



\$1-WHEAT.

Its Manifold and Instructive Aspects.

WHERE DOES THE WORKER COME IN?

The Prosperity that the Increased Price of Wheat Will Temporarily Throw the Small Farmer in, Will for a Long Time, Possibly Permanently, Clear the Path of the Revolutionary Class-Conscious Proletarian Movement of the Bubble-obstruction of Middle Class Political Insurrections—It Will Also Serve to Elucidate the Urgency of a Rigorous and "Intolerant" Observation of Class Struggle Tactics.

Well may the aristocracy of finance and the large industrial capitalists, these two supreme elements of the capitalist class, rejoice at "\$1-wheat." The thing comes in the nick of time. It helps them to disarm an annoying army of middle class insurgents, whose temporarily improved condition by the "\$1-wheat" will cause the indefinite disbanding of their political army; incidentally it offers opportunity to re-raise the cry of "prosperity," and thereby to befuddle as many befuddable workers with the false, and, for capitalists, useful notion, that the prosperity of the property-holding class implies the prosperity of the propertyless class of the proletariat.

But it is not the upper capitalist element alone that has cause to rejoice; the class-conscious proletariat also may cheer "\$1-wheat." Apart from the easing up of their work of propaganda and the smoothing of the path of the Socialist Labor party by the removal of such obstructions as middle class uprisings are apt to throw in their way, the "\$1-wheat" affords a prime opportunity by which to illustrate a fundamental principle that underlies the capitalist social system.

When times are "bad," they are spoken of as the weather is spoken of. When it rains, the rain falls upon everybody; but the rain being over, the sunshine likewise is for all. This is the conception that capitalist apostles have of the "bad" times. They claim that such times are as natural as periodical rains, and that when they are over the sunshine of prosperity falls upon all. Now, why is "\$1-wheat" at all a good thing? In Argentina and India, and even in Europe, the wheat crop is a disappointment, in some places it is a total failure: starvation stares the people in the face, over large areas they are actually starving. This is the chance of those people who have wheat. Why?

The value of merchandise depends upon the amount of human labor that is requisite to produce it. To put it more popularly, the value depends upon the ratio of the supply to the demand. The supply of wheat being greatly below the demand, its value rises. Speaking in a general way, the price of goods is their value. Hence we now see wheat worth or fetching three times the price it fetched under other circumstances. Now, who gets, or pockets, or profits by this increased price?

The price of a merchandise is received by the owner and seller of it; he benefits. The owner and seller of wheat is the farmer. The farmer now has his linings. Under capitalism, what a man pockets is the price of the goods he owns and sells. He does not pocket the price of the goods owned, and, directly or indirectly, sold by others; he pockets only the price of his own goods, that he can get a market or purchaser for. The farmer does not pocket one cent's worth of the price that the coal operators collect in a coal famine for their coal; he can pocket only the price that he collects for the wheat he sells; the coal operators does not pocket a cent's worth of the price that the dairy owner collects in a milk famine for his milk; he can pocket only the price that he collects for his coal; the dairy owner does not pocket a cent's worth of the price that the clothing manufacturer collects for his clothing, after a great fire of clothing emporiums; he can pocket only the price that he collects for the clothing he sells; and so forth. Although it may be correctly argued that the more the farmer collects, the more has he to buy with from the coal operator, the clothier, etc.; and the more either of these two have, the more are they enabled to buy from others; and that, consequently, the collections made by the one circulate in and drop into the hands of the others, thus improving the prosperity of all of these by the prosperity of any one of them, yet, notwithstanding the fact glares one in the face that it is ONLY AS THE OWNER OF A MERCHANDISE, for which there is a demand, that any one can collect values or prices under capitalism, and that ONLY AS SUCH, AS A MEMBER OF THE MERCHANDISE-HOLDING

CLASS, CAN HE AT ALL BE REACHED BY WHATEVER SUNSHINE OF PROSPERITY MAY FALL UPON ANY ONE MERCHANDISE HOLDER, OR SET OF THEM.

This being thus, where does the wage earner come in? Is he the owner of a merchandise? Unless he is, there is no chance, outside of the category of miracles or the criminal code, for him to profit by the collections made by merchandise-holders. It is upon the correct answering of this question that depends the understanding of the condition of the workingman, that depends the understanding of the economic folly that underlies all talk about "the whole people," all ignoring of the deep and broad distinction that separates the working class from all others, in short, the justification of the theory of the class struggle and of the closest adherence to the tactics it dictates.

The workingman IS the owner of a merchandise, but of a merchandise whose exceptional character takes him wholly out of the class of merchandise-holders. His merchandise is Labor-Power; and this merchandise is the only one, the supply of which is steadily increasing, and must steadily continue to increase, in the world's market. The production of labor is unceasing. Its generator is the machine and ever improving machine, together with the concentration and ever closer concentration of capital. These throw labor more and more out of work, more and more glut the labor market, and, consequently, the laws that apply to all other merchandise thus have in their application to labor only the harmful side: THE PRICE COLLECTED BY THE CLASS THAT OWNS THIS MERCHANDISE LABOR-POWER IS COMPULSORILY, INEVITABLY A DECLINING AND THE MARKET OR OPPORTUNITY TO DISPOSE OF IT IS A STEADILY SHRINKING ONE. Hence, the wage-worker is of a class wholly different from that of other sellers; hence, whatever prosperity befalls any other, its radius does not take in the working class. Hence wheat may be a dollar or a cent, the proletariat is excluded from the banquet table. Capitalism offers him a lot that can change only from dreary to drier.

There is no prosperity in store for the wage slave until he pulls himself out of the category of a merchandise, nor can he accomplish the feat except he overthrow the capitalist system and establish the Socialist Commonwealth.

IN HOLLAND.

The Large Socialist Vote and its Significance.

The existence of the Social Democracy as a political party in Holland having been seriously compromised by the anarchistic tendencies of Domela Nieuwenhuys and his followers, who opposed political action at the ballot box, and were finally disowned by the international Socialist movement at the London Congress in 1896—it became necessary to reorganize it. Steps to this effect had been previously taken by a conference of Social Democrats, held at Zwolle in August, 1894, and the reorganization then decided upon was completed at the recent congress of Arnhem.

In the meantime a new electoral law was passed, which, in the guise of reform, was intended to strengthen the political power of the Conservative, or clerical, party. This party is composed of Catholic ultramontanes and puritanical Protestants, who in days gone by murdered each other for the glory of God, but are now fraternally united in the worship of Mammon. Under that law there are five classes of electors, according to property and other qualifications. Fifty-eight per cent. of the men of voting age are disfranchised. All of the disfranchised belong, of course, to the proletariat. In order to discourage Socialist nominations, every candidate must be presented by a certain number of citizens, whose names are published. The registering of voters is made difficult to qualified workingmen by a number of time-wasting and inquisitorial formalities, etc.

It was in the face of such legal obstacles, supplemented by police interference, detective work and capitalistic intimidation, that the young Social Democracy of Holland, hardly organized and with an empty treasury, entered the political field this year. By extraordinary exertions it was able to nominate candidates in only 29 of the 100 parliamentary districts into which Holland is divided. The total vote in those 29 districts was 122,425, of which the Social Democratic candidates received 10,278, or about 1 in 12. To their own astonishment, and to the discomfiture of clericals and liberals alike, they carried 4 seats. Troelstra, now the most prominent of Holland's Socialists—was elected in three districts, Van Kol in another. The clericals, who expected to "sweep" the country, will be in a minority in the next parliament, the Catholic ultramontanes and the "anti-revolutionist" Protestants having each elected 22 representatives, or only 44 altogether. L. S.

We call the attention of residents of Greater New York and vicinity to the Summer-night's festival of our Scandinavian fellow workingmen to-day, at Wissel's Colosseum, Ridgewood, L. I.

The festival is given for the benefit of the Scandinavian labor press—an invaluable lever of civilization among the workers of that nationality here, being essential to prevent the traitorous capitalist papers, published here in that language, from decaying these workers into the capitalist shambles.

ONCE FOR ALL.

A Convert Tackles the Charge of Mark Hannaism.

Charles Bonsall of Salem, Ohio, Last Year a Populist Bryanite, and now an Avowed Member of the Socialist Labor Party, Publishes in his Town a Document of Historic Value—A Review of the Political Situation—But Two Parties: Capitalism under Hannaism, and the Socialist Labor Party—These Two will Wage the Final Battle and Settle the Issue.

The agitation of Comrade Keinar in Ohio, together with the marked growth of the party in that State, has caused there the cry to be raised by the agents of the silver mine fleecers of labor and their middle class camp-followers that the S. L. P. agitation is conducted with Mark Hanna's corruption fund. Although similar charges, as a rule, proceed from sources that judge others by themselves, and, therefore, deserve no attention, and although such innocent men as may repeat the charge may be safely left to time for enlightenment on the subject, Comrade Charles Bonsall's document should be perpetuated in the party's national organ as an utterance that covers the case from all sides. The Comrade says:

"There seems to be a number who question the motives and sincerity of the Bryan men who have joined the Socialist Labor political forces, and are accepting the theory that Mr. Keinar, who recently spoke here, and the Socialist workers generally, are 'agents of Mark Hanna,' and that he is supplying corruption money for the propaganda work of the S. L. party." This charge hits at me with as much violence as anything could, because I am now an AVOWED SOCIALIST. This fact I proudly proclaim to my neighbors and the world, and in connection with it do declare, with all the earnestness of an American citizen who loves justice and righteous government, that if there is one public duty which I place above all others in importance and responsibility, and which should be constantly guarded within the pale of enlightened honor, and the sanctuary of untarnished integrity, it is the exercise of the elective franchise; because the misuse or abuse of this power brings disgrace and ruin, not only upon him who abuses it, but ultimately upon the nation at large.

"I do therefore earnestly protest against and resent this insinuation, not only for myself, but Mr. Keinar and all other Socialists. There is not one millionth part of the shadow of truth in it, in any shape or form, directly or indirectly. There is not a Socialist but who would sever his right arm from his body rather than accept bribe or corruption money from, or be in any other way corruptly influenced by Mark Hanna or any other political boss.

"If there is any man on earth who knows of any FACTS that would prove the contrary, let him give them to the public AT ONCE, and let no guilty man escape.

"It is anything but pleasant to sever associations which have, as it were, become heart-strings between man and man, and you may rest assured that my action was not taken without due deliberation, and then only from a stern sense of duty. I may be wrong; but remember, those who so believe are in duty bound to try and convince me of that fact by REASON.

"The People's party as an organization is now divided to such a degree as to render its future autonomy and constructive power very doubtful, while the Socialists are advancing all over the civilized world.

