VOL. IX.-NO. 29.

The Misuse of the Term and the Resulting Fallacies. its Historic and Economic Significance.

general use a word ordinarily has real meanings. The popular mind i me as a rule attach to many che a meuning quite differing from a which a scientist attaches to

is the true meaning of a word

theory is that each word has a and inherent true meaning, outside to attributes of the thing for which ands; that such meaning, being in-at can be one only and no other; t is the object of Logic to dis-

ordingly, the method employed school of thought is to study the attributes of things, but the adaysical meaning of words. The adaysical theory and method is disod by Socialists in the study of and observations as well as by ad-

other theory is that each word nds as an expression of attributes contain thing; that the attributes and either the meaning of the ed needs must change accordingly, tight a new work must be coined to

if the case, stands for. Therefore the object though is to study the physical attriof things for which the word stand by this school is the study of natphenomena. This is the materialnot in employed by the Socialist in the

alism is the science of the dynanow of switchy. One of the requisites of any science is the use of exact and clear terms. A scientific word or term must embrace, "conote," all those attri pates of the thing of which it treats, in science of Socialism the term must remate, designate the thing for which stands in its dynamic aspect, in its intend to time and place, offer since walken treats of social development in their relation to the particular

Precision and clearness in the terms is only too often neglect-tence is cold and pittless. It is soon and woven, all due to the misof one term. The abuse of the of the whole subject, and ignor

One of the most cruelly abused can be the word Capital. It mailtreated by the understanding the general jubile. It is abused by of it often fares hadly even at the and a second of socialist agitators. The above of such failure to grasp the second of the term is that the lack research exposes one to the danger of bong deluded by the metaphysic me-

"apital is generally defined to be the was of production, -- the instrum of production and the raw material be included in the definition. In outside this definition has not the requisites of scientific exactness an Seill many accept it as a correct defini tion, and this first error—as the oripeopl of an erroneous cureer, of becom-ier on adopt of many herceles.

To the Socialist-killer this fallacy is

creates his own "Socialist," puts fate his mouth certain opinions, and best there his straw man in argumentorive encounter.

Are not the Socialists denouncing the apitalistic" system? Here is a once, by a little sieight of hand work substitute the word "Capital" for a word "Capitalistic," and then dactically lecture the Socialist on the rous of his ways. Why; one can joss for a scientist at a cheap rate. With a knowing air, he announces that Capital is as much a necessary factor in production as Labor; and that for

Letter to light Capital is as if the arms from in robellion against the stomach. The Socialist-killer is not the only Victim of the fallacy. There are teach ers in rolleges that regard Socialism favorably. As against the Socialist favorably. As against the Socialist-frofressor who accepts the definition of Capital as the means of production, and then further argues with the So-cialist-killer that the Socialist is op-posed not to Capital but to the private watership of Capital; that the aim of Socialism is to introduce the collective emership of Capital.

While this argument of our profe-nor is well meant, it is for all that not the less erroneous than that of the Socialist killer.

## THE TWO SLAVES.

By PETER E. BURNO

It was constantly impressed upon the men who carried arms in the late war that the freedom of America and the that the freedom of America and the integrity of the republic were commit-ted by the people to the loyalty and courage of each soldier. It was true; but the trust was triffing compared with that which the whole human race has committed to each and every mind within the influence of Socialist truths. The chattel slave was never so hope-lessity channel beyond reach of the tides

usly classed beyond reach of the tide of change as the wage class. Formerly when a man became an aristocri or a ruler by military prowess he might possible equal, a rival or a success possible equal, a rival or a successor!
Not so with the money aristocracy, as developed by capitalistic co-operation.
No caste in Hindostan or China can present a more impassable barrier to the masses than the militarism of modern production. For the first time in the history of the human race the common people are stripped of every weaton of self-defence but the intellect. pon of self-defence but the in and for the first time their salvation

depends upon their own thoughts.

Looking out upon the average man. as he is known to us, and realizing that he has reached a crisis where this ultimatum faces him: ENSLAVE-MENT OR INTELLIGENCE, the chances of the American workmen escaping permanent bondage may strike us as hopeless. But the work before him is not, after all, a laborious process of thinking and training, he needs only a new point of view, and any incident, any moment may give him that. Then all is light. The whole panerama of history and contemporary life becomes harmonious, and intelligible. The point of view is class consciousness, the first half of race consciousness, and the moment a man realizes that is analogous to a new mental birth. Even as in some great buildings there is one spot whereon if you stand, echo doubles or trebles the speaker's voice; and two or three waves of speech flow into your ears; so from the first point of class consciousness truth with treble convincing power enlightens and possesses the mind. To each man in America with ballot in his hand the race of humanity, the travail and groaning of the hu-man family from the beginning until

zation-eapitalism. That the bonds of chattel slavery could be broken, its almost entire disappearance has proved. But he who compares the bonds of chattel with those of wage slavery should become by the study a wiser and a more anxi-

now looks for its realization. To us

it is given to confront the most formid

able power that ever threatened civili-

Let us look at the factors that gave emancipation to the chattel slave and then let us look for some analogous factor of hope in the desperate estate of the wage slave.

In chattel slavery the brutality of the system was within easy view of any who desired to see.

No brutalities were personally and directly connectable from the scarred back of the slave to the seared con-science and hard heart of the master.

The slave as the property of another man underwent the mutations of incient to all property and these changes of value were possibilities to the inter est of the slaves. If their value was doubted they were worth taking better care of. If their value fell off one-half, they might not be worth keeping and ere that much nearer to emancipa-

The chattel slaves were necessa localized; they could not be used by transportation from State to State. Whatever tragedy was in their lives was therefore all within view and knowledge of one human circle. A slave's history was part of the history The chattel siave was of a locality. worth registering and keeping track of. The chattel slave had a biography, a some, and a grave.

The intercourse of nations, the im ents in navigation; in fact every improvement in the arts, sciences, and manufactures brought with it approaching manumission for

Whatever progress the rest of the world was making in any direction set its prophetic 'imit to the period of chattel slavery. The chattel slave was in this happy

condition; that, though he could do nothing to free himself; all the rest of the world, consciously or unconsciously, was busily engaged in working out his freedom. Things otherwise differing from each other were one in this the ultimate interest of the chattel ways. slave; and war, art, con religion itself became the instruments of his liberation and any change in govrenment would lend help to his en-largement. Outside the slave farm all the rest of the world would have to stand still or slavery would have to go. I invite you to review those factors rhich made for the chattel slave's free

within an evanive complex and intri-cate social system the view of him is buried. Improvements, inventions, dis-coveries bring to change to him, even when they are his own. The luck, the gambler's chance, which lies within gambler's chance, which lies within the mobility of other men's fortunes rest, for their better parts, on the

stability of his misfortunes. Whoever rises must step on him. For whoever climbs be must be the ladder. Whosoever lights up life with a new illi m, must take the oil to do it without of the laborer's lamp. So the progress of all the rest of the world which involved necessarily the free dom of the chattel slaves is, in moder sification of wage slavery.

War, art, commerce, and religion only afford new fields for his exploitation or a scriptural apology for the crime of exploiting him.

The change from monarchical to re-

publicus governments only increases the number and resectly of his masters and offers greater facilities for giving the aspect and complexion of legality to the crime of his economic slaughter The wage slave has no locality but that of the machine. Wherever the

machine goes he must follow it, and when he is lost by the way there is no record of his doom. His town or his city knows nothing of him until he has gone to jail or committed suicide or be come a Socialist. He is registered no where, except as a babe or a schoolboy; as a contagious person or as a thinker. As a thinker the priests and the police have him registered all right, but as a worker he is registered no where outside the columns which sup ply food, powder, and monarchies.

This abject, landless, homeless toolless creature, the producer of all the world's material wealth, has fallen too low for recognition, he has been deprived of all deftness, all art, all craft of the hand or head by which to provide himself individually with the things he needs as A MAN, he hardly even knows the names. Yet forsooth, this thing, the modern proletarian calls liself, and boasts of being an individualist. Make haste, ob poor little wa ter drop, and get you lost in the great live flowing river that will give you the name of Socialist.

# PHILADELPHIA WORKERS!

A Word to You From the Socialist in Your Midet. Read it-Fellow Wage Workers of Philadel

With this number begins a four weeks subscription of this the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party The People gratis to ten thousand voters of this city, with a view of ac-quainting the wage workers with the eachings and principles of Socialism.

We are firmly of the conviction that all intelligent workers would embrace Socialism, were it properly presented to them. With a full knowledge of the power of the press we, as yet a mer-handful of workingmen, have adopted

this means of reaching you.

We ask you to dispassionately and ealmly compare the arguments pre-sented by Socialists with the usual sophistry dealt out to workingmen is the capitalist press, especially on the

eve of an election. We simply ask you to do us and yourselves the justice to read and REASON, if only in a spirit of fair-

ess. Socialism goes to the root of the so With the workers it is not a question of protection or free trade, of a gold standard or free silver, of expansion or anti-expansion, but a question of BREAD! A question of plain JUSTICE to the producers! Lapor bears all the burdens of society bor bears all the burdens of society. Labor creates all wealth, then, why is it that those who create all wealth have or enjoy the least? Why is it that with the improved facilities of production the burdens of the laborers ncrease? These are the question tacrease? These are the questions which concern the working class, and they must themselves decide and solve these questions if they would be free.

The Socialist Labor Party is the only

political party which clearly and con-cisely points out the causes of the ever

cisely points out the causes of the everincreasing poverty and degradation of
the masses and the ever-increasing
wealth and power of the very few.

Being clear as to the CAUSES of
such disgraceful effects, it naturally
and logically follows that the Socialist
Labor Party would apply the only rational remedy.

We once more ask you to read and
consider-consider and weigh the arguments and presentation from a Socialist view point. Should they agree with
rour own views, then it is your duty
to continue your subscription which
coats but fifty cents per year or
twenty-five cents for six months; by so
doing you add strength and energy to
your own cause.

doing you add strength and energy to your own cause.

Your next duty is to BECOME A MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST LA-ROB PARTY. (See notice of meeting places of various Ward Clubs and Branches in another column.)

Do not forget to be a workingman enelection day as well as on the other three hundred and sixty-four days of the year; by voting the straight Socialist Labor Party ticket!

