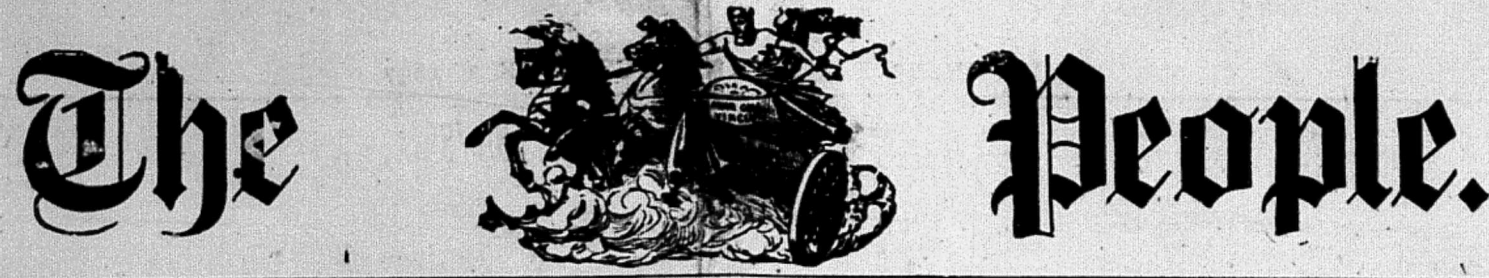


**NEWSDEALERS**  
**n Greater New York!**  
**★ THE PEOPLE ★**  
 will hereafter be furnished to the trade on  
**Friday Morning.**  
 Make your orders by your News Company  
 in due time before the Friday morning  
 delivery.  
 This change will give you an opportunity  
 to keep THE PEOPLE on your news-stand  
 during Friday, Saturday and Sunday  
 morning and secure more readers.



**THE PEOPLE**  
 Can be had hereafter from any news-  
 dealer in  
**Greater New York**  
 on FRIDAY morning. See that your news-  
 dealer gives it a prominent place on his  
 stand.  
 © 1897

**VOL. VII.—NO. 27.**

**NEW YORK, OCTOBER 3 1897.**

**PRICE 3 CENTS.**

**OPEN LETTER**

**To A. J. Caldwell, Superintendent Hydraulic Works.**

**DR. JEKYL and MR. HYDE.**

Composite Picture of the Physical, Moral, Intellectual and Financial Lineaments of the Capitalist—The Contract System—Striking Illustration of the Deception It Practices Upon and the Way it Intensifies the Fleecing of the Worker—Contract Between the Ground-Down Worker in his Tenement and the Bloated Rep-Dem-Gold-Silver-Tariff Capitalist.

I have been one of the "hydraulic" wage slaves who marched to work at the sound of the whistle for some three years, and now, by a chain of fortuitous circumstances, find myself outside of your factory, and in a position to discuss the present trouble in your works, and, in discussing it, discuss yourself as an upholder of the capitalist system.

I propose to do so by means of an open letter, thus giving you an opportunity to reply, if you so desire, and giving others an opportunity to know what we say and judge.

The trouble I have referred to (the protest of the eight men who threw down their tools and quit last Thursday two weeks) is not of recent origin. This protest was the natural culmination of a long chain of abuses and indignities showered on the workers in your factory since you took complete control.

In renewing the causes that have produced those effects I must delve a little into ancient history and discuss economics for a while. You will remember, in my last article, I spoke of the time when everything was hunky-dory in the "Hydraulic," as elsewhere. When the tool of production was in its primitive state, when the present sub-division of labor was unknown, when, in short, the mechanic was monarch of all he surveyed, production at that time was individual, not social. The shoemaker then made a pair of shoes, not a mass of shoes, and he did not loaf at that. He is merged into the collectivity.

As with the shoemaker, so with the machinist. The driller, the chipper, the monitor lathe hand, the cutting machine hand, the milling machine hand, all requiring skilled workers in the past, are now run by men with one week's practice, men who one week earlier did not know a lathe from a telescope.

You will thus notice that things have changed considerably in your factory, had to, in fact, to change to keep step with the progress of the age. But as those changes took place we find the old time mechanic had to pass away; the old time method of doing work, in which one man begins and ends a job, had to pass away, and now I write you this open letter to demonstrate to you that the time is at hand when you and your class must step down and out; the time when at the command of the revolutionary, intellectual, class-conscious proletariat you will walk the plank into the historic dung heap in which lie the kings "by divine right," together with all the tyrants and frauds of the past.

With the limited space at my disposal I find it impossible to enter into this question of your abdication with all the thoroughness that the importance of the subject demands. I would, therefore, suggest to you that you read my last article on the "hydraulic" (THE PEOPLE, Sept. 19th). When you have read there how the tool has developed, how labor has been subdivided, how the old trades Union has proved itself to be a rotten reed on which the workers leaned and fell, you will then be in a position to understand that the hydraulic worker has only one remedy, one weapon on which to rely, viz., the ballot. You being, like myself, a class-conscious man, will readily see the awful danger that confronts you, when spurred on to action by your lash, the workers will rise in their might and smite you and your class hip and thigh at the ballot box, when, tutored by Hazleton's, they will cease fighting you in the shop where you are strongest, and transfer their activity to the ballot box, where you are weakest. So that that day may be hastened, I now proceed to analyse you for their benefit, from a physical, intellectual, financial, moral and patriotic standpoint.

Physically, you, the "Worthington Weyler," bears a startling resemblance to the Spanish general, whose blood-written career has appalled humanity. When I started to get extra information about you for this article, I was surprised to hear that you come of Irish stock. Such coal black hair, such dark flashing midnight eyes, such extremely swarthy skin as you have, are not usually found amongst sons of the Clana-Gael. But, sir, you may remember that when Galway, Ireland, was a great smuggling town at the close of the last century, mixed marriages between the swarthy sons of Española and the blue-eyed daughters of the Western Isle were extremely common. So that it would not at all surprise me, if the Spanish Weyler and yourself, the hydraulic Weyler, were indeed as closely related by blood as you are by deeds.

The blood-kinship at best is but a fanciful theory, the dead-kinship is a horrible reality. As I look back on those nerve racking night-mare days of '94, when I used to take a stolen glimpse at

you (for we slaves were not supposed to stop work to gaze even on our super-intendent), as you walked through No. 5 shop five minutes before the whistle blew, watching that no one stopped for an instant until the time was up, watching that you got the last ounce of your pound of flesh, I remember how I used to marvel at the docility of the men around you, then they worked in fear from a glance of your eye, in fear of you, although every one of them was an Apollo Belvidere in comparison to you, the cigarette sucking weakling. With the lines of cruelty around the mouth well developed, with greed and distrust stamped all over your face, with a heart as black as your eyes and a liver as yellow as your skin, you stand to-day a composite picture of your class.

Intellectually, you are a bright man, well qualified to fill your position. Judging by the number of contracts your firm receives, the assistance you give to Mr. Miller, the Secretary-Treasurer of your company, in the matter of "seeing" the public officials to secure the above-named contracts, must indeed be invaluable. That can be all the more easily understood when we look at the master stroke of yours, when you entered into a conspiracy with the notorious "Mike" Coffey, then alderman, now senator, to steel one of the public streets of the city, roof it over and use it as a workshop. Your scheme fell through, owing to one slight oversight; you forgot to bribe the New York "World" (or was it that they wanted too much?); it, the "World," turned the light on your nefarious scheme; public indignation was aroused; and Bowne street was saved.

Aside from your ability to bribe, steal and rob in a legal manner and balance yourself on the legal tight rope while keeping on the right side of the jail, that work that must attract the greatest praise from the idle stock-holders, is your mastery handling of the contract system. I do not know if you invented it (the C. S.), but I know how you are carrying it out. I know how you have got the maximum amount of work out of the slaves while giving them the minimum of pay. I know that, intoxicated by the success of your efforts, you carried the C. S. to extremes that five years ago were not dreamt of. I know, for instance, that you caused the floors in section B to be swept by contract by a few boys on a Saturday afternoon. I know how you introduced it even amongst your hewers of wood and drawers of water—the \$-a-day laborers. I will cite a typical case to demonstrate your colossal meanness.

A laborer in section A had the job during the summer months of filling the barrels with ice water. It took him two hours in the morning, and he did not loaf at that. You caused him to make contract job of it. Here was the operation:

OLD STYLE, 2 HOURS @ 15 CENTS, 30 CENTS.

NEW, OR CONTRACT STYLE, TO FILLING ICE BARRELS, 20 CENTS.

The result—man starts like a racer at the first blow of the whistle. Ice is tumbled into barrels only old way. Perspiring, panting, in ONE hour the job is done, and the man figures up as follows: "In the old way I made 15 cents in an hour, now I make 20 cents in an hour, I make 5 cents extra." BUT CALDWELL MAKES 10 CENTS.

Whether he realizes that you get so much more sweat and nerves and vitality out of him, or not, I do not know, but you and I do, not we, Mr. C.? This illustration of how you get the last ounce of effort out of this man may be applied to every man in your employment. It applies to the poor dollar-a-day drudge, who, having the audacity to get married, turns in his 6 or 7 dollars to his wife on a Friday night, only to find on Sunday that she has not been able to buy him a new pair of pants, so he stays in the hot, sweaty tenement all day, while he should be out in the green fields under God's bright sun, restoring some of the energy that has been sapped out of him in the slave pen all week. But, ashamed to meet his fellow workmen in his greasy, oily, every-day garb, he stays at home, rushes the can, gets gloriously drunk on a few cents and goes to hear one of your Pharisees tell him the following night about the "intemperance of the working class," whereas he feels extremely penitent and probably makes a vow that he will stop voting the Dem-Rep-Caldwell ticket, instead vote the Prohib-Caldwell ticket.

Yes, Mr. Caldwell, in the manipulation of the contract system, you have proved yourself a brainy man. But there is one thing that you cannot prove, and that is that you are a useful man, other than to the parasites who employ you.