"The fact is there are just two political forces in this country to-day who know exactly where they are at, and what they want—the GOLDOCRACY, under Mark Hanna, on one hand, and the SOCIALISTS on the other. The former proposes to completely subvert the American theory of government and establish a perpetual aristocracy of wealth. The latter have consecrated their lives upon the altar of equal and exact justice for all, and the fullest realization of the immortal doctrines proclaimed in the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE; but they know to a positive certainty that in order to secure and perpetuate these blessings there must be a radical and complete reconstruction of our economic system. No patch work will do. And now mark you; within a decade the political armies of this nation will have been practically divided upon this momentous issue, and after the mighty struggle the present competitive, selfish, unchristian, destructive system shall be a thing of the past; and THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH a living reality."

S. L. P. Sections take Notice.

The well-known and inspiring song, written by comrade Peter E. Burrows, of Brooklyn, under the title "The Hand with the Hammer," has been set to new and beautiful music by the Russian composer Platon Brounoff, and can now be had at the Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, New York.

The price for single copies is 10 cents, but a liberal discount will be given to dealers, encouraging them to push the sale of the song.

No section of the party should fail to form a chorus and sing this song at their public meetings and other public demonstrations.

THE LABOR NEWS CO., 64 East 4th street, N. Y.

THE KLONDYKE.

Fundamental Lesson in Economics that it Suggests.

The Exchange Value of Goods, Wares and Merchandise, Labor-Power Included Among these, Depends upon the Amount of Labor that Industrial Conditions at a Given Time Require to Reproduce them—Hence the Secret that, Under Capitalism, the Rich Grow Richer, the Workers do not Improve or ever Grow Poorer Regardless of Monetary Standards.

Of the Klondyke a day's work produces more gold than the same day's work will produce silver in the average Nevada or Colorado mine. The gold miners in Alaska are producing, for the time being, wealth at the rate of thirty-two times the rapidity of their fellow-workers in the silver mines, but unless gold from the Klondyke is produced in sufficient quantities to appreciably augment the world's present output, there is no reason to look for a depreciation of gold as compared with silver or other commodities generally. In other words, no general rise in prices may be expected.

It is not the rich mines that determine the relative value of metals. It is the poorest mines—those that are forced to shut down when the price of their product falls a little—that determine values. There is many a silver and gold mine whose owners are to-day debating whether it would not be better to shut down than to continue with present returns. Let the price of bar silver be quoted a penny less to-day than yesterday and certain silver mines will cease to operate; let the price drop another penny and still more will drop; let it drop six pence and it would be easier to count those that remain running than those that shut down.

Similarly, let the average price of all commodities rise in value, and the owner of a poor gold mine will find his expense of operating more costly. He then requires more wages to meet the increased cost of living. He was before on the "ragged edge," and this settles it. He closes his mine to wait until prices and wages fall. If, for example, the Klondyke turns out rich enough to cause a general rise in wages and prices, then a number of struggling gold mines all over the world must surely shut down. But the Klondyke would have to be of fabulous richness for it to force the shutting down of a mine like Hobart & Lane's Utica, for instance, which has such a great margin of profit that it could stand a severe encroachment without approaching the danger point, where it would begin to operate at a loss.

If the relative cost of the production of gold and silver are compared, taking the results from mines on the "ragged edge," it must be found that on an average it costs about thirty-two times as much to produce an ounce of gold as it does an ounce of silver. If this were not true, then capital would abandon mining the metal that returned the least profit, and transfer itself to the other which paid better. This transference would be a continuing process until the percentage of profit became equal from both sources. During the days of '49 capital flowed into gold mining because it paid better than silver mining. Then the Bonanza mines were struck in the Comstock, the conditions were reversed, and it flowed again into silver mining. Then silver was over-produced, and the tendency has been for a period of years for gold mining to pay better than silver mining, and, as a consequence, more capital, comparatively speaking, has been flowing toward gold than to silver mining.

The richer the Klondyke turns out to be, the more capital will be attracted there and the greater the product.

If the output of gold is increased to a certain point, it will cause a rise in prices and the shutting down of first the poorest gold mines, and as the process continues, then the next poorest mines, until, in a remote contingency, even the rich Utica may be finally forced to the wall.

Taking the current ratio of silver to gold as 1 to 32, and assuming the truth of the theory that the returns to capital engaged in the poorest mines, gold and silver, to be the same, which means that a dollar invested in silver mining must produce 32 ounces of silver for every ounce of gold the dollar invested in gold mining produces, then it is evident that if the Klondyke discoveries force the poorer gold mines to cease operating, the ratio of product by weight of the next poorest gold mine finding it still profitable to continue running, compared with the product by weight of the poorest silver mine in profitable operation, will no longer be as 1 to 32. It must be less. It may be 1 to 31, it may be 1 to 16, and it may be 1 to 8, but whatever it becomes, it will be entirely determined by the comparative product of the last gold mine that is able to make a profit running against its Klondyke competitors.

If, for instance, only mines of the same richness as the Utica can operate at a profit, and that it is assumed the Utica produces an ounce of gold at the same expense of the poorest silver mines produce eight ounces of silver, then the ratio of value of gold to silver must finally inevitably fall from 1 to 32 to 1 to 8.

It is freely admitted that such extraordinary richness is most unlikely to be discovered on the Klondyke, but it is insisted that if it is actually as discovered, in sufficient quantities, then the economic results as stated must inevitably follow in time.

The next point to be taken up is the question of determining the economic result of a fall in ratio of gold and silver from 1 to 32 to 1 to 8. Many people seem to think that such a change would be the ushering in of the millenium. As a matter of fact, it would, after the flurry of transition was over, be abso-

lutely barren of economic results, good or bad, to the general public. Unquestionably certain individuals would lose, as the holders of gold coin, long-time notes and bonds, and certain individuals would gain, as those in debt, but the mass of the people, who are both too poor to either own bonds or to have credit to get into debt, would be entirely unaffected.

The farmer would find that it will take one-quarter the number of bushels of wheat to pay off his debt as it did before, but when he pays it he will find that the profits of wheat-growing are no better, as the higher price he gets for his product is offset by the greater expense. Everything, taxes, freight, clothes, machinery, has quadrupled.

The merchant and manufacturer would experience no good results, greater receipts being offset by greater expense. That bane of modern industry, "over-production," would still be a standing menace to trade and agriculture.

The banker would find his assets, as compared with commodities in general, to have but one-quarter of their former value, but once having met the loss, he will be in exactly the same position as before, only so much poorer. His money will be lent out in the same manner, and draw the same per cent. of interest. He will simply find that while his interest is still, say, \$10,000 a year, and although exactly the same amount in dollars, it will now only go as far toward his family expenses at \$2,500 did formerly.

The laborer would get higher wages, but his rent, clothing and food would rise equally, leaving him as before. Mr. Huntington, Mr. Havemeyer and Mr. Rockefeller would still own their respective monopolies of transportation, sugar and oil, and would continue to fix their rates on the plan of "charging all the traffic will bear." Their incomes would still have the same value in purchasing power as to-day, as they would have at least quadrupled their profits, expressed in dollars.

The Astors, who now own real estate in New York valued at 250 millions, so valued because the rents capitalized at 4 per cent. would amount to that sum, would find their income quadrupled, and the value of their property accordingly enhanced to a thousand millions.

It is not by any means denied that in the period of adaptation to the new ratio the effect of increased prices might and probably would cause an unprecedented "boom" all over the world, and that it would probably be a period of the wildest speculative undertakings. Real estate would naturally increase to four times present values, and the impetus of such a rise would probably send much of it temporarily still higher. If a lot worth \$100 suddenly becomes worth \$400, there are always speculative souls who will gamble on its going up to \$800.

After all the excitement was over, the world would be no better off than it is to-day, and quite as hard up. The moral to be drawn is that no changes in the value of our monetary standard, whether coming from natural causes, like gold discoveries on the Klondyke, or artificially, by the substitution of gold by silver, will avail to tempt the coming of "the advance agent of prosperity."

H. GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Los Angeles, Cal.

"GENEROSITY."

An Old Play that Some People Don't Seem to Tire of.

The papers announce that Mark Hanna, a capitalist, whose seat in the United States is now trembling in the scale, has made a donation of \$750 to the "afflicted miners."

Furthermore, the Governor of Ohio, Bushnell, has issued a proclamation "in favor of collecting funds" for the miners, and several "agents of the miners" are now scouring the country with "credentials" from this Bushnell, from the capitalist Mayor of Toledo, and from other such labor-skinning sources, to collect funds for the strikers.

Now this is a farce-comedy, with a tragic behind-scenes feature. It runs through these several acts:

ACT I.

Capitalism keeps the workers in poverty by exploiting them in the shops.

ACT II.

The workers get on their ears; kick; begin to inquire the why of the thereof; ponder how it comes that, being the sole wealth producers, they are the sole wealth-lackers, while the capitalists, being the sole idlers, are the sole wealth-holders; presently a tallow light begins to flicker in their heads; they have the ballot; and the question begins to formulate itself, Why not knock these idlers out of office with this ballot, get the Government into our own hands and keep what we produce?

ACT III.

Just when these men are at strike and poorest, the capitalist and his politician step in and make a donation to the "poor workers" to "relieve their distress," and also issue official calls to a "generous public" to "aid these afflicted men."

ACT IV.

With, by and through the aid of the labor fakir the workers are induced to pass resolutions "thanking" Capitalist so and so, and Politician so and so for their "generosity."

ACT V.

By, with and through the aid of these labor fakirs, these Capitalists and their Politicians are "endorsed" for office at election time as "friends of labor."

ACT VI.

The light that had begun to be spread by the flickering of the tallow candle aforesaid goes out, the candle splutters out of existence, and darkness resumes its sway.

The curtain then falls, and after election the tragic-comic farce is reproduced with variations, but with the identical Fakir Brigade.

MANIFESTO

Issued by the S. L. P. Convention of Iowa.

DON'T COMMIT SUICIDE.

On the 7th and 8th of this Month the Socialist Labor Party's Convention of the State of Iowa Met, Nominated a Straight Ticket and Promulgated the Below Platform, that Calls the Attention of the Iowa Proletariat to the Cause of its Enslavement and the Folly of Continuing Harnessed to the Chariots of the Political Parties of its Exploiters.

For Governor: M. J. KREMER.

For Lieutenant-Governor: M. S. HIRSCHFELD.

For Judge of Supreme Court: J. KOLLMETZ.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction: DR. A. ...

For Railroad Commissioner: F. TRAVIS.

We, the delegates of the S. L. P. of Iowa, in convention assembled in the city of Davenport, wish to call the attention of the workers of this State to the miserable conditions, to the indispensible facts, that in the midst of plenty, millions of willing workers are on the verge of starvation, and are compelled to tramp the roads and streets throughout this country in search of work, to obtain means to support themselves and their families, but are looking in vain. Why is this?

Simply because under our present capitalist system it is impossible for them to compete with improved machinery owned by private capitalists, and as long as the manufacturer finds it cheaper to use the power of machinery, he will not trouble himself with workingmen.

We also wish to remind you of the promises of the Republican party of last fall. All it was necessary for you to do was to elect McKinley and prosperity would come to you as never seen before, but look around and ask yourself if prosperity is not further off than last Fall. Are not the wages all over the country cut down from 30 to 50 per cent.? Is it not a continued loosing of jobs, an increase of misery, murders, suicides and crimes of all kinds, and a proportional decrease in manhood and virtuous womanhood?