Should you desire to continue your

# NEW YORK, C FNGLIST INDUSTRY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INC

o justify this prospect of the

industry of to-day gives

Check to such ec

propic purposes or to make

ad wealth accumulated at the

of their rivals so long will they war against them; but when th ting of prices has reduced profits

vanishing-point a the progress of the number of competitors has brought down to a figure which agreement possible. The tendency

barrier to the fall of prices. T

In the retail trade compe pears to rule supreme. There man still retains a footing, the

THE RETAIL TRADES

TRY. The theoretic economists have justified competition in indicatry and commerce by the social advantage arrows from the elimination of the unit by competitors more able to cope with difficulties and more responsive to the needs of consumers. These successful individuals in their turn must yield more able and better-equipped 'unpaperessurs,' and in this way the pragmesive improvement' of industry is essured to the satisfaction of all toncerned except those who go down in the struggle. In practice it has trivial out that in most industries victory has been with the large establishments, for, in the "beneficent private war of trade, economic law is on the side of the big battalions and the long pulse. In the lowering of prices through chiapertition and the steady fall in the rate of interest the content of interest the content of interest the content of interest the content of the steady fall in the rate of interest the content of the steady fall in the rate of interest the content of the large content of the conten markets, are a never-of wonderment to visi many manufactures, are never conting matters of wonderment to visitors to London, especially to continental Socialists, to whom they appear to realise some of Mr. Beliamy's dreams. The growing trade done by such houses is shown by the rise of Lipton's profits from 100 contin 100 to 1227 Aury to 100. from £65,000 in 1880 to £227,620 to 1800.
The joint clock company system has spread to distribute businesses. To the boom in hreweries has succeeded the boom in breweries has succeeded a boom in groceries, and the capitaliza-tion of stores and trading companies in the grocery, provision, mest, oil, and drug trades in the two years 1886-7 was over (18,000,000. One well known company ins a capital of a million, and another of two-and-a-half, millions. These large firms aprend by setting up branches in both town and country, so branches in both town and country, se petition and the steady fall in the rate that nowhere is the private shopkeeper seeme from their competition, and modern facilities for transport further increase the scope of their activity. Lipton's, Limited, for instance, has of interest the income of the manufac-turer or trader could only be kept up by a large turnover at a low rate of profit taking the piace of a small dra-over at a high rate. The costliness of improved machinery and the expense nearly 300 branches in London and the provinces. Daniel Finghes. Evans and Co. (capital £125,000, again, is an amalof initiating new processes alike neces-sitated the larger outlays of capital which the development of the jointgamation of a wholesale provision house with 26 retail shops in London. The number of establishments run by stock system made possible by permit ting the aggregation of small savings. The ruin of the small industry was half-a-dozen grocery companies would in themselves supply a large com-munity, and the cheap restaurants of completed by the greater efficiency of the large—the saving in management, superintendence, and advertising, the Lendon are in the hands of four or five firms. The London wilk trade is in the same condition, and chemists and to-bacconists also have to face the same better division of labor, and the appli cation of a higher grade of brain-power than could find scope in mere hucketerform of competition. One tobacco com-pany alone has over a hundred branches. ing. So long as competition continues there is theoretically no limit to the growth of the business unit and the concemitant diminution of the number THE CUTTING OF PRICES. of directors of industry, except the The tendency towards monopoly is thus sufficiently evident, but in dealing limit of the amount of trade which can be efficiently controlled by one head. Even this limit is put far off by the evolution of a complex division of man-agement, such as is shown in any large railway. As Bagehot pointed out, the railway. As Engelot pointed out the commercial man whose time is taken up with the details of his business is doomed to failure. Not the smallest advantage of a gigantic business is

with the cutting of prices we come face to face with same interesting arface to face with some interesting a rangements. Retailers have awakene rangements. neturers have awareness
to the fact that competition has reached the point where it is no longer profitable, and that combination is a more
effective way of obtaining a steady income. In the grocery, tobacconist chemist, and luking branches of retailthat it requires an organization which sets free the finest brains to devise the large movements of trade. The traders are grouped into local trade associations of more or less strength and these again, are federated nationally. These hodies put pressure on railway companies to obtain reductions of rates, and on governments to avert threatened legislasets free the finest brains to devise the large movements of trade. The stipe-risance of the United States, with its immense trusts controlling whele in-dustries in America and even extending their operations to Europe, appears to justify this prospect of the emergency of gigantic private monopolies; but nevertheless its trath as regards England has been vehemently denied. Trusts are notoriously fostered by the protective system of taxation in America, and it has consequently been supposed that the free trade policy of this country with its full admission of foreign competition would prevent the development of great restrictive combinations. Moreover, the law-abiding instincts of our people, which have form. tion; they seek to remove trade abuses, and frequently look after the common interests in the law courts. In Scotland, for the last two years, the Traders' Defence Association has carried on a vehement campaign against co-operaa vaccine of calification against co-opera-tive storgs, and tried to exclude their ageuts from baying in the local sale yards. The grocers associations rely mainly on moral smassion to prevent cutting, but in various places local nations. Moreover, the law-abiding instincts of our people, which have formed themselves side by side with the
slow growth of industry, would render
impossible the lawless practices by
which American trusts often crushed
their trade rivals, whilst the greed for
money has never reached in this country the height to which it has attained
across the Atlantic. These considerations, backed by the practical example
of the failure of the Salt Union, have
seemed to justify the contention of
those who maintain that trusts will not
fourish on English soit.

A closer examination of the facis of
English industry of to-day gives
practice.

THE CONCENTRATION OF MANU-

FACTURE. Retail dealers have two sources of profit—one is to sell dear, the other is to buy cheap. The greater the stress of competition, the greater is the pressure they put on the wholesale dealer, who, at the same time, has to compete for custom with other wholesale dealers, and sees his whole livelihood increasingly cut have from ers, and sees his whole livelihood in-creasingly cut away by large firms leading directly with the manufacturer. The wholesale dealer, in turn, tries to out off the burden of loss on the manu-ncturer, and there it leads to stay. The fixing of retail prices in no way liminishes the inducements to the re-aller to make an extra profit out of his suppliers. Not that the manufacturer unbmits tamely to the reduction of his pains; quite the contrary. Hefore his untoner he is economically weak, be-ng in the position of a man who must till at opce to a man who is under no stomer he is economically weak, bef at the position of a man who must
at open to a man who is under so
consity to buy at any given time, or
an any particular person. His first
out is usually to make a cut of
gas; but an obstacle is met in the
do unions with their standard rates.

Excit effort is to attempt to out the
different and he different interests.

ciasses of "entrepreneurs," but the manufacturer, is as isolividualist manner, also seeks to protect himself by potents and trade marks, by making his goods proprietary articles, by skilful advertising, and by seeking new markets. He has succeeded so far that in the grocery trade the shopkeeper is in most instances no longer as a expert tradesman, but an unskilled laborer, who hands across the counter floward of some as requested by the gustomer. Patent and proprietary articles are the most, in fact almost the only, printable branch of manufacture; but a putent is only a source of exists a proprietary article may at any time be driven out by some new favortie. The search for fresh markets ungoverned by competition is no easy mat-ter and, often involves questions of high politics. The manufacturer, therefore, finds himself forced to use against the retailer the same weapo which the retailer has taken up again the consumer-namely, combination.

AMALGAMATIONS. This new phase of trade has not yet been submitted to sufficient economic investigation, and as the various ar rangements are not always proclaimed from the house tops, precise informa-tion is lacking. Single amalgamations, while not entirely excluding competi tion, control the screw, cetton thread, sait, alkali, and india-rubber tyre in dustries. In other cases a formal or informal agreement of masters fixes prices; thus in the hollow ware trade metal utensils) prices are arranged by an luformal ring of a dozen Birming ham firms. Similarly there is no open market in antimony, nickel, mercury, lead pipes, fish supply, and petroleum. All the largest firms in the newspaper making industry have consolidated their interests into one large combina-

IRON AND STEEL TRADES. In the engineering trade twenty-for firms have a subscribed capital of £14,245,000. In 1897 Armstrong and 114,245,000. In 1837 Armstrong and Co, absorbed Whitworth and Co, rais-ing their capital to £4,219,000 in the process. Vickers and Co, the armor-plate manufacturers, are another example of a very large amalgamation. In the spring of 1897 they bought up the Naval Communities and Arma-ments Co., and later they acquired the Maxim-Nordenfell duns and Ammunition Co. New they boast of heing the only firm capable of turning out a battleship complete in every respect, in the ausmer of 1800 John Rown and Co., the large steel manufacturers of Sheffield, raised their capital by of Sheffield, raised their capital, by 2080,000 to £2,500,000 in order to buy up the Clydesdale Engineering and Shipbuilding Co., and thereby obtain access to the sea. The Scotch table trade has also experienced several amalgamations. "We have now in operation agreements or understandperation agreements or understandings in the rail, ship-plate, boiler-plate bar iron, and other branches of the iron and steel trades of this country, by means of which prices are fairly well maintained and cutting is largely prevented" ("Iron and Coal Trades prevented" ("Iron and Conf Review," December 16, 1808).

(To be concluded.)

# IN FOREIGN LANDS.

In the last so-called administrative elections in Italy the Socialista carried the day in a greater number of dis-tricts than ever. In 156 municipalities ils and thirty-six to the provin coards. The greatest success was schieved in Lombardy, where 161 So-fallsts were elected. In Sicily, where there was never a Socialist elected be fore, 30 comrades were elected now.

The other day, the Austrian Parliament sent a letter to one of the Rocialist Deputies, Dr. Verkauf, inviting him to a coaference with Deputies representing other parties called, to devise ways and means to put an end to the present intolerable state of affairs in Austria. To this the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Parif of Austria has sent an official reply declining the invitation on the ground that it was opposed to any conference et. "If anythe the orderly

pentance for the annual their will's souls. Wrapped about in their will's ignorpher of Socialist theory and espected by occupant pertensions to knowledge that they have never tried to gain, they content themselves will the parrot-like repetition of a phrass that has no bearing upon the subject of discussion. Strange to say, a tay proportion of those who use this are proportion of those who use this are proportion of those who use this are proportion of these who the posed argument with the us-insistence are themselves, ministers of the gospel, whose is supposed to be the very chdeny. Perhaps they put the emphasis on the first word when they address us: "YOU can't change human hatimplying that such ningle power belongs only to the annointed and ordained, and can never be shared by us of the vulgar herd. If so, we are quite willing to grant that we play no magical tricks. Only we suspect the spiritual legerdemain of our critics.

With such critics it is, of course, useless to argue—useless, so far as con-

ritual legerdemain of our critics.

With such critics it is, of course, uneless to argue—useless, so far as concerns any hope of affecting them. But because their social position cannot but give their words a certain weight with those who have not yet learned to think for themselves, it is necessary for us to reply to their arguments, to reply perhaps many times over, to poncture their sir-bubbles as often as tasy are blown. What is there, then, in this "human nature" argument? What do our critics ment by it? And wherein are they wrong? Let us see.

The argument seems to be this First, human nature is desperately selfish; every man is so constituted that he seeks his own good, even at the expense of his follows; and our existing social system, the "hell of competition," is the result of this selfishness of human nature. Second, facialism is not practicable so long as means esligh; in order to make focialism work, if is necessary that every man should love his neighborn as well as or as little better than, he leves, his solf, Third, human nature cannot be changed; on it was to be been should love the neighborn as the beauties level and socialism will never hecome practicable. This is quite as pretty chain of argument. It would be very strong, if it were not that all its links are very weak.

We have all heard the story of the if it were not that all its its

weak.

We have all heard the story of the old hady who send her neighbor for the value of a kettle, which, she alleged, was whole when the neighbor horrowed it and broken on its return. The neighbor's inwyer entered this reply. "First, defendant never horrowed the kettle; second, the kettle was alrundy broken when defendant horrowed it; and, third, the kettle was still whole when defendant returned it." Our reply to the 'human nature' critics will be equally sweeping, but not so seif-contradictory. The reply is: First, human nature at the present time is not, nor was it ever at any, past time, wholly had, men do not, and never did, seek to advance their own personni laterests without any regard to the interests of them. terests without any regard t ests of others. Second, Soc not rest upon the observa

That erude.

te Trail of Tale But Has No S OF THE PARTY

The minority w

STATES 21.157 33.133 36.564 8 . . . . . . . 82,204

te for final returns of the gen rate upon the question of holding utional Couranties has been pro-nd to October 15. All the votes t be in the office of the Nationa etary by that time.

