

# VOL. X, NO. 6

apply only to the system of small produc-

artisans and farmers to dependence,

time during the French Revolution, not-

withstanding, or perhaps, just by reason

nd the class that was about to develop

into capitalists, divided among them-

elves the church estates. Division is

the Socialism of small production; it is

maks of society; it is not the Socialism

It needs time, but the feat will yet be

accomplished of ramming into the heads of the so-called luminaries of our social

tem that Socialists do not propose to

sciety the instruments of production,

this does not yet dispose of the

the Socialism of the "conservative"

of the Proletariat.

of Socialism possible is division.

HENRY KUHN, Nat'l Sec'y, S. L. P.

# NEW YORK, MAY 6, 1900.

natural recult would be, not that Socialist production, but the principle of equality of incomes, would be thrown overboard. The foes of Socialism would be justified to conclude from the equality of incomes that Socialism is impracticable if they could prove :

(1) That this equality would be, under all circumstances, irreconcilable with the progress of production. This they never have been and never will be able to prove. seeing that he activity of the individual in production does not depend solely upon his remuneration, but upon a great variety of circumstances-his sense of duty, his ambition, his dignity, his pride, etc., etc .- none of which can be the subject of positive prophecy, but only of conjecture, a conjecture, however, which under im-

proved social conditions, so far from making in favor, can only make against the opinion expressed by the adversaries of Socialism; and

opinion expressed by the adversaries of Socialism; and (2) That the equality of incomes is so essential to a Socialist society that the latter cannot be conceived without the former. To prove this the foes of So-cialism will find equally impossible. A glance over the various forms of commun-ist production which have still survived the shock of time, from the primitive communism practised by our aboriginal Indians, down to the latest communistic societies that have sprung up in various parts of the land, will reveal how mani-fold are the forms of distribution that are applicable to a community of property in the instruments of production. All forms of modern wage payment-fixed salaries, time wages, piece wages, bonuses—all of them are reconcluble with the spirit of a Socialist commonwealth; and there is not one of them that may not play quite a role in Socialist society, according as the wants and the customs of its members, together with the requirements of produc-tion, may demand. **Capitalist Inequality.** 

# Capitalist Inequality.

It does not, however, follow from this that the principle of the equality of incomes-a principle that is not necessarily identical with heir uniformity-will cut no figure whatever in Socialist society; whenever that principle shall assert-itself, it will not spring up as the aim of a movement for leveling things generally, forcibly and straightway, but as the result of a natural development and social

torcibly and straightway, but as the re-sult of a natural development and social tendency. In the capitalist system of production there is seen simultaneously both a ten-dency to increase, and one to diminish, the differences between incomes; one ten-dency would aggravate, the other would reduce, inequalities. By dissolving the middle classes of so-ciety and swelling evermore the size of individual fortunes the capitlist systems broadens and deepens perceptibly the class that exists between the masses of fine population and those who are at its head; the latter tower ever higher above the former and become less and less ap-prochable to them. Hand in hand with this tendency is noticed another, which, operating within the circle of the masses themselves, steadily equalize their respec-tive incomes; it flings the small produc-ers, farmers and industrialists into the class of the proletariat, or at least pushes their facomes down to the proletarian level, and wipes out existing differences between the proletariat: to-day, the differences in wages among the various layers of labor fluctuate incessantly, and come nearer and nearer to a point of uniformity: at the same time the in-comes of the educated proletariat are ir-resistably tending downwards. The equalization of incomes among the masses, that thing at which the adversaries of So-cialism affect to be shocked, and which they brand with moral indirantion as the mainter their own eyes, and is the result malignant purpose of Socialism--is going on under their own eyes, and is the result of their own precious system.

# Socialism Levels Upwards

As a matter of course, all those ten lencies that sharpen inequalities, and that proceed from the private ownership in the neans of production, would come to an end, while the tendency to wipe out in-**Expendent** from production itself; see- **it** is a Utopian idea to imagine that a special system of distribution is to be manufactured, and that it will stand for any other, is Socialist society likely on the and their friends should have bo-remain of products. Of course, the not of products. The not of the exploited to the state the not of the exploited to the state the not of the exploited to the transmission of products. Of the state the not of the exploited to the transmission of products. The transmission of products to the transmission of products. The transmission of products to the transmission of products. The transmission of products to the transmission of products. The transmission of the exploited to the transmission of expression in a very different way. Today, the equalization of incomes among the masses of the population proceeds by the depression of the higher incomes to the level of the lower ones; in a Socialist commonwealth it must inevitably proceed by the raising of the lower to the standard of the higher. The adversaries of Socialism seek to frighten the small producers with the claim that an equalization of incomes can mean for them nothing else than the lowering of their conditions, because, say they, the incomes of the wealthy classe are not large enough, if divided among the poor, to preserve the present average in come of the middle classes: that, conse quently, if there is to be equality of incomes, the middle classes will have to give up part of their incomes, and would much be the losers under Socialism. Whatever truth there may be in this claim lies in that the most miserable, above all the slums, are to-day so numer ous and their indigence so great that the distribution among them of the immense incomes of the rich might not suffice to bring their condition quite up to the standard of the middle class. Whether this argument could be advanced as a special reason for the preservation of our glorious social system may well be doubted; some may be of the opinion that any improvement that might be accom-plished through such division would be a positive gain. plished through such division would be a positive gain. There is, however, no question about "division:" the only question is upon the change of the method of production. The transformation of the capitalist into the Socialist system of production must in-evitably result in a rapid increase of the quantity of wealth produced yearly. It must never be lost sight of that the capi-talist system of production for sale hin-ders to-day the economic development, binders he full expansion of the produc-

tive forces that lie latent in society. Not only is it not able to absorb the small in-dustries in the measure in which the tech-

only is it not able to absorb the small in-dustries in the measure in which the tech-nical development makes possible and re-quires; it has become even impossible to it to employ all the forces that are avail-able. The capitalist system of produc-tion squanders these forces in that it steadil- drives an increasing quantity thereof into the ranks of the unemployed, he slums, the parasites and the unproduc-tive middle men. Such a state of things is simply impos-sible in a Socialist commonwealth; it could not fail to find productive labor for all its available labor forces; it would increase perceptibly, may, it would double the number of productive workers; in the measure in which it did this it would multiply the total wealth produced yearly. This increase in production would be enough in itself to raise the incomes of all workers, and not only those of the poorest ones.

All workers, and not only those of the poorest ones. Furthermore, Socialist production would greatly promote the absorption of small and its substitution by large pro-duction, and thereby also increase greatly the productivity of labor: it would then be possible not only to raise the incomes of the workers, but also to lower the hours of work.

### hours of work. Equality of Poverty.

In view of this the claim is puerile that Socialism means the equality of pauper That is not the equality towards which Socialism tends; it is the equality into which the modern system of production drive mankind. Socialist production must inevitably improve the condiions of all classes-those of the small pro-ducer and small farmer included. According to the economic conditions, under which the change from capitalism to So-cialism may be effected, will the improved general well-being of the community be greater or less: but whatever those conditions may be, the progress will be marked; and from that point on every further economic development will, instead of lowering as it does to-day, raise the general well-being of the common This turn in the direction of the course

This turn in the direction of the course generally taken by incomes is, in the eyes of Socialists, of much more importance to the well-being of society than the ab-solute increase of incomes. The thought-ful man lives more in the future thran in the present; what the future threatens or promises to him preoccupies him more than the enjoyment of the present. Not what is, but what will be; not existing conditions, but tendencies, determine-the happiness or the unhappiness both of individuals and whole states.

# The Modern Spectre.

Thus we become acquainted with another element of superiority in Socialist over capitalist society. It affords not only an improved condition of well-being but also the certainty of livelihood-a certainty not afforded to-day by the large

Fool's Cap That the Workingman Is Decorated With. BALTIMORE, Md., May 1.-A year s passed-a sad, sad year for the labor tree erstwhile faking velocit capitalist. State? has passed—a sad, sad year for the labor skates, erstwhile fakirs, yclept capitalist, stump-speaking, professional workingmen. The fakir of a year ago is the skate of to-day-damning the "cause" he fought

tor-a truly "lost cause." Ah ! the base-ness of it ! List to the harrowing tale : Last May Day a Municipal campaign was in progress in this city. At that time the reports of the meetings of the socalled Workingmen's Association were hronicled in THE PEOPLE.

It will be recalled that the "Association"---it should have been named "Con-fraternity of Workers" (probably too suggestive), for there is much in a nicesounding name, and that is al the fakirs had, aside from their foul reputationsconsisted of six persons and a long list of names, or a list of long names; that it was officered by representatives of unions who were delegates to the Federation of Labor; that its expenses were over \$500, and the "initiation fees and dues"-a constitutional requirement with the fakir always-were 10 cents; that "the fiery young president led the hosts of labor in the valiant struggle of the masses against the classes," and the m-asses won. But the fiery young president and the valiant six! What of them? Ah! melancholy memory, sad the tale! The sequel must be told.

# Buncoed Again.

Six months after the election "the hampion of labor's hosts" took office. His first official act was a royal procla-mation reducing the low salaries lower, and making the high salaries higher, "owing to the responsibility of the posi-Thus the salaries of the firemen tions." at the City Hall were reduced from \$900 per annum to \$700, and the salary of the Mayor increased from \$5,000 per annum to \$6,000. Other workers were reduced proportionately down to the scrub-women, and the "administrative positions" pro-portionally increased. The Mayor saw no reason "why the city should pay more to its working-class servants than private corporations paid, or more than the cur- but also the certainty of livelihood-an certainty not afforded to-day by the large est fortune. If the improvement of well being can be appreciated, mainly, if no only, by the classes that hitherto have been exploited, the certainty of a livel, hood is a boon to the exploiters them selves, to those whom well-being needs no improvement even where such might be possible. Uncertainty hovers over both the rich and the poor, and possibly it is more trying than want itself; it cause even those to taste the bitterness of want who are not yet subject to it; it is a specter that haunts the most luxurious home.
 All observers who have become acquainted with communities concisies whether these were situated in India France of America, have all been struck in the appearance of calmess, contidence and equanity peculiar to their sort indexed, and we have security against wat enjoyed by these primitive or more recent colonies is far from being perfect their control over nature is slight, the loud-mouthed, he the champion, he hole body. They cantle diseases, fail ures of crops, freshets, etc., are not maken is instance increased, being rositions wait mode the these of the nation and with all the security against ware and synaphile communities themselves are small. Mishaps brought on by cattle diseases, fail ures of crops, freshets, etc., are not maken is instance increased, being nostiler of the 'ordinat hosts,'' sail not frequent, and when they cocur, smite the hole of the Mayor. The withheld indgment: the communities themselves are small. Mishaps brought on by cattle diseases, fail ures of crops, freshets, etc., are not maken is the action of faith, of chair was sold oportime to specified the 'the Mayor.
 STRIKING AND LOCKED-DID CICGARMAKERSI rent market rates for labor." The tax rate must be reduced, you know, and "as

Gold Bricks.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

LABOR "- REWARED.

The Legislature of Maryland has met and adjourned. It passed one measure of momentous consequence to the oillamp-burning working class. It reduced the price of illuminating gas fifteen cents per 1,000 cubic feet! The fact is, it established a maximum charge for gas in Baltimore city of \$1.10, giving the gas company a very valuable monopoly in return for the favor. Now, workers of the gas company--you smutly-faced fellows who burn tallow candles in your "workingman's palace is his cozy little home"pull your belts tighter around your girth. for the gas company has to squeeze an equivalent of that fifteen cents a thousand feet out of your brain and brawn. However, record another victory of the people over a "soulless corporation," a "great, grinding monopoly has been conquered' by-um-ah !--why, by creating a reater monopoly !

grinding monopoly has been conquered" by-um-ah!-why, by creating a greater monopoly! Where were labor's champions when this dollar-gas scheme was hoodwinking the foolish people? Where was the sturdy-Dick, Senator from the mining re-gions, himself a professional miner, the legislative right hand of the banker ex-Governor, the assistant statistican in the Bureau of Industrial Statistica, the great promulgator of "unprecedented prosper-tiy"? Where was he, you ask? De-manding justice for the people who use gas, lobying for a senseless bill to pro-hibit discharges of men owing to mem-bership in labor unions, a law which has been declared unconstitutional in half a dozen states, and one which has been a standard article in the labor fakir's choice collection of gold bricks. But this Sen-atorial pooh-bah's left hand forgets what the right hand does, when he cries pros-perity one day as compiler of capitalist statistics, and the next as the horny-handed miner-Senator weepingly wails that men are unable to secure or hold employment because they belong to the Union. Dick evidently doesn't under-stand that there can be no prosperity where willing workers cannot secure a master. Union or no Union; and the mere existence of a blacklist is evidence that Dick's prosperity with the working class is synonymous with panie and pov-erty. The miners of Maryland have worn their iron collar long enough. Will they change it for a steel one by chasing the chinera of an unconstitutional anti-blacklist law? They seem to believe-and have been so taught by their fakir leaders—that if there were no blacklist inder through and by the reserve indus-trial army, and that if there were no re-serves there would be no blacklist; they do not realize that the power to ennet anti-blacklist laws can be used to abolish the reserve industrial army, and their masters along with it, taking to them-selves the complete management of their own labor-power. They do not realize these things now, but the gray dawn of the workers' synby day its b masters along with it, taking to their own labor-power. They do not realize these things now, but the gray dawn of the workers' suminy day is breaking over the hilltops of Maryland's mining regions, and is penetrating into the dark valleys of that shade of misery—the miner's hovel. The misspent energies of the reast, he futile strikes, the oppression of the masters—all have served to clarify the miner's be-clouded brain. He is rousing from his lethargy. The rattle of his chains again portends an awaken-ing. Soon he will strike the terrible blow that rends them. Ere another May day rolls around, perhaps, a different story we will tell. X.