We also call your attention to the folly it would be for the workers to expect any relief from the Silver Democrats, who try to convince you that by depreciating the money standard 50 per cent., which means that the mortgaged indebtedness of their class, amounting to about 6,000 million dollars, could have been paid by 3,000 million, would better your conditions. But they failed to succeed. While the majority of the workers, unable as yet to see their way out of bondage, the way marked out by the S. L. P. were nevertheless clear-sighted enough to perceive that no benefit whatever could accrue to the working class by substituting a silverbug farmocracy for a goldbug plutocracy. By so doing they dealt a death blow to the retrogressive farmocracy, whose mortgages are now pitilessly foreclosed to the amount of several hundred millions a year. They also sealed the doom of the mercantile middleclass residing in cities and advanced the supreme conflict between Socialism and capitalism.

Toilers of Iowa, we again call upon you to break the chains of partyism which bind you to the chariot wheels of capitalism as slaves. Think of the foolishness it is for a wealth producer to elect a wealth absorber to make laws for him. It is as foolish as if you would ask a man to commit suicide. The time has come where the worker will necessarily have to become class-conscious in politics as well as in economics to join that party which guarantees him the full value of his product.

Fellow workers, such a party is the Socialist Labor party, which raises its voice in protection against the wrong which is daily being perpetrated to the working class. It has never faltered; never did and never will sell out to any other party. Its foundation is knowledge and science; its motto is "one for all and all for one." Therefore we ask you to join the Socialist Labor party, to study its principles and vote for the emancipation from wage slavery.

To the Assembly Districts, Wards and Branches, of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

Your attention is called to a new pamphlet, entitled "Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party," which can now be had from the Organizer, at \$1 per 1,000. The above organizations should supply themselves with this pamphlet, which should be distributed at the open air meetings and other places.

L. ABELSON, Organizer, 64 East 4th street, New York.

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

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)... 2,068 In 1890... 13,231 In 1892 (Presidential)... 21,157 In 1894... 33,133 In 1896 (Presidential)... 36,664

Here shall the statesman forge his human fetters, Here the false jurist human rights deny. And in the church, their proud and skilled abettors make truth a lie? Whittier.

STATE CAPITALISM.

The trouble that has arisen in connection with the management of the U. S. Armory located in Springfield, Mass., brings incidentally into relief a fact that Socialists have been constantly accentuating, and the accentuation of which becomes more urgent by the day:

The management of an industrial plant by the Government is not in itself Socialism. Such management is Socialism or not, according whether the Government is in the hands of the working class or not. If it is so held, then we have Socialism; and the effect will be seen in the freedom of the employees and the conspicuous absence of exploitation; if it is not so held, then the evidence will be found in its reproducing the conditions prevalent in private capitalist shops.

What do we find in the Springfield Armory? According to Col. Alfred Mordecai, the Commandant of the place and runner of the plant, "the policy of the shops (in the Armory) is to use cheap labor for the routine work," and he goes on to explain that the reason why the Armory has been COMPELLED to do so is "the competition of the outside business world;" amplifying this Col. Mordecai proceeds:

"This competition of the outside business world enters into the Government shops to quite a degree, in spite of the impression to the contrary. BECAUSE IF IT WERE SHOWN THAT PRIVATE CONCERNS COULD DO THE WORK MUCH CHEAPER THAN THE GOVERNMENT, IT WOULD NOT BE LONG BEFORE CONGRESS LET OUT THE WORK AT PRIVATE CONTRACT, WHICH WOULD MEAN EVENTUALLY THE GIVING UP OF THE ARMOY ENTIRELY."

Col. Mordecai, without knowing political economy or sociology, goes here straight to the very root of the question, to wit, the class division of capitalist society, and the consequent capitalist class-ownership of the Government. Only in case the Government is in the hands of the capitalist class, can it care for the outside competition of the "business world," because only in that case can the beneficiaries of such capitalist class government—the capitalist politicians who supply the materials, etc., together with the capitalist Colonels who hold the jobs of superintendence, etc.—be in danger of losing their profits and their jobs. Where the Government is in the hands of the working class such apprehensions have no more room.

Nationalization and municipalization are not in themselves Socialism. Only when the interests of the working class dominate the Government is Socialism possible; if the capitalist class is in possession, Government control and ownership is only the substitution, for the private capitalist concern, of State Capitalism.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

What perversity on the part of the Johnston, R. I., "Beacon"? Notwithstanding the professional calamity howlers of the free silver variety have joined the factitious cry of "prosperity" raised for political effect by their quondam "deadly enemies," the gold bugbies, that Socialist paper insists upon keeping the sore under the public eye by asking and explaining:

"Who would dare say prosperity has not returned to this nation in view of such a gorgeous spectacle as took place recently at Newport. And yet within a radius of less than a dozen miles, aye, almost within sight of the very spot where the millionaire cottages of Newport displayed their opulence, there live thousands of workers who for many years have not known the meaning of prosperity. Talk about the indifference and barbarous cruelty of the ancient Grecians and Romans, why our chivalrous Americans would make them blush for shame."

The Syracuse, N. Y., Sunday "Herald," in an otherwise very complete article on Anarchy, apropos of the assassination of Canovas, says that the Socialists' tenet to the effect that national

vanities are only instrumentalities for the exploitation and suppression of the workingmen

"Is about the only point upon which there is agreement between the Socialists and the Anarchists."

The article would have been complete, and thereby more instructive, while at the same time balancing the above quotation, had the passage been followed by a mentioning of the numerous points upon which there is agreement between the Capitalists and the Anarchists. For instance, the respect of both for an individualism that is so wholly at odds with the trend of civilization that it destroys individuality; the notion that both have about evolution, from which notion the one imagines that a legal enactment and the other that a homicide is enough to establish a social system; the contempt of both for human life; the ignorance of both touching the co-operation-compelling character of the modern and necessary system of production, etc., etc.

The San Francisco "Tageblatt," a German Socialist paper of that city, had recently an article that, disappointing though it must be to the Socialists of the land, has indirectly no slight merit; it serves to explain and illustrate in part the secret why Socialist propaganda limped so long in this country, to wit, the total unfamiliarity of most of the German Socialists (to whose hands the work of propaganda and guidance was at one time of necessity exclusively entrusted), with the history of the country, the character of its heterogeneous population, the course of the labor movement, and, above all, the language spoken here. The article in question runs into philosophy and poetry upon the Debs movement, grounded upon an estimate of it that compares it with the Lassalle movement which in Germany finally matured into and was blended with the present Socialist Labor party of the Empire; and, in its ill-balanced enthusiasm, the paper feels so irritated towards THE PEOPLE that it indulges in gratuitous personalities.

If the "Tageblatt" were properly possessed of the English language, it would not be guilty of unqualifiedly misquoting THE PEOPLE, in quotation marks at that, and flying off at the handle by making such misquotation the basis of its own article; if it were informed on the literature of the movement, it would know that THE PEOPLE has, with kindred arrays of fact and argument, as at present, criticized the actions of Mr. Debs for the last four years, since he started his series of what now seems incorrigible economic and tactical missteps by the organization of the A. R. U. upon the lines on which he did, in other words, long before he could have inspired jealousies by alarming "personal vanities"; if it were posted on the personnel of the movement, it would roar at the bare thought of this Debs movement being even remotely like the old Lassallean, and its eyes would be clear enough to penetrate the fact that this movement, if the thing can be at all dignified with the term movement, is nothing else but the last gasp and gathering together of a variety of idiosyncratic elements—some Utopians, some crooks, some a mixture of both—whose day dreams and efforts for the last ten years or so have been to fight the S. L. P. because its clear-sightedness, honesty and discipline left no elbow room for the dreams of visionaries, or tolerated no crookedness—elements, in short, that are wholly undigestible by, even dangerous to, any genuine revolutionary movement in our age, and who now hang to the coat-tails of Mr. Debs in the hope and belief that his popularity may be solid enough to pull them through; if it were posted on the history of our people, it would be less quick to feel disheartened at what seems slow progress, less quick to snatch at shadows, less quick to seek to ally its conscientious scruples by untenable historic parallels.

But its punishment was swift. In rapid succession it was applauded and reproduced by the St. Louis "Tageblatt," the "Brauer-Zeitung," and the Philadelphia "Tageblatt"; the first, a "Socialist" paper that we recently had occasion to lash for preaching the dastardly, anti-solidarity doctrine that a certain labor organization could not be expected to side with a certain other, with which it was affiliated, in this other's conflict with its employers, because the former might "otherwise be dragged into an illimitable number of conflicts," a paper that, finally repudiated by the German proletariat of St. Louis, curled up and died last week, almost immediately after it had echoed and applauded the San Francisco "Tageblatt"; the second, a "Socialist" trade paper, run by a dime museum collection of queers and declassé bourgeois, who are operating it for their own private benefit, at the expense of a labor organization, and that would be spewed out of existence in Socialist Germany for its criminal tactics in the labor movement; the third, a "Socialist" paper that has not only drifted away so far into bourgeoisdom as to seek, or rather to have sought, until rapped over the knuckles, to boom the bourgeois "Glasgow plan" of municipalization, but that has to such an extent, lost cast as to, only a few months ago, have refused to sup-

port a workmen's boycott, not upon some intelligent principle, grounded in the solidarity of the working class, but upon the ground that, "to support the boycott would injure its circulation with its middle class readers."

There could be no more emphatic justification of our position than condemnation, nor severer punishment for the San Francisco "Tageblatt" than applause from such sources as these.

The following passage from the Cleveland, O., "Citizen" not only breaks "Editor" Gompers on the rack of logic by comparing some of his glib phrases with his actual conduct, but indirectly also serves the useful and timely purpose of warning the afflicted working class, groping for salvation, against accepting phrases for more than they are worth:

"In the August number of the American "Federationist," Editor Gompers replies to a correspondent's query relative to this significant sentence, which appeared in the July "Federationist," and which was reprinted in this paper: "The trade unions are organizing the wage earners in the class-conscious struggle against all profit-mongers under whatever shape they may appear or form they may assume, to battle for the abolition of all human wrongs and the attainment of all human rights."

"To further enlighten his correspondent, Mr. Gompers says: "The term 'class-conscious' indicates that those who belong to that class are conscious of that fact, and are conscious, too, that their interests as a class are separate and distinct from any other class; and that while organizing in a class organization they may and do benefit all others, yet they organize in a class organization for the betterment of the conditions of that class."

"This sentence is well put, and lays bare the inconsistent attitude of the so-called non-political unionist. How can workmen who realize 'that their interests as a class are separate and distinct from any other class' conscientiously 'benefit all others,' which, of course, includes their natural opponent, this seeming incongruity? When the Revolutionists of 1776 organized against British tyranny, did they do it to 'benefit' King George? When the Abolitionists organized half a century ago, and when the North confiscated the slaves of the South, did they expect to 'benefit' the slave-owners?"