TO YOU PHILADELPHIANS

Ou the first page, some wage workers f your own midst address to you a words. They are the Socialis of your city and belong to the many ided army of Internation lism. They have organized for purpose of spreading Socialism in City of Philadelphia. They have clamored for your attention and they take the royal, short path to mind. One by one, they put to their hard carned pennies and we ordered that this printed word of m be sent to many thousand of the wage workers of Philad ormation was scant, still they lected such among you in whose and an New Word is most likely to

raken au intelligent echo. This spreading of a New Word en us labor and great expense on the part of your fellow wage work ore, the Socialists of Philadelphia, and in all fairness, you owe them some use to their effort.

not put away this paper unread pen de, you insult your follow wage where, you insult yourselves, you in a your own class. Read The People, me part of it. Reflect upon you conditions, upon the conditions of or fellow wage slaves, in the light what you read in The People. Think it ever and again, and then tell us frankly and straight—are we right or ma wrong? Perhaps we are wrong maching Capitalism,—it being as regions a system to you as ever

are being wronged and rel ruit of your laber,--you for as you care to be. If some nght of the errors of our ways doubt as to the practicability demands secure to you, put it on paper and send it to this We shell publish it. If you so or shell simply answer you.

able that you may refu ke up your mind upon reading or three copies of The People. port to all wage werkers, that he may be reasonably expected to be up his or her mind in two or

that your duty to yourselve Let not the apportunity for your ing to your children a better world your parents left to you, silp us-ered. Let not your cold intiffer-be the main elected on the road the assemblation from wage

bee terms of that here will be 

stray. The Phariese ked up his brother safe.

The task of the Socialists is the Pharisce another lesson. Vice and of which the Pharisee is the pillar. In the pharisalcal system vice and crime have a relative significance only. It is criminal to steal for the purpose of relieving the minory of our's fi wholesale theft is sanctioned. To kill in a passion of momentary insanity is uarder; but to main and kill for gain is approved. The courts have put nany guards of immunity around the rer that thinks nothing of the life of the worker.

Prostitution for bread is outlaand ostracised. Prostitution of the overfed and idle from mere lust is gallantry.

The beastly capitalistic system protects big criminals, and punishes mere secondfiles. The Penal Code is the greatest crime of the century,-blotch upon civilization. It will bewiped out together with the economic aditions to which it is due.

#### JUDICIAL OUTRAGES.

Judge Wood of the Federal Judiciary has long since earned his fame as a faithful servant of the capitalist cises One among the many of his services was to send Debs to prison after th A. R. U. strike. But of all example of the prostitution of justice and of beazen-faced twisting of the law in favor of capitalists when the case is as clear as day for the workinman, the one we give here as reported in the Bulletin of the Department of Labor is the most striking we have seen.

August Baker, a brakeman in the employ of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicage & St. Louis Railway, was injured while attempting to uncouple two moving cars, and he alleged that the injury was caused by the failure of the company to equip its cars with grab irons or hand holds, as required by chapter 196, acts of 1892-93 (Act of Congress of March 2, 1893, 27 Stat. 531). He sued the company for damages and judgment in his favor was rendered in the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of Illinois. The railway company then carried the case on writ of error to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, which cendered its decision January 3, 1890, and reversed the judgement of the lower court.

The opinion of the court was deliver ed by Judge Wood, who gave the folowing exhibition of judicial logic:

lowing exhibition of Judicial logic:

The ambetance of the charge is that the higher was caused by the failure of the company to equip its care used in interstate commerce with gran irons, or hand holds, as tengined by the set of Congross of March 2, 1886 gr? Stat., 201). Section 4 of the set declares it "unlawful for any rathroad company to use any car in luterstate commerce that is not provided with secure gran irons or hand holds in the ends and sides of each care for greater security to men in coupling. hand holds in the ends and some in coupling tax for greater security to men in coupling tax for greater security. The eighth section transposed to make its meaning more clear transposed to make its meaning more clear transposed to an employee injured by a co ransposed to make its meaning more clear, provides that an employee injured by a car not properly equipped, "atthough continuing in the employment of such carrier after the valueful use of such locomotive, car at train had been brought to his knowledge," "shall not be deemed thereby to have as not the triak thereby occasioned."

An ordinary mortal would conclud from this that the Judge was citing the law to prove the justification of the in jured brakeman's claim for damages Not he! See how a judge procetwist the plain language of the law to

defendant in error was acquainted we such from and their uses, did ordina prudence routire him, when he obsers that the foremost of the care which he a about to uncouple was not equipped the with, to refrain from going actween about to uncouple was not equipped, therewith, to refrain from going between the cors while in motion, or at least to take extra presentions against danger, or was no pennitted, under the act of Congress, to act as if the irons were there? We are of opinion that this question is substantially the same as if the suitron companion voluntarily and without legislative requirements had been accustomed to use grab trum, and cars without them were known to be defective, and carrespondingly more dangesoms to one attempting to comple or uncouple them. The meaning of the art is that, by remaining in his employment, the servant done not assume the gials agentally incident to the attenue or such trum, but mot that in a particular case of returning extant, with full knowledge of the altustion that in a particular case of returning extant, with full knowledge of the altustion that in a particular case of returning extant, with full knowledge of the altustion that the character of the act is not the feet and circumstances. The known absence of the grab from was a frequent in this case which the fury should have been directly angigned, or interesting whether the defendant in error was guilty of contributory angigness, or interested to accusting care not supplied with hald haids under circumstances of extreme and antimeteration of the act would persuit a brakenness to take the risk of coupling or uncoupling care not supplied with hald haids under circumstances of extreme and amilianteration of allage, with the consequence purpose of habiting the company responsible fact the result. The Judgment is recursion, with direction to grant a new frial.

In plain English it resolves into this: The law provides for certain measures of safety on the part of the railway. Tanghi by previous experience when courts had interpreted similar laws in flavor of the capitalists by eaving that if a workingman is aware of the danger, which threatens him is his worfs, in thoreby assumes the risk and can ask one the conjugate under the law, the legislature explicitly says: that were wise the workingsan is aware of the danger in specific serverteloss. It is the legislature of the specific serverteloss. of safety on the part of the railway.

that's all very well, but then if I am to enforce such a law it would lead to the greatust about of the past railways by these greaty braheman, who would purposely tisk their lives by working on usuage engines, etc., just to bled the poor sulbunys when injured or killed; such an outrage clearly can not be permitted, and I say to h-I with

Just give us not Wood, and we will see whether work ingmen can not be made class-conoffice. Keep it up!

Mr. Eaton, of the Boot and Sh Workers' Union, was heard by the In-

He advised the Commission that alien labor is a sore competitor to the New England shoe workers. The New England shoe worker, by the intensive ness of his work, puts here du c any competitor. The English shoo worker would have told Mr. Eaton a long tale about the competition of foreign labor. With them "alien labor" is American labor. But we suspect that Mr. Eaton knows better. Instead of catering to popular prejudice, he should have gone to the root of the question. Or did he proceed on the theory that the commission was not there to listen to reason?

The Central Committee of Section Chicago, S. L. P., has appointed a committee to work out a sort of a tentative programme for the coming Party Convention. The committee offers for disussion the following suggestions on desirable changes in the Party constiturben:

1. A secretary, whose office shall be in some centrally located city. He is to have nothing but purely cierical duties to perform.

2. Administration of national affairs to be in the hands of a National Committee representative of geographical divisions of the country, and to meet at such intervals as the Party may decide. Details of management to be settled by correspondence

3. Organizers or lecturers to be ed by geographical divisions.

4. No official press; all Party papers to be owned by some regular division of the Party or by some association composed exclusives of Party members under the supervision and control of the Party management.

5. Propositions sent out for referendum to be unaccompanied by epinions or arguments.

The Evening Post, the frank and clear-sighted organ of capitalism, thinks it can not haud General Ludiow too much for the splendid service he rendered the American capitalists when he scared the working people of Havana out of their wits and made them give up the contemplated general

"This is what a fearless Military Governor can do," it exclaims; "and there is no doubt that a Mayor of one of our cities, who was not afraid of the mob, could do substantially the

same thing in similar circumstances." Well said, Post! "And there is no doubt that a Mayor of one of our ctities, who was not afraid" of the capitalists and their contemptible press and who was armed with the convictions of a Socialist and with the backing of the working people, could force. the capitalist sharks to give in just as well as the Ludlows, the Merriams, the Mileses et tutti quanti have been forcing the workingmen to submit. But that requires that the working people should be as conscious of the oneness of interests of their class, as the capitalists are of their own. And the way to bring about this class-consciousness is to create just as power ful and able a Socialist press as we have now a capitalist press. Hustle for The People, boys, and help make

### A Modern Malthusian.

I can't git no job;
"Taint no good to try.
There is too many born.
An'there wint enough die;
There's too big-a curvel

For a man to wedge in.
I can't find no lob.
An' I she'n't ter ag'in:
Ton can't git a job
In the kentry or town.
To too many folks in the word.
I then old't enough jobe to go to

Wen, the war! was cut out,
"Twan cut out ton annil;
"Twan't made hig enough
For its purpose at all.
The cowd to jamend in,
In a turchin crami
mot thing you can de
in git out or the jon.
Es I we unawind from the crawd,
As I've quantied from the crawd,
As I've just actical down.
To the many folks in the wort,
there wis't enough just to go wen

My talents in large.
But then're to room to group.
The worl is too annis,
An' they don't got to show.
"An'," on a I to myself.
"You, then provides lang.
Clear out or thin gauge.
Due the mark has gauge.
Due the mark fails to the worl.
a there giv't among join to go room.
There giv't among join to go room.

possible, meant that the wages or mechanics and arthuras generally were governed by the amount which the said workers would be able to earn on the best free land. A Foor Man, being asked for his opinion of this law, said explanation." He stated that he peard of a railroad magnate's chief knew of some skilled mechaaveraged \$100 a month; he knew a few who were glad to earn \$50 a month, and had himself "accepted a position" at \$1.25 a day. Moreover, he knew of non-union workingmen whose wages were 50 per cent, below the wages of union men for the same kind amount of work and he wanted plained how the "margin of cultis the said margin was so evidently pre-judiced in favor of union labor, to-gother with other quecies more or less childish to the mature and "philosophi-cal" mind. William Magee. Jr., in his masterly treatise on "The Horse," read before his class-mates on the last day of school, described that quadruped corner."-a definition which has its limi tations for goologists, but is doubtless sufficiently accurate for those addicted to horses of the rocking and hobby

reperalizations of fact: stated in acade de language or in the form of a "law," have their place in the temple of hu man knowledge, perhaps, but I am in no mood to bunt for the particular niche they would adorn. They are far away from home in the mouth of a Socialist on a soap-box or en the war-path, however. It is quite true that material interests determine the conduct of the vast majority of mankind, for instance, but that broad generalizamilitant Socialist unless he is prepared to give quick and sensible rejoinder to the query, "Then what are you talking about? Go home and go to bed." the sense in which it may be taken by one who hears a Socialist speaker for the first time, it is not at all true that material interests, or even apparent material interests, guides the conduct of the majority. They are guided rather, ito the extent that the word "guide" may imply motion in any di rection) by custom, prejudice, supersti-tion, and all the passions that may be excited by appeals thereto—quite regardiess of any consideration of "ma terial interests." The efficacy of the present scheme to prostitute the noble entiment of patriotism to the base uses of the criminal capitalists may be cited as one of the many instances in which the majority are guided by any-

It may be prejudice, but I am opposed to the use of academic language oy people who have never been through college, especially among those who wouldn't know a college from colliery. Let us talk United States

It is likewise true that "changes h the processes of production and distri-bution are bound to bring about cor juridic superstructures," only the average man to whom you impart this are talking about, and wor superstructure, incidic or otherwise if he ran up against it and hurt him self. Even when this fact is couche in modern terms the average heare in modern terms the average pearer thinks of the fhillion tramps wander-ing aimlessly whout the country, the million thoughtlessly pursuing the ever-clustve "jok," the millions con-tenfedly toiling for wages with which they cannot make ends meet, the so-called intelligent business men still blind to the fate which will as surely overtake them as it has hundreds of thousands of "business men" before them,-all these he thinks of, and he has his doubts about any superstruc-ture as a result of mere "changes in the system of production and distribution." The statement is too general non- and statement is the general in character to be of any value in pro-paganda, unless it is used as merely a summing up after a presentation in de-tail of such every-day truths relating to it as the non-Socialist may easily