# MAY DAY PARADE.

This Was Not Tammany Stuffings.

# tent, to their inability to understand the social conditions that have been brought on by the development of large produc-Their horizon is still, to a great

SUCIALISM'S PROGRAM

Does It Propose, as Is Claimed, to Divide Up?

private property To distribute the prod-ucts at stated intervals would be course lent to the gradual reintroduction of pri-vate property in the means of production.

# Socialist Distribution.

The very essence of Socialist production limits the possible distribution of products to only a portion of these. All those products which are requisite to the enlarement of prodution can not, as a matter of course, be the subject of distribution: and the same holds good with regard to all such products that are intended for common use, i. c., to the establishment, preservation or enlargement of

divide: that, on the contrary, their object is to concutrate in the hands of and size of such institutions increase steadily; it is upon this domain especially that large production crowds down small production within the circle of household duties. It goes without saying that, so far from being checked, the development will be greatly stimulated in a Socialist

The quantity of products that can be absorbed by private consumption and, accordingly, be turned into private property, must inevitably be a much slighter portion of the total product in a Socialist than in modern society, where almost all products are merchandise and private property. In Socialist, differently from capitalist, society it is not the bulk of the products, but only the residue, that needs

will not be able to dispose of at will; there, too, the requirements of production will determine the course to be pursued. Seeing that production is undergoing steady changes, so likewise will the forms and methods of distribution be subject to manifold changes in the Socialist Repub-

lic. It is a Utopian idea to imagine that a distribution is to be

But this does not yet dispose of the gestion of division. If the means of production belong to society, to it must belong as a matter of course, the function of disposing of the products that are brought forth with the aid of these intruments. In what way will society distribute these among its members? Shall it be upon the princips of equality, or according to the labor performed by wheth and it has a matter be agreeable or not, hard or are, skilled or unskilled? To many, the answer to this question means of be the central point of Socialism. Not only does it greatly pre-occupy the foes of Socialism, but even the same reward, betting to failed or unskilled? The first diversified answers, many of the reveal a wonderful degree of the reveal a wonderful degree of the reveal a wonderful degree of the reveal a socialism. Nevertheless, the userion is not of the importance that is generally ascribed to it. **Material Basis of Distribution.** distribution. But even this residue Socialist society

# Material Basis of Distribution.

Time was when the distribution of was looked upon as wholly indent from production itself; see-

The question most frequently put to a scalist by capitaists is: How will So-claists divide the wealth they produce; such to have an equal share; or how? "Division." that is the thing that class in the very marrow of the philis-ing, like a veritable leprosy. Their the according the most cultured, the idea is not ends with that word. Indeed, even among the most cultured, the idea is in a to divide the whole wealth of the action among the people. **options** The Socialism of Reaction. That this view still prevails, despite all protests and proofs on the part of the scalists is to be ascribed, not only to the malice of the enemies of Socialism, at also, and perhaps to a greater ex-

a great influence upon the manner in which distribution is effected. Without any excessive strain on the imagination, we can conceive a time when science will have raised industry to such a high level of productivity that everything wanted by man is produced in great abundance. In such case, the formula "To each accord-ing to his needs" would be applied as a matter of course, and without much diffi-culty. On the other hand, not even the profoundest conviction of the justice of this formula would be able to put it into practice if the productivity of labor re-mained so low that the proceeds of the most excessive degree of labor could pro-duce only a bare necessity. Again, the formula "To each according to his deeds" will always be found inapplicable. If it has any sense at all, it pre-supposes a dis-tribution of the total product of he com-monwealth among its members. This notion, the same as that about a general division and the military form of Social-ism, springs from the moders of thought that are peculiar to the modern system of private property. To distribute the prod-ucts at stated intervals would be equiva-tent to the gradual reintroduction of urihat also, and perhaps to a greater exertent, bounded by the conceptions that Indeed, judging from the standpoint of small production, the only form From the start of production for sale in antiquity it has happened innumerable times, as often as a few families had beaped great wealth and had reduced that these plotted for the expulsion of the rich and the division of their proprty. They succeeded in this for the first of, its emphatic assertion of the rights of private property. Peasants, artisans,

public institutions. Already in modern society the number

commonwealth

views that were prevalent at the beginning of this century, upon the supposition that the existing system of distribution was the result of the ideas of their days, i. c., of the popular understanding of right and wrong. In order to remove this unjust system of distribution, all that was needed was to invent a juster one, and to convince the world of its advan-The just system of distribution could, of course, be none other than just the reverse of the existing one. Among these people, some reasoned thus: "Toby there reigns the crassest inequality; principle upon which distribution id be based must be one of equality, Others followed another line of thought; said : "To-day the idler rolls in th while the laborer starves, consethe let the principle be 'To each ac ing to his deeds." Yet a third set d objections to both principles, and "To each d objections to both principles, and set up a third formula: "To each ding to his needs." The early So-tist spent much time upon this sub-For the same reasons that hey did with their imperfect comprehension with their imperfect comprehension social mechanism not a few ideolo-tion of the social mechanism in the meshes of a discussion upon this compara-ummertent solution.

a discussion upon this compara-mimportant subject. In Nocialism, basing itself upon the science, takes the stand that tibution of products in a com-tain determined, not by the prevail-ception of right and wrong, but by willing system of production. The the landlord, the capitalist, and tworker in the total product of the determined by the role which optial and labor-power play to day modern system of production. The determined for production, which in the Co-operative Com-tain the distribution of products is left to the mercy of blind which can anyer be well understood

for some time under forms that are essen-tially improved developments of the ex-ising form of wage payment. At any rate, this is the point from which it is bound to start. Just as the forms of wage-labor differ to-day, not only from time to time, but also in various branches of industry and in various sections of the country, so likewise, may it happen that in a Socialist commonwealth the distribu-tion of products may be carried on under a variety of forms corresponding to the various needs of the population and the historical antecedents of the industry. The conception of the Co-operative Com-monwealth as a rigid, cut-and-dried, uni-form institution held by hard and fast rules is mistaken. It is, on the contrary, rules is mistaken. It is, on the contrary, that system that not only opposes least resistance to but sids immeasurably the course of evolution in all its manifold branches

# Impracticability of Socialism.

Next to the thought of "division," that "equal shares" troubles the foes of ialism most. "Socialism," they de-Socialism most. clare, "proposes that every one shall have an equal share of the total product : the industrious is to have no more than the lazy; hard and disagreeable labor is to receive no higher reward than that that is light and agreeable; the hod-carrier, who has nothing to do but reach out the material, is to be on a par with the architect himself: under such circumstances every one will work as little as possible; no one will perform the hard and dis agreeable tasks; knowledge, having ceased to be appreciated, will cease to be cultivated; and the final result will be the relapse of society into barbarism; consequently, Socialism is impracticable. The idiocy of this reasoning is too glaring to need exposure. This much may be said: Should Socialist society ever decide to decree the equality of incomes, and should the effect of such a measure actually threaten to be the dire one prophesied, then, and that case, the



The Pioneer Cigarmakers' Alliance, S. T. & L. A., Invites You to a **Mass Meeting at Cooper Union** 

ON SATURDAY, 5TH INSTANT, AT 8 P. M.

Fellow Wage-Earners in the Cigarmaking Trade :- All of you, striking and locked-out cigarmakers, who feel the smart of the abject conditions into which you are thrust; all of you who are intelligent enough to perceive that your troubles are the net result of the economic and political tyranny of the capitalist class, coupled with the false principles of your organization and the criminal-corrupt eadership of the International Union all of you who are brave enough to take the only stand that can possibly lead to relief and ultimate freedom from the galling double yoke of the Capitalist Exploit er and the vampire Labor Fakir;—all such are cordially invited to attend the above meeting; to learn the principles of organization, the aims and methods of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the only conditioned and the social sector of the social sector of

Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the only bonafide, class-conscious economic organi-zation of the wage-earner; and to mar-shal yourselves under its banner to fight your battles. Ciga: makers! Long enough have you been the football of Capitalists and Labor Fakirs. The two have played into each others' hands, and brought you down to where you now are. The time has come to turn over a new leaf. Let us turn it now and for all time. Come one, come all ! PIONMER CIGAEMANERS' ALLIANCE, L. A. 141 OF THE S. T. & L. A.

Shades of Tax-Paying "Socialists"!

But the "voice of labor" has emitted a piping note in the tax department. One 'the valiant hosts" has been made a bailiff! Oh. shades of Julius Grunzig. was ever travesty more apropos? Lab pays all the taxes, and those that labor cannot pay are collected by a process server, through the medium of eviction or foreclosure by one of "labor's chosen few.'

But why should the fakirs mourn? Why should they now curse the man they He is still the same, ever and praised? always. He it was who framed and drew up the city charter, which shuts the work ing class out of the City Council: he it was who inserted the clause providing d was who inserted the clause providing that contracts shall be let to the lowest bidder; he it was who, as a State Sena-tor, was ever the champion of corporation steals; he it was who, shrewd lawyer that he is, introduced the unconstitutional child-labor law, which prohibits the em-ployment in factories of children under tweite years of age. Was not the Mayor the champion of good government? And what, pray, is good government? And what, pray, is good government? And what, pray, is good government? And what, pray for the the taway of the champion of good government. If it is not with a low tax rate, since labor pays all the taxes? Did not these men, "shoulder to shoulder" with the Mayor, clamor for good government, "with recog-nition of labor" (fakirs)? They have good government, a low tax rate, and labor has been fully recognized. There-fore, we can see no cause for them to swear, for their campaign hopes have been fully and unexpectedly realized. But they look seedy, have a shiftless walk, glance furtively about them, wear their trousers as though their suspenders were boken; prohably these circum-stances may have an affinity with the curses and calumnies! Base, ignoble thought, how dare 1! But its a fact that one who aspired to be the Street Cleaning Commissioner accepted a "posi-tion" managing a broom. So labor has that contracts shall be let to the lowest

The May Day Parade and Mass Meeting of Section New York, Socialist-Labor ing of Section New York, Socialist-Labor Party, and D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., took place on the 1st instance. Both by itself and by contrast, the affair was a striking demonstration of what May Day has really come to stand for, to wit, a clean-cut, uncompromising declaration of the oncoming Social Revolution,--uncompro-mising in aims, uncompromising in tac-tics.

mising in aims, uncompromising in tac-tics. It was 8.30 p.m. when the division of D. A. 49 swung in line, and the Grand Marshal, Gillhouse, gave the signal to start. The long column—gay with ban-ners, transparencies, and bands of music —wound its way from Eleventh street and First avenue, eastward to Avenue C, down to Third street, and then westward across town to Eighth avenue whence it proceeded northward to Seventeenth street, and thence eastward to Union Square, where the mass meeting was held. On Eighth avenue and Tenth street the division of Hudson County, N. J., joined the line, headed by transparencies and music.

division of Hudson County, N. J., joined the line, headed by transparencies and music. Significant were the remarks that dropped from the dense masses that lined the line of march. The cheers came from friends. But many more were the onlookers who had not yet been drawn into the movement, and who evidently watched it. From these such remarks as the following were frequent: "THESE are Socialists!" "THESE are Socialists!" "THISE are Socialists!" "And right they were. They could de-tect not one man with a record for bood-ling; not one man with a record as a fakir in politics or labor; while numer-ous were the men seen in line whose un-swerving devotion to the cause of the Proletariat had endeared them to friends not only, but to honorable foes as well. It was 10.25 when Patrick Murphy. The Chairman of the Mass meeting, ap-proached the front of the cottage and called upon the large crowd for three cheers for International Socialism. and for its American Division-the S. L. P. When the tunult had subsided, the speakers were introduced: Comrades Brown. Pierce. De Leon. Dinger of Cleveland, Hunter, Campbell, who deliv-ered addresses. It was long after 11 when the meeting was declared ad-bourned, with three more gheers for the S. L. P., which resounded with a vim born of conscious ascendency.

THE PEOPLE, SUNDAY, MAY 6, 1900.

when the two firing forces will unite. THE PEOPLE. and uniting, march upon the citadel of Published by the Socialist Labor Party, Henry Kuhn, National Secretary, at 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, New York. Capitalism itself.