In this wasteful system your energies are wasted, your keen intellect, in an orderly, decent system of society, would be very valuable. You would probably be looked up to as a wise leader of men. Under this system you are looked down on by all thinking men as an unequalled evil. Whether we look on you as the buyer of legislation, as the man who directs what jobs shall be given to the old parties' heeled, who clamor at your gates with letters from Coffey & Co., or as the man who ruthlessly rushes the contract system along, in whatever capacity we view you, you stand revealed—THE PARASITE THAT PRODUCES NO USEFUL WEALTH.

When we view you morally, we must do so from a public standpoint. What your private life is, I do not know, nor do I care; that is your own concern. That it is possible for you to lead a Jekyll and Hyde existence, goes without saying; that when you leave the whip out of your hands in the evening, you could go home and carress a little dark-eyed daughter, sit by the fire and indulge in sweet reveries about her success in after life, while, only that day, by driving men to desperation, they drew up their work, believing that it is

(Continued on Page 3.)

**A MINER**  
**On the True Inwardness of the Recent Strike.**

Thoroughly Humbugged the Rank and File are by their Officers—Cheated Before and Cheated After the Strike—"Dues," "Dues" is all the Officers are After—The Iron Workers' Union—How the Swindle of the Tariff is Worked and How Transparent it is.

CANAL DOVER, O., Sept. 19.—THE PEOPLE'S OF repeated attacks on pure and simple are entirely justified, as events daily show. Messrs. Ratchford, Gompers, Strasser, et al., are just the birds we take them to be. They may dress themselves out in the borrowed feathers of radical words and phrases, used on occasions of course, but inevitably they show their fakirism. The present mining struggle, reported by the papers as "settled," is another link in the chain of indictments we will fire at pure and simple.

No unbiased mind can fail, after honest investigation of the coal situation, to regard the whole mining labor official outfit as fake. The cry was living wages, and 69 cents per ton the rate proposed that would give the miner those wages. Now, that cry was downright dishonest, and no one was more aware of it than the officers of the organization. As an experienced miner, I am able to state that 69 cents by no means is living wages. The best miner cannot put out over three tons of screened coal. Since, because of the differential, Ohio miners get but 56 cents at the 69 cent rate, it will be readily seen that here in the Buckeye State at least, there was nothing to exult at. Count out cost of oil, powder, tool sharpening and other mining incidents; added to a practice the companies follow of putting more men in a room than is actually needed, so as to mulct a greater number, consider this, and all the more emphatic does the fraud become.

All of these facts the "leaders" were perfectly aware of, but all of them, it is needless to say, failed to attribute to the right cause. They don't recognize that a purely economic union is a failure; at least we poor miners do not hear so. Instead, we poor miners have the consolation flung at us that we would have won if we had paid our dues, and have stuck together. Paid dues, mind you, when by the operator's own admission, we did not make on the average that amount per day!

Fakirism must be crushed. The utterly ignorant and criminal set, who base their prestige on Bowers swagger and braggart bluster well merits such a fate. The extent to which they cause the capitalist to heap contumely upon us is barely imaginable. The hold which they have upon the unions can be readily shown, not to be from the honest regards of the members thereof, but more from the fear they hold the so-called "leaders" in. The rank and file knows the leader to be an intriguer. An honest declaration against him means to stand like lehabod, everybody's hand against you. Our old-style union is famous for its "ring." The ring dominates, and nearly always is a tool of the leader. No one goes to convention but who can be relied upon to work hand in glove with the officers. So it goes—fake from centre to circumference.

Another organization, the Ironworkers' Union, is one of the kind I depict. In economics it is simply in its babyhood. From time immemorial it has agitated for tariff—nothing but that. To-day, with Carnegie underselling English steel mill owners in India, Ireland and right in England as well, the leaders do not disabuse the men of the fallacy of the tariff. Recently a shipment of tin plate was sent to Italy, thereby knocking on the head the argument that the United States cannot produce as cheaply as Europe. More recently the Cleveland Rolling Mill Co., of Cleveland, Ohio, secures a large order for steel bars to make wire, from England. Still the president of this union leaves his rank and file to nurse the old delusion that we must have protection for our manufacturers.

I often speculate on how long this is to last. How long will we permit the fakir to assume such dictatorial powers and fake himself into office, à la Powderly, et al. The rank and file here at Dover as yet do not bring my speculation as to how long they will prey gulls to a very satisfactory point. But a day or so since a delegation, purporting to represent the Tuscarawas Co. ironworkers visited Mr. Hanna, the G. O. P. boss, at his Cleveland residence, and pledged him "our support." This was a set of "skilled" workers, than whom a child on all fours apparently is no more ignorant. Too sad to relate, Dover but echoes these men generally. Doomed to go on till it is a mere shadow, our unions still persist in such insanity. And the "leaders" acquiesce: "politics will disrupt our union," say they, but meanwhile politics of the capitalist sort are SWAMPING OUR UNIONS. A. G. T.

**Acknowledgments from Miners.**

Fr. Lichtsinn, the organizer of Section Peoria, Ill., desires to acknowledge the receipt of the following amounts for the relief of the striking miners. The monies were received through Chas. A. Baustian, of Chicago.

Carriage and Wagonworkers' Alliance, No. 107, Chicago.	\$5.00
Carriage and Wagonworkers' Union No. 4, Chicago.	3.00
13th Ward Branch, S. L. P., Chicago.	1.00
Danish Branch, No. 3, S. L. P., Chicago.	5.00
Lake View Branch, S. L. P., Chicago.	5.00
Total	\$19.00

**GLORIOUS SEP. 19th.**  
**East and West Socialists on that Day Rout Political Crooks.**

In Boston, Mass., the Mere Presence of the Socialists at a Mass Meeting Disconcerts the Political Agents of the Capitalists—In Detroit, Mich., The Crooks are Unmashed at a Meeting—At Both Places the Socialists Capture the Demonstration.

BOSTON, Mass., Sept. 20.—A very interesting and significant episode took place in this city on the evening of Sunday, the 19th inst. The Democratic Club of the Eighth Ward had called a public indignation meeting to "resent the late Hazleton outrage." The small Union Hall, on Canal street, was completely filled with an audience of about 350, which Harry Lloyd was addressing when Comrade Martha Moore Avery walked in. Her entrance was the signal for a sudden roar of applause throughout the hall. The speaker was compelled to stop, and it was some minutes before he could find his voice again. Finally he did find his voice, but not the thread of his discourse. He was thoroughly surprised and disconcerted. Just as he was beginning to feel a little better, Comrades Goldstein and Stevens walked in. Although there was no applause, the presence of these Comrades so incensed him that he let the miners go to the wall and broke into an invective against Socialists. Although there was no disturbance, he threatened to have "certain persons" put out of the hall. This tirade was received with good Socialistic indifference, and an ominous silence fell upon the assembly as he took his seat.

A poor little tool was then employed to sentimentalize over the miner. As soon as he was out of the way, Comrade Joseph Ballam arose upon the floor and requested that the platform be given to a woman who sympathized with the miners, who opposed government by injunction, and who, in her own person, had stood up for the right of free assemblage and free speech—Martha Moore Avery.

To the dismay of the fakirs upon the platform, this request was greeted by tumultuous applause, ringing cheers and calls for "Mrs. Avery" from all parts of the hall. Meanwhile Harry Lloyd, A. A. Pillar and other fakirs and world-be Democratic bosses held a very excited consultation, as the result of which the chairman said that after the speakers upon his list had finished the request would be granted. He then introduced A. J. Nickerson, President of the Bimetallic League of Boston, who opened his remarks by saying that for his part he was glad of the agitation, and would be very glad to hear the lady. Comrade Avery promptly called out: "Why do you not give up your place to me, then?"

This completely brought down the house, and a great ovation was given our Comrade, who almost was bodily carried on to the platform.

The fakirs gathered in desperation about their inefficient chairman, Harry Lloyd pushing to the very edge of the platform and striking an attitude as if he would be only too glad to enter into a prize fight.

Comrade Avery refused to go upon the platform without permission of the chairman, so that the latter was forced to invite her to a platform seat. This she took very calmly amid the resounding plaudits of the audience.

Mr. Nickerson was then allowed to proceed. He was quickly followed by A. A. Pillar, who was received with prolonged hisses, although not otherwise interrupted. Whenever the fakirs tried to make political capital for Bryan or George Fred Williams, these names were received with hisses.

Soon after Comrade Avery had taken her seat on the platform a messenger was sent out for the police. A solitary officer appeared upon the scene. The messenger reported that the janitor said if the meeting lasted beyond the time for which the hall was hired there would be an extra charge. So at the conclusion of A. A. Pillar's harangue, in which he so good as told the audience that he himself was a fakir, the chairman declared it time to adjourn. The audience arose almost as one man and demanded the extension of the meeting in favor of Comrade Avery. The janitor very willingly received the \$5 for half an hour, which was placed quickly into his hand by Comrade Goldstein, who then seized the gavel and amid cheers called the meeting to order again. But before the crowd fully appreciated that the S. L. P. had rightful possession of the hall, fakedom played a desperate trick; it hurriedly closed upon the janitor and forced him to deliver back the five-dollar bill and to put out some of the lights.

In their discomfiture, rout and haste to empty the hall the fakirs forgot to take up the collection for the miners, previously announced.

The audience dispersed with cheers for Comrade Avery and for Socialism; also with many denunciations of the fakirs, who wished to turn an indignation meeting into a political rally for Democratic ward heeled and bosses. Such remarks as the following were overheard: "They are more afraid of one woman than of all the capitalists!" "They call a meeting to protest against injunctions, then close the meeting by injunction!"

It is noteworthy that although the Comrades of the S. L. P. were out in force, they were supported by many members of the Eighth Ward Democratic Club, who warmly resented the action of their would-be bosses.

HARRIET E. LOTHROP.