When, as a boy, I first beard a Stchaint speak, I made up my mind that if I ever became class-conscious I should certainty take chloroform for if I ever became clam-conscious I should certainly take chloroform for it,—if he was a sample of the class-conscious workingman. With him it was so conscious of helay class-conscious that he dilast appear to be conscious of anything class, and seemed to be under the impression that class-conscious of anything class, and seemed to be under the impression that class-conscious of anything class, and seemed to be under the impression that class-conscious that he was not many individuals who, though they had more hard the term, were far seer class-conscious than the orate. Proletarian class-conscious that the orate. Proletarian class-conscious that the orate. Proletarian class-conscious that the places in the orate of the fart that the lity proception of the fart that the lity proception of the fart that the lity proception of the fart that the law you had not be the factality be made to the factality be made to the factality for made to the factality is made to the factality for made to the factality for the proception of a carcino of facta proving that human carcino, but the class we describe the content of made in the factality of the factality of the content of the factality of

contraction against revolution, the inger is the number of voters who inke malignant answer, 'All the more whom for voting that way now." the one hand the scandals and duels and divorces and general devitry moning the classes who are ordained of dod to rulership, the various and contradictory changes of "governmental" policy, the Monday praising of the people for their "loyalty" and the Tuesday damning he for their "loyalty" and the day damning of them for being one to their king and country, the eneral incapacity and corruption outlie officials, and the atter failure ey attempted "reforming" of things; on the other annutitie lavera-less shower in legislation toward cer-tain sections of the business world (such as privileges to the sugar and brandy makers and the pretective parist, for corn dealers), the ever-growing increase in the war and naval esti-mates, and the refusal of the govern-ment to satisfy the demands of the people for a larger measure of political liberty.

And another contributor, writing or the same subject, attributes the growth of Socialism in Germany to the fact that "there is absolutely no rallyingpoint against Socialism in any of the

What is all this but meat and drink for the Socialists of America? Take that class of Germans who scoff at Socialism yet vote for it. Haven't we a few embryos of that species here! Invertebrates who will stand and be counted for Socialism when they have fair-sized political army at their back and not before. And what are the other assigned reasons for the growth of German Socialism but counts in the Socialist indictment of the capitalist class, as a damp incapable of administering urs of a nation, and conclus de. e from the enemy themselves the it is the working class alone which minimizes the life of the German Em pire despite the burdens of govern a they have to carry on their

For every public scandal among the German aristocracy, are there twenty among the capitalists

Did any change of governmenta policy in Germany ever equal in rapid-ity and effect our change from the Monroe doctrine to the McKinley doctrine?
Are not our newspapers filled with

alternate praise and censure of the actions of the American voter? Can Germany match our public offi cials is incapacity and corruption

Where are her Crokers, Quays and Tweeds? Line any country in the world such a aried collection of collapsed "re rems" to offer for the inspection of

the future archeologist?

Is there no class legislation in ou icipal, State and Federal legis atures? Is there anything else?

se are matters which, wheth of local or national significance, should receive more attention at the hands of the militant Socialist here. Suppose that the average voter does "read about them in the newspapers." He doesn't read with Socialist eyes. He needs to hear our explanation and fa-terpretation of them. With this done half fairly he wilk not only become class-conscious, but class-hopeful, and see in the working class the night to wrest the misused power of govern-ment from the hands of the criminal ministering the ability to use it in ad-ministering the work of an emanel-pated nation. Then no political party ca will be able to offer a ing-point against the

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his customery "of handedness" the Bus appropriated the article for his paper to make it appear that Comrade Scrimshaw was in his camp. But he sever got the continuation. The article is now reproduced continuation. The article is now reprodu here at the request of Comrade Scrims who will continue the scrims in The Per-

ers editors, political economists statesmen, and diplomated shallow

tongues, when philosophizing to us of this best of all social systems in the best of all possible worlds, is "Out Complex Social System." The sonority and unctuous roll of it carry conviction and comfort to gaping listeners, just as the word "Mesopotamia," pro-nounced by the good Methodist local brother every time it was his turn to preach, comforted and edited the old in the third pew from th front. But, like many another current sonorous phrase, it is nothing but phrase, fashionable and empty ense. Our social system is not a sys tern and it is not social: it is nothin out a fortuitous concourse of juxts posed atoms and units, an irregular and accidental shape that it daily and hourly takes from the undesigned and undetermined tumbling together of a heterogeneous and uncorrelated ele-ments. It is merely a chaos, a jostic, knows not how-to attain-he only

vaguely knows what—some individua vaguesy anows what—some matricals and personal happiness, by pushing and gushing and shoving and shoving all blindly along the line of the immediately and momentarity least resistance. In such a chaotic push it follows, of urse, that this mass's morals, philo sophy, religion and all its clogies, will be those of the jostle, the crush and the push-blind, inchoate, uncorrelated, momentary, makeshift and false. Of this fact we have hourly evidence and proof. In this chaos, where the strong elbow, the heavy foot, the hard fist. the cunning brain are the essential requisites for making your own wa through the snarled-up mass, and d lecting everybody else's, we see, conequently, that our laws, made. tendedly, to "govern" this headles tailless, heartiess, bowelless conglome ration, are chaotic, temporary and nakeshift, eternally revised, repealed a moment to the eternally changing convolutions of this writhing, squirm ing, wriggling, shapeless mass agony. Hence the eternal missit of laws, religion and "philosophy,"

'And out of this human chaos co everything chaotic. Where all is jost ling and eternal friction there must be generated all the heat and lurid fire of hell. Hence the outbillowings and eruptions of blind hates and ang the mighty chaetic explosions of war, followed by deep, depressive spells of exhaustion and a blind, remorseful feeling that war is somehow an inferial foolishness, and a blind, incheste wish that the whole infernal jostle and above could be carried on all some inshove could be carried on on some im-possible "Christian" and "humanita rian" principle or other, in some inco ceivable and impossible manne Hence too, all the ungovernable agony and torture of this mass of itself, as seen by the poverty, misery, crime, dis-ease, famine and universal pain, the resultant sum total of the universal mutual neutralization of the efforts of all the units of the mass to out-jostle each the other; and the weary discomfiture of ordinary social philosoph and religion in their pert, pigmy as self-conceffed pretences to comprehend explain and guide it and shape it to last resources—the one to its "systems of platitudes and mane phrases, such "" "balance of trade," "the commerce, "basines of trace," the genius of our institutions," etc., etc.; the other to its utterly unreachable and unarganble presents that this "mysterf-oun," (fod-pecutited problem will all be "explained in the other world."

be "explained in the other world."

The original chaos of earth long agorenotved linelf into some sort of order.
Strictly speaking, there never was any
chaos; the original agglousoration of
elements was all orderly; and all the
evolution of the earth and the universe
has been from order to order. It is
ouly the WORLD, the human race,
that is chaotic; and the only problem is
how to teach this jumbled-up, billed,
groping, staggering, dhorderly progeny
of an orderly earth to take pattern by
it, and submit likelf to the eternal laws
of collectivity and interdependence and
happy.

In all the ages there have been minds

of collectivity and intercopendence and he happy.

In all the ages there have been minds that have presented the knowledge of what was the large to the previous of what was the large to the previous of this human clean to ende-all, small voices, heard only by those SEESLING windows: of anothery voices crying in the villaterance to the mab he chack, ally small to hand. It has believe millenders for those voices to mis hearing by my large anothers, and we remark to the stable of the same that anothers the my large anothers, and we remark the "my mercy" of human chees, do not not be another to my large of human chees, do not not make the same chees the same chees the same chees the same chees the same cheese che

DOWN IN COMES BEBELS REPLY FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

The "Petite Republique," the Paris Socialist daily edited by Jean Jaures, ountries. The first of these questions referr

to the tactics the Socialists of Fra

to the factics the Socialists of France ought to pursue in regard to the Dreyfus affair. The ascend related to the action of Comrade Millerand who accepted the portfolio of Minister of Commerce in a bourgeois Cabinet.

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

The repty to the first question we published last week, now follows reply to the second.

The question as to whether a S ist should become a member of a bour-geois cabinet can arise either in coun-tries, like Switzerland, are genuine tries, like Switserland, are genuine democracies or in countries which are governed by Parliaments, where the Chief Executive must select his ministers from the party that controls the majority in Parliament. This question cannot therefore arise in a country like Germany or in any of the single States confprising the German union. (Nor could it arise in the United States, where the members of Cahiunion. (Nor cound it arise in the classes of Cabi-ed States, where the members of Cabi-net are appointed by the President, and in which Congress has very little to say in the uniter—Ed. The People. In spite of the parliamientary form of government in Germany the will of th reigning monarch is supreme, and he chooses his ministers at his own pleas-ure without regard to the parliamen-

tary majority.

Let us assume a case where in country with a parliamentary form government there is a So jority in the Chamber. T the Socialists would then naturally te take possession of the powers of government. It would be their duty to use this power according to the wishes of the majority of the people who would be back of them, and to enact the proper changes in State and

Government.
But the question at issue is of a

Hut the question at issue is of a quite different nature: a Socialist has entered a cabinet, the large majority of which is composed of representatives of bourgeois parties, because the parliamentary majority is composed of these parties.

A governing body should be composed of homogeneous elements, otherwise it is no government. An administration which is divided on all important questions cannot rule very long.

A Socialist minister whom his compales expect to act according to his rades expect to act according to his convictions will be bound to come in conflict with his colleagues, and he will hardly be able to us thing worth mentioning, except a fer mitter reforms in his own branch o dministration. He will be at wa

importance.
For these reasons a Socialist could never become a minister of war, or of the navy, or of education, or of internal affairs in a bourgeois cabinet. They will offer him a post in which he will be likely to do the lengt harm. he will be likely to do the least harm . . .

Another point must be considered this connection. A party which has a member in the cabinet is bound to support the administration as a whole it cannot possibly conine its support to the minister who represents it and remain in an attitude of opposition to the rest of the cabinet, for that would mean that one line day it would help bers to participating.

Thus we see that if the Party wants to adhere to its prisciples as a repre-sentative of the class-conscious prole-tariat, the difficulties which a member of it would have to contend with when taking part in the administration, would increase. If he should happen to agree with the rest of his colleagues in the cabinet, the party would be forced to vote against its own representative. In short, the more than the state with very early see the necessity of resigning his past. The beauties and she glottee of government will soom come to an end, therefore he sake of the Socialist who is a member of it, it would commit an act of treason to its own principles; confusion and uplits in its ranks would follow, and the party would betray trait.

The question would asseme a sense what different aspect if the majority in Parliament were composed of Recession. of it would have to co

The question would asseme a somewhat different aspect is the majority in Parliament were composed of Seclalists and bounded radicals. Who would be included by a least to hand with the Seclalists in carrying out the immediate Gennands which we make spea the present State. But of such a malical party there is none in France nor anywhere cise, and we need not, therefore, waste our time to discussing such all emergency. This is as much more time because of the face that the secondary for Section 10 to the more particularly grown to the time because of the face that the secondary state the secondary states and secondary seconda ...

Planty or the language of the

and that so far not a voice of represe has been raised against it.

has been raised against it.

There is a Secialist member in the respective governments of the Geneva and Eurich Cantons. Why, then, it may be asked, should a thing which is considered matural in Geneva and Zurich meet with disapproval in case of Period.

of Paris?