2

EVERY SUNDAY.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Bundle rates: Less than 100 copies, 1 cent a copy: 100 to 500 copies, 34 cent a copy: 500 or more, 14 cent a copy.

As far as possible, rejected communica-tions will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second class matter at the New York Post Office, on April 6, 1891.

UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,068

In 1890......13,331

In 1892 (Presidential)......21,157

In 1899 ..... 85,231

Who can explain why one species ranges

widely and is very numerous, and why an-

other allied species has a narrow range and

is rare? Yet these relations are of the

highest importance, for they determine the

THE APPROACHING CRISIS.

of this world. - DARWIN.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN

THE

# HE SEES A GLIMMER

A meeting of anti-Catholic divines was held on the 20th instant in Masonic Temple. The gentlemen had come to celebrate the "inroads made into the Romish Church." The celebrants might have deceived everybody were it not that they are mostly well-known pulpit lackeys of the capitalist class. One of them, however, a rather innocent one, said a thing that indicates that he sees a glimmer, that something or another has settled down on his mind and is taking root, and that the process tends to shaken his confidence in the sturdy purposes of his fellow Protest crusaders. Said he:

"Protestants need a little backbone." What the gentleman meant was that his fellow Protestant crusaders don't walk a steady road with firm step; that he has seen them wobbling, and often cave in quite completely. He ascribes that to formed, if he had eyes to discern the trees in the woods, he would realize that it is not backbone that was lacking in the cases he may have in mind, but common honesty. Yes, common honesty.

present welfare and, I as believe, the future It is not so long ago when a Roman success and modification of every inhabitant Catholic priest in this city took a political attitude which, absurd though it was, and absolutely incapable of at all pro-THE APPROACHING CRIBIS. To THE PEOPLE.—I am well aware that the Labor Fakirs and the organization that allows itself to be run by them are all alike. THE PEOPLE has furnished ample facts to prove that. I know that as far as that is concerned there is no difference between the gang that misleads the miners, or the gang that misleads the cigarmakers, or the gang that misleads the miners, or the gang that misleads the miners, or the gang that misleads the miners, or the gang that misleads the compositors. Nevertheless, I do maintain that, for brazen rascality, wrongheadedness towards the working class, the Labor Fakir brigade that runs the International Typographical Union, especially the gang that runs No. 6, in this city, together with the gang of under-strappers that apholds them, is the scal-iest of the lot, and cannot be wiped out to soon. Internet on No. 6 is in a fight with the moting the interests of the working class, sent such spasms of fear through the frame of the capitalist class, that he was promptly "disciplined" by the Roman curia. A long conflict ensued between him and his ecclesiastical superiors, extending all the way to the Roman See. His attitude, put in a nutshell, was the motto of DANIEL O'CONNELL of old, to wit: "All the religion you want from Rome, but no politics ;" he claimed abso-This city, together with the gang of undersited of the lot, and cannot be wied out.
This city, together with the gang of undersited of the lot, and cannot be wied out.
That now No. 6 is in a fight with the Num, and doing all it can to arouse the ympathy of the workers in all other trades to help it. One would think that, and the in understrappers would be particular to conceal their cloven hoofs. Are the such a time at least, the No. 6 Fakirs and their understrappers would be particular to conceal their cloven hoofs. Are the such a time at least, the No. 6 Fakirs and their understrappers would be particular to conceal their cloven hoofs. Are the such a time at least, the No. 6 Fakirs and their understrappers would be particular to conceal their cloven hoofs. Are the such as the the No. 6 the Publishers' Printing Company, on a favette place. The foreman took the publishers' Printing Company, on charge of it and passed it around. All the comps, pressmen and feeders put down their names, most of them without looking, as will appear. One man, hower of the Metropolitan Print. where the Franklin men, a constituent holy of the Franklin men, a constituent holy of the Franklin man. The forman was hole workingnan could either parade the Metropolitan Print. where the Franklin man offered to produce proofs where yo for the Franklin man. The forman was holge workingnan could either parade where yo in the fair was done at the parade proof. The fair was done at the presented and emanded proofs. The foreman was notified and all the creases, the farskin man that "Big Norther her presented and with the fair was notified and the was given how for the shop with samples of the franklin man that "Big Norther her farskin man remained on the shop with samples of the franklin man that "Big Norther her here here approved in the remained proofs. The foreman was notified and all the presented and the was given the fair was done at the presented effect. S. Go division at the parade was insigned with the division and the pa lute freedom to exercise his sovereign citizen rights of political independence. As against this, his ecclesiastical superiors struck an attitude, which, in turn put into a nutshell, was a maxim uttered at that very time by Mgr. PRESTON, the alter ego of Archbishop COBRIGAN in this

city, and which ran thus tersely: "He who says, 'I'll take my religion from Rome, but not my politics,' is a fool.". The issue was thus made very clear. And what was the attitude of the Protestant divines? What was the attitude of the A. P. A. laymen?' With one accord they sided with the ecclesiastics who took their stand against political freedom.

The movement of the ."anti-Catholic' Protestants is but one of the thousand and one manifestations of capitalist politial and economic chicanery. It is but one of the many attempts to divide the working class; it is but one of the many attempts to conceal the fact that the Protestant capitalist will feast as readily as the Catholic or Jew capitalist on the flesh and marrow of the working class, and will enjoy the plunder levied on the Protestant workingmen not a bit less than the plunder levied on the Catholic or Jew workingmen.

Well may a green divine, who is not up in political economy and social science; wonder at the wobblings of his asso ciates in their various "crusade against evil."

# ARTHUR TO THE RESCUE.

Will there he a Central-Hudson strike? Was there ever any danger of one? No! Last Monday's reports printed in all the capitalist papers contained just o

been a man possessed of average rectitude, the opportunities that this great office offered him could not have failed to make clear to him that a firm, class-conscious, revolutionary attitude struck by the engineers would have brought the railroad capitalists down on their knees before these men. But he was a "Pure and Simple" Labor Leader. All is told in that one expression. As such, he feathered his own nest with the sweat of the brow of the workers who placed confidence in him, and reached the position of affluence he now enjoys.

Were it not for Judas ARTHUR, not only would the engineers themselves be to-day occupying an infinitely better position than to-day, but, thanks to the highly stragetic position that the nature of their trade placed in their hands, they could have reached the hand to their less favorably situated fellow wage-slaves; and thus the whole Labor Movement of he country would be to-day on the highway to emancipation, instead of being away behind, struggling out of the perlack of backbone. If he were better in- plexing woods that ignorant, stupid and corrupt British, or "Pure and Simple," Trade Unionism has thrust it into.

> Thus the news that the "officers in direct control, over the engineers decline to go into a purely sympathetic strike" has so well-known a ring, that the failure, absolute and complete, of the strike was an assured thing from the start,

Such is the condition of things under 'capitalist Unionism."

Smash it!

From the seat of war?-Nothing new.

# POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The hare's trick of doubling and sending the hunter off on a false scent is the trick of the capitalist press, especially of the "reform" and "labor loving" members of the Fraternity of Plunder. Here, for instance, is the New York Journal at the trick of trying to send the working class voters off the scent on which they are visibly camping.

In an article in which it justly points out the fraud of the Congressional plan to appoint "a joint committee to investigate the recent acts of the American Steel and Wire Trust," it closes with the following declaration:

In the meantime there is a law on the United States statute books that absolutely prohibits the existence of the American Steel and Wire Trust for a single day.

There is not, nor can there be; any anti-Trust law on the statute books of the land. Given the capitalist system of production; the trust is as natural, as inevitable, as unconquerable as mosquitos are, given Dismal Swamp. To abolish the mosquitos in the Dismal Swamp, the swamp itself must be abolished. Laughable, indeed, were any attempt to abolish the mosquitos there by killing them off one by one, or even thousands by thousands, while leaving the swamp itself untouched: the swamp would continue to breed them, naturally, inevitably, faster than they could possibly be killed off. Just so with the Trust.

Just so with the Trust. How ideal are not, then, capitalist tac-tics that, intent upon keeping up the capi-talist system, and, consequently, its breed of Trust vampires, imply, aye, declare, that capitalist laws an kill off the vam-pire! The workingmen could then be kept eternally at the work of "killing the Trust." The law that is passed to do that will fail; when it does, a shout will be raised to amend and improve it; or the capitalist officials who "have it in their power to break the neck of the Trust," having failed to do so, will be dis-charged as faithless, and another set elected to try the same impossible task, and be in turn turned out. And so for and be in turn turned out. And so for ever on. And thus the Hearsts, together with the whole brood of plunderers, will continue in safety, the workingman hun-ter being put and switched on to a false

ent. Every word that the Journal justly tters against the "investigators of Every word the "investigators of atters against the "investigators of Trusts" holds good against the capitalist Trust smashers. They are a pack of

Poor, poor, Social Democratic party



FITCHBURG, MASS., April 29 .- The question is often asked. Is it to the inter est of the capitalists to spend money for charity? What inspires a Helen Gould to spend thousands of dollars supporting soldiers and sailors? What motive has Andrew Carnegie when he purchases church organs and builds libraries? Why will the meanest and cruellist of capitalists support orphan asylums and other institutions?

We all know that the capitalist class is a miserly class. Sooner than pay us a living wage, they will force us on strike force us and our little ones to face starvation. You can hardly imagine these same capitalists contributing to charity because of the goodness of their hearts. Think of a Carnegie, who would sooner see the men who produce his wealth shot down than give them a living wage, con tributing money to charity because he loves us and cannot bear to see us suffer!

Think of the capitalist Jews, who murder wage-slaves in sweat shops, contrib uting money to orphan asylums because they love Jewish little children. Then why do these capitalists contribute to charity Answer: "It pays, and pays well." - For a good illustration we will take the following case:

# Fattening Children to Devour Them

A very small number of Jewish children, who had the misfortune to lose one or both of their parents, are cared for for a period of years in a certain asylum. In the first place, the children are taught to almost worship the capitalists who are the managers of that institution. These over-fed Jew capitalists come out once in awhile to inspect the little children that they are fattening so that they can fleece them later. When the boy or girl is thirteen or fourteen years old, he or she is hired out to some Jew capitalist to assist in the production of wealth.

Callings are not found to suit the nature of these children, but the first greedy capitalist that needs a boy or girl slave has the right to fleece these orphan children.

The child, being innocent of what the world is, and having had its little heart filled with false hopes, having no father or mother to guide it, naturally has a very hard time of it. Very few come out on top; the vast majority go down in this heartless, endless struggle for a live lihood.

# "Charity" Recouping Itself.

The capitalist pays this orphan MUCH LESS than he pays another employee, for he thinks he has a mortgage on the child, because he gave money for its support when it could not produce any wealth.

Another queer feature of this capitalist class is this: Talking of the children who have been raised by their charity (?), they always pick out the ones who have succeeded along business lines. Thos who lost their manhood and humbled themselves to the capitalists, young men who are small fleecers, or who have hopes of being labor-fleecers, are displayed at all functions of the institution, with the cry, "Look what this man has done! He was raised in the Home!' They willingly forget the young man who ould no longer struggle on in this hard struggle for a livelihood and killed himself; or the number of young men who found it more profitable to be criminals than wage-slaves; or the many young nen who are doomed to that slave working class, who work, work, work, day in and day out, without any hopes for the future. Those good-hearted managers never mention those heart-broken girls who are sold into that darkest of dark

# Taking It Out of the Mother.

slaveries known as prostitution.

While the child is in the institution being cared for by this "good-hearted" capitalist, what goes on? I know a fatherless young man who, while a boy, was put into that institution. While there, his mother was all along working in a sweat-shop for one of the managers for \$3.50 a week!

Our capitalist class does not give money to charity because they love the poor. What they do love is to grind wealth out er would let you have a whole bush wheat for one yard of your cloth? B. J.'s face begins to fall. -Would he? B. J-No.

U. S .-- How much will he let you ave?

B. J.-Guess only half a bushel. U. S .- Why? B. J .- Because that has become the

chang value of his bushel of wheat. U. S .- And suppose that competing

weaver turns out ten yards with his me chine while you are turning out only one what would then be the exhnge value of the goods of you and the farmer? B. J .-- One yard of my cloth would be

worth one-tenth of a bushel. U. S .--- And if your competitor turned

out 100 yards to your one? B. J. (with a decidedly sad look on

him)-I would starve. U. S .- Why?

B. J.-Because one yard of my roods would be worth only one-hundred bushel, and I could not then produce dat enough to kep me in food.

U. S .- Do you now see whither all that tends?

B. J.-I have an idea I do.

U. S .- Whither does it tend?

B. J .- It tends to my ruin. U. S .-- Let us state the case more pointedly: The law of exchange value demonstrates that the more perfect me chinery becomes-

production of a single thing-

has not the requisite capital, or machine ery to produce with-

has.

must be ruined. The new Northrup I for instance, will throw you on your back the same as perfected machinery has thrown every small competitor on his back. Now do you see all that there is in that simple law of "exchange value?"

now do.

cardinal law of economics. It should be carried before the eyes as the Jews carry their phylacteries. It must never be lost sight of. If you lose sight of it for a noment, your whole reasoning capsizes.