The same day when this event occurred, Labor Fakir Harry D. Lloyd

was hauled over the coals in the Boston Central Labor Union by what may be considered as the first shot in a fight to the finish with the desecrators of the labor movement. David Goldstein, delegate of Cigarmakers' Union No. 97, offered the present resolution:

"WHEREAS, in plain violation of the Trades' Union law that trades unionists as such shall not engage in political contests; and whereas the President of the Carpenters' Union (Harry Lloyd) plainly manipulated the indignation meeting of the Hazleton tragedy in the interest of the Democratic party on the eve of its primaries; be it

"RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union of Boston vote condemnation of his conduct as demagogery calculated to direct the sympathy developed by the meeting to the illegitimate support of the left wing of the capitalist class, which by its possession of the public powers—the militia, the judiciary and legislative, compels intolerable conditions necessarily resulting in criminal conduct. The labor fakirs, trading on the confidence and ignorance of the rank and file, being the greatest offenders, deserve first and fullest condemnation."

Upon a point of order, raised by the notorious labor reprobate, Frank K. Foster, the matter was ultimately declared out of order, but not until a fierce debate was had upon it, out of which the fakirs in the majority got only blow upon blow and perceptibly lost ground.

DETROIT, Mich., Sep. 20.—A decided victory was scored by the Socialist Labor Party of Detroit yesterday afternoon at a large mass meeting over a gang of self-seeking politicians of the "reform" stripe, which has been operating for some time under the name of the "Direct Legislation Club." These worthies had called a meeting at Arbeiter Hall for the ostensible purpose of condemning the murder of the miners at Hazleton and denounce "government by injunction." The dodgers announcing the meeting gave the impression that the meeting indicated that it was to be under the auspices of the Debs' "Social Democracy," with W. D. Mahon, national president of the Street Railway Employees' Association as the principal speaker. It was not until the meeting broke up that its real purpose came to light, and the trick of the political crooks was discovered of trying to inveigle unsuspecting people into supporting some of their most slippery members for aldermen at the ensuing election under the pretext of furthering some measure which the platform of Debs' Social Democracy calls for, particularly the initiative and referendum. But they were badly left. The Socialists were on deck and spoiled their game.

After the preliminary remarks of the Chairman, Comrade M. Meyer requested the privilege of the floor for the purpose of explaining the position of the S. L. P., but was refused, and Mahon was announced as the next speaker. He spoke about an hour, reviewing the conditions of the workingmen in general and the coal miner in particular, and ended by pointing out the only possible solution of the social problem was the Co-operative Commonwealth, and declaring his complete conversion to Socialism. To the majority of our members this was a complete surprise, and those of us who went prepared to attack the speaker and the whole Debs scheme, and to defend the tactics of the S. L. P. found but little to criticize in Mahon's speech except that he showed a woeful lack of knowledge of the fundamental principles of Socialism, and a lack of appreciation of the Socialist Labor party tactics. But in anticipation of an attack from us on this score, he declared his belief that the S. L. P. was all right, and that he would support our ticket.

The next speaker was Lawyer Jeffries, of Coxeys Army fame, an old-time Populist, ex-Silver man and Democrat, and at present a direct legislation Democrat, who is trying to get the nomination for Alderman for the Tenth Ward on the Democratic ticket—in short, a noted political crook. Then the Committee on Resolutions, which had been appointed by the chairman when he closed his speech, reported that they intended that the audience denounce the action of the courts, the issuing of injunctions, etc. He was announced to speak on "Injunctions," but from that subject he soon drifted away to his favorite theme of "harmony" and "fusion," especially the latter. He declared his willingness to fuse with any old party provided he could get what he wanted, sic (a political job.) He was roundly hissed by the audience.

When he finished, Comrade M. Meyer again demanded the floor, and protested against the "gag law" which the chairman applied to suppress him; he was again refused, but he took his time to say that he was one of those who hissed when Jeffries demanded fusion with different political parties. He turned upon one Dr. Sherman, one of the admirers of the Debs' "Social Democracy," showed how this Sherman aimed at selling the workers out by trying to pose as a friend of labor, so that he might be elected Alderman of the Ninth Ward on the Republican ticket. Dropping Dr. Sherman, he quickly took up ex-Representative Eickhoff; showed him up as an ex-deputy sheriff under Sheriff C. P. Collins, who shot down a lot of Polish laborers at Corners Creek, on the outside of Detroit, some years ago. While Comrade Meyer showed up these fellows, all of whom were posing in the hall as great friends of labor, the hall fairly shook with the applause. Dr. Sherman turned pale, Jeffries became rattled and H. Eickhoff jumped on a chair, shouting: "Mr. Chairman, if you knew that man as well as I do you wouldn't pay any attention;" by this time the crowd started to hiss Eickhoff and to shout, "Fakir" and "Sit down." "We don't want to listen to fakirs," etc.

The Chairman was rattled. When

(Continued on Page 3.)

**CONTRASTS.**

**Socialist Language and that of All Others On Hazleton.**

**SENSE AND NONSENSE.**

Where is the Crook Who Still Claims there is no Class Struggle in America and Says he Would be a Socialist in Europe, but in this Free Country he is Democrat, a Republican, a Goo Goo, etc.—How it Would Look now in Hazleton if the Labor had not Been Regularly Buncoed, and the Working Class held the Government of Luzerne County and of Pennsylvania, as it Can?

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 17.—The meaty-mouthed and greasy reformer who will now get up before workingmen and say there is no class struggle in this country, after such an occurrence as the massacre at Hazleton deserves to be kicked out of the presence of workingmen. I have examined carefully every capitalist paper, including the Free-Silver-labor-loving ones, that I could possibly get hold of, and in all is the same meaningless, impudent sympathy for the misguided foreigners at Hazleton. All along the line, Republicans, Democrats, reformers, "goo-goo's," Mugwumps, in fact every ruffian of them, all is slobbering over with brutishly cheap and offensive charity, yet none demands that the cowardly thugs who committed the crime shall be even arrested; none of them has anything to say of the high-handed violation of law by Gen. Gobin. From both the capitalist and middle class something but threats. The cowardliness of the whole thing is so remarkably peculiar to the capitalist class—shooting in the back a crowd of men totally unarmed and not looking for any such brutality; then, taking up the usual procedure of the brute and coward, calling out armed and unscrupulous mercenaries to overawe and intimidate a handful of men stunned to stupefaction at the already brutal display of the murderous instincts of the capitalist class.

Where, oh, where, is the man who would be a nihilist in Russia, a Socialist in Germany, an anarchist in Spain, but in America a Democrat or Debsite? There is no class struggle in this country! Yet will any man say that, if instead of pursuing pure and simple tactics, the miners had learned the first principle of Socialist tactics, and had captured the political powers of Luzerne County that the Sheriff so elected would have ordered them killed like so many dogs? Not much! If any killing had to be done, those who attempted to stop those men in their legal right to walk on the highways would have been the ones to be killed.

And if the workers of Pennsylvania had captured the political powers of that State would the Socialist Governor have called out the militia to give the world the impression that the miners were of the same stripe as the capitalist, namely, cowardly beasts, whose appetites for blood must be satisfied at any cost? Not much! Again, if the militia had been used at all it would have been used to curb and keep in bounds the murderous desires of "Gen." Gobin and the crew he now leads.

And what of the "pure and simple" labor fakir at whose door the lives of the men murdered lie? Listen to him, talking through Branch 2 of Debs' party in Chicago, and through its Sovereigns Dolans, etc. What say they? The usual thing: "The capitalist is a cowardly swinish cur who will stoop to any foulness; therefore, O workingman, stoop ye also to the level of the capitalist, be ye swine, be ye brutes, crawl on your bellies, through the high grass, wait your turn and spring out and kill! Take ye the torch and burn the wealth ye have created, act like beasts and apes, and don't forget to pay us dues; pay us dues even though the money so paid us prevents you ever getting enough together to buy the gun we have told you to buy." That is the advice given at this time to the working class, by the fat, sleek ruffians who have misled the labor of this country until they have—like unto the steer in the Chicago slaughterhouse—become the paid agents of the capitalist class, used by that class to lead the workers into ambushes where they may be tortured and killed. There is a rod in pickle for the fakir, and such affairs as the Hazleton outrage simply hasten the day of its use. While the "pure and simple brigade," torn loose from their moorings, are calling on the working class to descend to the level of brutality and cowardice reached by the capitalist what say the Socialists?

The same as always: "O ye of the working class! Ye are many, the capitalists are few; ye are men, therefore act as men. If ye wish for peace and comfort, ye must exterminate the class rule that causes war and misery. Ye cannot destroy a bedbug though, by becoming a louse; therefore descend not to the level of the beast—but on Election Day let your memory of this outrage cause ye to gain the political powers now held by your enemies, and with the aid of those powers wipe out for all time the cause of your starvation, woe and death, the capitalist system, which makes men vicious and brutal, and institute in its stead the co-operative commonwealth, wherein man can be a man. To do that it is necessary for you to understand that you have got to work through a party of your class, proclaiming the desires of your class, and standing in opposition to all other classes. Such is the Socialist Labor Party, the party of the working class not alone of this country but the entire world.

ARTHUR KEEP,



THE PEOPLE.

Published at 154 William Street, New York, EVERY SUNDAY.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. Invariably in advance: One year \$1.00, Six months .60, Three months .40, Subscription Trial, one month .10.



Table showing Socialist vote in the United States for Presidential years 1892, 1896, 1900, 1904, and 1908.

Humanity must break completely with the past. If it means to establish a better social order. L. Feuerbach.

TURPIDINOUS GEORGE.

Decent and intelligent people, acquainted only superficially with the filthiness of Mr. Henry George's character, knowing him only as a shallow-pated, vain, vulgarly ambitious and unprincipled man, will consider his conduct, in allowing himself to be nominated for Mayor by the "Chicago platform" forces of the New York free silver Democracy, as the capstone of his turpitude.

It is not that the "Apostle of the Single Tax" by his conduct now allows himself to be placed on a platform that is a substantial repudiation of the "scientific principles" he stands for.

The only tactics to bring about the harmony of the labor forces are the tactics of the S. L. P. and its ally, the S. T. & L. A. It is the only successful tactics because, as these tactics alone educate, they act as a veritable fumigator against vermin.

Harmony starts from below; the only thing under it is solid information.

PAST LIGHT ON PRESENT EVENTS.

