under control of the chairman.

STATE COMMITTEE.

STATE COMMITTEE.

To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party.
Comrades:—
We are pleased to announce, that by a referendum vote. Section Chicago with practical unanimity has recognized the Acting National Executive Committee, and that immediately following said vote the Illinois State Committee, forwarded to the N. E. C. a full financial statement and money order for all dues, from the suspension of the old N. E. C. to date.

A few words of explanation of the attitude of the Illinois State Committee without any evidence at hand to show which of the two factions was in the right, or, which of the two would best serve the interests of the whole party. Under such conditions this committee thought best to retain its funds and carry on agitation within the State for a time, knowing full well that time would ultimately triumph, and, time would show which N. E. C. would prove themselves the party's faithful servant.

Till within a few weeks of the suspension of the old N. E. C. by our New York comrades, the membership of the party in this State was in full accord with the N. E. C. The publication of "The Workers' Call" revealed to the comrades actively engaged on that paper, including the members of this committee, the dissatisfaction of active comrades elsewhere with The People and the destructive policy of its editor, De Leon. The dissension caused by him within the party's ranks, the suppression of resolutions sent by Section Chicago for publication in The People, caused much unfavorable comment and created a mental attitude in Section Chicago for suspleion regarding De Leon's tactive.

While in this state of mind, the new of the strife in New York came and action became necessary. To have called for a vote of confidence in support of the old N. E. C. would have been an easy task, as with the exception of the comrades on the -State Committee, the Central Committee and "The Workers' Call." the membership had the utmost confidence in De Leon and his associates.

To have called for the support of the Acting N. E. C. w

the utmost confidence in De Léon and his associates.

To have called for the support of the Acting N. E. C. would have been to have railied the forces for De Leon.

The State Committee said that the wisest step possible for the party was to advise a delay and a careful inquiry into the cause of the prouble, and this course was followed by similar action by Section Chicago. The effect was apparent at once. Out of a membership of some 500 in Chicago only ten (10) declared for De Leon, while a few individuals claiming to represent Sections in the interior of the State followed their example.

Chicago and on "The Workers' Call" testi-fied to his appreciation of our course, and served to alienate any desirable comrade in this city and State from his support. We have proceeded with that deliberation and the state of the tracks The member.

this city and State from his support.

We have proceeded with that deliberation we advised others to take. The membership in Chicago have taken three referendum votes: First, on Convention; second, suspension of local De Leonites; and third, recognition of the Acting N. E. C. Each of these has been practically unanimous, and brings Chicago and the State of Illinois with undiminished strength and Socialist enthusiasm to the door of the Party Convention absolutely free from De Leon and De Leonism.

These gratifying results, we hope, will satisfy those comrades who have acted hastily, by compulsion or otherwise, and thereby divided their membership. It should also satisfy those who may have acted as it suggested, and together with us have arrived at the absolute conclusion that De Leon and De Leonism is forever an impossible element in the Socialist movement of America.

Comrades: We send this statement with fraternal greetings and with the hope that, whereas the new N. E. C. has been directed by a party vote to prepare a convention, which is now decided for, all our energies will be directed toward making a success of this gathering. Let us concentrate our energies the us give our best efforts to the success of this convention.

Comrades: On to the Convention!

Fraternally,

The Illinois State Committee,

J. S. SMITH,

T. J. MORGAN.

R. A. MORRIS,

AUG. KLENNIR,

E. M. STANGLAND,

L. DALGAARD,

W. FIGOLAH, Jr.

SECTION HUDSON COUNTY.

The semi-annual meeting of Section Hudson was held on Sunday, December 17, at Blechshmidt's Hail, West Hobben, Comrade Dickson in the chair. The report of the organizer was received and ordered placed on file. The financial report for the past six months was then given, as follows: Income, \$206.60; disbursements, \$216.52; stamps on hand, \$2.36.

A committee consisting of Comrades Sa

stamps sold past six months, \$10.87; stamps on hand, \$2.36.