Labor, the quantity of labor society needs to produce goods with, established the exchange value of hose goods. From that fact follows inevitably:

1. That the less labor society needs for the production of anyhing, all the less is its exchange value;

2. That machinery, because it increase production and the productive power of labor, causes the exchange value of good to decline ;

3. That, as a result of this, those who cannot produce with machinery as per-fect as the most perfect, are unable long to compete with him who can, because the exchange value of the goods produced by him is so much cheaper than he can undersell the others and drive them out of the market.

4. That the small man is hopelessly lost, whether on farm or in factory.

5. That the price the worker can ge for his labor-power steadily declines-all the advantages of increased production of wealth falling to the capitalists, i. 4. to hose who hold possession of the perfected machine ;

6. That the masses, unbale to earn Geir living, because deprived of the instruments socially necessary to produce them, are bound to become more and more dependent upon the capitlists; and

7. That nothing short of placing in the hands of the workers the machinery and the land they need for production will in the remotest way do them any good. Otherwise they will deline steadily and inevitably.

B. J. (giving UNCLE SAM his hand)-You were right. Technical language is a ecessity in dealing with such questions; I now see it all as in a roap. The law of exchange value settles the question. We may flounder about as we like for an escape from the increasingly tighter fix in which we are getting, but no scheme will bring help. The law of exchange value settles it, that we must move on towards

Socialism. That or death. U. S .- And nov

# Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

BROTHER JONATHAN-I have frequently heard you use the term "exchange Now, I wish you would rememvalue." ber that I am no college professor, but a plain workingman. What does that term mean in English?

UNCLE SAM-And before going further, I wish you to remember that one need not be a "college professor" to buckle down to the comme sition that, if he wants to talk intelligently on a scientific question, he must

ise and understand technical terms. B. J .- But can't you use some other and plainer word?

U. S .- Could you not use some other word than "shuttle" or "woof," when you speak of spinning?

B. J .- Yes, I could, but it would be clumsy to do so, and then one might be misunderstood. If you say "shuttle" or woof" you are understood without the peradventure of a mistake.

U. S .- And that is just why, when talking economics, every sensible man, from he most poetic, like Lassalle, down to the plainest, must use the term "exchange values" instead of some roundabout phrase.

B. J .-- Well, let it be so. What does the thing mean?

U. S .- If you take thirty yards of your cloth to market and wished to have wheat, you would be willing to exchange the cloth for wheat, would you not?

B. J.-Yes. U. S.-Would you be willing to give all the thirty yards for one bushel of wheat?

B. J.—Are you crazy? U. S.—Not yet. Would you?

B. J .- Not much, I would. U. S .- Why not?

B. J.-Because my thirty yards cloth are worth \$21, while a bushel of wheat is worth onlyl 70 cents.

U. S .- Now, then, the "exchange value of one yard of your cloth is one bushel of wheat ; . and the exchange value of one bushel of wheat is one yard of your "Exchange value" means that quantity of value that goods have, and for which they may be exchanged.

B. J. (looking very surprised)-Now. that beats all I ever saw! The thing is simple. I imagined it was some very profound thing, that "exchange value." see, however, that there is nothing particular about it. I wonder why you and all Socialists talk so much about it.

U. S .- Because thereby hangs all the rophets and the law, so to speak.

B. J .-- I can't imagine that. U. S .- I'll show you. Why are you willing to exchange one yard of cloth for one bushel of wheat, and thirty yards of your cloth for thirty bushels? B. J .- Because they are worth the

ame thing. U. S .- And why are they worth the

ame thing? B. J-Because-why-yes-because-

why, don't you know? U. S .- I do; but do you?

B. J .-- Well-yes-because-why, of

U. S .- Don't flounder. Just because the quantity of labor present society needs to produce a bushel of wheat is the same as the quantity of labor present society needs to produce a yard of your cloth.

B. J .- Very well. What of it? U. S .- A good deal. This is the pivot

anen hroho

B. J.-The less labor is spent in the

U. S .- And consequently that he win

B. J .- Can't compete with him wh

U. S .- And that the result is that be

.B. J.-(heaves a long sigh)-Guess I

U. S .- The law of exchange value in

crisis lies in the irrepressible struggle between the class-conscious wage-earners and the Fakir brigade ; between bong fide unionism and bogus unionism. The latter, being essentially a part of the mechanism of Capitalism, was bound to become, in the course of time, an outpost of Capitalism. Outposts are the first to open fire, because it is them that the approaching army first runs up against. In the very nature of the thing, this conflict partakes of all the confusing features of fratricidal or civil war. But the conflict brings on clarifiation, and recruits to the advancing army are raised out of the ranks of such outposts themselves In fact the very organization of such army effects a disintegration of the outposts; and the nearer it draws to them, the more extensive the disintegration, and the nearer the crisis.

Every intelligent observer surely real-

izes that the Labor Movement in this

country is approaching a crisis. The

The letter that heads this article is but one of many symptoms of the disintegration that is going on in that outpost of Capitalism, the Fakir-run or old-style system of unionism; the disintegration is brought on by the advance of the Socialist-Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The disintegration is going on so fast that the crisis may be considered at hand.

Not much longer can the hypocrisy of the Labor Fakirs deceive. Their appeals to solidarity and their declamations in favor of Labor go to pieces against their villainous practices. Found out more and more every day, they will find themselves between two fires and the fire will grow

tence that, to the knowing, settled the question. The sentene was this:

"No strike will be successful unless it can block the whole system, and no strike will block the whole system unless it embraces the engineers, and the officers having direct control over them decline to go into a purely sympathetic strike." This was the settler.

Among the leading Labor Deceivers called "Labor Leaders" in this country. Mr. ARTHUR, the Grand Master of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers holds a place of pre-eminence. His fellow Englismen, the GOMPERSES, JAR-ROLDS, RATCHFORDS, etc., etc., however well-off they may now be, are but cockroaches alongside of this leader of the English style of Unionism. They may have a few thousand dollars layed up; they may have gold chains, thek as anchor chains; they may have high hats, broadcloth, and even a few dirty tenement houses; but all that is as naught to the Pure and Simple Grand

Master ARTHUR. He is a stockholder in railroads, newspapers and other enterprises of great pith and moment, and is owner of a palatial residenc. This he did not gather from his savings as a workingman, nor yet from his savings as a 'Union" offier. This wealth he gathered from his faithful services in keeping the blinkers on the engineers, and leaving them at the ragged edge that they now are at, ignorant of the Labor Question, and near-at-hand victims of the improved

or electric engine. Every strike of railroaders could hav been won but for Judas ARTHUR. Had

so deadly as to wipe out the outpost, he been an honest and true man; had he I Im

The unkindest cut it ever received in given to it by the Appeal to Reason better known as Appeal to Nonsense It says:

There is no Socialist party in this country aside of the Social Democratic party. Any other claim is that in the interest of the capitalists, to divide the workers.

The sage, who taught his wisdonm by lyric fables, tells the story of a dancing bear, who, on a certain occasion, exhibited his saltatory skill before an elephant. the proverbial wise animal, and a donkey the proverbial stupid one. When the bear was through, he turned to his audi-ence and asked, What think you of my skill and grace as a dancer?

Shaking

skill and grace as a dancer? The elephant spoke up first. Shaking his head, he said: "Many dancers have I seen before this, but of all, you are the clumsiest that ever I beheld." Before the bear had time to remon-strate against so adverse a criticism, the donkey jumped up, and, clapping his hoofs, exclaimed: "Bravol bravissimo! A better dancer never was and never will be !!

The bear had been just on the point of trying again, so as to induce the ejephant to reconsider his verdict, but when he heard the donkey's prise, he desisted, and, sisted, and,

to reconsider his verdict, but when he heard the donkey's prise, he desisted, and, in subdued voice, reasoned thus: "So long as the elephant condemned my danc-ing. I might have mistrusted his 'idg-ment: but now that the donkey praises me, I must be a very poor dancer, indeed. The wise may be in error when they con-demn, but unerring is the condemnation that comes from a fool's praise." That the Appeal to Nonscrase, the igno-ramus that knows not enough of Social-ism to distinguish between the "middle man" and the "middle class." or between "Socialist money" and "capitalist money." that the crook that will start "co-operative papers" and then seeks to sweat the "co-operators" of their share:--that such a concern should clap its hoof and praise claist party of America, is cruel. It is praisee because no back is strong enough to resist being broken by such praise I is also cruel to the Socialist Labor Party because, by thus killing off the Im-postor before election, such praise robe the S. L. P. of the otherwise assured pleasure of dangling from its beit the Impostor's scalp next November.

of the poor workingmen and women. The capitalist class murders the father in the mill, mine and factory, and then raises the children until they are old enough to help fill up its coffers.

Let us hasten the day when it will not be possible for a robbing capitalist to live in idleness and have the best of every thing, but build up a system where the workers, the producers of all wealth, will enjoy the full products of their toil.

The only hope for the workers is in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

A WANDERING JEW.

Take notice that, after May 1, THE PEOPLE'S address will be 2-6 New Reade street, -- THE DAILY PEO. PLE'S Building.

**Grand Central Palace Roof** Garden

A meeting of the joint Entertainment Committees of Section New York, S. L. P., and D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., was held on Friday, April 27, 8 p. m., at 177 First avenue, New York, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements for the Entertainment and Reception to the delegates to the National Convention of the S. L. P., on Sunday afternoon and evening, June 3, at Grand Central Palace Roof Garden. Tickets will be 25 cents each. No hat checks.

A committee was selected to secur talent for the Vaudeville Programme. Entertainment will begin 4 P. M. sharp Ball to follow entertainment at 8 P. M. It was decided to print 5,000 tickets

upon which the whole social qu volves.

B. J. (surprised)-You don't mean to 327 BO!

U. S .- I do. Suppose some one starts a large farm and applies improved machinery, and is able to turn out two ushels of wheat in the time and with the labor that the farmer now turns out one bushel, would you be willing to continue to exchange one yard of your cloth for one bushel of wheat?

B J. (with indignation)-Indeed, I tion blitow

U. S .- You would want-

B. J .- Every bit of two bushels.

U. S .- Do you realize why?

B. J .-- Well ,I guess on the priniple you just mentioned-the amount of lator ociety requires to produce one yard of my cloth is equal to the quantity of labor required to produce two bushels.

U. S .--- Correct .-- The exchange value of one yard has become equal to two bushels. And suppose the method of producing wheat were further perfected, and ten hushels were turned out in the same time that it formerly took to turn out one?

B. J. (beating his hands with glee)-That would be bully! I would then get ten bushels per yard of cloth. The exchange value of my cloth is equal to tan bushels.

U. S .- And if 100 bushels were turned out in the time it now takes to turn out one?

B. J.-Bullier yet! I would get 100 bushels per yard; that would be the exchange value of one yard of my cloth.

U. S .--- You are joyful before search. Don't you se whither that tends? B. J.--No!

U. S .- Let us turn the tables around. Suppose some one starts weaving with a better machine than yours and turns out two yards in the same time it takes you to turn out one, do you imagine the farm-

of the Socialists to hammer upon that point?

B. J .- Fully. Only by constant hammering will that truth finally stick in our noddles. With it we will move on and conquer; without it we shall flounder about as I did at first. Hammer, Uucle Sam, hammer away!

# **Congress District Conventions.**

EVERETT, MASS., April 80, 1900. SECTION BROCKTON :

You are hereby requested to elect delegates to the Twelfth Congressional District's convention, to be held in Taunton May 20, 1900, 8 p. m.

Basis of representation to be one dele gate for every fifty votes, or major fraction thereof, cast in your town or city for S. L. P. candidate for Governor in 1899.

This convention is held for the purpos of electing delegates to the National ( vention, to be held in New York, June 2 1900. Basis of representation to be on delegate for each Congressional district. and one additional delegate for every one thousand votes, or major fraction thereof. cast for the S. L. P. candidate for Gorernor in 1899 in your Congressional die ALFRED JONES. trict. Secontary.

# Socialist Young Man Wanted.

The New York Labor News Company wishes to employ a young man (Socialist) to make himself generally useful in the business of the company. Referen Applicants should address the required. manager in their own handwriting, state ing salary expected.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2. 4 and 6 New Reade street. N.Y.