The reason is that the conditions in a witzerland are quite different from those in France. As is well known. those in France. As is well known, the Swiss contons are not governed by parliamentary bodies, but are pure democracies. The legislative power is in the hands of the people or vested in a Council of the Canton, which is elec-ed in a purely democratic way; and even in the latter case the people can always vote upon a law, if a certain number of voters as desire; in case a bill is introduced through the initiative of the people, it becomes a law if a

At the same time there is no Upp House (Senate) in the Swim cantons neither has the government of the canton any veto power; all it has to do is to carry out the will of the people.

is to carry out the will of the people. Under such circumstances the Sectal-Democracy exactions a power which is equivalent to the voting strength of its Constituents. If the meinher of the administration elected by it does not carry out his promises he is not elected again. The conditions of Switzerland are therefore quite different from those in France and other countries. I must therefore say in reply to the account question: I consider it a mismire for a Socialist to became a member of the aministration in a Parliamentary State and as liable to lead to confusion in the party.

in the party.

If it is a question of a Socialist entering a cabinet for the purpose of helping to meet an extraordinary entergency, then such a grave step should not be taken without the approval of

not be taken the party.

The case is different in democracies where the ministers are elected and where, as a consequence, the man elected is the trusted representative of the party.

SWEEPING BACK THE OCEAN WITH A BROOM.

ANTI-TRUST legislation advocated by "reformers" is an irridescent dream. If it were not it would be dangerous. The American Bar Association has considered the problem, W. J. Bryan has considered it, and now the conference of Governors and politicisms have idered it at Chiengo. As Inter imprison strikers so Anti-Trust legisla-tion will only be enforced against "combinations for the purpose of con-trolling the price of LABOSL". The laws framed for industrial trusts will surely be worded so so to strike the unions. They who follow "reformers" may then take their medicine. The trust is a logical and inevitable growth. It must proceed to its logical conclusion— the Co-operative Commonwealth. Anti-Trust legislation will be so more operative than an injunction against

THE WAGES OF ASSTRANCE

VALUALLE SHORE RIGHTS GIVEN AWAY AT ALBANY. The State Land Board giving sway out

heritage. "Lillian Babbitt Hyde and others obinited for \$250 a grant of 15,206 square feet in the Bast Elver at Long Island Ulty. They will improve it for dock The New York & Rocksway Beach

way ( in Jamaica Bay, near Rocksway Beach, "The Rockaway Park Improv

"The Rockaway Park Improvement Company got forty-three acres of adjacent land under water for \$0,100." Reformers" have over the outrapt. The Socialist meetly makes a note of it. When we melate all our other closes properly the will be included. It is suly a sample of how "vested interests" arise. It will be impossible to do justice except by expropriation and conferentian. We may as well become accuratement to these usly phrases.

THE ASSURBITS OF THE IM-

PERIALISTS may as well be accepted. Particularly as we can not now change door purpose. They hold that as leferior civilization has no rights which a superior civilization is bound to reception. They cits our Indian wars from King Philip to Sitting Bull. The expectation of the Seminoles was only a partiale to the neiture of Hawaii said the conquert of the Philippine. All blattery uphotos such procedure locialists propose to introduce a superior civilization, and the precedent new being unfield will suffice to seguinate from complaining if we see to make the from complaining if we see to make the custom. PERIALISTS may as well be accepted.

The other problem about getting med The eight problem about perform to convert to our cause is how to prevail their country of after they had been for country by a Socialist speak. Of country, the asset way is to supply the country of th

# A BLUNDER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By ENRICO FEMAL

If the sort of Socialism which prodie to embrace all phases of human drice Maddon's Socialism), is to be obscure and confused.--we celies all achievements and

n strange to me," we may "I am a Socialist and nothing

of me of y against the disease of crime consisted in the simple means of in-forms penalty for the demage done,

ty gave way to fines and corporal pun-abment (as mutilation, torture, etc.), ghous were almost unknown.

Abbot Franci of Florence, Pope Chement of Rome, Count Urban of Ghost made the first experimens with y imprisonment in the 17th cen-This system, however, had not ith general approval in Europe he middle of the present century estory; and North America was imprisonment (the Philadelphia m) or of single night's solitary confinement (Auburn system).

All the European countries became tem with its triple constellation of iso lation, labor and, particularly, religious instruction, and millions and billions of dollars were ment for the erection which for more than a decade had been sailed an error of the 19th century. An educated man may possibly stand

\* few months of solitary confinement applied to peasants and laborer their playsical and moral degeneration lead a sermal existence again. For

solitary imprisonment has become a universal remedy for all sorts of crime vance, and all the judge has to do is paste a label containing the numbe a certain article of the penal cod es the back of the living pupper called "defendant". The judge knows nothing whatever about the physic and perchical conditions of the crimi

This is just as clever as if a physician were to appear at the door of a hospital and say: "The medicine for all discases is a solution of quinine. give him a liter of that solution and send him to the hospital for two weeks. And yet, at the expiration of this period, he must leave the hospital even if he is still sick. Out with hind by his number; his personality disap-

two libers of the same medicine and let bin stay three weeks in the hospital. And so forth for all other diseases. The penal code proceeds in no other

is sent for twenty years to the penitentary, one half or a third of which he passes in continuous isolation. It mat-hers not if the criminal is no more dan-Tous after ten years, he has to stay tother ten years in jail. And if, on the other hand, at the expiration of twenty years, he is still a dangerous cut-throat, untit to live in society—and is many cases, the penitentiary has served to make him worse he is, tevertheless, let loose with the under-standing that he is to be clapped again in Juli if, without work and family, he theritality relapses again into crime.

Abother has committed theft; well, be it administered one and a built months of our medicine; and, now, on to juil to be labeled and incurrented!

Here is a man who inculted his
heighbor; take four weeks of our medi-There is one who with a blow of his case has broken his adversary's

And when after that the criminal Estatus are published we are sur-prised to discover that, in spite of the universal remedy of solitary confine-ment, the number of criminals and those relapsing into crime is steadily iwelling. Can you imagine anything more absurd, more inhuman than then

The reason why prison cells met with besend approval is because they were continuation of the closter of the hiddle ages and because of the belief that the sense of reportance possesses be power of reforming the condemned. points, however, were lest sight

First that imprisonment could miti-nate the terrible consequences only then each institution would contain at a few dozen immany portlan-tith a superior, aided by a star of keen sychologues, after to discontain as in temper and charges.

in man the only consciousness might help him to reform, that

Title morality can be inculented and strengthened, in social life, in constant intercourse with other people. Soli-tary confinement can only serve to en-

to social life.

That is why insasity, victorsness, mental disease, nervous debility, and suicide are inseperable from solitary imprisonment, and the relapse into crime is but the inevitable reaction upon the dismissal from prison, i. e., when the mentages in social life for

It is, therefore, quite clear why the Socialists must be opposed to the error known as the prison cell which con-demns the individual to an incurable legeneration, and is, therefore, undt to protect society from the germs of crime, and, eventually, serves an addi-tional burden upon the taxpayers of account of the enormous exp the erection of the numerous

But, one may sek, what do you pro-pose to do with criminals? The an swer is quite clear and plain.

In place of the few days or week of imprisonment which serve to com-pletely discredit the system, the microbes of crime, the most numerous of all, must be met by indemnification of the victim. In cases of insults nificant frauds committed by persons not very dangerous, it should be suffi-cient to compel the offender to make good the injury caused by him. If the should be sent to the workhouse where he could earn something and indemnify his victim.

Under the present system of prison we find the moral absurdity that the State will not secure the right of existence to those who remain honest men

The honest man, if he is withou tween starvation or suicide; but when he wants to make the State recognize it as its duty to provide for him shelter and food, he must commit a crime-and the State will then provide for him in a prison free of charge.

On the contrary, the convict should be compelled to earn his living by his own work which the State should pay according to the average market pric of labor. And thereby we would als have removed the unfair competition petween prison work and free labor. Finally, for the dangerous class of eriminals, who have committed atrocious crimes, agricultural colonie

Work in free air is still the effective means of physical and mora hygiene. Each such colony should have bed rooms to be monace in the night, which would be much simpler and less costly than our prisons. Fur-thermore, each colony should have one or more institution for occupations in cidental to agriculture, and for work

In this colony, which could also be utilized for the purpose of fertilizing barren land, a number of inhabitants must vary according to the nature of the convicts, their age, sex, muscular strength, and moral and mental endow-

It should be borne in mind that ev in the monastries and bagracks, is the that as we have come to the conclu system of the large asylun abandoned for small asylums in rura on the neighboring agricultural col es, so also must we seek to abandon the moster prisens and to resort to agricultural colonies for the other sick on which we scredy have to con-

sider the crim This positive conclusion of a modern science like that of anthropolar and criminal sociology, should not remain alien to Socialism. For Socialism has the duty to shed light on all the cons of the present time to fre us from deep rooted prejudies and to draw for us in bold outlines a clear picture of a society in accord with the beervations and results of human re-

#### COINING DOLLARS.

peas Just What You Should Expect Under Capitalism Twenty dollars a month for twenty

Twenty dollars a month for twenty months is to be paid by the owner of a basiness block in Milwaukee for the privilege of inving sufficient in ohe window of his building. This is thought in Milwaukee to be the first case wherein a property-owner is to get a revision for pecuniting the smallight to pass unobstructed over his premises for the benefit of his neighbor. The latter had rented a room in his building on condition that it be lor. The latter had rented a room in his building on condition that it be provided with natural light. This was effected by cutting a window in the wall overlooking the property of a neighbor. The latter prompets shut of the light with a tight wood serven. When reasonates with, he took the position that the light was his, and that as he had a right the event a build-ing on his let, he had a right to put up any kind o' a structure permissed by law. As inquisire by the attenues for

# SOCIALISM IS INCOME.

Within the past few years the whol aspect of society has changed. Socialism was a word to be whispered. To understand its teachings was akin to crime. To day it stands forth in every magazine and review. It comman respectful attention in the seats of learning and is the haunting fear of the world's robbers. Professors are ousted from capitalist universities for daring to discuss it, but the thought once freed has gone on conquering and to conquer. It is the most respected force in Europe to-day. Always on the side of human freedom, always aggressive and growing, its triumph is as-sured, the future is ours. Monarchs quall before it, partia

ments struggle vainly against it and ministers go down on its votes of censurs. The peace of Europe is made more secure by its international fra-ternity and the despair of the toiler is

changing to a joyous hope.

The central truth of Socialism, the common ownership and operation of all the means of production, transportation and distribution, is understood from the hovel to the palace, from the make of tell to the palace, from the ranks of toll to the ranks of million aires. The strife is no longer to stifle the iden, it is to limit it. The men of millions are its most effective and mos unwilling advocates. Every trust, syndicate and consolidation is an admission that Socialism as a SYSTEM is benefits to a few inside these combins tions who profit by the vast economic and increased productive power. The idea that Socialism at some tim

and in some form is to replace the present capitalist form of society has entered the minds of all classes and of probably a majority of the voters Some desire it, some fear it, some try s side-track the movement, some try to live upon it; but all agree that it is

coming.

The German Withelm would have "State Socialism" with "I am the State" branded upon its side. The trusts adopt its economic teaching and divide among the sacred few the enor-mous surplus value created by social-ized labor. Small capitalists clamor for the socializing of railroads, tele graphs and "natural monopolies" ( s order that for a few years longer they may survive the co all capitalists as a class turn to expe dients and make shifts that shall post capital of the nation shall be applied to capital of the nation shall be applied to the vast national resources, by the peo-ple and for the people. They are all in the rushing stream which faster and faster carries them to the inevitable end, the Co-operative Republic. They catch at straws, planks and floating They gather antitrust conferences as they float along and strive to block the tide by resolution and legislation. They even try in junctions to stay the current, but the ocialist laughs at their impotence and

Why should any workingman, who every interest is in the speedy end of the capitalist system, strive to stay the inevitable? Way should be give or throw away his vote on half measure with a little, mild, make believe, muni cipal Socialism, or public ownership when the whole programme of the Co operative Comm pwealth only await gie in the stream. They are now i the rapids and must go forward. little while longer they will float their writhing agony and the cutaract will open below them. They must then will open below them. They must then accept the rope of the Socialist Repub-lic or take the final plunge over the

rectpice. The water is deeper. ere are rocks ahead. The next time the tide of "prosperity" strike the rock of "panie" instead of four millions there may be a good many more mil-lions out of work. The magnates who have capitalised all industries will not provide work without profit. Then the idea of Socialism which has per peated all ranks will cry out for the meated all ranks will cry out for the public ownership and operation of ALL the means of prediction and dis-tribution. Politics will give way to Statesmanship, Capitalism to Social-ism, Private Ownership to the Co-

### CAPITAL.

(Continued from page 1.)

production" really embrace the essen-tial elements of Capital? production" really embrace, the essential elements of Capital?