A committee consisting of Comrades Saphro, Herriger and Vetters was elected to audit the report. The following was the result of the election of officers for the ensuing six months: Organizer, William Kamps, Assistant Organizers, L. Loewenthal, Hy. Pein and F. Fisher; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Chas. Ufert; Financial Secretary, Elias Koppelson; Treasurer, Joa. Gilliar; Literary Agent, Fredk, Krafft; Delegate to State Committee, Wm. Bucksath; Delegate to State Committee, Wm. Bucksath; Delegate to State Committee, Wm. Frederick Krafft; Alternates, Henry Kitz and Ferd. Ufert; Delegates to National Convention, Chas. Ufert and Wm. Kamps; Alternates, John Suerth and C. Kronenberg.

It was decided to hold a special meeting on January 10, at 8 p. m., at 600 Paterson avenue, West Hoboken, for the purpose of instructing delegates to the National Convention.

nad the least idea that they were be-ing insulted: the rich people, who, out of their stealings, thus gave back a little to the robbed ones, had no idea they were insuiting anybody, and Madario Norde has the state.

numittee will mee-ebruary, 1900. Income, \$73.43: disbursements, \$3.28. Adjournment followed. CHAS. UPERT, Secretary.

PAST ORANGE Important meeting of all Socialists living in East Orange, Bloomfiel, and Orange will be held at the residence of E. T. Neben, 52 be held at the residence of E. T. Neben, az Westcott street, East Crange, on Thursday evening, December 28, Election of delegates to the State and National Conventions will take place. Socialists living in the above places should not fail to attend this megting.

E. T. NEBEN.

what sort of a civilization do you call that where every country is "over-crowded" with population, and where, at the same time, there is an "over-production" of goods? A "glut" of things and also a "glut" of people who want them? A civilization that goes walling and howling with its goods abroad, way from the millions of its own record FOURTH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT. Charles H. Matchett will lecture Friday, December 22, at 8 p. m., in the Socialist Lit-erary Society's Hall, 264 E. Broadway, on the subject "What is Socialism?" Free admis-sion and general discussion. Everybody is invited. away from the millions of its own poor, who are housed and clothed in some de-gree, and cannot buy, to hunt up mil-

SOCIALIST EDUCATION CLUB OF THE

egate of the 16th.
The 32d and 33d A. D.'s regretted that the

The 22d and 33d A. D. 8 regretted that the Financial Secretary was not present and could not tell how much they could donate. They will take up the matter at the next meeting and report the result to the committee.

The Socialist Liedertafel donates \$5.00 and proposes if the affair which takes place

The Socialist Liedertafel donates \$5.00 and promises, if its affair which takes place Sunday, the 24th, is a success, to give another \$5.00.

The committee to look for rooms reported and asked for instructions. On a motion the committee was given full power to use its own judgment, but is to report at each resulting.

Its own judgment, but is to report at each meeting.

The secretary was instructed to communicate with the Publishing Association of the "Jewish Volkszeitung," asking it to publish a call next Saturday and Sunday.

The income for the week was \$12.00; expenses, 28c.: on hand, \$41.47.

All members and those that want to join us should not fail to attend the next meeting, to be held in the Labor Lyceum on Sunday evening. December 24, at 8 p. u. sharp, Decided action on an important matter will be on the order of business.

THE SECRETARY.

THE SECRETARY.

## NEW YORK SOCIALIST LITERARY SOCIETY.

NEW YORK SOCIALIST LITERARY SOCIETY.

Free public lectures and discussions on political, social, and economic questions, to be delivered every Sunday, Wednesday and Thursday evening, at the Club Rooms, 264 East Broadway.

Program of Sunday afternoon lectures, beginning promptly at 3 o'clock:
Sunday, December 17-L. R. Boudin, "Bernstein as a Reformer of Socialism."
Sanday, December 24-Peter E. Burrowes, "Jugger Not or Jugger Yes."

Sunday, December 31-Dr. Caspe, "Ideologists in the Socialist Movement."

Sunday, January 6-Leonard D. Abbott, "The Communist Ideal."

Sunday, January 12.-Simon O. Pollock, "Karl Mary." Theories and Activities."

Program of Wednesday evening lectures, beginning at 8 p. m.:

Wednesday, December 20-Chas. Sprague Smith, "History and Government."