We have frequently, since the start of the class-conscious capitalist movement, organized in this city by the "Citizens' Union," pointed out whence it proceeded, whither it tended, what was at its bottom, what its goal, in short, its significance in the career of development of the capitalist in America.

Seth Low finds himself beaten by Tom Platt. That's the way the thing looks superficially. Below the surface, the facts point to this condition of things: the professional politician seems still to be so much needed by even powerful capitalists, even powerful capitalists are still to such an extent held where the hair is short by the class of the professional politician, that even the large capitalists among themselves are not yet able to come together, they have split up; one set, the one already emancipated from the professional politician, gathering under Seth Low, the other compelled to gather under Tom Platt.

The present situation, with Depew, and, thereby, the Vanderbilt interests, together with other such, in the Platt camp, making the scales tip in his favor, throws valuable light upon the methods that are adopted by the professional politician to make his subject capitalists line up; it throws valuable light on the impotence of even big capitalists, thereby throwing also a side light upon the importance to an economic class of controlling the Government; incidentally it also throws valuable light upon the essence of capitalist "good government" and other such fine phrases.

York. George had, for pay, boomed Bryanism last year, and thrown upon the unsullied name of the Socialist Labor party the suspicious that attach to his own; from him, down and up, the "Chicago Platform" howlers hereabout had been bought in the market. Knox knew that. He asked himself: "Bought once, why not be bought again?"

A nominating convention of not less than 680 "Chicago Platform" delegates meets at the Lenox Lyceum last Monday evening; WITHIN FIVE MINUTES the Committee on Credentials reports that it HAS EXAMINED the credentials, and FINDS THE DELEGATES ALL ENTITLED TO SEATS; Mr. Henry George is nominated with the understanding on all hands, himself included, that if Knox (Gold-Democrat though he is) secures the nomination, he, George, is to withdraw in his favor!!!

Of course Knox may fall to outbid other capitalist candidates for the purple of the Greater New York Mayoralty with the Tammany Praetorian Guard, in that case,—well, we shall see. At any rate, that George should be thought of as a fit tool for such a huge political piece of legerdemain, is a sufficient commentary upon his status; that he should actually lend himself thereto, and, together with the political crooks who ran the convention, perform his part, proves that there is nothing on the roll of political indecency that Mr. Henry George, Single Taxer and "Friend of Labor" will not do—for a consideration.

THE "HARMONY" CONVENTION.

The Chicago "Labor" Convention to harmonize from above, i. e., by the meeting of fakirs, instead of harmonizing from below, i. e., by clear cut, unqualified, class-conscious propaganda, is the most pitiful fizzle yet recorded in the annals of "harmony fizzes," i. e., in the annals of muttonheadism to "tutor the S. L. P. how to be practical and successful."

The day before the banner "Harmony" was hung from the paper's masthead, a bill appeared in the Legislature at Albany forbidding the burning of soft coal in any railway tunnels in New York City. It was said that if this measure were to become a law, it would put the New York Central Railway—i. e., THE VANDERBILTS—to an additional expense of at least \$100,000 a year. This bill was quietly introduced in Albany through the instrumentality of Platt, and old stagers at Albany spoke of it as performing a function known as "ringing the bell on Chauncey Depew," and predicted that it would be followed by an outbreak of "Harmony" in the "Mail and Express."

Their forecast proved true to the letter, and the "Mail and Express" has now nothing more to say against "Platt rascality," or "Milholland dishonesty."

How could not the proletariat bring these gentry to terms if it held the reins of power—they would dance to whatever tune the proletariat played!

By the light of the above exposition, if Seth Low's fate is sealed, we shall know exactly why; if it is not, and Seth Low prevails, we shall know just what it means.

DEDICATED TO OUR SPELLBINDERS.

He stands upon a truck at night, Beneath the heaven's blue; He talks aloud with all his might To tattered tollers few. And rare inspiring is the sight That he presents to view.

With glaring eyes and tongue of flame, With arms uplifted high; He doth that mighty truth proclaim: "The despot's end is nigh!" And shouts with zeal in freedom's name Until his throat is dry.

He paints in language sad and strong The sufferings of the poor; He argues wisely with the throng, And tells them how to cure Their sad condition and the wrong Which they must now endure.

The hungry crowd around him stands And lists with open mouth; They shout "Hurrah!" and clap their hands.

Until their breath is out; And when his speech at midnight ends They scatter all about.

S. L. P. Sections, Attention! Sections will please take notice that the Proceedings of the Ninth National Convention of the S. L. P. are now in print.

Sections as well as individual members should not fail to secure copies of the same, as it embodies a most important period of the party's history. There should be no Section in the country without having at least one or more copies in the archive for reference.

The price is 10 cents per copy. It is a handsome pamphlet of 64 pages. Address all orders to the New York Labor News Co., 64 East 4th street, New York City.

ing "A page from modern history," and dealing with one of the many abortive rebellions against Tom Platt, "bad government," and all that, will aid materially in elucidating the important points made above. Here it is:

If a man with his eyes open expresses the maxim that the capitalist has no political party except his pockets, that he has no political convictions except such as affect his profits, and that all his talk about "honor," "political integrity," "patriotism," "religion," etc., is but a blind behind which to fleece the people, the innocents and the criminal class of the capitalist set up a howl against the "vicious" Socialists.

Now then here is a page from modern history that speaks for itself. The organization of the Republican party in this city is just now going through the throes of a "reorganization." On the one side are the silk-stocked high muck-a-mucks who wish to control the machine, the Vanderbilts, Depews, Blisses, Choates being the leading lights on that side of the circus; on the other, are the millionaire politicians Tom Platt and Whiteley Reid, with their right hand bower, the professional workman and bunco-steerer Milholland. Each side had its "organ": The "Tribune" was the organ of the Platt-Reid-Milholland combine, while the "Mail and Express," WHICH IS THE PROPERTY OF THE VANDERBILTS, tooted the horn for the Depew-Vanderbilt-Bliss show.

Now then, when the Platt-Reid combine made its first open appearance in the local row, the editor of the "Mail and Express" was aroused to great and righteous indignation at a scheme which he claimed to be obviously designed to injure the party. He "swung out" his paper against it, publishing columns of denunciation of Platt, Reid and Milholland, under headlines of double the ordinary size and extending across two columns of the first page. In his editorial columns he published a genuine old-fashioned "scathing" leader, in double-lead, speaking of Platt, Reid and Milholland in terms which must have sent shivers down their backs, and saying of the occasion that it was not one for "temporization," but was so serious that the editor could not "mince words" about it. This was continued with undiminished fervor on the second, third and fourth days. The fire upon Platt, Reid and Milholland was terrific, and the combine assailed was spoken of as the "Platt-Reid-Milholland coalition." Then came a mysterious and unexplained change over the "Mail and Express." The name of Reid was dropped out on the fifth day, under "pressure" of some sort, and the "Tribune" ceased also to figure as an object of the editor's wrath. The headlines were still continued over two columns, but the bitterness of tone toward Platt which had hitherto distinguished them was perceptibly modified. On the sixth day the headlines dropped to a single column in width, and on the seventh Platt's name disappeared from them, and a call for "harmony" took its place. In the editorial columns, bossism continued to be assailed in general terms, but Platt as well as Reid and Milholland ceased to be mentioned.

Now, why this sudden, mysterious change? Here is the explanation: The day before the banner "Harmony" was hung from the paper's masthead, a bill appeared in the Legislature at Albany forbidding the burning of soft coal in any railway tunnels in New York City. It was said that if this measure were to become a law, it would put the New York Central Railway—i. e., THE VANDERBILTS—to an additional expense of at least \$100,000 a year. This bill was quietly introduced in Albany through the instrumentality of Platt, and old stagers at Albany spoke of it as performing a function known as "ringing the bell on Chauncey Depew," and predicted that it would be followed by an outbreak of "Harmony" in the "Mail and Express."

Their forecast proved true to the letter, and the "Mail and Express" has now nothing more to say against "Platt rascality," or "Milholland dishonesty."

It is a mistake to have acquired the power of docking a man's wages down to dog's meat; to be able to laugh at him, and kick him out, when you have no further use for him, while the whole crowd of him is only about two to ten. If we did not make ten mistakes for their one, if we only had a little more of their ability, in our ranks, if we only had a little more selfishness, a little more of their gait, we would have Socialism and they would have jobs.

With a stick of choice candy in his hand, a duds friend of mine sat upon the stoop of his papa's "brun stun" front. "Aw, aw, and why don't you get out and hustle," he snarls at sweating labor. Let him come down. Take him by each arm and remove his candy and say unto him, as you lead him away: "You are right. The world waits for us. Let us go out and hustle."

What the business man says is nearly always right; needing only an interpreter, which is no reflection on the business man. For the Bible itself needs that. What he does is nearly always right; needing only (and this is the greatest eulogy that can be offered to human action) that everybody do the same. He is not content with supplying his transient needs, he works for the future; do the same. He votes shop every time; do the same. He stands by the party that stands by him; do the same. He identifies himself and his business with the State; do the same. The silver miner believes that his business and the commonwealth stand or fall together; believe the same. He says he will spend his last dollar rather than yield to the dictation of labor; go; say unto him—the same.

Sometimes the business man thrills with sympathy. In a tone trembling with fair play, he exclaims: "Is it just, is it equitable, my dear, skilled mechanic, to let those unions dump an inferior workman into your shop at the same wages as a man like you? Oh, clever, intelligent artisan!"

"Well, raise mine," says the clever, intelligent artisan.

"No, I will leave thine as it stands and lower his," says the business man. He prefers to level down.

Now, let us follow into government, bank and insurance

PEPPER AND SALT.

PETER E. BURROWS.

Sometimes, sentences pregnant with thought are dropped by the most thoughtless on the wayside. A stranger protruded his head into a store the other day. On the front of that head was a face as blank as this sheet of paper before my pen touched it. And this is what he said: "I want something that isn't on the market." "Can't get it in the United States of America," was the answer. (But the man was only looking for an old book.)