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

# THE DOMINATION

# Held Over the Wage-Earning Class by the "Captains of Industry."

As a general rule, laborers cannot cooperate without being brought together ; their assemblage in one place is a neces-sary condition of their co-operation. sary ce, wage-laborers cannot co-oj, rate they are employed simultaneously by the same capital, the same capitalist. and unless, therefore, their labor powers are bought simultaneously by him. The al value of these labor powers, or the amount of the wages of these laborers for day or a week, as the case may be, ust be ready in the pocket of the capitalist before the workmen are assembled for the process of production. The pay-ment of 300 workmen at once, though only for one day, requires a greater out-by of capital than does the payment of a smaller number of men, week by week, during a whole year. Hence the number a laborers that co-operate, or the scale d co-operation, depends, in the first in-sance, on the amount of capital that the individual capitalist can spare for the purchase of labor-power-in other words, on the extent to which a single capitalist has command over the means of subsist-

and as is with the variable, so it is with the constant capital. For example, fie outlay on raw material is 30 times as great for the capitalist who employes **grat** for the capitalist who employes 300 men as it is for each of the 30 capitalists who employ 10 men. The raise and quantity of the instruments of information in the same rate as the number of workmen, but they do increase very considerably. Hence, concentration of large masses of the means of production in the hands of individual capitalists is a material condition for the co-operation of wave-laborers: and the extent of the co-operation, or the scale of production, appeads on the extent of this concentra-tion.

# Exigency of Capitalist Production.

A certain minimum amount of capital was necessary in order that the number of laborers simultaneously employed, and, consequently, the amount of surplus-value produced, might suffice to liberate the employer himself from manual labor -to convert him from a small master inte a capitalist-and thus formally to establish capitalist production. A certain minimum amount is a necessary condition for the conversion of numerous isolated and independent processes into are combined social process. At first the subjection of labor to capi-

At first the subjection of labor to capi-tal was only a formal result of the fact that the laborer, instead of working for himself, works for, and consequently under, the capitalist. By the co-opera-tion of numerous wage-laborers, the sway of capital develops into a requisite for carrying on the labor-process itself— into a real requisite of production. That a capitalist should command on the field of production is now as indispensable as that a general should command on the field of batus.

# Central Direction.

All cambined labor on a large scale requires more or less directing authority in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the ... on of its separate organs. A single violin player is his own conductor; an orchestra requires a separate one. The work of diracting, superintending, and adjusting becomes one of the functions of capital from the moment that the labor under the control of capital becomes cooperative. Once a function of capital, it acquires special characteristics.

the, capitalist character of that process and the antagonism of interests between capitalist and laborer. It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capi-talist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge were attributes of landed property.

# What the Capitalist Gets Gratis.

The laborer is the owner of his laborpower until he has done bargaining for its sale with the capitalist; and he can sell no more than what he has-i. e., his individual, isolated labor power. This state of things is in no way altered by the fact that the capitalist, instead of buying the labor-power of one man, buys that of 100, and enters. into separate contracts with 100 unconnected men in-stend of with one. He is at liberty to set the 100 men to work, without letting them co-operate. He pays them the value of 100 independent labor powers, but he does not pay for the combined labor-power of the hundred. Being independ-

of 100 independent labor powers, but he does not pay for the combined labor-power of the hundred. Being independ-ent of each other, the laborers are iso-lated persons, who enter into relations with the labor process, but they have then ceased to belong to themselves. On entering that process they become incor-porated with capital. As co-operators, as members of a working organism, they are but special modes of existence of cap-ital. Hence, the productive power de-veloped by the laborer when working in co-operation is the productive power of capital. This power is developed gra-tuitously whenever the workmen are placed under given conditions, and it is capital that places them under such con-ditions. Because this power costs cap-ital nothing, and because, on the other hand, the laborer himself does not de-velop it before his labor belongs to cap-ital, it appears as a power with which capital is eradowed by Nature--a produc-tive power that is immanent in capital. The colossal effects of simple c-opera-tion are to be seen in the gigantic struc-tures of the ancient Asiatics, Egyptians, fitures used that these Oriental States, after supplying the expenses of their civil and military establishments, have found themselves in possession of a sur-plus which they could apply to works of marificence or utility; and in the con-struction of these their command cover the hands and arms of almost the entire non-agricultural population has produced stupendeus monuments, which still indi-cate their power. The teeming valley of the Nile . . . produced food for a swarming, non-agricultural population: and this food, belonging to the monarch and the pricethood, afforded the means of erecting the mighty monuments which filled the land. . . In moving the colosal statues and vast masses of which the transport create wonder, hu-man labor almost alone was prodigally used. . . The number of the labor-res sufficed. We see mighty coral reefs rising from the depths of the ocean into islands and firm land, yet each indivi masses gave rise to the palaces and tem-ples, the pyramids and the armies of gigantic statues of which the remains astonish and perplex us. It is that con-finement of the revenues which feed them to one or a few hands, which makes such undertakings possible. This power of Asiatic and Egyntan kings. Etruscan theocrats, etc., has in modern society been transferred to the capitalist, whether he be an isolated, or, as in joint-stock companies, a collective capitalist.

# Genesis of Co-operation.

Co-operation, such as we find it at the dawn of human development, among races who live by the chase, or, say, in the agriculture of Indian communities, is based, on the one hand, on ownership in common of the means of production, and, on the other hand, on the fact that in those cases each individual has no more torn himself off from the navel-string of his tribe or community than each bee has The directing motive—the end and aim of capitalist.
The directing motive—the end and aim of capitalist production—is to extract the gratest possible amount of surplus value, and, consequently, to exploit labor-power to the gratest possible amount of surplus value, and, consequently, to exploit labor-power to the co-operation by both of the above characteristics. The sporadic application of co-operation by both of the above characteristics. The sporadic application of co-operation on a large scale in modern colonies, reposes on relations of dominion and servitude, principally on slavery. The capitalistic form, on the contrary, presupposes, from first to last, the special labor-process, and peculiar to that process, but it is, at the mome time, a function of the exploitant to modern the unavoidable antagonism between the exploiter and the living and laboring ne material be exploits.
Theses the Despotic Rule of the Capitalist.

# DAILY PEOPLE.

Report of the Conference and General Activity.

# DAILY PEOPLE GENERAL FUND.

- Treasurer Daily People Con-cert, third payment to total of \$1,000, and more to come... 200.00 of \$1,000, and more to come.. Received for Minor Fund (sale of Kangaroo song, Baltimore, Md., 15 cents; John Churches, Eureka, Cal., \$4: Alice M. Burnham, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., \$1.
  - 5.15

# DAILY PEOPLE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The following amounts have been re-ceived from sources other than those rep-resented in the Daily People Conference of New York: Previously, acknowledged......\$715.80

State Committee New York col-	
lected as follows : Section New-	
burgh, 7.20; through Chris.	
Rossbach, Gloversville: Chr.	
Rossbach, 50 cents ; John Bon-	
acher, \$1; Dr. Hager, \$1; Rud.	
Zeh, 25 cents; F. B. Stowe, 50	

10.45

5.00

2.00

cents. State Committee New York : con-tributed by members of Section Johnstown. State Committee New York : con-State Committee New York : contributed by Sec. College Point.
State Committee Minnesota, per C. G. Davidson : contributed by Bert Eide, Red Wing.
State Committee New York : contribution of Section Rochester, through M. Sheehan.
State Committee New York : contribution of Section Yonkers, through J. J. Sweeney.
State Committee Washington, per T. J. Dean : contribution of Section Woolly. \$11; J. H. Norovich. of Seattle, \$1
Frank Leitner San Antonio, Tex.
State Committee Virginia : contribution of Section Richmond, per Mathematical State Committee Virginia : contribution of Section Richmond, per Mathematical Sectio

25,00

State Committee New York: con-tribution of Section Buffalo: From entertainment of Section and Socialist Singing Society \$12,50: from Chas. Nelson, \$5; from Brinkner, 50 cents..... State Committee New York: con-tribution of H. J. Roob, Tarry-town....

18.00

B. Hang, Philadelphia, Pa..... Total.....\$\$30.00

# CORRECTION.

In the last published report of The Daily People National Committee, the contribution of \$1.50 by Jas, Mathews of Collinswood, O., was omitted through a typographical error.

# DAILY PEOPLE CONFERENCE.

DALLY PEOPLE CONFERENCE.
Meeting of Surday, April 29, with Comrade John Slevin as chairman. Cre-dentials received from Comrades Jos. Job, in place of H. Ehrenpreis, from 6th and 10th A. D. Manhattan; L. Weinecke and K. Wallberg, from Scandinavian Workingmen's Singing Society, and Szal-csanyi, from 5th A. D., Brooklyn, New deicgates were seated. Comrades Vinoker, Beldner and Deichman, from 8th A. D., Manhattan, were seated without creden-tials, but instructed to bring same to next meeting.
A communication received from Section Union Hill, N. J., stating that a picnic is being arranged, to take place on Decora-tion Hill, N. J., stating that a picnic is vorking arranged. The Hudson County Park, at Bergenline avenue and Fifth street. Union Hill, the ender County Park, at Bergenline avenue and Fifth street. Union Hill, the ender Side mass meet-ing, in which assistance is being given by comrades of the West Side districts, Further, urged all comrades having in funds to put forth their supreme efforts to have all pledges paid up as soon as possible, because the number and extent of the necessary facilities to be established working effective and comrades Sam Stoder and Morris Wiel was elected to take therge of all the organizations repre-sented in the conference and arrange the conference are instructed to funds to this committee complete lists of pledges, with amounts paid thereon, Delegates of all the organizations repre-sented in the conference and delegates and with names and addresses of pledgers, Committee will be on hand at every meet-funds to this committee complete lists and with names and addresses of pledgers, committee will be on hand at every meet-should not put off the matter, but attend and the asson as possible.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will statch such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized. Don't write on both sides of the sheet.

Don't write on boin suce of the sheet. Don't write with pencil. Don't write with a broom stick if a toothpick is handy, pens preferred. Don't crowd your lines. Don't begin at the uppermost cdge of the sheet.

the sheet Don't abbreviate.

Don't abbreviate. Don't forget to give your P. O. address and date of letter. Don't forget to give name and date of paper then sending clippings. Don't write your signature as though you wished to remain incognito. Don't write proper names so as to in-sure the chances of their being misspelled. Don't write on absets of uneven size.

Don't write on sheets of uneven size. Don't take this ill.

# Stirring Up Los Angeles.

Stirring Up Los Angeles. TO THE PEOPLE.—For the last two days we here in Los Angeles have been arousing the dealzens of this burg. Wish-ing to get some knowledge into the crani-ums of the unthinking and indifferent work-ingmen and starting out with a bundle of THE PEOPLE, numbering fifty, with the "Story of the Bull Pen" mentry slipped in-side of the paper. I commenced in regular newsboy fashion to sell them on the streets and in the parks, hollering the while at the top of my voice: "The NEW York PEOPLE, with the Story of the Bull Pen", the Idaho outrage, the most atrocious crime of the century.

Contract, the was correct with this song, as The nuisic was correct with this song, as I peddled papers in my younger days in Everyhedy seemed surprised to diled papers in my younger days in go. Everybody seemed surprised to new newshoy in town, and the pape quite readily, my first half day o sold quite readily, my first half day of shouting having dwindled the plie down to twelve;—the paper and the story for five 7.50

Next day, or half day rather. I disposed of thirty more, and only stopped becaused cents.
Next day, or half day rather. I disposed of thirty more, and only stopped because I had no more "Bull Pen" stories left. This has brought quite a little profit for the Section, and Comrade Norman has ordered 100 more. I am sorry it is not 500, because I know we can sell that many more, easily enough, and if my entusiane keeps up and I have the time to spare, the New York Labor News Company, the Party's literary agency, will be kept pretty hasy gending "Bull Pen" stories to Los Argeles. Now comrades, many of you can do the same thing, and our case will be put before the people better. It enlivens them and, hesides nhaces our paper in the front ranks. Meanwhile, in waiting for more "Stories" (1)—"Read of the Bull Pen : it is a blot on American history."
(2)—"Have you read the 'Stery of the Bull 'en':"
(3)—"The Crime of the Century. Read the 'Story of the Full Pen'."
And the passersby wonder what it is all about. The inscriptions stick in their gills; and no doubt they are anxious to read. 5.00 2.00

rend. Next Sunday I will frequent the parks, selling "Reform or Revolution" with The Prorts, and shall notify you all of my

Knows, and Balth Bobsites stand aghast, Kangaroos and Debsites stand aghast, while the "Story" and napers sell like hot cakes. The Section's fighting arms are free, and capitalism is catching h----, I might add that Section Los Angeles has 400 sub-scribers for the only good paper on earth. A. II. BOAL. Los Angeles, Cal., April 17.

# A Correction.

TO THE PEOPLE.—In my letter to THE PEOPLE I made a missentatement, in which I say that our vote is the same as four years ago. It should be that it is the same as two years ago. Kindly correct the same in copy. FRANK R. WILKE.

FRANK R. WILKE. Milwaukee, Wis., April 22.