There is a steamer plowing the Ablantic, It sits 22 feet deep in water, for it is loaded to the belin with coal. This is Capital, sure emough. The steamer strikes a reed and gase diseasement strikes a reed and gase diseasement strikes a reed and gase diseasement ratif the coal? It is not the less as instrument of production for being on the bottom of the see. Some may be inclined in dispute to the surface steamer the bonds of being as instrument of production. And wing please? Because it can no more be used. Well, those here we have as indisponsable element to make a thing what we call Gapital. It must be in USE.

what we call Capital. It must be in USE.

The given definition done not comprise this clement, and this emission is one of its errors. But one only. There are others, pentage graver our. For we may imagine a thing, in mefor the purpose of production and still getther the Socialist-killer, me the Socialist-way will street to contend the thing to be Capital.

Let deviate the recommendation of the Capital.

ciety. These relations related to the above we have not exhaused the attributes of Capital. For a thing may be in use for productive purpose in an organized community and side not be Capital. The gene of the prime not be Captum.

tive period; the latter-day Carminate processing the many communistic fraternities of many denominations and creeds—were all organized communities and used tools of production But they had no Capital; they could have no capital, for they lived under manufaction of a capitalistic symmetric and not a capitalistic symmetric and not a capitalistic symmetric of the capture of the capitalistic symmetric capture of the capitalistic symmetric capture of the c tem of production. The essential ele-ments of Capital is PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

The early middle ages with their

ords who owned the tool and the pro-fucer had also not known of Capital, or to very small extent only. The sys-tem of production of this historical period was feudal and not capitalistic. This does not bring us to the end

For though the feudal system furnishe to a large extent the feature of private ownership, still it remains not the less feudal and not capitalistic; though this private ownership of the tool and exploitation of the producer feature lends it very much resemblance to the capitalistic system. The difference being that in the feudal system the pri espitalistic system the producer is pol tically a "free" agent.

Not only must it be a privately

owned instrument of production in use in organized society, but it must create producer to use the tool on condition that the result of the labor—the product, be divided between the owner and the producer, he, the owner, getting producer the by far smaller part of his product in the form of WAGES. This arrangement is the result of a "free" contract between the owner of the tool quotation marks) to engage him of anyone else of the waiting millions o tollers; the toller is "free" to accede to the arrangement of producing big pro-fits for small wages or starve. These fits for small wages or starve. These relations between the owner of the tool and the toiler imply that the toiler owns nothing; no property to call his of his muscles and his nerves.

Here, then, we have the elements b talist, Capitalism.

Capital conotes or designates a certain thing in its historic or econ relations. It attributes are: 1. A means of production.

 In use.
 Private ownership. 4. The owner to receive the larger part of the product in the form of PROFITS for permitting it to be

5. The producer, who uses it, get back from the owner the smaller par of his product in WAGES.

Eliminate any one of these elements and the thing ceases to be Capital. It is therefore erroneous to speak of Capital being owned collectively. The nstruments of production may be, but then one of the attributes that are in private ownership—, being eliminate

the absolute ownership of the tools of production, not being bothered with abundant choice of labor in the over flowing labor-power market,—this makes a Capitalist. Your feudal lori with his cares for the health of his dures know not of the comforts of the and then feed and clothe him in orde to get his labor. Our Capitalist buys inhor-power only,—the choicest on the market—, for he has millions of illfree and land of the brave to chi

from.
Owner of the tools which he does not, use; purchaser of labor-power which uses the tools; major of profits which is the product that he had no share in producing; payer of wages to the worker which is only a part of the product produced by him, this is at

Capitalism designates a certain phase in the historic and economic develop-Capitansm congruence in the historic and economic develop-ment of society. It is a system of ap-ciety that sametions and defends Capi-

Economically, the Capitalistic Se-sicty is mainly divided into the class of exploiters—the Capitalists—and the class of wage workers. Each class is pitted against the other in ceaseless of the wage worker.

act of the wage worker.
Politically, all the powers of govern-ment are possessed by the Capitallist, and arrayed openly or covertly against the wage worker. But these are the least of the opposents with whom the wage worker has to continut. All the concevative, traditional forces of acwage worker has to contind. All the conservative, traditional forces of an electron in league with the Capitalian From his cradile to his grave the wage worker is followed by the many, watchful eyes of the agents of Capital. The electry, the teacher, the accor, the journalist, the philimophie, the man are all; some unconsciously, agents of Capital.

Gapital.

For all the aspirations M-which area is used to glory: all that he is tagged at arrest; all these of personal conductation in tention to follow are shift fully used to prop up Capital.

Love of one's country, and accepts, beautifully the country in dealing he property in dealing he property are country.

H. L. SLOBODIN.

### OHIO.

foultedly Joses. He is keeping everybody guessing. Nobody know "where he's at." The old party boss pretend that the Johes boom amounts to nothing, but the Hannaltes are kept to nothing, but the Hannaites are kept busy preventing the extreme Foraker people from belt'ng into the "golden rule" camp, while McLean and his managers are kept in constant hot wa-ter in compelling the radical Bourbons to "stay bought." Both McLean and Nash decline to debate with Jones, while the latter, up to this writing, has shiffilly deduced out of a meeting with shiftly dedged out of a meeting with Bundlow, the Socialist candidate. Probably in a future number of The

omrades of the country that Mayo Jones is quite as artful as a dodger as the average politician, and that he does not hanker after a debute with a So-cialist.

Jones is attracting to his "non-part san" movement the queerest collection of political freaks—that is, element naturally hostile ever assembled to gether in any political party. Party? No; it is no party—Jones says so him-self. It is simply a political mob rushing better-skelter after-after-Joi or the goiden rule or a rainbow something like that.

something like that.

There are Foraker Republicans—and gold bugs, too, mind you—who are shouting for Jones, and their only reason for doing so is that they have Hanna. There are silver Democrats pawing up the earth for Jones who do so merely because they are mad at McLean. There are Pops who march-ed with Bryan in 1896 and Pops who remained in the middle of the road esponsing the cause of the Toledo Mayor: and there are likewise a few confused persons who call themselves Socialists, philosophical Anarchists, old-time greenbackers, single taxers. temperance referiners, free lovers, and paganda for "pon-partisanism.

Of course, to build a solid organiza-tion out of such heterogeneous ele-ments is out of the question. If the People's party foundered because of its babel of voices, the present lones what-is-it will surely meet a similar fate. It possesses not a single qualified tion that guarantees its permanency a an organization, and while it is an un known quantity at present—and may poil a large vote in November or result in a complete fizzle—its dissatisfied elements will again melt away like snow in July next year when the great na tional struggle comes.

The really progressive and awakened workingmen with whom we come in contact therefore consider it unwise to lose valuable time by joining the tem-porary, mushroom Jones party. They are beginning to see the ridiculand then with a Bryon again, and so on until all their energy and ambition is exhausted and they finally give up in despair and become pessimistic in despair and become pessumer a their many disappointments, only to find themselves in helpless wag-slavery with absolutely no politica power at their back. Secision is not coming with

mighty hurrab-it will require hard. steady work—and we ought to profit by the experience of the Buropean toil ers in this respect. Every vote for straight-out, uncompromising Social-ism counts, and 10,000 votes for the Socialist Labor Party this fall will have greater significance and cause more fear in capitalistic circles that 100 000 votes for Jonesism.

All things considered, the out is the political battle-ground of the Nation this year-for a defeat for the Republicans would mean a severe blow to the right wing of capitalism, commanded by Hauna and McKinley; while John R. McLean is staking all to win out, as he desires to land on the Presidential telest next year, and thus lead the left wing of capitalism—is most encouraging from the Socialist point of view, and we hope for and expect a strong, healthy increase despite all seemingly insummountable obstacles. Republicans would mean a severe blow

M. S. HAYBS.

#### HUMAN NATURE. (Continued from page L)

of capitalism, consciously or uncon-arisantly, invented this theory of uni-rersal selfathness, as an apology for espitalism and a pretext for abolishing certain old institutions which hindered

certain old institutions which hindered its growth.

As an apology, first: They argued that every man inturnity evels wealth, without report to the interests of other men. The capitalism, they mid, are only those whose superior shifty gives them success in the strife. Since every man thus seeks only direct personal ad-vantage (that is, wealth) any condition but that of competition is impossible.

As a protest, act: Since busion rat-

but that of competition is impossible.

As a present, next: Since beside return is so constitute, social institutions ought to reflect the assectant and allow the follow! Therry to each individual is the battle for weath. Life is a fight, they said, and all we can do is a demand a fast food and as of aver. But there were certain contour and motivations. Inherited from earlier thy, which operated to restrict the competition of individuals and the assessing of weath. Reposintly there were certain testinations which assessed a small assessment of property.

be impracticable, and bad if it were be impracticable, and bad if it were practicable. What we do propose is that men should co-operate in the own-ership and sandaustration of the means of production, just as they already co-operate in the use of those means of production. Individual industry is a thing of the past. We co-operate in the factory in producing wealth. But we allow nomeone case to claim the fac-tory and to shut us out from any co-operation in its control and the distri-bution of the product. Socialists argue that this tendency to concentration, to collective action, must be carried out and applied to the appropriation as well as to the production of wealth. If anyone thinks that Socialism means of the community are required to live together as one family and hold both goods and wives in common as some only rebuke their ignorance or their in common, that must depend on peo ple's taste. Assure to each person the product of his labor, through collective wnership and operation of the means

This is what Socialism proposes. And as a result of such action it pre and demonstrates the truth of its promises) a great reduction of toil and a great increase of means of enjoyment to all those—the great majority—who now toil for others; and even to the present rulers and exploiters, it prom-ises a healthier, happier, safer life than they can now live—though it does not promise. On the other hand, it demands no sacrifice-except, from the gotten gains and their unrightful

mands upon human nature than capi-tation makes. For it makes it far easier for men to be just and kind and generous to each other. Finally, for the third point, the are

posed unchangeableness of human nat-ure: It is a curious thing, I have said that clergymen, who congratulate themselves on the "changes of heart" wrought in their churches, should urge this point against us. Equally curio ing, men who accept the doctrines of evolution and believe that all things, more especially all living things, are constantly changing and developing should hold that, in this one particular of absolute and unintelligent materia selfishness, man's nature is not subject to change. These cases are few. But they seem to indicate a wilful per-

The lowest savages out their prise the lowest savages on their particulars of war. We hold up our inside in horror at such cruelty. We look at a neighboring people and find that they, instead of eating their captives, enslave them. Ah, we say, these people are more human. As for us, we do not nake stave of those we conque make wage workers of them. hold." we say, "how kind we are;

cat out of the bag.
At first the best use men can make nte good broiling steaks. But so soo ture, it becomes more profitable to se to this change. The more advanced people come to have an actual moral favor of slavery: Thus human nature has changed: But the change was the result, not the cause, of a change in the economic system namely, the rise of agriculture. I have no doubt that young brave among the cana has had proposed that the catting of human fresh he sholished, he would have licen greeted with howks of rings and hoots of deriths. Some aged reprobate of a chief, adorned with the acalps or teeth of the men he had eaten, might have risen in the council and said: "My dear young friend, your idea in beautiful, but it is an iridescent dream. I wish as much as anyone that caminatism did not exist. But your theory is quite impracticable. It is a theory is quite impracticable. It part of man's nature to set other me

pact of man's nature to est other mea-and you can't change human nature." The instances of caustialism and slavery, each sincerely considered right at one time and sincerely condemned at profite illustrate. at mother. Sinstrate a general truth. There is hardly a single "virtue" is our code that has not, at some time. demned as a vice; and there is hardly a "vice" in our code that has not at use is constantly changing. And its changes are governmed by the changes in the social system.