Save your breath to cool your porridge, my liberty-loving brother. General Gobin only happens to have a little more of the brawling soldier tough about him than the silken-tongued lawyers who govern Pennsylvania and shoot men down behind a Sheriff's back. In all wage struggles between labor and capital, Gobin and the lawyers alike know that the law of settlement is martial law. In action or in reserve, martial law.

"Good-bye all. It's nothing but work and trouble. Don't cry after me, for I was not worth it. I tried hard, but I seemed never to get ahead. I am so tired. Good-bye." No tongue, no pen can add to the awful pathos of this dying message of a white slave girl overwhelmed with anxiety and hunger as she fell by her own hand in New York City.

"What fools they are!" said a Prohibitionist to a Socialist as they both stood looking on at two drunken laborers punching each other, and then getting clubbed to the hurry-up post. "What for?" asked the Socialist. "Why, for fighting each other, then getting clubbed and then having to pay for it." "Oh, that's nothing," says the Socialist, "what these drunken fellows are doing once in a while their sober companions are doing all the year round. He fights himself on the field of labor, is clubbed during the strike into surrender, and then fined by a reduction of wages. And to cap the climax of folly, he then goes and kicks himself at the ballot box."

When a man is deliberately going to the dogs; when, with his eyes open, he purchases a ticket for that destination; the fiercer the dogs and the sharper their teeth when he gets there, the better for him. When the Republican Mastiffs, the Democratic bloodhounds and the Goo poodles open their ticket booths on Election Day, and when the workingman deliberately enters these booths and takes their tickets, I say that to come home without a seat to his pants is a good thing for him, but to come home without a seat to go into his pants is better. He has learned, or others will by the sight of him.

We greatly under-estimate the genius of the business man. We think he makes many mistakes; but he makes very few. We invent mechanical combinations, make machines, make and furnish street cars, and rails for them to run upon; apply electricity to propel them, hand them over to the business man who then kindly permits us to ride in them for a nickle.

It is surely not a mistake if I teach my son to sing and read music that the business men take him into their church choir and let him sing them nearer heaven; that they allow me to take a back seat and listen to him. Nay, accord me the privilege of dropping a dime into the plate of the business man's pastor.

It is a mistake to have acquired the power of docking a man's wages down to dog's meat; to be able to laugh at him, and kick him out, when you have no further use for him, while the whole crowd of him is only about two to ten. If we did not make ten mistakes for their one, if we only had a little more of their ability, in our ranks, if we only had a little more selfishness, a little more of their gait, we would have Socialism and they would have jobs.

With a stick of choice candy in his hand, a duds friend of mine sat upon the stoop of his papa's "brun stun" front. "Aw, aw, and why don't you get out and hustle," he snarls at sweating labor. Let him come down. Take him by each arm and remove his candy and say unto him, as you lead him away: "You are right. The world waits for us. Let us go out and hustle."

What the business man says is nearly always right; needing only an interpreter, which is no reflection on the business man. For the Bible itself needs that. What he does is nearly always right; needing only (and this is the greatest eulogy that can be offered to human action) that everybody do the same. He is not content with supplying his transient needs, he works for the future; do the same. He votes shop every time; do the same. He stands by the party that stands by him; do the same. He identifies himself and his business with the State; do the same. The silver miner believes that his business and the commonwealth stand or fall together; believe the same. He says he will spend his last dollar rather than yield to the dictation of labor; go; say unto him—the same.

Sometimes the business man thrills with sympathy. In a tone trembling with fair play, he exclaims: "Is it just, is it equitable, my dear, skilled mechanic, to let those unions dump an inferior workman into your shop at the same wages as a man like you? Oh, clever, intelligent artisan!"

"Well, raise mine," says the clever, intelligent artisan.

"No, I will leave thine as it stands and lower his," says the business man. He prefers to level down.

Now, let us follow into government, bank and insurance

offices I see enter a commission of inquiry. There sit high officials with high salaries and high hats, even unto the marble pieces. "Gentlemen, we come to receive the salary sheets."

In a little time after they that once were UP on marble mantles were DOWN on their uppers.

Socialism is not such a startling revolution after all. Merely a change of employers, for the only men worth considering, for the majority, the producers, distributors and organizers. Only a change in the object of labor from single profit to general use. An irresponsible employer making way for a responsible, united community.

Is that all? Well, you may ring the changes on that a little.

Socialism is the recognition of the present class struggle, followed by a propaganda and a political party to destroy the schism of the race and restore its solidarity.

Socialism on the field consists of an organized pilgrimage of the proletariat to the ballot box.

Socialism in literature and speech is the fearless, frank and scientific diagnosis of our economic disorders.

Socialism in its early administration will be the auditing of the criminally misbalanced books kept in the offices of Capital for labor.

Socialism will be the deposition of all private usurpers of public functions.

Socialism will restore to the community the powers proper to it alone; the maintenance of public honor and dignity against private meanness.

It is the restoration to the public of all public property.

It is the new national guard for the defence of the men of the nation against the robbers of the nation.

It is the science of economy and order applied to human effort.

It is the administration of the surplus inevitably accruing from the application of machinery to wealth production.

It is the grand jury empaneled to try the profit mongers.

It is calling a halt in the commercial march, as the commissariat has got ahead of the army is trying to run away with itself.

It is the building of the true democracy.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

The "London Justice" has this to say on the way employers look upon scabs: "Spies, informers and traitors are despised by all men, even by those who profit by their treachery, and the employer, while profiting by the treason of the blackleg, despises and dislikes him, and, as soon as he possibly can, gets rid of him."

We hope the Cleveland "Citizen" does not mean to express real surprise in the following squib:

"About three weeks ago 'Cyclone' Davis, of Texas, announced that he is in the middle of the road to stay. Then he packed his grip, put on his new sombrero, and started for Iowa, where he is at present stumping for the fusionists to the great discomfiture of the 'roaders.' It is a poor week when 'Cyclone' doesn't flop at least once."

Populism, "reform," and all such things, what are they there for but to "flop"?

The Chicago "Social Democrat" is surely at the end of its tether. Weak, vapid, wordy, flimsy, drowsy, wobbly, silly though it was from the first, it is now so twaddly and absurd that it must be getting down to the dregs of its dregs. It has now an article in which Socialism is said to have existed in Peru!!!

This is "teaching Socialism" with a vengeance. The social system, that is the first-born of machinery, and well developed machinery at that, is herein taught to have existed before the dawn of machinery, in an Indian country, at that!

How clear does not such "teaching" make the reason why Socialism MUST be, and what the tactics MUST be!

A correspondent to the "Journal of the Knights of Labor," M. P. Carrick, of Pittsburg, Pa., writes this true account of Mr. Samuel Gompers:

"As to Mr. Gompers himself, I can only say that his egotism is too magnificent; that he really believes he is the president of something, and that he really has the power of an executive officer. He is simply a waddling little gob of gesture, gas and hair oil. To tell the readers of the 'Journal' the truth, he couldn't order out a battalion of pot carriers. No wonder he didn't want to go to St. Louis and declare a notional strike."



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—Has prosperity struck you?

Uncle Sam—No; has it you?

B. J. (despondently)—No, indeed!

U. S.—What is your despondency about; are you despondent because so many of our fellow wage slaves succeeded in getting themselves fooled into voting for the capitalist tickets?

B. J.—No. That's not it. I feel sad because I am not prosperous. I read about the farmer's prospering with their \$1 a bushel wheat; I read about the stock-holders prospering with the rise in stocks; but the devil a bit of that prosperity comes my way.

U. S.—You seem to be surprised.

U. S.—Of course I am; why am I, and you and all other workmen left out, while these other fellows—

U. S.—the capitalists—

B. J.—Yes, the capitalists are prospering?

U. S.—Quite natural. Because you and most other workmen (I and my fellow Socialist proletarians, who voted the S. L. P. ticket and tried to get possession of the Government, were not of your company) were silly enough to vote for tickets that stand on the capitalist platform—a platform, that acts like a pipe leading all prosperity into the pockets of the capitalists and away from the pockets of the workmen.

B. J. (snappishly)—It simply sets me hopping to see how dogmatic you Socialists are. You don't see any good in anything else. It must be just your way or not at all.

U. S. (with mock solemnity)—Let us weep!

B. J.—Yes, weep indeed; you Socialists are abominably dogmatic!

U. S.—How sad! On this subject, however, you and I will quarrel. Let's talk on more pleasant things. Have you any cigars to regale me with?

B. J.—Not one; I am sorry.

U. S.—What, a cigarmaker, and no cigars for his friends? Shame!

B. J.—Don't I tell you that I am on my uppers? I have had no work for three months; and, before that, only occasionally.

U. S.—Let's put our heads together and see if we can't force prosperity our way.

B. J. (brightening up)—How?

U. S.—You are a cigarmaker, but you have nothing to make cigars with, have you?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—I am no cigarmaker, but I have a lot of things that can be turned into cigars—to sell; we would not care to smoke them ourselves. Let's go into a partnership. I furnish the stuff, you the skill; we turn out cigars by the shiploads; and we, too, become prosperous (swings his leg over B. J.'s head knocking his hat sideways). Hops, what a prosperous time there is in prospect for us! Is it a bargain?

B. J. (looking delighted)—Why, of course!

U. S.—When shall we start?

B. J.—Right away. Where have you got the stuff?

U. S.—Home in the cellar.

B. J. (falling back disconcerted)—But your cellar has been under water these six months, and you told me the rats swim up and down it. The stuff must be all rotten by this time.

U. S.—Not at all.

B. J. (becoming impatient and out of humor)—I tell you, it must be. It is all rotten away by this time.

U. S. (with increased calm and confidence)—Not at all. Only this morning I happened to go down there; and, poking around with a stick, I picked out one—

B. J. (amazed and with eyes dilated)—One what?

U. S. (with the innocent look of a cherub, and the coolness of an iceberg)—One shoe, and to it was still tied by the string a large boot. (Pretending not to notice B. J.'s dejected look). That was only one, or two of them; but I know there are hundreds, I should think thousands more right there. It seems an old shoemaker lived in the house for many years before me, and the collection he made of old shoes and left behind is our mine. And "rotten"? No "rotten" about them! I fired the shoe I had fished out, at a rat that I just splattered against the wall. It smashed his head flat. (With aggravating coolness)—You may be sure of that, they are not rotten.