It is not fakirs and blatherskites like Gompers alone, but the woods are just now full of men in the camps of Labor, who preach "class-consciousness" in one breath and just the reverse of that in the very next; who one moment talk "class struggle" and immediately after talk of the "whole people" as being "workers" and all interested in the solution of some labor trouble—the miners' troubles for instance. The well-meaning, but uninformed spouters, and the fakirs alike, see the progress of the Socialist Labor party and Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance propaganda; they hear our terminology and repeat it; the well meaning and uninformed spouters, without knowing just what they say; consequently, contradicting themselves at every turn, and denouncing the Socialists as "dogmatic" when their contradictions are brought home to them; the fakirs without wanting to know, and using the terms simply to deceive.

As affidavits are not lobsters, so are expressions that are in contradiction with acts and other expressions nothing but hollow phrases.

The Prohibition New York "Voice," that takes its capitalism "without a stick in," and the New York "Commercial Advertiser," that takes its capitalism "with a stick in," are interestingly at each other.

Says the latter of the former's chickens:

"The Prohibitionists are again preparing to do what they can to throw this State into the hands of the uncompromising foes of the cause they profess to be eager to advance."

Whereupon the latter retorts to the former:

"If the 'Advertiser' had consulted its wits, and not its prejudices, it would have seen that the State is already in the hands, politically, of the foes of Prohibition."

And neither realizes that either is right, and both are unaware that they are twins.

The San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter," will not tolerate hypocrisy. It tells how the San Francisco dailies are telling a pretty story of Mrs. Clark, wife of the founder of the Christian Endeavorers, holding a little Chinese girl up before an audience of ladies and eloquently telling them that if the little girl was not rescued she would be sold into slavery, and Mrs. Clark wept, and the ladies wept in chorus.

Whereupon the "New Charter" remarks caustically:

"If these good Christian ladies are looking for slave girls to rescue they need not go to the Chinese. Thousands of white Caucasian girls can be found right in San Francisco who are as much slaves as if they were bought and sold on the auction block. These girls are outcasts from home and society and the doors are barred behind them. There are a half million such in this country. One hundred thousand die annually, and as many recruit their ranks. It is the most terrible of the evils that have grown out of a damnable economic system. With the development of this system of capitalism and competition the evil of prostitution intensifies."

In Australia, too, they seem to have caught on to the Parson Phariseus. We infer as much from this passage in the Maryborough, Queensland, "Patriot":

"Whenever the 'Patriot' meets a well-groomed, well-fed minister of the gospel—or reads about one of the lowly shepherds being entertained at a bun scramble, and presented with a testimonial or a Gladstone traveling bag or purse of sovereigns or set of diamond jewelry with his moniker stamped thereon—it causes this profane paper to think mighty hard, and wonder what will happen in the sweet by-and-by. When the humble toiler shuffles off this mortal coil, and hies him away up to the Golden Gate, we fancy some such colloquy as the following to take place: St. Peter to applicant at the gate—'Your name and credentials?' Applicant—I am the Rev. MacSnuffler, lately a toiler in the vineyard for the humble stipend of £500 a year, and the recipient of ten testimonials, seventeen traveling bags and a truck-load of name-stamped jewelry.' St. Peter—'Say no more, but come right in. Here you lazy crew (to attendants), bring in the gent's portmanteau; empty that scavenger out of the front star parlor, and show his reverence to an up-ky bedroom. Feeding the hungry and attending the sick is getting played out, and the respectability of the celestial regions must be kept up at whatever cost. It will never do to let our rival in the other place cop all the mighty magates; while we have to put up with the scum and the riff-raff. Look slippy, now, and give his reverence the attention he is accustomed to."

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Fruits of S. L. P. Propaganda.

TO THE PEOPLE:—I have just about finished Bellamy's "Equality." It seems to me to be a big stride in advance of "Looking Backward." It is certainly a distinct tribute to Karl Marx's position regarding the economic basis of all social forms, and is, to my mind, an acceptance in full of the doctrines so long preached by THE PEOPLE regarding the uselessness of all schemes that neglect political organization for collective control of industrial machinery for production and distribution. It must be tough reading for bumptious Samuel Gompers to note the paragraphs regarding the demonstrated fact that "THE GROWTH AND FUNCTIONS OF TRADE UNIONISM WAS VERY LIMITED," and "AFTER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF FIGHTING, HAD DEMONSTRATED THEIR UTTER INABILITY TO MAINTAIN MUCH LESS TO IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORKINGMAN," and other criticisms in "Equality" on the same line. That is hard on Samuel's propaganda. The fresh statements of Bellamy in "Equality" showing his developed attitude towards and scathing contempt for the orthodox gospel of the Evangelical churches must be a somewhat bitter pill for those orthodox parsons and so-called "Christian Socialists" who lauded the author of "Looking Backward" as their ideal exponent. These good folks who squirmed at the unorthodox and blasphemous (?) Socialist Labor party must now feel that, if they are to keep pace with the author of "Looking Backward," and give their assent to "Equality" with its blunt assertion that "THE ORIENTALS INVENTED THE MYTH OF EVE AND THE APPLE, AND THE CURSE PRO-NOUNCED UPON HER" and similar unorthodox teaching, they are landed "between the devil and the deep blue sea."

The Rev. A. C. Courtice, editor of the "Christian Guardian" of Toronto, Canada (chief organ of the Canadian United Methodist Church), was an ardent admirer of "Looking Backward." I do not know if he has said amen to "Equality." As editor of an influential and widely circulated church organ in Canada, I am watching for his exhibition of moral courage.

The pioneers of Collectivism in the United States, and especially those connected with the editorial staff of THE PEOPLE, and the propagandists of the much maligned Socialist Labor party, must watch with interest the present trend of events as indicated by Bellamy's "Equality," and by the article of Eugene F. Debs on the "Social Democracy" in the August issue of "The New Times." There appears to be a veritable mania for wholesale plagiarism of the ideas and doctrines of the Socialist Labor party leaders. If Eugene F. Debs is sincere in his article in the "New Times," it is a puzzle to me why he tries to ignore the existence of the Socialist Political party, already prominently in the field.

I might say, in conclusion, that I have been much interested to notice the assimilation in "Equality" of the Socialist Labor party's teaching regarding profits. The substance of the chapters on "The Economic Suicide of the Profit System" and "The Parable of the Water Tank," was published in "Heterodox Economics vs. Orthodox Profits," on sale at the Labor News Co., New York, several months before "Equality" was put on the market.

I must congratulate THE PEOPLE on the rapid development of the fruit of its sturdy propaganda.

HENRY B. ASHLANT. London, Ont., Canada, Aug. 21.

Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publications.

ENGLISH.

THE PEOPLE, 154 William Street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

The New Charter, 35 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal. \$1 per year.

The Syracuse Socialist. 25 cents per year.

The Rochester Socialist (Monthly). 25 cents per year.

The Beacon, Johnston, R. I. (Fortnightly). 50 cents per year.

The Socialist Alliance, 79 Dearborn Street, Chicago. 50 cents per year.

GERMAN.

Vorwärts, 184 William Street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year.

Cleveland Volksfreund, 237 Clair Street, Cleveland, Ohio. \$2 per year.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN. Arbejderen, 6322 Marshfield Avenue, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year.

SWEDISH. Arbetsaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort Street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year.

POLISH. Sila, 1146 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. \$1 per year.

JEWISH. Arbeiterszeitung, 9 Rutgers Street, New York, N. Y. 75 cents per year.

HUNGARIAN. Nepzava, 236 East 4th Street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

ENGLISH AND GERMAN. The Truth, 514 West 3d Street, Daven-

THE MYTHICAL DEBS AND THE ACTUAL DEBS.

[From the N. Y. "Vorwärts," German Official Organ of the Socialist Labor Party.]

The admirers of Debs make very easy to themselves the work of answering our critique. They fall back upon the myth, upon all sorts of nursery tales, that are circulated about him.

We criticize Debs' letter to Rockefeller, the myth answers that Debs did not mean it in earnest; we criticize the colonization plan, the myth answers that Debs has dropped that; we point out "that the plan is puffed more and more in Debs' own organ, the myth answers that that is done by the two political adventurers Hinton and Willard against the will of Debs; we draw from the whole appearance of Debs the conclusion that he reveals too little knowledge of Socialism to be an effective agitator for Socialism, the myth answers that, already during his imprisonment Debs studied Marx and has since developed more fully into a scientific Socialist; and thus the myth spins its yarn onward, until it has romanced the salmagundi of American universal reformers, of German and Jewish ex-Socialists and ex-Anarchists, out of which, until now, the "Social Democracy" has been recruited, into a "great, American Socialist movement."

We leave the myth in the keeping of those who find it pleasing or profitable, and we keep to the actual Debs. This Debs was recently active on the theatre of the miners' strike, and had there the opportunity to show what his qualifications are for a teacher and leader of the working class. The largest meeting before which Debs spoke took place in Columbus, O. According to the comments which Debs' organ, the "Social Democrat," reprints from a local paper, Debs had an audience of 4,500 persons, and he regaled them with a two-hours' speech, which "combined all the learning of economists, all the sentiments of the poets, all the wisdom of philosophers, and all the ethics of moralists and divines."

Here we evidently have to deal with Debs' masterpiece. The capitalist editor who flew off into the just cited excessive comments, the editor of the "Social Democrat," who reproduced them, and the capitalist-kite-tail editor of the "United Mine Workers' Journal," who reproduced, not only the editorial comments, but also a more than seven-column-long report of the speech itself, are all unanimous in their admiration for this speech. Indeed, this unanimity is characteristic. The capitalist editor makes a particular point of it that "not a syllable of politics marred the lofty sentiment" of the speaker, that "he did not descend to the lower atmosphere where strife is born and fostered," that of the "many citizens of all degrees and intelligence . . . not one was offended by a principle he espoused, nor by a sentence he uttered."

A look into the speech itself confirms the presentiment started by this capitalist praise. The speech is found to be nothing else but a string of phrase of garlands which substitute logical explanations with sentimentally hyperbolic language, and hence, as a matter of course, tumbles from one error into another. Take this sentence: "If we could by some magic eliminate greed from our nature this question would be settled. We think too much of self, too little of our neighbors. . . . I seek to impress on every occasion the ethical, the moral fact upon the minds of men that too much importance is attached to money and too little to humanity."

To the damnable rôle of money and of greed for money a large part of the speech is dedicated. The misery, the degradation of the workingman are there represented as the result of the greed of the people who constitute the "money power." Not capitalism is the enemy, but the greedy, selfish money-men. Hence the miners have to ascribe their low wages, together with consequent poverty and brutalization, to the heartlessness of those individual capitalists who have imported cheap, illiterate labor, and who now again oppose the just demands of the strikers to the end that they may "enjoy the harvest" alone.