Rubbish Swept Away. TO THE PEOPLE.—L. A. No. 185, Bos-ton Machinists, last night heid its regular meeting, attended by nearly all its mem-bers, who have up to this polat withstood the influences of Kangaroo and Avery-Gold-steinisms. The meeting was probably the most interesting one we as yet have held.-receiving report from the Schulberg lecture committee that everything pointed to a success for the lecture on the 15th inst. John F. Jennings (a pupil of M. M Avery) tendered by mail his resignation as a member of the Union, which was with-out discussion accepted. — Under the head of "New Business" Wm. R. Dyer (who was present) also tendered

out discussion accepted. There the head of "New Business" Wm. R. Dyer (who was present) also tendered his resignation. When asked to give some reasons, he stated that the Alliance under the leadership of "this crowd in New York never would amount to anything," and for a second reason, "I can, at this time, do better with the LA. of M. than with the S. T. & L. A." The comrades, who have for the past six months made a thorough study of this "man," hereupon gave him a deservedly good roasting. Of course, every-thing said appeared to him as "lies." even that his poor brains stood under the in-fluence of a scheming woman was "a lie." When the vote on his resignation was called for every voice in the hall (except Dyer's) responded with unusual strength in its favor. after which Comrade W. H. Young ordered him out of the hall for having no business in a business meeting of a Union to which he did not belong. Dyer then left: surely not a happy looking man. He looked very sick, and reasons had he to feel sick. Dyer never dared to onenly work his intentions re-ommending withdrawal from the S. T. & I. A., and to join the pure and simplers. If this was true, then it was also true that he kept them nicely and light's in his proket. And bere he was semable: for

ganize the party,—but "as well give physic to the dead." One of the humorous events in Populist history was the convention of the "middle roaders"—those who had opposed nusion with the Democrats—held at Uncinnati, on September 6, 1948, to nominate a Presiden-tin ticket for 1960—near two years before the clerich. This convention embalmed it expulsis corpse by parting in the relid at that time Wharton Barker for President. It adopted what has been declared as the longest platform ever adopted by a party convention in this country. They then de-ciared "The sole object of this convention has been, and is, to secure to the rank and ile of the People's party an absolute cer-tainty that a straight Populist ticket on a straight Populist is to be the sole and the pre-sented in 1960." But all without avail. What is left of the rapidly diminishing Pop, party is now fairly split in two: con National conven-tion is to be held at Sloux Falls, S. D., on May 9: another is to be held same date at Clincinnati, whil look in vain for a return of the soul to the hedy. Thisted they will find that, despite the effort at preservation, pairs their nomines for Vice-President, is reported as proposing to secure the heat they in all of the insuess interests of the country" in all of the insuess interests of the country.

The Hon. Ignatus Provide the President, is reported as proposing to secure "the back-ing of the business interests of the country" in ald of his party-provided it will forsake some of his demands. These things are of interest only as they furnish practical demonstration of S. L. P. teaching and factics. JOHN HOSSACK.

Jersey City, N. J., April 24.

## "Practical Socialism."

"Practical Socialism." TO THE PEOPLE — Believing that you will gladly publish in This Ecore—the paper everywhere recongnized as the leader on the people's efforts to better their social conditions—any item that shows progress along these lines, we beg to inform you that our employer. Mr. A. Machunes, 85 Cortinant street, who has long been a So-clatist of dedded views, has given to each of his enployees a liberal share in the profits of his binses. Perhaps the publication of this fact may induce a few more employers to consider whether such action on their part might not be conducive to their own and the gen-eral good. It is not unfair to our correspondent

[It is not unfair to our correspondent

to assume that, in the above, he has stated all the facts available to him to make out his case of "Practical Socialism." The

It is not unfair to our correspondent to assume that, in the abově, he has stated all the facts available to him to make out his case of "Practical Socialism." The facts alleged, prove just the reverse. They make out a very clear case of "Prac-tical Capitalism," or "Practical Scuttling of Socialism." Such a thing as an employer, a capital-ist, being deckledly and honestly a Social-ist is not an impossibility. Decent feel-ings, coupled with proper intellectual powers, may tear a capitalist from and raise him above his own class interests, causing him to do all he can to abolish the social system of plunder and establish the socialist Republic. In pursuit of such a course, such an exceptional capi-talist should not be expected to first pau-perize himself. That would be foolish: it would impair his powers for doing good. Consequently, Mr. MacIanes continuing to exercise the powers of a capitalist, despite the alleration of his heing a Socialist, contains no contradic-tion. Neither, yet, is there any contra-diction between the alleration of the conteman's Socialism and his giving to his employes presents not large enough to free them from wage-slavery. Altho Socialism ains at the unconditional sur-render of the capitalist cleass and the un-qualified emancination of the wage-slave, it does not innore the value of patilatives, temporary relie's, that may mitigate the present horrors wrought by capitalism. Conseouently, the present case need not necessarily be denials of Socialism. In that case, however, the palliatives must he such expressly, all the more so, seeing that it is a very common scheme to deny Socialism by induking in just such distri-bution of palliatives. Our corresmond-net wage-slaves in the present case need not necessarily be denials of Socialism. In that case, however, the palliatives must he such expressly, all the more so, seeing that it is a very common scheme to deny Socialism by induking in just such distri-bution of palliatives. Our corresmond-time the system that, if our corresm

race than the gilding of the yoke of wage-slavery. The scheme is common just now. It is intended to dull the revolu-tionary promptings of the working class. Profit sharing is one of these fiendish devices.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

Mr. Benham Mad Through and Through.

Rubbish Swept Away.

ever, in getting the floor long enough to fire some hot shots. Comrade Hammond made it decidedly uncomfortable for Mr. Benhan, and pricked the latter's benutifully colored bubbles as fast as they emanated from that worthy's blow-pipe. Well, what could we do but accept their invitation to stay and discuss the 'new iden.' Oh, yes; we sityed with mem and laid the freaks bare and disclosed the scheme in all its uply charac-ter, and demonstrated that 't is a facal undertaking to cross the firing line of the S. L. P. Not one person responded to the call to organize the fake Section. The meeting ended with three rousing cheers for the S. L. P. The importing of Benham accomplished only this, that it unmasked be dong the are left, and they are dying out. We hope that wherever Mr. Benham may speak, that the comrades who can will st. Paul. A. L. A. St. Paul, Minn., April 20.

## St. Paul, Minn., April 20.

## The "Universal Brotherhood" Organization.

The "Universal Brotherhood" Organization. TO THE PEOPLE.—I will try to an-were Mr. J. Levin's question regarding the Universal Brotherhood organization of theosophy. I am no adherent or pramui-gator of the ideas advanced by the U. B. but still find it interesting to follow up these matters. The U. B. claims to be an organization withdished for the benefit of mankind and and creatures of the earth. The subsidiary purpose of the organization is to study and errit to investigate the laws of mature and modern religion, science, phil-osophy and art; to investigate the laws of anture and the divine powers in man. The Theosophitis claim that this organi-movement, which has been at the in all it has been and is to-day the highest aim and ideal of every savior of mankind. Ev-ophy, each being required to show that tol-cances for his own. The Theosophical Society in America is the Hierz with and official head has suprem-formed the air is an organized the U.B. The leader and official head has suprem-formed by all members as "Holy Writt. Newark, N. J., April 29.

Newark, N. J., April 29.

# A Card from the "Workers' Republic."

TO THE PEOPLE.—Owing to various causes, chief among which is lack of ade-quate financial support, we have been com-pelled to suspend the paper until the 5th of May, when it will enter the arena or Social-ist journalism again. I wish you would insert this notice in the people in order that our subscribers may not think we are neglecting them. reglecting them.

# workkrs' REPUBLIC. W. J. BRADSHAW, Managor, Dublin, Ireland, April 23.

# Dublin, Ireland, April 23. Hanford Holding the Tail of Derflinger's Horse. TO THE FEOPLE — The comrades out-side of the city, who do not closely follow the city who do not follow events will be interested in the following account: For the last three weeks or more, the capitalist press of this city, the Tammany ones in particular, have been booming the "May Day Farade of Organised Labor." That this parade was not expected to in any way affect the peace of mind of the capitalists was evident from the booming, and that therefore it was a sham "May Day Parade." was well understood. As Satur-day, the 25th, the day of the parade, drew mean the booming increased, until on the day of the parade whole columns were tak-en up with the reports about its biguess, etc., etc.; and here and there the polint was made that the "Socialist Labor Party" (sic), the "United Socialists," were to Join thus smade that the "Socialist Labor Party" (sic), the Thited Socialists," were to Join they barade and make it a monster demonstra-tion — all of which was duly relished by "Well the parade came off. A fitter dem-onstrailon of the folly of trying to gather strength by the suppression of principle could landly be imagined. Nor could there be got to order a better demonstration of the total bankruptor the alled foce of the S.L. P. I shall mention in succession the points jotted down from my perch, corner of Twentieth Street and Second Arenue. I. The whole parade, from two to three hundred women included. did not there were not on my tally-sheet more than 3.100 men. I make allowance for a few that I might have four abreast, so as to make integrable about the "Roosevelt Mace four abreast, so as to make the is is the best that the Central Federated unon pus Kangaroos or Debaeric could. 2. The marshals were peaches. The chier mershal was one W. F. Derflinger, the marched at the head to co-cutain as legion of compositors. The "Roosevelt Mace hordinger organized the "Roosevelt.Mace hordinger Hanford Holding the Tail of Derflinger's Horse.

## otic Rule of the Capitalist

Again, in proportion to the increasing of the means of production, now longer the property of the laborer, t of the capitalist, the necessity infor some effective control over proper application of those means. Moreover, the co-operation of wage-la-boren is entirely brought about by the capital that employs them. Their union into an single productive body, and the establishment of a connection between their individual functions, are matters their individual functions, are matters forein and external to them—are not that beings and keeps them together. Hence the connection existing between their various labors appears to them. Hence the connection existing between their various labors appears to them. Hence the connection existing between their various labors appears to them. Hence the capitalist, and practically in contains—in the shape of a preconceived han of the capitalist, and practically in contains—in the shape of the powerful will of another, who subjects their activ-by to his aims. If, then, the control of the cupitalist is in substance twofold by mean of the two-fold nature of the pro-tement of the state of the pro-tement is a social process for produc-use-values; on the other, a process creating surplus-value—in form that the is despoit. As co-operation ex-tent is acale, this despoitsm takes form miner to itself. Just as, at first, the tailist is relieved from actual labor them amount with which capitalist there as his capital has reached that the over the works of direct and con-The mount with which capitalist tion, as such, begins, so, now, he over the work of direct and con-mervision of the individual work. To the work of direct and con-mervision of the individual work. The work of an and the state ware-laborer. An industrial workmen, under the command of failst, requires, like a real srmy. (managers) and sergeants (fore-cretioakers), who, while the work done, command in the name of the list. The work of supervision be-their established and exclusive func-when comparing the mode of pro-of isolated peasants and artisins induction by slave-labor, the politi-tions this labor of super-bounds of production, he on the treats the work of control made by the co-operative character work of control necessitated by

Appears to be a mathematical form peculiar to, and specifically distinguishing, the cap-italist process of production. Just as the social productive power of labor that is developed by co-operation appears to be the productive power of capital, so co-operation itself, contrasted with the process of production carried on by isolated independent laborers, or even by such the process of pro-duction. It is the first change expe-rienced by the actual labor-process of pro-duction. It is the first change expe-rienced by the actual labor-process, when subjected to capital. This change takes place spontaneously. The simultaneous exployment of a large number of wage-laborers, in one and the same process, which is a necessary condition of this change, also forms the starting-point of constalist production. This point coin-ides with the birth of capital itself. If then, on the one hand, the capitalist mode of uroduction presents itself to us histor-ically as a necessary condition to the transformation of the labor-process into of production presents itself to us histor-ically as a necessary condition to the transformation of the labor-process into a social process, so, on the other hand, this social form of the labor-process pre-sents itself, as a method employed by capital for the more profitable exploita-tion of labor by increasing that labor's productiveness. Transformation of Co-operation.

In the elementary form, under which we have hitherto viewed it, co-operation is a necessary concomitant of all produc-tion on a large scale; but it does not, in it iself, represent a fixed form characteris-tic of a particular epoch in the develop-ti ment of the capitalist mode of produc-tion. At the most it appears to do so, and that only approximately, in the hand i craft-like beginnings of manufacture, and in that kind of agriculture on a large scale, which corresponds to the employed, and by the mass of the means of production concentrated for their use. Simple co-operation concentrated for their use. Simple co-operation is always the pre-vailing form, in those branches of pro-duction in which capital operates on a machinery play but a subordinate part. Co-operation ever constitutes the fund-amental form of the capitalist produc-tion side by side with the more developed form of the capitalist produc-tion side by side with the more developed form of the capitalist produc-tion side by side with the more developed form of the capitalist produc-tion side by side with the more developed form of the capitalist produc-tion side by side with the more developed form of the mode of production—Mars' we have hitherto viewed it, co-operation

delegates :

MANHATTAN-Assembly Districts. 4th, 6th and 10th, 8th, 12th, 16th, 18th, 19th and 21st, 20th, 23d, 26th, 28th, 32d and 33d; Excelsior Literary Society and Scandinavian Workingmen's Singing So-ciety. ciety.

KINGS—Assembly Districts: 5th, Branches 1 and2 of 21st, and Danish Daily People Club.

JERSEY-Section Hudson NEW County

Consideration of change of date of con-ference was deferred till next meeting, and Comrade Siff elected a committee to confer with the Daily People Trustees as to feasibility of conference meetings taking place in the Daily People Building.