B. J. looks dumbfounded.

U. S. (unperturbed)—I have lots of tables, glue, etc. We'll set to work; roll off cigars; and roll into prosperity.

B. J. (angrily)—Do you take me for an ass?

U. S.—No.

B. J.—How come you to make such a stupid proposition to me?

U. S.—"Stupid"? Why "stupid"? B. J. (sneeringly)—One can see you are no cigarmaker. Why, man, leather is so stiff that you could not bend or ply it. At best, it might serve for filler, but how about the binders, and, above all, the wrappers. Pahaw!

U. S. (affecting to be in a towering passion)—Hang your dogmatism! Here I am offering you a chance to get into prosperity and you say: "Pshaw! You go into dogmatism about 'binders' and 'wrappers'; you want to have it just your way; you won't see any good in anything else but your view; it must be your way or not at all. Go away, you abominably dogmatic fellow (Turns on his heels and walks away snapping his eyes at B. J.)

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following news stores in Providence: A. P. Linn, 323 Eddy street. F. E. Hutchinson, 223 Smith street. James H. Nolan, 158 Charles street. T. J. Matthews, 1851 Westminster st. James McGuigan, 147 Manton avenue. Frank Randall, Cranston street, near Parade street.



THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

By KARL MARR.

[Translated from the German for THE PEOPLE.]

IV.

The National Assembly reconvened in the middle of October. On November 1, Bonaparte surprised them with a message, in which he announced the dismissal of the Barrot-Falloux Ministry, and the framing of a new. Never have lackeys been chased from service with less ceremony than Bonaparte did his ministers. The kicks, that were eventually destined for the National Assembly, Barrot & Company received in the meantime.

The Barrot Ministry was, as we have seen, composed of Legitimists and Orleanists; it was a Ministry of the party of Order. Bonaparte needed that Ministry in order to dissolve the republican constituent assembly, to effect the expedition against Rome, and to break up the democratic party. He had seemingly eclipsed himself behind this Ministry, yielded the reins to the hands of the party of Order, and assumed the modest mask, which, under Louis Philippe, had been worn by the responsible overseer of the newspapers—the mask of "homme de paille." Now he threw off the mask, it being no longer the light curtain behind which he could conceal, but the Iron Mask, which prevented him from revealing his own physiognomy. He had instituted the Barrot Ministry in order to break up the republican National Assembly in the name of the party of Order; he now dismissed it in order to declare his own name independent of the parliament of the party of Order.

There was no want of plausible pretenses for this dismissal. The Barrot Ministry had neglected even the forms of decency that would have allowed the President of the republic to appear as a power along with the National Assembly. For instance, during the vacation of the National Assembly, Bonaparte published a letter to Edgar Ney, in which he seemed to disapprove the liberal attitude of the Pope, just as, in opposition to the constituent assembly, he had published a letter, in which he praised Oudinot for his attack upon the Roman republic; when the National Assembly came to vote on the budget for the Roman expedition, Victor Hugo, out of pretended liberalism, brought up that letter for discussion; the party of Order drowned this notion of Bonaparte's under exclamations of contempt and incredulity, as though notions of Bonaparte could not possibly have any political weight; and none of the Ministers took up the gauntlet for him. On another occasion, Barrot, with his well-known hollow pathos, dropped, from the speakers' tribune in the Assembly, words of indignation upon the "abominable machinations," which, according to him, went on in the immediate vicinity of the President. Finally, while the Ministry obtained from the National Assembly a widow's pension for the Duchess of Orleans, it denied every motion to raise the Presidential civil list. And, in Bonaparte, he it always remembered, the Imperial Pretender was so closely blended with the inpecunious adventurer, that the great idea of his being destined to restore the Empire was ever supplemented by that other, to wit, that the French people was destined to pay his debts.

The Barrot-Falloux Ministry was the first and last parliamentary Ministry that Bonaparte called into life. Its dismissal marks, accordingly, a decisive period. With the Ministry, the party of Order lost, never to regain it back again, an indispensable post to the maintenance of the parliamentary régime,—the handle to the Executive power. It is readily understood that, in a country like France, where the Executive disposes over an army of more than half a million office-holders, and, consequently, keeps permanently a large mass of interests and livelihoods in the completest dependence upon itself; where the Government surrounds, controls, regulates, supervises and guards society, from its mightiest acts of national life, down to its most insignificant motions, from its common life, down to the private life of each individual; where, due to such extraordinary centralization, this body of parasites acquires a ubiquity and omniscience, a quickened capacity for motion and rapidity that finds an analog only in the helpless lack of self-reliance, in the unstrung weakness of the body social itself,—that in such a country the National Assembly lost, with the control of the ministerial posts, all real influence, unless it simultaneously simplified the administration; if possible, reduced the army of office-holders; and, finally, allowed society and public opinion to establish its own organs, independent of government censorship. But the MATERIAL INTEREST of the French bourgeoisie is most intimately wound up in maintenance of just that large and extensively ramified governmental machine. There the bourgeoisie provides for its own superfluous membership, and supplies, in the shape of government salaries, what it can not pocket in the form of profit, interest, rent and fees. On the other hand, its POLITICAL INTERESTS daily compel it to increase the power of repression, i. e., the means and the personnel of the government, and is at the same time forced to conduct an uninterrupted warfare against public opinion, and full of suspicion, to hamstring and lame the independent organs of society, whenever it does not succeed in amputating them wholly. Thus the bourgeoisie of France was forced by its own class attitude, on the one hand, to destroy the conditions for all parliamentary power, its own included, and, on the other, to render irresistible the Executive power that stood hostile to it.

The new Ministry was called the d'Hautpoul Ministry. Not that General d'Hautpoul had gained the rank of Ministerial President. Along with Barrot, Bonaparte abolished this dignity, which, it must be granted, condemned the President of the Republic to the legal nothingness of a constitutional king, of a constitutional king at that, without throne and crown, without sceptre and without sword, without irresponsibility, without the imperishable possession of the highest dignity in the State, and, what was most onward of all,—without civil list. The d'Hautpoul Ministry numbered only one man of parliamentary reputation, the Jew Fould, one of the most notorious members of the high finance. To him fell the portfolio of finance. Turn up the Paris stock quotations, and it will be found that from November 1, 1849, French stocks fall and rise with the falling and rising of the Bonapartist shares. While Bonaparte had thus found his ally in the Bourse, he, at the same time took possession of the Police through the appointment of Carlier as Prefect of Police.

But the consequences of the change of Ministry could reveal themselves only in the course of events. So far, Bonaparte had taken only one step forward, to be all the more glaringly driven back. Upon his harsh message, followed the most servile declarations of subservience to the National Assembly. As often as the Ministers made the timid attempt to introduce his own personal hobbies as bills, they themselves, seemed unwilling and compelled only by their position to run the comic errands, of whose futility they were convinced in advance. As often as Bonaparte blabbed out his plans behind the backs of his Ministers, and sported his "idées napoléoniennes," his own Ministers disavowed him from the speakers' tribune in the National Assembly. His aspirations after usurpation seemed to become audible only to the end that the ironical laughter of his adversaries should not die out. He deputed himself like an unappreciated genius, whom the whole world takes for a simpleton. Never did he enjoy in fuller measure the contempt of all classes than at this period. Never did the bourgeoisie rule more absolutely; never did it more boastfully display the insignia of sovereignty.

It is not here my purpose to write the history of its legislative activity, which is summed up in two laws passed during this period: the law re-establishing the duty on wine, and the laws on education, that abolish infidelity. While the drinking of wine was made difficult to the Frenchmen, all the more bounteously was the water of pure life poured out to them. Although in the law on the duty on wine the bourgeoisie declares the old hated French tariff system to be inviolable, it sought, by means of the laws on education, to secure the old good will of the masses that made the former bearable. One wonders to see the Orleanists, the liberal bourgeois, these old apostles of Voltairianism and of eclectic philosophy, entrust the supervision of the French intellect to their hereditary enemies, the Jesuits. But, while Orleanists and Legitimists could part company on the question of the Pretender to the crown, they understood full well that their joint reign dictated the joining of the means of oppression of two distinct epochs: that the means of subjugation of the July monarchy had to be supplemented with and strengthened by the means of subjugation of the restoration.

The farmers, deceived in all their expectations, more than ever ground down by the low scale of the price of corn, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the growing load of taxation and mortgages, began to stir in the Departments. They were answered by a systematic baiting of the school masters, whom the Government subjected to the clergy, by the systematic baiting of the Mayors, whom it subjected to the Prefects, and by a system of espionage to which all were subjected. In Paris and the large towns, the reaction itself carries the physiognomy of its own epoch, it irritates more than it crows; in the country, it becomes low, mean, petty, tiresome, vexatious,—in a word, it becomes "gensdarme." It is easily understood how three years of the gensdarme régime, sanctified by the régime of the clergyman, was bound to demoralize unripe masses.

Whatever the mass of passion and declamation, which the party of Order expended from the speakers' tribune in the National Assembly against the minority, its speech remained monosyllabic, like that of the Christian, whose speech was to be "Aye, aye; nay, nay." It was monosyllabic, whether from the tribune or the press; dull as a conundrum, whose solution is known beforehand. Whether the question was the right of petition or the duty on wine, the liberty of the press or free trade, clubs or municipal laws, protection of individual freedom or the regulation of national economy, the slogan returns ever again, the theme is monotonously the same, the verdict is ever ready and unchanged: SOCIALISM! Even bourgeois liberalism is pronounced Socialistic; Socialistic, alike, is pronounced popular education; and, likewise, Socialistic national financial reform. It was Socialistic to build a railroad where already a canal was; and it was socialistic to defend oneself with a stick when attacked with a sword.