No attempt is made with even a word throughout the whole speech to explain the existing class contrasts. On the contrary, Debs repeats almost literally the expressions used in his famous letter to Rockefeller by saying: "Let us unite and dethrone the wrong and enthroned the right. There are times when there should be NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, there are times when we should get together, in close touch to one another side by side as the true patriots let us save the country."

Hence Debs appeals to the "business men" to the learned "professional men," to the "GREAT MIDDLE CLASS," in the interest of the strikers, and, after he has pursued this thought for a long stretch, he discovers that already do all classes sympathize with the strikers; even "a large number of operators are on the side of the miners." According to Debs, neither is the exploiters' class the foe of the miners but a small number of insatiable people. These belong to the "Money Power," who exploit the government along with the miners. At this point the Debsian phrase-torrent reaches the climax of verbiage, confusion and even nonsense. We quote literally:

"The money power directs, the government obeys. The rich ride on passes; the middle class on mileage; the poor pay full fare. All the organized forces of society are directed against the poor; the poor man, who has got to pay the highest price, he gets the smallest wage. He has got to sell his labor in the cheapest market and pays the highest price for everything he buys. THE RICH MAN GETS THE HIGHEST WAGE, and he can buy for cash." Accordingly, we discover here that the rich are wage-earners. Why should not, then, the rich and the poor wage-earners unite in a crusade to drive the demon of greed out of human nature and to dethrone Wrong or the Money Power?

Debs may be eminently fit as a preacher of such a Crusade, and the Columbus capitalist paper bears testimony for him in this respect by styling him "the inspired evangelist of labor;" him "the inspired evangelist of labor and of humanity."

What, however, has such a Crusade to do with the class struggle; what has such preaching to do with Socialism? Perhaps the Debs myth repertory can give an answer.



SINGLETON'S BRICKER JOURNAL

Brother Jonathan—I heard last evening a beautiful Socialist speech; it must have made hundreds, if not thousands of Socialists. I tell you, that Professor Jehosaphat is a great Socialist.

Uncle Sam coughs.

B. J. (pricking up his ears)—Why do you cough?

U. S.—Well, if you are very anxious, I'll tell you—

B. J. (snappishly)—I am anxious.

U. S.—I coughed because I tried to swallow down a laugh. It makes me laugh to think of the Prof. Jehosaphat as a Socialist, and it makes me laugh still more to think of him in the capacity of a teacher of Socialism. Now you know why I laugh.

B. J.—Oh, if you had only heard him!

U. S.—Well, what did he say?

B. J.—He actually made the people weep.

U. S.—How?

B. J.—Describing the misery of the working people. You should have heard how touchingly he portrayed the sufferings of the working women, the privations of the children in the factories, the exposure of the men on the railroads and the mines, the gloom of the tenement house. Oh, I tell you it was grand. I almost wept myself. It is the grandest Socialist speech I ever heard.

U. S.—And was all he said in that vein?

B. J.—Yes; is not that enough?

U. S.—All of his speech a description of the general want?

B. J.—Why, yes; is not that Socialism enough?

U. S.—And that sort of talk you say teaches Socialism?

B. J. (impatiently)—I don't suppose you are satisfied yet!

U. S.—When, the other day, you had the toothache and were all doubled up, and were moaning and groaning, you were in great pain, weren't you?

B. J.—Should think I was; don't remind me of it.

U. S.—Now, suppose your wife had gone to the doctor's with the news that you were in pain, could she have returned with the right prescription?

B. J.—Why, no.

U. S.—You might have had a pain in the head, which might have needed cracked ice there, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Or you may have had a pain in your belly, which may have needed a purge, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Or you may have had a pain on your toe, which may have needed a corn extractor, eh?

B. J.—Sure.

U. S.—In all these cases you would have been in misery, eh?

B. J.—Certainly.

U. S.—Would the knowledge of your being in pain and misery have been enough information to give you relief?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—A patient's pain is not enough to determine the remedy. So with society.

B. J.—With society?

U. S.—The existence of misery in society is not sufficient premises from which to conclude that Socialism must follow. It matters not how pined a man may be, that is not enough to teach him economics and Social science. His piteous condition may be the right condition to make him listen to sense, but it does not of itself supply the sense. All the calamity howling that you may muster up does not explain why Socialism and not Greenbackism, why Socialism and not Free Trade, why Socialism and not Free Love, etc., etc., must come. These calamity howlers who go about sticking, so to speak, their fingers into the sores of the people and making them realize their sufferings all the deeper, and do not explain why the people suffer, do not teach Socialism. They may, on the contrary, impede the teaching of Socialism by making the hearers so torpid or purulent, and accustomed them to hear long speeches, which they need no effort to understand, that the hearers will dislike to hear addresses that require them to think.

B. J.—Prof. Jehosaphat's speech was so sweet all the way through and easy to understand that it flowed—

U. S.—Like water out of a jar on duck's backs, and did the people no good. Surely if he knew Socialism he would take some of his time to explain it.

He would have shown that, under this capitalist system the workingman is no better than any other merchandise; that machinery lowers the price of goods by increasing their plentifulness and the productivity of labor; that wages, or the share of labor's product that labor is allowed to keep, must become ever smaller; that without the ownership of the machinery of production, labor can not arrest its decline; that, to get possession of that machinery, labor must conquer the public powers upon the Socialist platform. This and all such things he would have explained, and would then have talked to a purpose. But such addresses are more difficult to deliver than to reel off phrases; the audience is not as appreciative, applause is not as frequent. For this reason your Jehosaphaths don't deliver them. Go away with your loquacious orator.

To Irish Comrades.

All the copies of the pamphlet "The Rights of Ireland and the Faith of a Felon," received from Dublin from the Irish Socialist Republican Party, have been sold out; and there only remain on hand samples of the handsome green card of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, which can be had at 5 cents each from

Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th Street, New York City.

THE RISE OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The word "proletariat" conveyed at one time in the history of capitalist production the idea of extreme degradation. Even to-day there are people who entertain this notion, and among them not a few who claim to be abreast of their times. This, however, arises from a woeful confusion of thought. However numerous the external marks may have been which, at one time, the working proletariat had in common with the slums, even then the two were separated by a deep chasm.

The slums have continued to be essentially the same, in whatever historic epoch and under whatever system they may have made their appearance. The slums of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, or any other large modern center of population are hard to distinguish from those of ancient Rome. On the other hand, the modern working proletariat is a peculiar phenomenon, never before noticed in the history of mankind.

Between the slums and the working proletariat of capitalist production there is above all the immense and fundamental difference that the former alights were and still continue to be parasites, whereas the latter is one of the principal roots of modern society—a root that develops, not only into leading importance, but into the ONLY one from which society draws its strength and support. The working proletariat is a propertyless, but not alms-seeking, element. So far from its being supported by society, it supports society with its labor. True enough, during the early days of the capitalist system, the working proletariat looked upon itself as a pauper class, and upon the capitalist who exploited it as a benefactor, as the provider of work, and, consequently, as the bread-giver. Of course, this patriarchal relation is highly pleasing to the capitalists; they still demand from their workmen for the wages paid to them, not only the labor contracted for, but also humility and gratitude.

But the capitalist system can nowhere proceed very far without the patriarchal conditions that exist at its inception going wholly by the board. However enslaved and ignorant the workmen may be at any time, they realize, sooner or later, that they are the bread-givers of the capitalists and not vice versa. While they remain poor, or even become poorer, the capitalist becomes ever richer. And when they demand more bread from the capitalist, from this would-be patriarch, he gives them a stone.

The working proletarians differ from the slums and also from the servant and menial classes in that they do not live upon the exploitation carried on by the exploiters; they differ from the workers under former systems of production in that they do not live and labor together with their exploiters, and that all the personal bonds and relations that existed between these have wholly disappeared between the modern employer and employe. They live in miserable tenements or rickety frame-houses that are a libel upon the word "home," while they rear palaces for the exploiters; they furnish while they spread for him a luxurious feast; they go unclad, while they prepare for him costly raiment; they toil and maul till they drop with exhaustion to furnish him and his means whereby to kill them.

The contrast between these two elements is a very different one from that between the rich and the poor man of pre-capitalist days; and very different also between the capitalist and the "small man" of to-day. The latter envies the rich man, whom he looks up to with admiration, who is the example he would imitate, the ideal he holds up to himself; he wishes to be in that capitalist's place, and becomes an exploiter like him; he never for a moment thinks of abolishing the system of exploitation. The working proletariat, on the contrary, does not envy the modern rich man; it does not wish itself in his place; it HATES AND DESPISES him; it hates him as its exploiter; it despises him as a drone. At first, the working proletariat hates only those capitalists with whom he is brought into direct contact, but soon he realizes the fact that all of them stand in the same posture towards him, and his hatred, that originally was personal, develops into a conscious hostility towards the whole capitalist class.

This hostility towards exploitation itself is one of the first distinguishing marks of the class-conscious working proletariat. This class hatred is by no means a result of Socialist propaganda; it was noticeable long before the influence of Socialism began to make itself felt among the working classes. Among the workers under former social systems, such a well-developed class hatred as exists to-day was impossible; the intimate personal relations that existed between them and their "masters" excluded all thought of such class antipathies; personal hostilities might and often did break out between the master and his underlings, but these could never be carried beyond a certain point without forthwith stopping production itself; and, as a result, whatever lengths they went to, reconciliation always followed. Under the capitalist system, however, the workers may entertain the most bitter enmity against their employers without production being thereby interfered with, and even without the employer being at all aware of it.

This class hatred expresses itself at first only timidly and in isolated instances. If it takes some time for the working proletariat to realize that magnanimity is the last thing that moves the employer to furnish it work; it takes still longer for it to gather courage to enter into an open conflict with the "boss."

The slums are cowardly and humble; they feel themselves superfluous and know that they lack all material standing. Similar are the early characteristics of the working proletariat. It resented the ill-treatment to which it was subjected, but protested often silently; clenched its fist in its pockets; and, as a result of this, its indignation was wont to vent itself—as it unfortunately still does, here and there, among the least informed—in deeds of thoughtless passion or secret crime.

The sense of conscious strength and the spirit of resistance develop themselves among the working proletariat only after it has awakened to the understanding of the community of interest that binds its members, and of the solidarity of its ranks. With the quickening of the feeling of solidarity begins the moral rebirth of the working proletariat, and its uplifting from the swamp in which it, together with the slums, originally is immersed.

The conditions themselves under which labor is performed in the capitalist system point out to the proletariat the necessity of firmly holding together, of moving in a body, and of subordinating the individual to the whole. While, in the classic days of handicraft, each individual produced a whole article himself, capitalist industry is based upon co-operative labor. Here the individual workers can do nothing without their fellow-workers. If they start to work united and planfully, the capacity of each is doubled and trebled. Thus their labor itself brings home to them the power of union, and develops among them the sense of voluntary and glad discipline—both of which are the conditions precedent for Socialist production, and are likewise the conditions precedent for the successful struggle of the proletariat against the system of exploitation that prevails under capitalist production. And thus it happens that capitalism itself trains the proletarians in the methods requisite for its own overthrow, and educates them in the system of labor that will be required of them in Socialist society.