Are you doing all you can for The People? Don't forgot that the feel way to reach those who are etlangers.

There is an article by Caytain W. S. Blow of the 15th U. S. Infantry in the July number of the "Journal of Mili-tary Service Institutions" that is de-cidedly interesting to those who have watched the progress of the use of the solitory in the interest of the capital ists in labor disputes. It is an article that should be in the bands of every inhorer. Its subject is the management of troops in demostic roots, and all in-horers know that this means in time of

In delevaning the preparation for such an emergency the author suggests that "All men entisted from the city be transferred to other points, and no new enlistments be made from it." Tale is plainly said to be for the purpose of preventing any sympathy existing be-tween the soldiers and the strikers. It will doubtless occur to our readers tha those who have served in the Philip pines will be still more heartless butch ers and show a greater readbase is firing upon their brother laborers. Then there is another little detail that Then there is another nite detail that is at least interesting when he says that "at least two here is each company should understand how to rue a locomotive." It is these seen that from the root between the from locomotive." It is these each that from the very beginning perpendions are being made to supply the strikers places with the soldlers instead of pre-tending to confine them to their so-called legitimate function of protec-ing private property. It may be said that the presence of but two men in a company would not up far toward re-placing the employees of a great rail-road, but the finet is that if one or two trains, are run secressfully it may

General Miles; of "breaking the mack-bone of the strike."

But any idea that the army is present at a strike for "muthal protection" is disposed of in the following state-ments which opens up a whole field of suggestion to those who have watched the progress of railroad strikes. "Dur-ing strikes some of the large reads have 'riof, or 'emergency' offices. These are provided with a force of clerka-telegraph operators, etc., and are upstrikes a special study, and has al-lufe authority in all matters course ing the existing riots. He has an ganized force of armed men at his possi, and an army of detectives a spice among the rioters. These is

on to give a number of illustrations of how this "strike office" was used dur-

New Jersey is the films of m the terminal of the largest i companies in the country. La Delavare, factarwams as We R, has been disminate, hand met, some of whom have on the crime of imaking the ma-Shorter on the Sections to ticket in pleasant in passant cale of his follows

a to the Je

membry District.

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off, by Elimenthal.

off, by Enta (W. He

Sh. by Miller

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186, by Fluin.

186, by Fluin.

The Proce Committee anomit the Insolute granulations for publication:

WHEREAR, At the convention held in Hardicultural Hail, Worcester, Manas, Sept.

1800, 1800, a resolution was pessed recommending to the various Sections the advisuability of discontinuing to circulate or recommend such papers as the "Workers' Call," "Class Struggle," or any other papers, etc., which do not recognize the National Executive Committee of which H. Kuhn is Secretary, and
WHEREAR, We consider such actions as traitorous to the movement in general, and derrimental to the interests of true Societies and unisecoming of Socialists; therefore be it

lished in our Party organs.

1 J. HEAGELE,

1 P. McDONALD,
GEORGE KNORR.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE COMMITTEE,
S. L. P.
Charles E. Willey, chalrman: Charles E.
Fenner, secretary; Waiter Glover, recording
secretary; Denis Doyle, treasurer; Sumser
H. Mason, Edward Boulger, H. Swanson
Bjokr, Jensie Henderson.

STREET MEETINGS, HUDSON COUNTY. Jersey City: Oct. B. Newark and Jersep avenues. Oct. 8. Newark and Jersep avenue.
Oct. 18. Greve and Sth streets.
Oct. 15. Jefferson and Oakland avenue.
Oct. 14. Central and Beacon avenue.
Oct. 17. Momouth and 8th streets.
Oct. 21. Danforth and Old Boulevard.
Weshawken:
Oct. 18. Pallande avenue and Dood street.
Hobbies:

Oct. 19.—Garden and 5th streets. Oct. 20.—Washington and 11th streets. West New York: Oct. 11.—Bergunitne ave. and 15th street.

# PARADE CONFERENCE.

At the meeting held on Saturday, Oct. 7, with Comrade Waldinger acting as chair-man. In the absence of Comrade Roth. Comrade B. Korn acted as secretary protem. The following organizations were represented: 4th A. D., 6th and 10th, 9th, 11th, 16th, 24th, 28th, 39th and 32d, 33d and 12th, 16th, 26th, 28th, 39th and 32d, 38d and 38th, 16th and 18th Brucklya. German Wasters' Union No. 1. United Engineers, Socialist Liedertafel, Cigarmakers' Union No. 80, Carpenters' Unions Nos. 809 and 5th. For the Arrangements Committee were elected; Comradea Bucker, Kirchner, Vorhauer, Pacultyi, and S. Korn; Comrade Vorhauer elected as trensurer. It was remoived to tax \$2 each organization represented, levering voluntary compributions at any amount to their discretion. Socialist France-Verein, Br. 3, donated 35; the 11th A. D., \$3. A committee was elected to Visit all organizations not represented at the meeting and to request them to join the parade. Resolved, to invite Kings and

the 12th inst. at 64 ft. 4th street, at 8 p. m. The Assembly Districts which have not sent yet their delegates are requested to do so.

The parade will take place on Saturday, Oct. 28, for which day a permit was procured. All details concerning the line of march will be made known at the next meeting.

Meeting of the District with Comrade, Tuschak in the chair. Decilied to meet every Friday. Courades are requested to devote more attention to the meetings of the District and not to leave everything to a few persons. It was decided to order 50's copies of the enlarged edition of The People and pay for some out of the treasury.

Special meeting of the District. Among other business it was decided to arrange a large mass meeting and a parade. Decided to add 50 copies more of The People to the 25 that the District is buring regularly and put them on the news stands.

18th ASSEBLY DISTRICT.

scutive Com- A regular meeting of the above District

day, Oct. 10. at the corner of Houston and Attorney streets: Friday, Oct. 13. corner Willett and Elvington streets: Tuenday, Oct. 13. corner Willett and Elvington streets: Tuenday, Oct. 25. at Stanton and Attorney streets. It was size reported that a mass meeting was arranged to take place an Friday, Oct. 20. for the debate between Coursele Hill-quit and Mr. Daniel De Leou in case the challenge is accepted by the intro. The Compaign Committee was instructed to print Coursele Hillquit's beafact in German, English, and Jowish, and to hire a hall in which the contemplated debate is to take place. All courseless are requested to appear in large numbers to the next meeting. Very important business is to transacted.

23d ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

Rogular meeting of the District. Decided to buy and distribute in the District 50 capies of The People every much until election. Also to distribute 50 capies of The People at the open air meetings. Meetings held until election every Friday, at 13 Manhattan street. A great rottfuntion meeting of the 23st A. D. taken piace Faturday, Oct. II, at 10 Manhattan street. Freezy wage warker of the District should be present. A committee was elected to prepare for the planty festivat.

Districts with literature. All correspondence and packages shall be directed to the alove address.

The four Franches and their respective officers are requested to appoint a captain for each election district, in order to facilitate the communication between the Party members and the bendquarters. Whenever possible, club houses shall be organized-but as soon as possible? The sames and residences of the captains shall be giren to the campaign secretary. Meetings of the Campaign Committee will be held every fasturday evening at the headquarters. The chairmans and secretary were tostructed by the Committee to draft a circular, written in English and German, and issue it is 8,000 copies. The distribution of these circulars should be effected before the first registration day. It was further resolved to arrange a mass meeting with Committee Matchett and Furman as English, and Jonas and Scubert as German speakers, three thousand invitation cards will be printed for that occusion and distributed before the meeting. Captains and all compains and succession, and as soon as possible, the heads will be energy demanded by the near sloss, and as soon as possible, to have them, at lipst in part, receipted by the rampaign secretary. It was further resolved to order 300 cupies of The Pouple for each of the 4 weeks preceding the required to provide the campaign secretary with ten names and addresses each week and have

the district, whereby the captains of the various election districts are requested to provide the campaign secretary with ten names and addresses each week and have them sent to The People. Two meetings are to be held on each Tuesday during the month of October, namely, on the 10th, 17th, 28th, and 31st in each election district The secretary is to make all the necessory strangements. Comrades Blumenberg and Meyer have volunteered to serve as speakers, and the Comrades Rist. Fahl, Klumb, and Blumenberg offered their services to take care of the platforms. All members are requested to hand in their name's to the campaign secretary and to put their shoulders to the wheel.

The Campaign Committee of Borough of Brooklyn is requested to arrange for Mon-

The Campaign Committee of Borough of Brooklyn is requested to arrange for Monday, on the eve of election day, a purade over the Eastern Districts followed by a mass meeting in the 20th A. D. We call upon all members of the District to read these lights with the greatest attention and to act accordingly, in order to make the campaign as systematic and as orderly as the occasion demonds.

Everyone shall be in his place ready to take an active part in the battle.

take an active part in the battle.

Down with expitation, its political agents provioustence, and their parties! Three cheers for Socialism!

YONKERS, ATTENTION

### CORRESPONDENCE

ondents who prefer to appear to r an sessional name, will attack

Editor The People.—Amid the painful epi-sodes of our Party life, since the Beekman street gentlemen were called to order by the thinking and manly part of the S. L. P.

lication.

It was to me a mystery how it could happen that the intelligent Socialists of the land did not web-smently protest against a Party organ which ridiculed as well as dragged into the gutter the lofty ideals and sentiments of the labor movement. Happily that degrading era of De Leonistic journalism is now over, and I am proud again to ask my fellow workmen to subscribe for the rejuvenated People. It is a Socialist paper now, as it years ago cought to have been. A different class of Socialists would have been brought out, if the S. L. P. would have discarded its forcer editor of careed memory, after his first attempts at bossism, self-glorification, and literary rowdylam.

I wish, could I send you 5,000 foilars and place The People as it is edited now, into the hands of every voter in New York for a few sweels before election. As I cannot do that, I enclose hereby 20 cents and shall do my best to gais 30 subscribers among my fellow workness. of whom quite a few have been reading the De Leonite "People" satilities got utterly disquasted with it. There is no doubt that they will regule faith in the Socialist morement, if they can be only induced to read the new People.

Let me congrutuate rou, comrade editor, and wish that the first eight-column edition be printed and distributed in a million copies. Fraternally your.

New York, Oct. 6, 1600.

Fraterially Pours, PERCHLER. New York, Oct. 6, 1808.

Daniel De Leon Eng., before
Propie.

Cummide:—Your reply to S. L. P., Indianspelie. Ind., in Letter Box of Inner-Repl.

24. 2006, in a lett of Intervaling news. If
you have been imposed upon its not my that
I was in Toledo on July 16 with my wife
yout in Toledo on July 16 with my wife
positing friends. I fell out speak at Goldon
End. Boxt. not was Commide Hayes there
on Gast pressions. From Hopes spelies and
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her became they were the friend lies where the distinct lies which the fetches per, but first have subbed about it. In such the there subbed about it. In such the there also, Floring about it. In such the their subs. Figure 1. The subsection of t

Editor The People.