Program of Thursday evening lectures, beginning promptly at 8 p. m.:

"On English Literature," to be delivered by J. E. Eron.

December 21-"Elizabethan Dramatists."

by J. E. Eron.

"On English Literature," to be delivered by J. E. Fron.
December 21—"Elizabethan Dramatists."
December 28—"Shakespeare."
January 11—"Milton and Puritanism."
January 11—"Milton and Puritanism."
January 11—"Milton and Puritanism."
January 18—"Paradise Lost."
An opportunity is given after each lecture for free discussion, in which all are invited to participate.
No entrance fee; no collection.
Literary meetings and debates every Sunday evening.
The fooms are open from 7 to 11 p. m.; on Sunday from 9 a. m. to 11 p. m., where members and their friends will find every opportunity for reading the latest economic books, magazines, the official organs of labor and reform organizations, and for social intercourse and entertainment.
Business meeting of the Society every Saturday evening, 8 p. m., at the Club Booms.

H. ERICH, Secretary.

Signor Bosselli, the Italian Secretary of the Treasury, was able to make a very sat-latactory report to the Chamber the other day, owing to the rapid increase in revenue that has accompanied the general renewal of commercial activity throughout Italy. There now, didn't we tell you all along that all the world would be "prosperous" as soon as McKinley was elected? It is all due to our ever-

blessed protective tariff which, not only discharges blessings upon us from the muzzle, but on the rest of the world from the breech. Gloria in ex-ceptis McKinleyensi.

The Manet Committee has cost New The Manet committee has cost New York \$44,000. That is, it has cost a deluded and plundered people \$40,000 to be shown very particularly what they certainly knew generally, that they are ruled and robbed by as choice a gang of scoundrels as ever got possession of a cityful of fools. And that \$40, 000 has gone after the other \$40,000. nobody is the better for it but the Mazet Committee and its bottle-holders. And—was not the Mazet Committee a part of the gang?

## REGULAR MEETINGS

Socialist Organisations

PHILADELPHIA SECTION-2d Sun days, 8 p. m., Labor Lyceum, 6th and Brown streets, entrance on Randolph

street. ENTRAL COMMITTEE-ist and 3d Wednesday, 8 p. m., 6th and Brown

11th, 12th, 13th and 14th WARDS SO-CIAL LABOR CLUB (formerly American Br.)—Wednesday evenings,

6th and Brown streets. GERMAN BRANCH-2d and 4th Sun days, 3 p. m., 6th and Brown streets 31st and 33d WARDS SOCIAL LA-BOR CLUBS—1st and 3d Sundays, 10 a. m., Kensington Labor Lyceum, 2d and Cambria streets.

SOUTHWARK BRANCH-2d Satur days, 8 p. m., 719 Dickinson stret. 29th WARD SOCIAL LABOR CLUB-Every Sunday, 3 p. m., Poplar and Bambry streets. JEWISH BRANCH-1st and 3d Fri-

days, 416 South 5th street. 1st and 8d Mondays, 8 p. m., 719 Dickinson street.

28th WARD SOCIAL LABOR CLUB-4th Sundays, 3 p. m., 25th and York 19th and 20th WARDS SOCIAL LA BOR CLUB—Southwest corner 9th and Columbia avenue. 2d Tuesdays,

BOR CLUB-2d and 4th Mondays, 8 p. m., Lincoln Hall, 4039 Lancaster avenue

All readers of this paper are request

## STAMP ACCOUNT.

PERIOD JULY 10th TO DECEMBER 1st, 1899.

		CHOICE STREET,	-	-
Members at Large	43	8.40	.20	
Section Boston, Mass. Lawrence, Mass. Springfield, Mass. Maiden, Mass. Cheisea, Mass. Cheisea, Mass. Cheveland, Ohio. Phoenix, Arizona. Bevier, Mo. Tumwater, Wash. Hallowell, Me. Sagmaw, Mich.	100 50 40 20 150 10 50 16 200	10.00 5.00 4.00 2.0) 15.00 1.00 5.00 1.00 5.00 1.00 5.00	10.00	
STATE COMMITTEES:  New York State Committee.  New Jersey State Committee.  Connecticut State Committee.  Pennsylvania State Committee.  Massachusetts State Committee.  California State Committee.  Ohio State Committee.  Michigan State Committee.  SECTIONS:	3,000 1,200 1,300 1,500 783 320	\$447.35 75.00 44.55 50.00 25.00 9.15 6.00	\$101.25 75.00 15.45 50.00 30.00 10.00 10.00	55) 61) 240 217

HENRY STAHL, Treasurer.