More powerfully, perhaps, than co-operation in labor does the equality in the present conditions of work tend to awaken among the proletarians the sense of solidarity among themselves. In a modern, well-developed mill there is as good as no distinction of ranks, no hierarchy, among the workers. The higher posts are, as a rule, inaccessible to the proletarians; at all events they are so few that they do not affect the masses. Slight is the number of those who can be corrupted by these favorite posts. For the large majority the conditions of labor are identical; to the individual all possibility is shut off of lifting himself up alone; he can better his condition only if the condition of all his fellow-toilers is bettered. The capitalist realizes this fact and its effects upon his men, and in not a few cases he tries to counteract both by the introduction of artificial distinctions in his mills, to the end of throwing the apple of discontent among the workers; but such is the leveling influence and power of modern large production that all such schemes are unable to undermine permanently the sense of solidarity which it evokes in the ranks of the working proletariat. The longer the capitalist system lasts, all the more powerfully does the solidarity of the proletariat manifest itself, all the stronger does it cast its roots, and all the more prominently does it stand out as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the working proletariat.

Among the slums, among the menials, there can be no thought of solidarity. It was among the journeymen under the old feudal and guild systems that the solidarity of the exploited class against the exploiters first cropped up; but the solidarity of the modern working proletariat has taken long strides beyond that of the exploited class under the previous system of production. Neither limited itself to the confines of one and the same industry; the same as the modern working proletariat, so did its prototype of the guild days arrive slowly at the perception of the fact that the worker knocks himself everywhere against the identical adversary, and has everywhere the same interests; the journeyman of old established national organizations; but these were necessarily limited, as the State or nation was then still a very imperfect conception; the modern working proletariat is not organized nationally only. It has widened its basis; despite all wars and hostilities between one nation and another, it has organized itself internationally; the working proletariat of all countries are united.

Already in the days of the journeyman mechanics the beginnings may be found of international organizations. The exploited classes of those days showed they were able to rise above national barriers; but there was one barrier above which they could not lift themselves—that of their own trade. The hatmaker, for instance, of one country felt one with those of others, but the shoemakers, tailors and other workers of his own country remained strangers to him. At that time the various trades were separated by sharp lines; the applicant for admission to any of them was held to a long apprenticeship before he became a journeyman, and he remained loyal to his trade for life. The power and prosperity of his trade were his own; although, in a certain sense, the journeyman's interests were opposed to those of his guild master, yet were they opposed to those of both master and journeyman of all other trades. The spectacle was frequent during the most flourishing period of the guilds that the journeyman of the various trades were involved in fierce strifes with one another.

The capitalist system of production, on the contrary, throws the various trades together and mixes them up inextricably. In a capitalist establishment, people of different trades are seen generally working together, and jointly operating towards a common end. Furthermore, the capitalist system has the tendency to wipe out the idea of a trade in production; the machine shortens the time of apprenticeship, that formerly extended over years, down to weeks and days; it makes it possible for the several workmen to pass from one occupation to another without great difficulty, and it often even compels them to the change by frequently rendering them superfluous in their former lines, throwing them out of work, and compelling them to look for another job. The freedom in the choice of a pursuit, which the philistines fear to lose in Socialist society, is a thing that has lost all meaning to the working class under the present system.

Under such circumstances, it has become an easy matter for the workingman to lift himself above the barriers before which the journeyman of old halted. The sense of solidarity among the modern working proletariat is, accordingly, not only international, it now extends over the whole working class.

Already in the Middle Ages there was a variety of forms of wage labor; neither are their expliciters something new; but it was not until the rule of the capitalist system came into force that the spectacle was presented of the rise of an embattled class of wage workers, conscious of the oneness of their interests, and ever more ready to subordinate to the interests of their class, as a

whole, not only their personal, but also their local, and, in so far as these still continue to exist, their separate trade interests. It is only in our own century that the struggles of the wage workers, the working proletariat, against exploitation assume the character of a class struggle. It is only by virtue thereof that these struggles are enabled to aim at a higher goal than that of simply removing this or that objectionable feature of the existing system, and that the Labor Movement has become a revolutionary movement.

Under these conditions, the horizon of the working class broadens steadily. This holds good, in the first place, with regard to the working proletariat employed in large production; but the same as the industrial form of capital becomes more and more the standard for all capital, and even for all economic undertakings within the reach of capitalist nations, so likewise do the thoughts and sentiments of that portion of the proletariat that is engaged in large production strike the keynote for the thoughts and sentiments of the whole wage-working class. The consciousness of the unity of the interests of all takes possession of one set of workers after another, just as fast as the all-pervading influence of large production forces itself into the various classes of industries.

Next follow the workers engaged in non-productive occupations—in trade, communication and transportation, etc. Lastly, the agricultural wage proletariat will finally be drawn in by the recognition that is being hastened by the introduction of capitalist methods into the old and until now, to a great extent, patriarchally conducted system of agriculture, and, consequently, by the inevitable transformation of the farm hands into out-and-out wage-working proletarians, wholly disconnected by any personal bonds from the family of the employer. Progress in this direction from this source is already perceptible.

Thus, by degrees, all the sections of the working class are being welded into one, animated by the spirit of the proletariat employed in large production, and which is steadily on the increase. Steadily the whole mass is being leavened by the spirit of comradeship, of discipline and of hostility to the capitalist class that is peculiar to the workers in large production; and above all, hand in hand, with this progress, the unquenchable thirst for knowledge, that is one of the leading features of the progressive proletarians, permeates all the ranks of their class.

Thus, by degrees, there rises out of the despised, maltreated, degraded proletariat a historic power before which the powers that have begun to tremble. Thus a new class is in the process of formation that brings with it a new code of morals and a new philosophy; a class that grows daily in numbers, in compactness, in consciousness of its mission, in intelligence, and into an economic necessity.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

M. D. F. Lynn, Mass.—You surely can't mean that our Comrade should take serious notice of such things. Our challenge stands that if any of those who go about spreading insinuations, by pen or word of mouth should utter their attack clear enough by printing just what they mean, instead of insinuating, or by writing over their signatures all that they whisper, we engage to clap them in jail as criminal libelers in short order, and, from Gompers down or up, as you may prefer, to have their mustachios shaved off, their soraway hair cropped short and their anatomy clad in a suit of prison stripes, provided, of course, they don't run away. So far, the challenge was taken up only by Mr. Ernest Kurzenkaabe, of the "Brewers' Zeitung," and for his pains he is now, despite the efforts of a Tammany judge, officially branded a libeler, and has escaped punishment by fleeing this State and becoming a fugitive from justice.

For the rest the conduct of the fakir brigade must be a source of great gratification to our party: Our arguments are so irrefutable that the fakirs leave them alone and must resort to personal abuse; and the character of our spokesmen is so irrefragable that the fakirs dare not attack them, except in the cowardly way of midnight assassins.

L. L. W., Philadelphia, Pa.—We are not posted equally well upon the three officers of the "Colonization Commission" of the Social Democracy of America.

The Treasurer, W. P. Borland, we know least of. To judge by his articles in the "Social Democrat," he is very much mixed up on economics and the Social Question, and, moreover, seeing that he surely knows that his information is superficial, he reveals considerable recklessness by the cock-sureness with which he utters himself upon these serious matters. Nevertheless, we are informed that he is studying up. This may somewhat extenuate his recklessness. Of his probity we know nothing, one way or another.

Somehow better than him we know the Secretary, Cyrus Field Willard. Readers of THE PEOPLE will remember him only by a single appearance of his in these columns, at which occasion he sought to break a lance for the fakirs. Indeed, the rôle in which he then appeared typifies him. We have known him uniformly as extremely "tolerant" towards the crew that have been a curse to the American Labor movement, and whose mischievous crookedness—he being no fool and being well acquainted with them—must have been well aware of.

Best of all three, and to our sorrow, we are acquainted with the Chairman, Col. Richard J. Hinton. As expressly stated somewhere in our last issue, Richard J. Hinton was, in 1887, a member of the Socialist Labor party, and an editor of its then English organ in this city. That responsible position he betrayed in the very heat of a campaign, and was expelled. He landed on his feet; with a breath-taking-away rapidity he landed snugly in office at Washington.

To Jewish Sections and Branches.

Wilshire's leaflet, "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists," has been translated into Jewish, and can now be had at \$1.25 per 1,000 or \$1.50, if sent by mail or express. Address all orders to

LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th Street, New York.

THE NEGRO QUESTION IN AMERICA.

The idea of economic agitation among the negroes of the South with a view to their conversion to Socialism was one that had occupied my thoughts considerably during my stay in this section some years ago, but with changed location I had neglected it, and speculations as to its possibilities had not occurred to me for some time until I read the other day in the Atlanta "Constitution" a letter from Bishop Turner, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. It would seem from this letter that the bishop is not pleased with the outlook for the negro in this country, and his efforts are now being directed toward their colonization in Liberia, Africa. In this he is assisted by the International Migration Society of Birmingham, Ala., an organization of white men formed for the purpose of assisting negroes out of the United States. The bishop quotes Senator Morgan: "The white people of this country will never give the negro social recognition, and without it he will be a scullion, and A SLAVE is better than a free scullion."

I doubt that Bishop Turner knows much about Socialism, or he would see that the condition of his race cannot be improved by the simple removal of them to a new country while continuing a system under which the greater portion of the people are slavish producers for an idle and useless class, and that a settlement of the race question is possible without transferring all the negroes to Africa. The practicability of his plan is extremely doubtful. This lies in both the character of the negro himself and the opposition that will surely come from the white employers.

Some years ago a bill was introduced in Congress to give State aid to negroes who desired to go to Liberia. This was, of course, defeated. The Republican politicians wanted the negro to remain here because he was a serviceable political slave, and the Southern employers wanted to keep him because of his cheap wage cost as a producer. When Oklahoma was opened to settlement many negroes went from Tennessee, Alabama and other Southern States to the territory, and for weeks newspapers teemed with lies unfavorable to Oklahoma to prevent further migration of the blacks; in some localities the whites even went so far as to hold mass meetings to devise means to check "the exodus," as it was generally termed.

These instances of facts serve to show that much as some of the whites pretend to despise the negro and want him out of the country, they take precious good care to prevent his leaving, and recognize the fact that their prosperity depends upon keeping him in subjugation.

The fact that as long as the colonization scheme has been agitated no greater progress has been made would tend to show that the mass of the negroes have no desire to go to Liberia. Certainly their condition and prospects in the United States are not such as to entice this country to them, but the failure of colonies of their race in Mexico and elsewhere are not calculated to entice them in any new enterprise of the same nature.