When man who in the prime of life
Has ever been the friend of Truth.
The pittful to see him turn.
To old age to a dotard's Lie.

To old age to a dotard's Lie.

Lucies Sanial, the once beloved and honer, ed Socialist has follow. Let us not insige too barehity, let us otherish the memory of Lucies Sanial, the MAN that was And forgive the present, age, even though we may not forget.

The De Leconites held a mass meeting at Puritan Hall, Sunday night Lucies Sanial was to speak directly upon the case of the present strift. Commencing at 8:15 o'clock and eading at 9:50, he evaded the subject up to the very last ten minutes, taking up the time with his accusal of his personni services for the cause of Socialism, going considerably into details about how HE, had advised Shevitch (who is out of the U. S.) and Wendell Philips (who is dead) as to proper tactice, etc., etc., incidentally stating that, should he ever again be representative at an International Socialist Conference, HE would tell them all about what they did not know as to how a Socialist novement should be conducted, etc., etc.

When at last be did come to the vital question, he skindmed lightly over it, comparing the proceedings of the majority delegates on July 10 in New York City to "thirty Tammany bunners," who consected, a pict to steat the Party property and who "went to the headquarters of the Party at midnight armed with hars of iron and brower maliets to steat the Party property." But WE were prepared for them, we fought valually and resisted the attack and routed the "thirty Tammany bugsmers." A few more words in this strain gad he consideded. sore words in this strain and he concluded, othing about the rights and duties of a Sourd of Appents, or suspension of Section

rarily suspending Sections.

Note well the reply:

"If a lot of Tammany thieves try to steal

"If a lot of Tammany thieves try to stead the Party property, we don't need to put his matter to a Party vote." Immediately contradicting himself by supplementing the above with the statement that the Party have stready sustained them, as the 2.700 votes cast for these plainly proved.

I again rose to state that the 2.756 votes registered in the Beekmap street "People" were swelled, and I personally had evidence that the 150 votes attributed to Boston baths De Leon golumns were not true.

Mr. Sanial immediately jumped to his feet and said that I had called him a light, a man of his age and experience. I brand

Courade Claus, of Malden, was likewise rebuiled on a question relative to the membership of the S. T. & L. A. and number of delegates present at the late New York convention. Sanisi replied primarily that he did not come to speak upon the S. T. & L. A. although this address was interspersed with S. T. & L. A. lem.

Finding, when his answer did not take, he next professed ignorance as to its green standing, etc., and lastly forced himself into an admission that the numbers may be small, pet "the principle" was worth fighting for.

countries the principle was worth fight-ing for.

Comrade Henche also asked å pertinent question which met the same fate. The chairman of the meeting ruled finding the questions were not suitable to the occasion, and noting that many comrades were in the hall slive with questions not of the "proper order," adjourned the meeting. To me it was an eventful night, for the man of all men in the S. L. P. that I had profund respect for had become a shatter.

profound respect for had become a shatter ed idol. But then in Socialism principles

M. KAPLAN. Boston, Oct. 9, 1899.

Furrman Wants to Know.

Editor The People.—A few words to those comrades who stay with De Leon entertaining hopes that they will get an opportunity to oust him fand they are quite aumerous). You should fully resilue that you are supporting the man who was the lasting or of the present breach in the Party, and so man guilty of such acts has the welfare of the workingmen or the movement of Socialism at heart.

weifare of the werkingmen or the movement of Socialism at heart.

While you are tolling for your capitallatic master, paying dues to your Branch with your hard earned pennies to fight capitalism it is being used to expect a man where has proved himself the mount enemy the macement ever had in this counter. For his iterary law it is being used to support once may the has proved\_himself she worst enemy the movement ever had in this country. For he stood its a position where, as a leader, he could have stupped the dissection, instead proved himself a traition by familing the finite. He has used the paper as a means to his ends, and, once a week, has too to speak) had the ears of its subscribers to whom he has presented the De Lean side, the his and the truth. Comrade her Hanford resigned from his mothly crew, but no mention of its inhorthers to whom he has presented the De Lean side, and, out the finite is and the truth. Comrade her Hanford resigned from his mothly crew, but no mention of its in his paper, alias Heary Kunn's paper, alias the Party organ. I endand from the Race Committee. My rangually was never actions/segued or prisend by them and sit the same thus after having received was never actions/segued or prisend by them and sit the same thus after having received was the communication from m. I see them preferring charges against Commel Racchelt and myself. It is to hough?

Why don't some of them mayore Commen Matchett's letter? We all know Dun inn't the limit in its much chances my to many sewered. If he could meet them Them of our tent and file who have Dun have made of charity which he has been added to work must be torus from M. I seem to define the market of charity which he has been added to work must be torus from M. I seemed to hand with use of charity which he has been added to work must be for your law for the hand that there was a manda of a title of charity which he has been added to work must be for your law for the hand the work of a market of charity which he has been added to hand with use of charity which he has been added to hand with use of charity which he has been added to hand the work of a file of the hear of a market of a file of the hear of the hand to hand the most of the file of the hear of the hear of a market of a file of the hear of a market of a file of the hear of a file of the hear

**ELECTION FRAUDS.** 

In a revent case brought before a grand jury le Hodson County. New Jersey, Supreme Court Justice Lippen-cott in charging the jury made, in part, the following statement:

"This county has acquired, not only home hore and the first statements."

This county has acquired, not only them at all. Trath is wasted above all in our processors, and I shell attempt to hold you to it so far as I am concerned, should it be possible.

Fraterasily yours.

ROBERT RANDLOW.

Cleveland, C., Oct. 7, 1880.

The Passing of a Man.

Editor The People. was such a bad one that no surprise can be expressed that it has continued. The punishment then meted out for the frauds was such, and the other results were such, that the court had hopes that it would never happen that a reference need be made to the ab-horived subject; but one need not travel very far abroad to find that the reputa-tion remains, intensified and founded upon grounds sufficient to maintain it. Charges of fraud are freely made as to the registration of voters, of the illeto the registration of voters, of the illegal method of registry by officers of election and by private citizens in the conduct of the election, the reception of the votes, the illegality of votes, faise voting, voting on false registra tions, on registrations fliegally made, of repeaters, of stuffing boxes, of a false and illegal canvass of ballots, and

illegal or false declaration of results. "It will not be disputed, perhaps that quite a large class of our citizens belonging alike to the different politica parties, have, justly or unjustly, formd a conviction in their minds that all the popular elections are unfairly, il-legally, and fraudulently conducted. and that they are thus deprived of all and that they are thus deprived of all the influence which they should pos-sess through the exercise of the elect-ive franchise. They have become despondent and indifferent and this is a grave menace to republican institutions and popular government, and as this class increases—as it must under existing conditions—disastrous results must ensue. Its continuance and in crease will lead to the partial if not total destruction of civil liberty. This state of affairs must be corrected."

All of which should make the Social-

lats in every town more watchful when the votes cast for their candidates

#### AND THEN?

The alarm which was felt, or at least retended, about the competition of Asiatic cheap labor has subsided, but t may reappear in a new form. The great end of our policy in the f course to secure the trade of China The Philippine Islands are only a step ping stone, and the mainland of Asia is our true goal. But what if the apanese should suddenly step in and capture this trade for themselves. Much has been made of our enlarged exports of cotton goods to the Chinese market, which took place, it must be remembered, when our own market was utterly unable to absorb the production of our mills. But we lear ese trade journal that we are to be disturbed by serious competition in this line of exports. In 1892 the number of spindles in Japan was about 330,000. which manufactured nearly 10,700,00 kwans a year, the kwan being reckoned at 8.28 pounds... This was a great in crease from 1886, when the amoun four years following, the number of spindles steedily grew to nearly 800,000, and the product to over 26,600,000 kwans. It is now reported that in the year 1808 the num spindles operated was over 1,233,000 Were the Japanese to make cotton cloths for themselves, we might per saps not be justified in complaining. but the worst of it is they are export-ing them, and of course China is the were scarcely 50,000 kwana, white in the first ten months of 1808 alone they amounted to 8,881,000. Very soon the Chinese will be raising cotton and getting the Japanese to manufacture it for them, and we shall be left out alto--[Evening Post,

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

#### PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Purty of the United States, in Convention assemble reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit happiness.

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

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.

Te the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class. Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutoracy, 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

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

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 ensiavement 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

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 gt the public powers; so that held together by an indominable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial 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

#### 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, 2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephonea and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
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 innifenable, Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been compiled with.

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

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the small

to be exempt.

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

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, city, state and nation).

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

antion of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is per 14. Laws for the protection of life and timb in all occup

14. Laws for the protection we are also have the 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

micipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legis

18. Municipal self-government. 19: Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be 20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective consti

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

# The Crime of Ruby Rochiort

By Poler E. Burrowse.

is a story of amotion, edventure and villainy of a chrilling kind. Mr. Burrowee is a massive of the pair. His characters are to a massive of the pair. His characters are to the pair. He characters are to the pair. He characters are to the pair of Cloth, 16ma, \$1.00. For the cresponder, r mer part paid on receipt of prior. Ad-tem for cutting: This street and 5th are the cutting. This street and 5th are seen, forcestly at

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GERMAN BRANCH-2d end 4th Sundays, 3 p. m., 8th and Brown streets. Sist and 3nd Walton SOCIAL LABOR CLUBS-1st and 3d Sundays, 10 A. m., Kennington Labor Lyceum, 2d and Cam-bria streets.

SOUTHWARK BRANCH M Saturdays, p. m. Southwark Labor Lorents, Pass quak avenne and Pederal street. Scaler. S p. m., Popler and Balbler Streets.

JEWISH BRANCH lot and 26 Pr

mert, every factures, and the second of the MPIRE CITY LODGE MACHIN mosts every he and dis Wednesday ing et the Labor Lyreum, be ha attect. Recogning MEM 871-88 me Erceum, 64 Las

HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUR, head of 5M and 3M A D. S. S. L. T. 130th street, N. J. Danierov a every Thursday, Free reading reaffers 7.50 p. m. to 1.20 p. m. column from 1.26 p. m. to 1.20 p. m. column for this paper sheet. OCIALIST SCHENCE CLUB & SATE AND COPE OVER COUNTY COUNTY BEGINN BEGINN

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Arieller - Kreaten - and Sherie - Euse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fu the United States of Amer

the United States of America.

The above society can beautiful it began into by workingment hubbool with the opinit of noisiarity and noisiant thought is aumerical strength into greens room power of 160 seed braiches with some that h.000 male members in rapidly increasing the sumerical strength into greens room of the interest of the modern beautiful in the workingment between 18 and 45 pure of age may be admitted to meterally it any of the intractice upon pagment of a deposit of 54.00 for the first class and 25 is for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick leasn of 54.00 for the first class and 25 is for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick leasn of 56.0 for 40 weeks and of 54.00 for another 1,0 weeks, whether containing the first interestances and length of these tages in the containers and length of these tages in the containers and the wiver and unmarried daughters of the containers and the wiver and unmarried daughters of any hard to be the containers and the wiver and unmarried daughters of any hard to be a contained to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly takes are levied according to expeculture workings of the above principles are levied to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly takes are levied to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly takes are levied to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly takes are levied to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly takes are levied to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00 to the payment of \$1.0

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Cor. Girard avenue and Hancock sizes.
WEDNERDAYS
Sixth and Diamond streets.
Girard avenue and Marshall streets.
PRUESDAYS.
Fourth street and Snyder avenue.
Girard avenue and Tany atreet.
PRUESTAYS.

FRIDAYS

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Broad street and Fairmount avenue,
Broad street and Girard avenue.

SATURDAYS.

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