STICKERS.

(Continued from page 1.)

purses, and the political brigand who

bayonets Constitutions and robs citi-

zens of their liberties. Never let a fel-low's piety keep you from locking up

giving Day, in New York, in going

around insulting the poor people by singing at the dinners given to them by the rich. She insulted 500 homeless men at St. Andrew's Mission, by sing-ing "Home Sweet Home," to them; and insulted some hundreds of poor chil-

others at still other places. But the astonishment of the whole thing is that none of the thousands thus insulted had the least idea that they were be-

dame Nevada least of all had any idea she was heaping insult upon top of their injuries. But the whole proceed-

ing WAS an insult, and a reproach to

all concerned, and would have been so seen to be, had not the moral sense of

of it all; dulled by the common universality of the phenomena of want and beggary.

What sort of a civilization do you

lions of still poerer savages who are housed and clothed in no degree, and are still less able to buy? A civiliza-

tion that despoils its own people at

dren at the Five Points Mission

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HAT CHECKS, 15 CENTS.

# UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, asserts the inalicable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of

hippiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of

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

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, 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 allenation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightlest of nations vipon that class, Again, through the pervesion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

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

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

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.

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 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 straggle, 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, transportation and distribution to the receive as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Compeople as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Compeople as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

### RESOLUTIONS.

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

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

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 operate the same co-operatively under con-trol 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

mplied with.

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

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

of the country.

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

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

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuf.ous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Un-

abridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the em

ployment 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, 12. Employment of the unemployed by the past.

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 per-

med. 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 measures 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,
18. Municipal self-government,
28. Municipal self-government,
29. April secret ballo

19. Direct yote 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 constituencies.

tuencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States.
22. Abolition of capital p ministration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punish-

# Theworkers [all Socialism] what it is and what it socks to Accomplian, From the German of Withelm Liebinecht. Second edition just ready; 10 cents, postpaid,

Clear, Clean Socialist Faper.

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Matied on receipt of price. Agents CHARLES H. KERR & CO. 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, III.

A SPECIAL MEFTING of Branch 17, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, East New York, will be held on Wednesday, December 28, 1890.

Order of business: Election of a Branch physician; nominations for executive officers and Controlling Committee, etc.

Non-presence, 25 cents fine. -presence, 25 cents fine. . EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

NEW YEAR'S CARDS.

ATTENTION! The prentest selection New Year's and Caristmas cards in United States. Aluminium birthday car pole and silver wedding cards, and fold cards: large selection of calendary for carding purposes; club cards, bull pressure. Our "Ball Columbia" New Years in an and the cards in the cards in the cards in the cards in the card in the car

CARL SARM CLUB ONE

CIGARMAKERS PROGRESSIVE IN NATIONAL UNION No. 9). One Employment Bureau: 64 East Case: Limbournet 1 Young the Committee of th

EMPIRE CITY LODDE (MACHINISTS), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday even-ing at the Labor Lycomic street, Secretary: HERM, STURE, 273 SOCIALIST SCIENCE CLUB, 8, f. P. 34th & 25th A. D. a. 547 E. 157th street, Open every evening. Regular locations meeting every Friday.

SECTION PHILADELPHIA, S. L. P. La. hor Lyceum, 830-17 North 6th street. Meets second Sanday of each manth, S. p. m. Ed Kuppinger, Secretary, 1733 Rown street. THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL. Wednesday evening at 200 ft. Noth st. Tuls, a thorough knowledge of Socialism by near of discussions and debates. Come and join.

Arbeiter - K. anken- und Sterbe - Kasse inerdie Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S

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

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