This was not a mere form of speech, a fashion, nor yet party tactics. The bourgeoisie perceives correctly that all the weapons, which it forged against feudalism, turn their edges against itself; that all the means of education, which it brought forth, rebel against its own civilization; that all the gods which it made have fallen away from it. It understands that all its so-called citizens' rights and progressive organs assail and menace its class rule, both in its social foundation and its political superstructure—consequently, have become "socialistic." It justly scents in this menace and assault the secret of SOCIALISM, whose meaning and tendency it estimates more correctly than the spurious, so-called Socialism, is capable of estimating itself, and which, consequently, is unable to understand how it is that the bourgeoisie obdurately shuts up its ears to it, alike whether it sentimentally whines about the sufferings of humanity; or announces in Christian style the millennium and universal brotherhood; or twaddles humanistically about the soul, culture and freedom; or doctrinally hatches out a system of harmony and wellbeing for all classes. What, however, the bourgeoisie does not understand is the conse-

quence that its own parliamentary régime, its own political reign, is also of necessity bound to fall under the general ban as "socialistic." So long as the rule of the bourgeoisie is not fully organized, has not acquired its purely political character, the contrast with the other classes cannot come into view in all its sharpness, and where it does come into view, it cannot take that dangerous turn that converts every conflict with the Government into a conflict with Capital. When, however, the French bourgeoisie began to realize in every pulsation of society a menace to "peace," how could it, at the head of society, pretend to uphold the régime of unrest, its own régime, the parliamentary régime, which, according to the expression of one of its own orators, lives in struggle, and through struggle? The parliamentary régime lives on discussion,—how can it forbid discussion? Every single interest, every single social institution is there converted into general thoughts, is treated as a thought—how could any interest or institution claim to be above thought, and impose itself as an article of faith? The orators' conflict in the tribune calls forth the conflict of the rowdies in the press; the debating club in parliament is necessarily supplemented by debating clubs in the salons and the bar-rooms; the representatives, who are constantly appealing to popular opinion, justify popular opinion in expressing its real opinion in petitions. The parliamentary régime leaves everything to the decision of majorities; how can the large majorities beyond parliament be expected not to wish to decide. If, from above they hear the fiddle screeching, what else is to be expected than that those below should dance?

Accordingly, by now persecuting a SOCIALIST what formerly it had celebrated as LIBERAL, the bourgeoisie admits that its own interest orders it to raise itself above the danger of self government; that, in order to restore rest to the land, its own bourgeois parliament must, before all, be brought to rest; that, in order to preserve its social power unhurt, its political power must be broken; that the private bourgeois can continue to exploit the other classes and rejoice in "property," "family," "religion" and "order" only under the condition that his own class be condemned to the same political nullity of the other classes; that, in order to save their purse, the crown must be knocked off their heads; and the sword, that was to shield them, must at the same time be hung over their heads as a sword of Damocles.

In the domain of general bourgeois interests, the National Assembly proved itself so barren, that, for instance, the discussion over the Paris-Avignon railroad, opened in the winter of 1850, was not yet ripe for a vote on December 2, 1851. Wherever it did not oppress or was reactionary, the bourgeoisie was smitten with incurable barrenness.

While Bonaparte's Ministry either sought to take the initiative of laws in the spirit of the party of Order, or even exaggerated their severity in their enforcement and administration, he, on his part, sought to win popularity by means of childishly silly propositions, to exhibit the contrast between himself and the National Assembly, and to hint at a secret plan, held in reserve and only through circumstances temporarily prevented from disclosing its hidden treasures to the French people. Of this nature was the proposition to decree a daily extra pay of four sous to the under-officers; so, likewise, the proposition for a "word of honor" loan bank for workmen. To have money given and money borrowed—that was the perspective that he hoped to cajole the masses with. Presents and loans—to that was limited the financial wisdom of the slums, the high as well as the low; to that were limited the springs which Bonaparte knew how to set in motion. Never did Pretender speculate more dully upon the dullness of the masses.

Again and again did the National Assembly fly into a passion at these unmistakable attempts to win popularity at its expense, and at the growing danger that this adventurer, lashed on by debts and unrestrained by reputation, might venture upon some desperate act. The strained relations between the party of Order and the President had taken on a threatening aspect, when an unforeseen event threw him back, faithful, into its arms. We mean the supplementary elections of March, 1850. These elections took place to fill the vacancies created in the National Assembly after June 13 by imprisonment and exile. Paris elected only Social-Democratic candidates; it even united the largest vote upon one of the insurgents of June, 1848,—Deffoffe. In this way, the with the proletariat allied, small traders' world of Paris revenged itself for the defeat of June 13, 1849. It seemed to have disappeared from the field of battle at the hour of danger only to step on it again at a more favorable opportunity, with increased forces for the fray, and with a bolder war cry. A circumstance seemed to heighten the danger of this electoral victory. The Army voted in Paris for the June insurgent against Lahitte, a Minister of Bonaparte's, and, in the Departments, mostly for the candidates of the Mountain, who, there also, although not as decisively as in Paris, maintained the upper hand over their adversaries.

Bonaparte suddenly saw himself again face to face with the revolution. As on January 29, 1849, as on June 13, 1849, on May 10, 1850, he vanished again behind the party of Order. He bent low; he timidly apologized; he offered to appoint any Ministry whatever at the behest of the parliamentary majority; he even implored the Orleanist and Legitimist party leaders—the Thiers, Berryers, Broglies, Molés, in short, the so-called burghers—to take hold of the helm of State in person. The party of Order did not know how to utilize this opportunity, that was never to return. Instead of boldly taking possession of the proffered power, it did not even force Bonaparte to restore the Ministry, dismissed on November 1; it contented itself with humiliating him with its parades, and with effluviating Mr. Barrot to the d'Hautpoul Ministry. This Barrot had, as Public Prosecutor, stormed before the High Court at Bourges, once against the revolutionists of May 15, another time against the Democrats of June 13, both times on the charge of "attempts" against the National Assembly. None of Bonaparte's Ministers contributed later more towards the degradation of the National Assembly, and, after December 2, 1851, we meet him again as the comfortably stalled and dearly paid Vice-President of the Senate. He had spat into the soup of the revolutionists for Bonaparte to eat it.

On its part, the Social Democratic party seemed only to look for pretenses in order to make its own victory doubtful, and to dull its edge. Vidal, one of the newly elected Paris representatives, was returned for Strassburg also. He was induced to decline the seat for Paris and accept the one for Strassburg. Thus, instead of giving a definite character to their victory at the hustings, and thereby compel the party of Order forthwith to contest it in parliament; instead of thus driving the foe to battle at the season of popular enthusiasm and of a favorable temper in the Army, the democratic party tired out Paris with a new campaign during the months of March and April; it allowed the excited popular passions to wear themselves out in this second provisional electoral play; it allowed the revolutionary vigor to satiate itself with constitutional successes, and lose its breath in petty intrigues, hollow declamation and sham moves; it gave the bourgeoisie time to collect itself and make its preparations; finally, it allowed the significance of the March elections to find a sentimentally weakening commentary at the subsequent April election in the victory of Eugene Sue. In one word, it turned the 19th of March into the Fools' month.

The parliamentary majority perceived the weakness of its adversary. Its seventeen burghers—Bonaparte had left to it the direction of and responsibility for the attack—, framed a new election law, the moving of which was entrusted to Mr. Faucher, who had applied for the honor. On May 8, he introduced the new law, whereby universal suffrage was abolished; a three years' residence in the place of election imposed as a condition for voting; and, finally, the proof of this residence made dependent, for the workman, upon the testimony of his employer.

As revolutionarily as the democrats had agitated and stormed during the constitutional struggles, so constitutionally did they, now when it was imperative to attest arms in hand the earnestness of their late electoral victories, preach order, "majestic calmness," lawful conduct, i. e., blind submission to the will of the counter-revolution, which revealed itself as law. During the debate, the Mountain put the party of Order to shame by maintaining the passionless attitude of the law-abiding burger, who upholds the principle of law, against the revolutionary passion of the latter, and by knocking it down with the fearful reproach of proceeding in a revolutionary manner. Even the newly elected deputies took pains to prove by their decent and thoughtful deportment what an act of misjudgment it was to decry them as anarchists, or explain their election as a victory of the revolution. The new election law was passed on May 31. The Mountain contented itself with smuggling a protest into the pockets of the President of the Assembly. To the election law followed a new press law, whereby the revolutionary newspaper press was completely done away with. It had deserved its fate. The "National" and the "Presse," two bourgeois organs, remained after this deluge the extreme outposts of the revolution.

We have seen how, during March and April, the democratic leaders did everything to involve the people of Paris in a sham battle, and how, after May 8, they did everything to keep it away from a real battle. We may not here forget that the year 1850 was one of the most brilliant years of industrial and commercial prosperity; consequently, that the Parisian proletariat was completely employed. But the election law of May 31, 1850, excluded them from all participation in political power; it cut the field of battle itself from under them; it threw the workmen back into the state of pariahs, which they had occupied before the February revolution. In allowing themselves, in sight of such an occurrence, to be led by the democrats, and in forgetting the revolutionary interests of their class through temporary comfort, the workmen abdicated the honor of being a conquering power; they submitted to their fate; they proved that the defeat of June, 1848, had incapacitated them from resistance for many a year to come; finally, that the historic process must again, for the time being, proceed over their heads. As to the small traders' democracy, which, on June 13, had cried out: "If they but dare to assail universal suffrage then then we will show you we are!"—they now consoled themselves with the thought that the counter-revolutionary blow, which had struck them, was no blow at all, and that the law of May 31 was no law. On May 2, 1852, according to them, every Frenchman would appear at the hustings, in one hand the ballot, in the other the sword. With this prophecy they set their hearts at ease. Finally, the Army was punished by its superiors for the elections of May and April, 1850, as it was punished for the election of May 29, 1849. This time, however, it said to itself determinately: "The revolution shall not cheat us a third time."