Supposing though that, despite these obstacles, there is a considerable migration to Liberia, what will be the result? In that new country, if it possesses the natural advantages it is by some said to possess, those advantages yet being free and unmonopolized, and with self-denial and perseverance, and under the wise guidance of intelligent and self-sacrificing leaders (of whom there are few), it would be possible for them to for a while enjoy a condition superior to that they now possess in America. But under a system of private holdings in land, tools and capital for how long would their prosperity last? The history of the entire competitive system answers: "Only until the workers have developed the resources of the country and brought it to that point where they begin to expect reward; at that point the destructive influences of capitalism are felt, and what seems at the beginning destined to be a brilliant success turns to a dismal failure." The negro is not so superior to or different from the whites, or the soil of Liberia so fertile that he can build on old lines a nation that will insure peace and prosperity to all its people when all similar attempts in the hands of the whites have been failures. Then with years of toil and effort wasted, the black man will find himself in a condition the exact counterpart of that from which he strove to escape—he will have changed from a master of white skin to one of his own color. He will not have attained the social recognition he was denied in America, for social equality is as impossible under an unequal industrial system in Africa as in America. He will have become a wage-slave in competition with his less skilled and less intelligent native blacks of Africa, with the chance that, instead of lifting the latter, he will himself fall to their level.

If then, we are decided that the scheme of colonization is impractical, and that the American negro's future is indelibly linked with that of the United States, it will be well that we as Socialists examine his condition, surroundings and prospects, for as a wage worker the destiny of the negro is part of our own.

The greatest obstacle to progress is ignorance. Whether this results from the negro's inaptitude or from a deliberate and concerted effort on the part of the ruling class to prevent his enlightenment, opinions will differ, but the treatment accorded the Blair Education bill by Southern legislators when that measure was pending in Congress some years ago, would support the latter belief. Another and not less powerful obstacle in the way of Socialist progress will come, as may be expected, from the employers. The negro laborers are by their position and instincts particularly dependent upon their employers. Despite the freedom the emancipation proclamation was supposed to confer, the ex-slaves are now almost as much dependent upon

the property owners as they were before the war, for much the same conditions of family life remain. Free men grow from childhood upon the plantations their parents worked upon, and it does not infrequently happen that a negro is known, not by the surname of his father, but by the name of the man in whose employ he has remained the longest. The employer promises a certain wage; the negro receives the bare cost of his living, and at the end of the year figures usually show that he is in debt. But this system of vassalage has it must be admitted, points of favor: The "captain" (for among the externals changed by liberation are words: "massa" is gone, "captain" takes its place), does not let his "niggers" starve as do the Northern slave-owners, and in case of sickness the employe has medical attendance. If the negro gets into trouble "the captain" is there to assist him out of it, and in other ways sees after the well-being of his "hands." But for this the negro pays the whole price; he gives his life. The negro is in a measure loyal to his employer, and the hold of the whites is strong upon him. And the strongest hold is the negro's ignorance. I am reluctant to state that the whites intentionally mistreat the blacks; they claim that their object is to protect themselves from the negro's ignorance. This claim would have more force if efforts were made for education. It was only a few weeks ago that a white musician who had been employed by the members of a negro band was brutally murdered by whites because the teacher associated with them even to the extent and for the purpose he did. White men and women who have come from the North have frequently been forced to leave. Even Southern white Republicans who have organized the negroes have been boycotted and socially ostracized.

Northern Comrades can judge from this what must be the moral courage of him who attempts to organize Socialist Sections among the negroes. Great as are the difficulties in the North and West, greater still are they in this Section, where ignorance and prejudice are so much stronger.

There is still another thing: The South as yet is an agricultural Section, in which the factory system is as yet in its infancy. Large fortunes are not here held and there are not those practical examples that do so much in making Socialists. This is the section in which Mr. Bryan finds his most attentive listeners to his illogical denunciations of trusts and combinations, and it is here we find strongest those people who think competition can live to the Twentieth Century.

Passing now from a review of the past and present, let us survey the future. We have seen that the South is a section of bourgeois possessions and aristocratic pretensions, and possessing feudal characteristics. All this is to be changed. Capitalism is sweeping over the country; no section is free from its ravages. Opening of coal deposits was one of the first steps, the establishment of cotton factories was a second. This will go on until the South will possess no distinctive features, and with the change will come enlarged opportunities for the spread of Socialism.

Industrial development even so far shows this. Among the textile workers in the Carolinas and Georgia our progress is gratifying, but in it again is the negro question.

The only suggestion I can make is that we make converts among the more intelligent and honest negroes; furnish them with means and literature, and leave it to them to carry on the work among their race. It is my most firm belief that the only solution of the negro question will be found in Socialism, and that with the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth will end all petty quarrels of race, creed and nationality. The negro is a wage-slave, and as such deserves our thoughts and efforts.

J. HOWARD SHARP,
Greenfield, Tenn.

Good Counsel.

Comrades desiring to increase the circulation of THE PEOPLE and the increase of Socialist understanding, will, as election time comes on, copy a few names and addresses of registered voters in their ward or precinct, then mail a copy of THE PEOPLE each week to these voters, and follow it up after the lapse of a week or two by making a call on the voters addressed, talk to them on the issue and try to get them to subscribe. This would cost little and about half an hour of time a week. Any Comrade is able to devote that much to our cause. If the voter is found unable to read English, try to get him to subscribe for the Jewish, Swedish, Italian or French or German organ of our party.

Don't only read this but follow it up by action and you will be satisfied with your efforts.

C. CLAUSS,
Malden, Mass.

A Correction.

Our attention has been called by several readers to a misleading typographical mistake that crept into the article: "A word with the Citizen," of the 15th instant. There this passage occurs:

"The 'Social Democrat' pointedly preaches the doctrine that political power must PRECEDE economic power."

The passage should have read: "The 'Social Democrat' pointedly preaches the doctrine that political power must FOLLOW economic power."

The whole context, however, points out the error, and previous articles quoting the "Social Democrat" pointed out its false and anti-Socialist position just in that it claims that political power CAN NOT PRECEDE but must FOLLOW economic power. The passage was fully and correctly quoted both in the article "So Soon?" July 1, and the error of the expression was fully elucidated in the "Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan" of August 1, where it was shown that political had to and always did precede economic power.

S. L. P. Supplies.

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

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary M. S. Hayes, 113 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

National Executive.

Meeting of August 24th, with Comrade Bennett in the chair. Furman and Malkiel were absent, and excused. The financial report for the week ending August 21st showed receipts to the amount of \$17.55; expenditures, \$37.70; deficit, \$20.15.

The Danish-Norwegian Socialist paper "Arbejderen," of Chicago, Ill., having complied with certain stipulations of the National Executive Committee regarding its editorial control, is recognized as an official organ of the S. L. P., and the secretary is instructed to so notify the manager of the paper.

Charters were granted for new Sections in Beldler, Navarre and Zanesville, Ohio; Edwardsdale, Pa. and Versailles, Ind. The following Sections have been reorganized: Shawnee and Glouster, Ohio and Peoria, Ill., No. 2.
HENRY STAHL, Rec. Secy. pro tem.

Connecticut.

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., August 15.—Section New Britain held an open air meeting last night, with Comrade Mercer of Bridgeport, as speaker. It was a success in every way, the audience being very large and attentive, and the address on the whole very good. A number of questions were asked and answered by the speaker in a masterly way, the answers evoking spontaneous applause every time. We have also distributed 500 leaflets and sold ten "Merrie England's," both leaflets and books all we had on hand.

The undersigned closely studied the crowd during the whole time of the meeting, and is convinced more than ever that the future, and the near one, too, belongs to the Socialist Labor party, some so-called opposition cranks and renegades to the contrary notwithstanding.

I may also add that Comrade Mercer, who is neither a leader nor a professional speaker, but a common soldier in the Socialist Labor party, showed by his address that our rank and file have a firmer grasp of Socialism and of the great problem to be solved than all the shining luminaries of the Social Democracy combined, the Executive Council, and, I make bold to say, Mr. Debs himself, taken in the lot. Let the Jewish Comrades of neighboring Hartford, misled by unscrupulous persons, become traitors and renegades to their party; let them organize (they have done it last week), into a branch of the Social Democracy, and spend their time, energy and hard-earned pennies in trying to build up a party that bears all the marks of an abortion on its face, and has neither past nor future; I say, let the Jewish Socialists of Hartford act the way they do—their disappointment is sure to be very bitter. The Jewish Comrades of New Britain, who compose the bulk of the Section here, know better than that. The Socialist Labor party is THE PARTY for them. Its experience is world-wide, and it flatly refuses to raise its structure on anything else but the solid rock of facts and science; the men who stand at its helm will have for their guide nothing else but the maps laid out by the master minds of the century, and thus guard it from being wrecked in the turbulent waters of American politics; its platform is clear and its past is unstained, and wherever it gets a foothold it gradually gains the respect of all decent and fair-minded people.

Onward, Comrades! Heathen and Jewish! Pull to the shore with all your might on the safe bark of the Socialist Labor party. Land is in sight.
M. GOLDSMITH, Organizer.

Massachusetts.

BOSTON, August 22.—Boston American Section holds its next regular meeting Wednesday, September 1st, at 8 p. m., at Carlton Hall, 45 Eliot street. Special business. Report of organizer on the arrest and trial of Comrade Martha Moore Avery and business appertaining thereto.

No meeting will be held the first Monday in September as it falls upon Labor Day.

New Jersey.

ELIZABETH, August 23.—The meeting of the Elizabeth Section, S. L. P., was held August 11th in the new headquarters, No. 306 Elizabeth avenue, Comrade Hirstein in the chair. An agreement between the American and German Sections on consolidation was read and adopted. The Section will hold its regular meetings the first Wednesday in the month, next meeting being September 1st.

New York.

To the Sections of Westchester County: Section Yonkers proposes to the various Sections of Westchester County that a County Committee meeting shall be held in Yonkers on Monday, September 6th (Labor Day), to devise some plan for effective agitation throughout the county.

The Sections are invited to elect three delegates to said convention, which is proposed to be held in the forenoon of Labor Day.

Comrade Charles Matchett will speak in Getty Square on the forenoon about 11 o'clock, and the delegates should try and come in time to hear him.

Send names of delegates elected to Fred Bennett, 120 Oliver avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.

To the Assembly Districts, Wards and Branches of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.:

Pursuant to the call of the National Secretary of the S. L. P., the above organizations are requested to nominate a candidate to fill the vacancy of Comrade Moore on the National Executive Committee. Please send in such nominations made either to the undersigned or to H. Kuhn, 184 William street, New York, not later than Aug. 31st.

L. ABELSON, Organizer,
Socialist Labor party of Greater New York, 64 E. 4th street, New York.

PEEKSKILL, N. Y.—Section Peekskill will hold an open air meeting on or about Labor Day. In spite of all disadvantages this Section grows; in spite of

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the close vigilance of the capitalists and their servants, the Republican and Democratic politicians. This Section gains in membership and will surely double the vote of last year. Since Comrade Hickey visited this village and organized the Section we have gained five new members.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A. At the session of the General Executive Board the committee which investigated the grievance between the Musical Alliances, recommended that they form a Local Joint Executive Board under the jurisdiction of the G. E. B., and to thus settle whatever grievances may arise.