# FINANCIAL REPORT

MANHATTAN ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS.

	4th	\$5.00
	6th and 10th	10.00
	8th	3.25
s	12th	21.00
	14th	20.50
	15th and 17th	7.50
	16th (Young Men's Soc. Club)	50.00
h	18th 19th and 21st	5.00
1	19th and 21st	20.00
88	23rd	5.00
0	26th (Headquarters, \$10)	12.30
	28th	16.00
	KINGS.	
	21st, Branch 2	1.00
	NEW JERSEY	
	Section Hudson County	P 07
		8.20
'n	EVESTON, MO.	
e	James Erwin	.25
	Total\$	
5	Additional payment of pledg	es re-
8	ported :	
	Patrick Twomey, 23d A. D., N. Y. Miss Tissie Zepfel, 28th A. D., N.Y	.\$2.00
	Miss Tissie Zepfel, 28th A. D., N.Y	. 5.00
•	L. Neuman, 28th A. D., N. Y	. 5.00
8	J. Krouse, Weehawken	. 2.00
d	J. Burke. Weehawken	. 2.00
	N. Deitrich, Hoboken:	. 1.00
	K. Zimmerman, Hoboken	. 1.00
f	Next meeting of conference take	
7	on Sunday, May 6, at 3 p. m.,	at 98
t	Avenue C. Delegates should not	tan to
	attend, so that a date of meeting	incon-

<text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

faking of all sindles matched aim in an in perfect harmony was also illustrated by B. The harmony was also illustrated by the transparencies. Right after one rec-ommending "Union Beer Makes You Sick" came one announcing the caldidary of "Debs and Harriman"; behild in "Union Pretzels"; then there was one bolding up Bryan as "The Workingmens Friend." And so it went on. In between these sup-posedly adverse transparencies, moving along in perfect harmony, there went me

Bright Strength of the Workingmen's Friend." And so it went on. In between these support is a perfect barmony, there went up chang in perfect barmony, there went up constrained by an and it could not catch, but who were cheered by their titles as "Al-derman's as and as: "Senator" so and so. 4. It took by my watch twenty-five min-utes for the whole ramshakits affair to file by me, string out by tros and threes as the paralers were, except the women, who marched in lungs. When the last "list" had passed by, i cut across to thin women, where the mass meeting was to be. I spected to gather there may more points for this report, but could gather only One. Dot, however, imagine I was disappointed: that one work point was worth many others. The pre-siding officer at the square was been fin-ford. Socialist (sic), the gentleman who be lieves in boring from within. He thus was the second faure of the occasion, Der-finger tells the first. How things do ft: A Socialist (sic) the gentleman who are onspictous labor fakir rode. But every bound of the bound at conspictous labor fakir rode. Which the parade always closes at the Square, is a feature of the demonstration. With this parade there was no mass-meeting which the parade always closes at the square. Where were they? This is the point was the paraders reached the Square. I had heard that some of the pur-mend there of a fine and waked away home. I had heard that some of the pur-mend they lost notions. With this parade there were no 300 people in front of the cottage to hear the speakers. And they lost notions. This is "harmony?" It is a sparined by the threat of the bare they is hap-pend that there were no 300 people in front of the cottage to hear the speakers. And they lost notions. This is "harmony?" It is a sparined by the they lost notions. The is "harmony?" It is not even in a demonstration, that, like this one, was intended to AT the S. L. P., the rising prove that they all justly stand in ter-ro of. New York, April 30.

# LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondonts.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—This having been moving week, the pile of letters to answer is packed away and can't be got out. Wait till we are settled in The Daily People Building.

# THE ROYAL VISIT.

# "The Great Appear Great to Us, Only Because We Are on Our Knees,

# IFT US RISE !!

[ISSUED BY THE -IRISH SOCIALIST REPUB-, LICAN PARTY.]

FELLOW WORKERS .- Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of Incia, etc., visits Ireland this year. Al-ready the air is laden with rumors of preparations of a wholesale manufacture of sham "popular rejoicings" at this glorious (?) event. Home Rule orators and Nationalist Lord Mayors, Whig politicians and Parnellite pressmen, have ere now lent their prestige and influence to the attempt to arouse public interest in the sickening details of this Feast of Flunkeyism. It is time, then, that some organized party in Ireland-other than these in whose mouths Patriotism means Compromise, and Freedom, High Dividends-should speak out bravely and hon-estly the sentiments awakened in the breast of every lover of freedom by this ghastly farce now being played out before our eyes. Hence the Irish Socialist Republican Party-which from its inception has never hesitated to proclaim its unswerving hostility to the British Crown, and to the political and social order of which in these islands that Crown is but the symbol-takes this opportunity to hurl at the heads of all he courtly mummers who grovel at the feet of royalty the contempt and hatred of the Irish Revolutionary Democracy. We, at least, are not loyal men; we confess to have more respect and honor for the raggedest child of the poorest laborer in Ireland to-day than for any, even the most virtuous, descendent of the long array of murderers, adulterers and madmen who have sat upon the throne of England. During the reign of this Queen, Ireland has seen 1,225,000 of her children die of faminestarved to death, while the produce of her soil and their labor was eaten up by vulture aristocracy, enforcing their rents by the bayonets of a hired assessin army in the pay of the "best of English Queens;" the eviction of 3,668,000—a multitude greater than the entire population of Switzerland; and the reluctant emigration of 4,186,000 of our kindreda greater host than the entire people of Greece. At the present moment 78 per cent of our wage-earners receive less than

a greater host than the entire people of Greece. At the present moment 78 per cent of our wage-earners receive less than 11 per week, our streets are thronged by "starving crowds of the unemployed, cattle graze on our tenantless farms and around the ruins of our battered homestends, our ports are crowded with departing emi-grants, and our poorhouses are full of paupers. Such are the most salient re-sults of this "glorious" reign--results for which the monarch now visiting us has never uttered one sigh of regret. Working Class of Ireland.--We appeal to your voice with ours in protesting against the base assumption that we owe to this Empire any other debt than that of hatred of all its plundering institutions. Let this visit be indeed a memorable one, as marking the date when the Irish workers at last flung off that slavish de-pendene on the lead of "the gentry," which has paralyzed the arm of every sol-dier of freedom in the past. The Irish iandlords, now as ever the enemy's garri-son, instinctively support every institu-tion, which, like monarchy, degrades the manhood of the people and weakens the moral fibre of the oppressed; the middle class, absorbed in the pursuit of glod, have pawned their souls for the prost-int glories of commercialism; as rulers of our capital city they assure the world of our loyalty, and remain openly or secretly hostile to every movement which would imperil the sanctity of their divi-dends: the working class alone have noth-ing to hope for, save in a revolutionary reconstruction of society. They, and they alone, are capable of that revolu-tiont the Promised Land of Perfect Free-dom, the reward of the age-long travail of the time to aid it, can carry us forward into the Promised Land of Perfect Free-dom, the reward of the age-long travail of the time to aid it, can carry us forward into the Promised Land of Perfect Free-dom, the reward of the age-long travail of the time to aid it, can carry us forward into the Promised Land of Perfect Free-dom, the reward of the age-lo

ballot clear the neid of action for the revolutionary forces of the future. Let the "canting fed classes" bow the knee as they may, be you true to your own man-hood, and to the cause of freedom, whose hope is in you, and pressing unweariedly onward in nursuit of the high destiny to which the Socialist Republic invites you, prepare for the glorious day when royalty and royal visits will be alike forgotten. PBOPAGANDA COMMITTEE.

A CALL. To the Sections of the Socialist Labor

Party, Greeting: The Sections of the S. L. P. are here with called upon to make active prepara-tions insuring a full representation at the National Convention of he Party, to be held on June 2, 1900, at 10 a. m., at the Grand Central Palace, New York Blank credentials will be sent to city. Blank credentials will be sent to the State Committees during this week

for distribution among the various Sections. For the guidance of the Sections in the

matter of electing their delegates, we herewith reproduce the provisions of the Party constitution governing the holding of National Conventions:

# ARTICLE VI.

CONVENTIONS. CONVENTIONS. 1. A National Convention of the Party shall be held every fourth or Presidential year; but if five Sections in three differ-ent states so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special conven-tion. A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of a convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee. mittee Cot

shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee. 2. The Congressional District shall be the basis of representation. A Section shall be entitled to one dele-gate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast in the Congressional District or Dis-tricts under its jurisdiction, and to one additional delegate for every major frac-tion thereof. Sections whose Congressional District or Districts poll a smaller vote than one thousand shall be entitled to one delegate. Where several Sections have jurisdic-tion of one or more Congressional Dis-tricts, they shall jointly elect the delegates to which they are entitled. Delegates must be members of the Sec-tion of one of the Sections electing them.

tion or of one of the Sections electing them. Each delegate shall have only one vote. 3. The expenses of delegates shall be borne by the Sections sending them. The expenses of the National Convention shall be paid by the Party. 4 The National Convention shall frame the national platform, decide the form of organization, select the seats of the Na-tional Executive Committee and Board of Appeals and investigate and decide all difficulties within the Party. 5 All acts of the Convention shall be submitted to the Sections for general vote."

From the foregoing it will appear that the basis of representation is the Con-rressional District, and when electing delegates to the National Convention, the Sections will please note the follow-

A Sections District, and when electing delegates to the National Convention, the Sections will please note the following:

 When several Sections are located in the same Congressional District, they are jointly entitled to one delegate for each one thousand S. L. P. votes cast in such Congressional District, and to one additional delegate for every major fraction of one thousand votes: the Sections must in such case jointly elect their delegate or delegates.
 Where several Sections have jurisdicton over a number of Congressional Districts (as is the case in New York for instance), they must jointly elect their delegates for every one thousand votes cast in the total number of such districts and one additional delegate for every one thousand votes over and above the total vote polled in such districts.
 Where one Section has jurisdiction over several Congressional Districts, it isentitle to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast in the total number of such districts.
 Where one Section has jurisdiction over several Congressional Districts, it isentitle to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes or major fraction theroof, cast in the total number of such Congressional Districts.
 A Sections whose Congressional District or districts poll S. L. P. votes smaller than one thousand, or have polled no vote at all, are entitled to one delegate.
 State Committees, upon receiving the blank credentials, are urged to at once transmit the same to the Sections; Sections, as soon as they have elected their delegate, should report such election to the National Evecutive and to their respective State Committee.
 For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P. Wational Secretary, 266 New Reade Street New You Kord

HENRY KUPN.

2-6 New Reade Street, New York.

# **Proceedings** of the Convention of 1896.

That was a great convention, too. The That was a great convention, too. The kangaroos were there, but they were masked. It took us three years to get them out, but we got there just the same. Shortly after the 1806 Convention the National Executive Committee published the Proceedings in book form. This book can still be obtained, and a glance at its contents will show its importance at this time, especially to those who have joined the Party since then, and desire informa-tion as to its growth anterior to their joining.

# CONTENTS:

# OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE-Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS-Thomas Curran, Secretary, 64 Hanover street, Providence, R. I.

Providence, R. I. SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CAN-ADA-A. B. Barter, Sceretary, 860 Rich-mond street, London, Ontarlo. NEW YOIK LAROR NEWS COMPANY-2-6 New Rende street. (The Party's liter-ary agency.) Nortics.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

# NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Regular meeting held Monday, April J. H. Sauter in the chair. 30. financial report for the week ending April 28 showed receipts, \$37.85; expenditures, \$27.24. The Iowa State Committee reported

that the State Convention will be held at Davenport, Ia., from June 30 to July 2. Braddock, Pa., reported dissolution of

Section No. 1 and reorganization. creating one Section, composed of members of both No.1 and 2.

Washington reported election of a new State Committee.

Section Yonkers sent word that a May Day affair had been arranged for, as per call of N. E. C.

Comrade B. F. Keinard sent an inter esting letter from Berlin, Germany, supplementing his previous letter 'on the novement in France.

Comrade Sauter, who is the treasurer of the Daily People Concert, stated that of the Daily People Concert, stated that thus far the affair had yielded \$1,000, which sum he had received and turned over to the Daily People Fund in tree in-stallments, but that there was more to come, and it now looked as tho' the pro-

ceeds would reach \$1,200. JOHN T. KEVENEY, Recording Secretary, pro tem.

# CALIFORNIA.

STATE COMMITTEE.

STATE COMMITTEE. To Sections, Comrades and Sympathizers of the cause in California: The State Committee has taken steps to carry on a vigorous and aggressive propaganda, and push the work of organ-ization throughout the state. Comrade Holmes has been elected as State Organ-izer to make a tour of the state, and left Los Angeles April 12 for San Francisco, from which point he will proceed into the interior, visiting all important and prom-ising localities. Comrade Holmes will be out on this trip about a mouth or six weeks, and on his return to Los Angeles another Organizer will be elected and put in the field, to be kept out until the elec-tion. The State Committee Jesires to put two Organizers in the field. The agitation ruust be maintained and the field worked. The State field worked. The State Committee calls upon all Sections and symmathizers of the cause to contribute liberally to the State Propaganda Fund, and co-operate with the State Committee to carry on an aggressive campaign of propagauda and organization. The State Committee also calls atten-tion to the immediate necessity of taking action to sending delegates to the Nation-al Convention, to be held in New York in June, and the raising of funds for that purpose.

purr

By order of the State Committee. A. KRUSE, Secretary. 2051/2 S. Main street, Los Angeles.