The law of May 31, 1850, was the "coup d'état" of the bourgeoisie. All its previous conquests over the revolution had only a temporary character: They became uncertain the moment the National Assembly stepped off the stage; they depended upon the accident of general elections; and the history of the elections since 1848 proved irrefutably that, in the same measure as the actual reign of the bourgeoisie gathered strength, its moral reign over the masses wore off. Universal suffrage pronounced itself on May 10 pointedly against the reign bourgeoisie; the bourgeoisie answered with the banishment of universal suffrage. The law of May 31 was, accordingly, one of the necessities of the class struggle. On the other hand, the constitution required a minimum of two million votes for the valid election of the President of the republic. If none of the Presidential candidates polled this minimum, then the National Assembly was to elect the President out of the three candidates polling the highest votes. At the time that the constituent body made this law, ten million voters were entered on the election rolls. In its opinion, accordingly, one-fifth of the qualified voters sufficed to make a choice for President valid. The law of May 31 struck at least three million voters off the rolls, reduced the number of qualified voters to seven millions, and yet, notwithstanding, it kept the law-

ful minimum at two millions for the election of a President. Accordingly, it raised the lawful minimum from a fifth to almost a third of the qualified voters. i. e., it did all it could to smuggle the Presidential election out of the hands of the people into those of the National Assembly. Thus, by the election law of May 31, the party of Order seemed to have doubly secured its empire, in that it placed the election of both the National Assembly and the President of the republic in the keeping of the stable portion of society. (To be Continued.)

PINNED FAST.

A Socialist and a Silverite Lock Horns.

The following interesting account of the encounter in Cincinnati between Comrade Harry Carless and "Big Gun Tate" reaches us from an impartial source that means to give honor where honor is due:

"B. G. Tate, known among the advocates and admirers of the 16-to-1 doctrine as Big Gun Tate, was talked to a standstill at Workmen's Hall last night. The occasion was his debate on the silver question with Mr. Harry Carless, the speaker of the Socialist Labor party, who has been campaigning in this city.

"Before the meeting was opened some of the friends of Mr. Tate took him to one side and told him that he was 'up against it.' They had been down to Grand Army Hall Sunday night, and had listened to the oratory of the Socialist Tate to retreat, even at the eleventh hour, but Mr. Tate was confident. He had never known failure when his big gun was loaded with arguments against the 'crime of 1873,' and he felt able, before the meeting, to prove that the high price of wheat was principally due to the demonetization of the white metal.

"In the debate which followed Carless scored point after point. Tate argued that France was the most prosperous of all nations, because there exists the largest per capita. 'Coin enough silver to increase our per capita,' he argued, 'and all financial ills will vanish.'

"In reply to this, Mr. Carless read from the columns of a local free silver paper of no more remote date than Sunday last, that in the schools of France they have restaurants, in order that children who can obtain no food at home may be fed at public expense. Then he asked whether that showed a condition of prosperity where the children could not get sufficient food at home, despite there being 'coin enough' in France—for the capitalists.

Tate was silent for fully a minute. At the conclusion of the debate a silverite proposed taking a vote of the audience, but this was cried down by 'Tate, who insisted that the Socialists had 'packed the hall.'

CORRESPONDENCE.

Take Notice, Those to Whom it May Concern.

TO THE PEOPLE—Acting on instructions from the S. T. & L. A., I went to Worthington's factory last Friday week for the purpose of distributing 500 copies of THE PEOPLE containing the "Worthington" article. As I was giving them out to the men as they left the factory, a man, whom I afterwards was informed was Mr. Miller, the secretary-treasurer of the company, tried to stop me, saying: "I will not allow those papers to be given to my men. This is a blackmailing scheme and this paper is a blackmailing sheet." Of course, I took no notice of him and stayed there until all the men were supplied. Will you kindly give this gentlemen, for the benefit of his slaves, your opinion of his statement.

Brooklyn, September 28.

[There is but one answer to Mr. Miller, the same answer that we have given to all reports that have reached us of slanders uttered about us, as well as insinuations in writing. Let Mr. Miller put his statements, just the way he uttered them, in writing over his signature and send that by mail to a third person. If we do not clap him in jail for a criminal libel, it will be because, like the fakir Kurzenknebe, he absconds from justice.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

Who Can Answer?

Editor THE PEOPLE—I long was puzzled by the recommendation frequently made by Mr. Gompers and other gentlemen of his British school of trade unionism, that we workers should be "non-partisan" in our politics. As I said, I never could understand what they meant by that. Suddenly a tallow candle lighted up my brain. At least, I think so. I find out that Mr. Gompers has a son employed in the government printing office; I also learn that the holders of the jobs change about with the administration; but I learn upon unquestionable authority that Democrats may succeed Republicans, Republicans may succeed Democrats in the Government, administrations may go and administrations may come, but Mr. Gompers' son remains. Is it that that is meant by "non-partisan"? Please enlighten

AN INQUIRER.  
Washington, D. C., Sept. 28.

Benjamin Hanford's Tour Through the State.

- October 1, Poughkeepsie.
October 2, Peekskill.
October 4, Yonkers.
October 8, 9, Albany.
October 10, 11, Troy.
October 12, Schenectady.
October 13, Amsterdam.
October 14, Gloversville.
October 15, Johnstown.
October 16, 17, Utica.
October 18, Oneida.
October 19, 20, Syracuse.
October 21, Auburn.
October 22, 23, Rochester.
October 24, Lockport.
October 25, 26, 27, Buffalo.
October 28, Hornellsville.
October 30, Glens Falls.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Platform and constitution, 50 cents per 100.
Due cards, 40 cents per 100.
Application cards, 40 cents per 100.
Address all orders for supplies to the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, New York, N. Y.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

OPEN LETTER.

(Continued from Page 1)

better to starve with fresh air in their lungs than to starve in the shop's black grime, men who have daughters, too, daughters that may be forced through your actions to be one of the awful army of 40,000 women who nightly sell their bodies on the streets of New York. Yes, you may be Jekyll and Hyde, but I'm greatly afraid you are all Hyde.

Financially, I believe you are well fixed, correctly so. The man who bears the same relation to society in the production of wealth that the potato bug does to the potato, should and is well fixed under our present crazy system. But I am not kicking at that, though every dollar you have is wet with the tears and blood of the working class, I would not have it otherwise if I could. Standing as you do to-day a living picture of capitalistic greed, you still stand for progress. I know that the best friend the southern slave had, was the man who lashed him. It was the Legrees, who separated husband from wife, even as you are doing now when you force men to tramp, who took the daughter from the mother's side, as your class does now, who took the nigger out under the broiling sun and laid the whip on his quivering hide till the blood rushed forth in streams—that was the man who—favorable economic conditions aside—trained the hand, that applied the match, that fired the stick gun on Fort Sumpter. So, Mr. C., stick to your ill-gotten gold, even tho' every dollar exude blood, the handwriting is becoming more distinct on the wall, your fate will be sealed all the sooner.

Patriotically considered, you are immense. It must have been some one like you that old Ben Johnson had in mind when he said: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." I have no doubt you belonged to the noble army of national honor, who wrapped the stars and stripes around their well-fed paunches last fall and raved about "the flag, the flag." Or may be you had an interest in some silver mines, that caused you to rave about "the dollar of our daddies." I am rather inclined to think it was the former case; if it was the latter, you would have undoubtedly stopped that leather-headed ignoramus who organized the sound-money clubs in your shop. That poor little clerk of yours, God help him, who does know that he is a wage slave just as much as the man who shovels the snow from your door step. Patriotically, sir, you are as great a failure as you are morally or intellectually.

I have now summed you up, sir, honestly, fairly and without malice. This letter should be at least ten times as long to do justice to your many-sided character. I hope that when your wages slaves read it, they may draw the correct conclusion from it, to wit, that in voting the old party tickets, they are voting your ticket, voting the whip in your hand once more, no matter whether it be gold, silver, or any other ticket, their only salvation is in the party of their own class—the Socialist Labor party. The election of that ticket means the returning to power of a party of their own class, from whose presence the Caldwelles will flee as do the shadows of night from the morning sun. With confidence in the position we hold, with the lamp of science lighting our pathway, with the enthusiasm, the persistence and the courage that only the class-conscious revolutionist can possess, we say to your slaves, sir, be of good faith and stout health, for the day of deliverance is about to dawn. The workers of the world are about to come into their own. The Socialist Commonwealth is at hand. Then will we split the steeple bells with their ringing, as they tell the glad tidings of our joy. Then the horny-handed blacksmith, the lily-fingered bookkeeper, the consumptive clerk, the grimy machinist, with their wives and sisters and daughters will set their faces to the future with no fear in their hearts. Misery, poverty, prostitution and famine thrown behind, on the dung hill of obscurity with Caldwelles.

THOS. A. HICKEY.

Brooklyn, Sept. 30, 1897.

Next week, or the week following, another article by I. A. Hickey will appear, entitled: "An open letter to the Hydraulic Wage Workers."

GLORIOUS SEP. 19th.

(Continued from Page 1.)

order was restored a set of resolutions, which had been previously prepared by a member of the club, was read denouncing the murder of the strikers at Hazleton; calling upon the authorities to prosecute the criminals for murder; and in case they refused to act, appeal to the United States officials to bring the murderers to justice. Comrade Erb objected to the humble begging terms of the resolution, and moved to strike out that portion. Comrade Schneck then rose to inquire who appointed "the committee" on resolutions. The Chairman meekly replied that the committee had been appointed by the chair, whereupon Comrade Schneck informed the chairman that such a proceeding was in violation of the first principles of Socialism, and that in a Socialist meeting it was the privilege of the audience to elect all committees; he therefore moved that the resolutions be laid aside and a new committee elected to draft a new set of resolutions to express the sentiments of the audience. The motion was almost unanimously carried. A number of members of our Section were at once named for the committee. About this time it dawned upon the political schemers that their meeting had been captured by the Socialist Labor party. One of them made a motion to adjourn, upon which the crooks stamped like a flock of sheep, leaving the S. L. P. in possession of the hall. Before many had escaped Comrade Meyer mounted a chair and announced that next Sunday the Section would hold a meeting at the same hall, when a bona fide meeting was to be held and bona fide resolutions pre-

Man of straw.
Napoleonic ideas.