Brooklyn. Primaries of the Socialist Labor party to nominate candidates for Councilmen, three in each Council District, the 6th, 7th and 8th respectively, will be held as follows:

Thursday, September 2, 8 p. m. 7th Council District, comprising the 7th, 9th, 20th, 23d, 24th, 29th and 32d Wards of Brooklyn, will meet on the above date at Lohman's Park, corner of Liberty avenue and Wyona street.

Thursday, September 2, 8 p. m. 8th Council District, comprising the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 20th and 31st Wards of Brooklyn, will meet on the above date at 208 Columbia street, Brooklyn.

Friday, September 2d, 8 p. m. 6th Council District, comprising the 13th, 14th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 25th, 27th and 28th Wards, will meet on the above date at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949-955 Willoughby avenue.

Members of the Socialist Labor party residing in the Borough of Brooklyn should not fail to attend their respective Council District Primaries.

For the City Executive Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P. L. ABELSON, Organizer.

Ohio. CANAL DOVER, August 16.—Saturday Comrade B. F. Keinar, of New York, rode over on his wheel, and in the evening we had a most successful meeting. It had been well advertised, and the occasion was most auspicious to a good stirring speech.

After announcing why he was out, Comrade Keinar sailed in and demonstrated beyond question the superiority of the Socialist Labor party's argument over all party entangling propaganda. In the course of his address he was interrupted by a questioner, who wanted to know how Socialism was to be brought about. Keinar was about to request the man to say a little more on the point he had raised, but the audience objected in a peremptory manner, yelling: "We want to hear you; go on." He did so, and explained the question fully and to everybody's satisfaction, winding up with a story from the repertoire of "Jim" Hickey. He had his auditors in thorough enthusiasm and good humor. Signatures to place our ticket on the ballot were given liberally. The Mayor, who sympathizes with us, and who promised to keep all street fakirs off the thoroughfare when Keinar spoke, was among the first to sign. The crowd then followed, and we got a goodly number of names.

To-night, the 16th, we held a meeting at New Philadelphia, where we entertain hopes of getting a Section together. Miners in the country towns have been notified, and will bring the mining contingent to hear us. Afterwards Keinar speaks at Hicksville, below Hebe, and hopes to do well, as it is a railway centre of some note.

Ohio is a great field—the third in industries and the scene of Coxe's big vote. The Pops are coming around, and will rapidly fill up our growing movement. Already men who enthused over Bryan are getting their eyes open to the extent that he again will never get their support.

We are hopeful; we are doing nobly all over. But for intimidation at Dover we would have as good a Section as any in the Buckeye State.

ALBERT RUGG.

Pennsylvania.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN. A grand ratification meeting of the Socialists of Philadelphia will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 6th street, above Brown street, on Saturday, August 28th, at 8 p. m. Addresses are to be delivered by Comrades Lucien Sanial, Socialist nominee for Mayor of New York, Fred W. Long, Ernst Kreft and J. Mahlon Barbes.

By order of Section Philadelphia, S. L. P. Attention, Pennsylvania. The Socialist voters of Pennsylvania are urgently requested to make unusual effort in the collection of signatures this year.

The time for the collection of names on our nomination papers has been shortened by the amendment of the Election Laws by the last Legislature, and the number of names necessary this year is greater than ever before—about 3,600.

The signatures must be secured on official papers, which will be promptly supplied by the Secretary of the State Committee, F. M. Gessner, 2516 Sidney street, Pittsburg, Pa.

Write immediately for them, as the time is getting short, and every name will be needed. Every Socialist is relied on to do his duty.

For the Pennsylvania State Committee, F. M. GESSNER, Organizer.

Daily People Minor Fund.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries for Louis Brodsky, Workmen's Consumers Association, Anton Riese, and HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

ployed members of the Germania Waiters' Prot. Ass. American Federation in preference. The German Waiters' Union No. 1 had been employed at the place for ten years, and suddenly Mr. Pfatz had evinced a wonderful partiality for the Am. Fed. of Labor. This was referred to the Arbitration Committee to report in detail next Sunday, so that action can be taken at once.

Carl Sahn Club reported that its delegate Hausmann was not instructed to agitate against the Pressmen and Feeders and Prog. Typographical Union. They desired to remain neutral in the fight. Delegates Waldinger, Bohm and Wohl were elected a committee to attend their next meeting, Tuesday, 11 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, and among other things convey to the said organization the information that the Hebrew-American Typographical Union was expelled from the S. T. & L. A. for insubordination.

Furriers' Union reported that the Jewish Branch had held a very successful meeting on Saturday and gained numerous members. Waiters' Alliance Liberty reported that it had resolved to appeal from the decision of the C. L. F. relative to organizing the Coffee House Waiters to the G. E. B. They increased the initiation fee from \$1 to \$3.

Bohemian Butchers' Union reported that they settled a grievance with Boss Korn, of East 70th street. Section Greater New York desired information if Wendell's Assembly Rooms and Fort George were union places, which question was answered in the affirmative.

Bohemian Typographical Union reported that the "Hlas Lidu" had adopted the label, and should be supported by all progressive organizations. On Thursday this union will participate in the demonstration of the Bohemian Butchers' Union.

Progressive Typographical Union reported having organized three shops, two in New York and one in Brooklyn. The Hebrew-American Typographical Union is sending committees to the progressive unions and protesting against the S. T. & L. A. They have arranged a mass meeting on Thursday evening at New Irving Hall, at which Miller, Baroness and others of that ilk will spout.

Pressmen and Feeders' Union organized three shops. The union resolved to attend the Labor Day picnic of the C. L. F. in a body. Officers will be elected on Thursday.

It was announced that a conference of representatives of labor organizations would be held at St. Louis, Mo., on Monday, August 30, on behalf of the striking mine workers, and that it would be well if the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A. could send a representative to attend. It was resolved to request the General Secretary of the S. T. & L. A. to call a special meeting of the G. E. B. in reference to this matter, and also urge immediate action in the Ebling Casino case.

It was resolved to request B. Feigenbaum to attend the next meeting of the C. L. F., and prove his assertions relative to scabs.

All delegates are urgently requested to attend the meeting this Sunday at 2:30 p. m., at 64 East 4th street, as very important business is to be transacted.

Socialist Tracts.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms \$1.50 per thousand:

- 1. "What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to workmen, by Henry Kuhn.
2. "Socialism," by William Watkins.
3. "Why American workmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire.
4. "Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton.
5. "Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England."
6. "A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt.
7. "Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party."
8. "The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages: English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish.
9. "The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price 1 cent per copy, 1,000 copies \$5.00.
10. "Reform or Revolution," by Daniel DeLeon. 5 cents a copy.

Send your order to New York Labor News Co., 64 East 4th street, New York, N. Y.

To the Sections of the S. L. P. in Greater New York.

The Sections of the S. L. P. located within the territory of the Greater New York are hereby called upon to make nominations for one member of the National Executive Committee, in place of Comrade John H. Moore, of Branch Northfield, who has resigned. The nominations should be sent to the undersigned not later than Tuesday, August 31st, and they will then be submitted for a general vote of the aforesaid Sections.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P. HENRY KUHN, Secy.

Primary of the 20th Assembly District of Kings

WEDNESDAY, September 1st, in Koch's Hall, Hamburg Av. & Harman Str., at 8 P. M.

Primary of the 6th COUNCILMANIC DISTRICT

of the City of New York, comprising the 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, 27 and 28 Wards in the BOROUGH of BROOKLYN on FRIDAY, Sept. 3d, at 8 P. M., at the Labor Lyceum.

Annual Picnic and Summernight's Festival OF THE CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION

D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A. ON LABOR DAY, Monday, Sept. 6, at J. NOLL'S SCHUETZEN PARK, Boston Road, near 169th Str. Prize shooting and Prize bowling—Fire works—Balloons ascension, etc.—A large handsome banner will be presented to that Organization which is numerically best represented in the Park at 6 P. M., and a large silver Goblet to that Organization which has sold the most tickets.

Take Second or Third Avenue Elevated Railroad or Surface Cars and get off at 169th St. West Farms Trolley direct to the Park. TICKETS, admit Gentleman and Lady, 25 cents. THE COMMITTEE.

THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to August 24th, 1897. \$4,565. The following amounts have been paid down to August 24th, incl: Previously acknowledged, \$1,690.90 W. O. Hall, Albany, N. Y., \$10; Sata Johnson, St. Paul, Minn., \$10; Marx, 18th St., Brooklyn, N. Y., \$5; German Courades, New Bedford, Mass., \$100. Total, \$1815.90

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness. THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE, 184 William St., N. Y.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM. The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-affirms the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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

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

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

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule. Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children. Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crisis on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

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

RESOLUTIONS.

- 1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

Grand Labor Day Pic-Nic

Section New Haven, Conn., Socialist Labor Party, at WEIDEMANN'S LION PARK, MONDAY, September 6th. TICKETS 10 cents. Children free. Games and Prizes for children.

The Boston Scand. Social Democratic Club Will arrange its Fourth Grand Picnic in Amory Grove, Roxbury, on Labor Day, Monday, Sept. 6th, 97, from 10 A. M. to 10 P. M. Speeches in English and Swedish—Singing by the Scandinavian Soc. Democratic Chorus—Sports and Games of different kinds with Prizes, etc.—Dancing from 3 to 9 P. M.—Good Dancing Music—Lunch and Beverages in sufficient quantities will be provided for—Tickets for Gentlemen 50 Cts.—For Ladies 35 Cts.—Children under 12 years free—Take Old Heath St. or Jamaica Plain Cars to Amory Street.

United Journeymen Tailors Union of N. Y. Custom Tailors of New York, are you satisfied with the present condition of our trade and the starting wages you receive? If not, come to our conference meeting which is called by the above named Union on Monday, Aug. 30, at 216 E. 41st St., 8 P. M., where our present condition will be thoroughly discussed and all tailors admitted free of charge.—THE COMMITTEE.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Sahn Club (Musicians Union.) Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred. 283

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 289

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 301 East 51st street, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 157 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 312 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 142 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 26

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. 273 Secretary: HENRY ZINCK.

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 383 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 324

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1029, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 40th street. Meetings every Friday at 10 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Wolf, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 173 E. 4th St. 241

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m., in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 189

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 32d St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, scand. AM. ARBEITAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 54th St. 35th A. D. E. Cor. of 54 Ave. and 19th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Upholsterers' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meetings 3rd and 4th Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th St. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organized 1872. Membership 10,000. Principal Organization, New York and OFFICE: 64 E. 4th St. OFFICE HOURS, daily, except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 5 o'clock P. M.

BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, N. Y. Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River Passaic, N. J. Boston, Holyoke, Mass. New Haven and Waterbury, Conn. Luzerne and Altoona, Pa. 239

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 189 local branches with more than 15,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 15 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$2.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$25.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 15 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit for \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be organized by 25 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to HENRY SHAW, Financial Secretary, 25-27 2nd Ave., Room 35, New York City.

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