# MASSACHUSETTS.

MALDEN.-At our regular Business Meeting, held Sunday, April 1st, the fol-lowing officers were elected for the ensuing half year: Organizet, W. Kobinson, 22 Brackenburg street; Corresponding Secre-tary, S. Pike, So Wentworth street; re-elected Financial Secretary, G. F. Lombard, 387 Eastern avenue; re-elected Literary Agent, Archile Scott, 64 Whitman street; Auditing Committee, S. Pike, W. Powers, S. PIKE, Secretary Section Malden.

# NEW YORK.

NEW YORK. SECTION NEW YORK.—General Committee meeting Saturday, April 28, 1000, at 177 First avenue, Manhattan. Chairman, S. D. Cooper: vice chairman, J. Seide... Three new delegates were scated. Sixteen new members were admitted. Carl Meisner, 28th A. D., presigned. Edward Moonelis, 26th A. D., presigned. Edward Moonelis, 27th A. D. Moonelis, 27th A. D. The Kanger and Convention in the Loof Gar-den of the Grand Centual Palnee, and that the reception to the delegates be held on Sunday, June 3: 5,000 tickets have been issued, at twenty-free cents each: In hat checks. Ample arrangements unve been issued, at twenty-free cents each in hat che Organizer offers of free accouncidations for out-of-town delegates to the Convention. It was decided to locate the bandquarters of Section New York at 2-6 New Read-istreet, Manhattan (The Daily People Huild ing). It was decided that sublivisions cannot consolidate without the consent of twas elected a member of the Credentials

cannot consolidate without the consent of the City Executive Committee. J. Seidel was elected a member of the Credentials Committee, to succeed J. Eberts. The 34th and 35th A. D.s. Manbattan, pre-sented the Section with a stereopticon, to be used for azitation. A recommendation of the Finance Coamittee to levy a per capita assessment to defray the expenses of the National Convention was rejected. Adjournment. Adjournment.



SECTION AKRON, OHIO, S. L. P., meets every first and shird Sunony, at 2 p. m., at Kramer's stall, 167 S. Howard street, Organizer, J. Koplin, 307 Bartges street.

THE NEW JERSEY STATE Co-softTHEE, S.L.P., meets 1st Sunday of month, 10 n. m., at headquarters, Essex Co. Socialist Ciub. 78 Springtleir ave., Newark, Addross communications to John Hossack, secre-tary 105 Princeton ave., Jersey City. 444

SECTION ESSEX COUNAA, S.L.P. The County Committee representing the sec-tion meets every Sunday, 10 a.m., in hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Spring-field avenue, Newark, N. J. 426

SECTION HARTFORD, S.L.P. Headquar-ters, 284 Asylum st. Room 10. City Committee meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, Br. 1 (Germani 1st Monday; Br. 3 (Am-erican) 2d and 4th Monday of month, at 8 p. m., 456 SECTION BUFFALO, S.L.P., BRANCH 4. meets at International Hall, 251 E. Gen-esee st., near Michigan st., upst. Public lectures and discussion on questions ber-taining to Socialism every Monday, S.p. except 4th Monday of month, which is w-served for business meeting. Everybody welcome. Bring friends along. 461 Prices Low -- Easy Terms.

New and Second Hand. BILLIARD SUPPLIES. PRICES LOW. LIBERAL CASH DISCOUNT. F. Brunner & Son, 671-673 Communipew Av. JERSEY CITY, N. J. TELEPHONE CALL, 1323 SPRING. Julius Hammer, -+ PHARMACIST -77-304-306 Rivington street, NEW YORK. Corner of Lewis,

12th.--2d and 4th Sunday, 10 a. m., 427
12th street.
13th and 14th.--1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 p. m., 535 Graham avenue.
13th.-1st and 3d Saturoay, 8 p. m., corner Manhatian avenue and Broadway.
16th. 17th and 18th.-2d and 4th Thursdays. 8 p. m., at 1766 Fulton street.
17th.-2d and 4th Friday. 8 p. m., at 414 Quincy screet.
19th.-Every Sunday, 10 a. m., at 192 Evergreen avenue.
20th.-First and 3d Wednesday. 8 p. m., 20th. 19th-Every Sunday, 10 a. m., at 192 Ever-green avonue.
20th-First and 3d Wednesday, 8 p. m., Club Rooms, 244 Bleeker street, corner Knickerbucker avonue.
21 to DistPict, Branch 1-2d and 4th Friday, 3 p. m. at Schelllein's Hall, corner Ver-mont and Atlantic avenues.
21st District, Branch 2-Every Friday, 8 p. m. Washington Hall, 93 Thatford av-enne.
7th District (Pollsh)-1st Wednesday in month, Kowalski's Hall, 657% Third av-enue A.W. Beadle, Agent, 73 Duane St., New York,



Most Socialists prefer to show their rolors by wearing the Arm and Hammer Buttons. Some however, prefer the em-blem pins. These pins look like gold— but they are not. They will look very neat for a time, though, on the lapel of one's cont; and when they begin to tar-nish—well, they are so cheap you can buy a dozen at a time.

25 CENTS PER DOZEN.

Gold Arm and Hammer Scarf Pins. And now we come to something more desirable-gold Arm and Hammer Scarf Pins. These pins are made of solid gold, and the design is the famous Arm and Hammer, which we have carried aloft in many a gallant fight with the Capital-ists and the Kangaroos. Very peat for

he tie. And this is where the women come in. And this is where the women come in. Summer is nearly here, and with summer comes that classic thing of beauty and joy forever—the shirt waist. This year the shirt waist will be dazzling with tucks, and cords, and folds and hems galore, but it will be more dazzling if one of these Arm and Hammer Gold Pins is used to ornament it.

# tion New York, S. L. P.

General Committee meetings, 2d and 4th Saturday, 8 p. m., at Club Room, south West corner 11th Street and First average City Executive. Committee meetings, 1st and 3d sturday 8 p. m., at 23 Duans street, Manhattan. Office of Section New York, 98 Avenue C. Manhattan.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT MEETINGS.

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN. d--Every Thursday, 8 p. m., at Hall, Pros-pect and Jay streets. 4th--1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 p. m., 233 Greene avenue 5th-2d and 4th Thursday, 8 p. m., 83 Bart-lett street. 6th-Every Monday, 8 p. m., at 43 Ellery street. 7th-1st and 3d Thursday, 8 p. m., 1265 Third avenue. Third avenue. 10th-Every Sunday. 8 p. m., Wurzler's Hull. 315 Washington street. 12th-2d and 4th Sunday, 10 a. m., 427







CO DROP THE & POSTAL WILL CALL

Socialistische **ARBEITER-ZEITUNG** 

> The German Organ of the Socialist Labor Party

## MAX FORKER, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

## SUBSCRIPTICN PRICES

BUSINESS OFFICE, 239 St. Clair street, Cleveland, O., where all money transmit-tances and business communications are to be directed. Comunications for the Editor should be addressed Socialistiche Arbeiter Zeitung, 2-6 New Reade street, New York. P. O. Box, 1576.

Comrades, do your best to introduce it among your German friends and acquaintwill find the date on the wrapper.

CONTENTS: List of Delegates, (This is interesting; get a copy and check of the Kangaroos) Report of the National Executive Committee: 1. Development of Capitalism Since Last Convention. 2. Growth of Socialism in Furops. 3. The Downfall of the K 4. The B. T. & L. A. 4. The S. T. & L. A. 5. The Downfall of the K 4. The S. T. & L. A. 5. The Downfall of the Fariy in Each State.-The Party Press.-St. Louis "Labor." 8. The Cleveland "Faction." 8. The Cleveland "Faction." 10. Agriation Assessment. 11. Central Press Association. 12. Conclusion. Rrower's Addiress on the S. T. & L. A. The Debate on the S. T. & L. A. Discussion on the Organization of the N. E. Concussion on the Organization of the State C. Discussion on the Organization of the State Committees Uscussion on Organization of Sections. Discussion on Organization of National Board of Appeals Niscussion on Platform. Bio., Etc., Etc. Sections should see to it that a copy of this Report is placed in every puluic li-brary. Tes years from now it will be a valuable historical document. PRICE, 10 CENTS. Five copies or over, 8 cents each. NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

2. 4 and 6 New Reade Street, New York

Marx's

The English translation of Karl

"Eighteenth Brumsire "

ome time ago ran through THE PEOPLE,

is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx's picture

though he be no student, and no student,

even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply at Labor News Company. 147 East 23d street,

If this paper is being sent to you without you

having ordered it, don't refuse it. It has been paid for by a friend of yours Read it, and re-

new when the trial subscription expires. You

as frontispiece. No Socialist.

New York city. Price, 25 cents.

that

even

A.C. KIHN.

# Secretary.

# PENNSYLVANIA.

PENNSYLVANIA. PHILADELPHIA.—In the Bogus of the sch inst appears a statement that Comrade Clark of Section Philadelphia, Socialis: Lapor Party, is "under charges." Were I not that inquiries have been made of Com-rade Clark as to the correctness of that statement, we would not have given cog-nizance to it. But it is to assure all com-rades and those who concern themselves that we herewith present a total denial of any "charges." No charges were ever brought against Comrade- Clark, and he mention or cause of such was ever made Comrade Clark is more active and efficient as are all other comrades of the Section. And it is because of this activity and effi-ciency and because the Section is making strides that the "Rushers to Rochester. to ing deeperate. By order of Section Philadelphia Press Committee.

## WISCONSIN.

WISCONSIN. To all Sections, S. L. P., members-it-large and readers of THE PEOPLE in the State of Wisconsin: COMRADES: You are hereby informed that Comrade Richard Kceppel has been duly elected by Section Milwaukse, S. L. P., as Secretary of the State Committee. You are requested to carry on an active correspondence with the comrade, so as to seep up a closer connection with each other and to strengthen the ties of soli-darity. Comrade Kceppel will promptly and conscientiously reply to all corre-spondence and give all information want-ed, to the best of his ability and knowl-edge. The address of the newly elected Secretary of the State Committee is Richard Kceppel, 1035 Fifth street, Mil-waukee, Wis. The other members of the State Committee have been re-elected by acclamation. JOHN STEPHAN Organizer. 138 Center street, Milwaukee

138 Center street, Milwaukee.

ONE DOLLAR EACH.

# Arm and Hammer Gold Rings.

Aim one intermed town sings. The proletariat manufactures all the luxuries of life; why shouldn't we wear t few of them? To be sure, a ring isn't nuch of a luxury, but all the same these Arm and Hammer Gold Rings are neat and serviceable and IS-carats fine. The unchasters are always satisfied. Send a biece of stiff paper that just slips over the knuckle of the finger on which you wish to wear the ring, or get from a jeweller the size of the ring required.

\$1.75 EACH.

# The "Workers' Republic."

The folloing note from the Manager of ne Worker's Republic is self-explanatory : DUBLIN, IBELAND, April 20, 1900.

DUBLIN, IBELAND, April 20, 1900. As possibly our subscribers not having received their Workers' Republic for the last couple of months may think on that account that we are neglecting them. We hasten to assure them that such is not the case. Owing to many reasons, financial and otherwise, we were com-pelled to suspend publication of the paper last February. It will appear in better form, however, on the 5th of May, and our subscribers will receive it as hereto-fore. W. J. BRADSHAW, HON. Manager.

Hon. Manager.

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC is a valiant little paper. We will send sample copies for three cents each.

**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY** 

2, 4 and 6 New Reade Street.

Take notice that, after May 1. THE PEOPLE'S address will be 2-6 New Reade street,-THE DAILY PEOPLE'S Building.

SECTION LOS ANGELES, L.P. Head-quarters and free reading room, 205 by So. Main st. Public meetings every Sundry, 8 p. m., Foresters Temple, 129 by W. First street, corner Spring. 435 Head-

HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, headquarters of 32d and 33d A.D.s. 169 E. 109th st. Business meeting every Tuesday. Free reading room open from 7.30 to 10.30 p. m. Subscrpt'ns for this paper taken. 412

NEW YORK MACHINISTS' LOCAL 274 8. T. & L. A., meets every 2d and 4th Friday at 8 p. m. at E. 11th street. Secre-tary, K. Wa. .erg. 408

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY meets every 2d and 4th Friday, 8 p.m., S.L.P. headquarters, S53 Grand av, Wesiville Br. meets every 3d Tuesday at St. Joseph's Hall Visitors welcome, 423

SCANDINAVIAN SE. 'N, S.L.P., Br. 1, meets 2d and 4th Sunday of month at '0 month at 10 o'clock a. m., at 235 E. 38th tion orders: taken for the Scand. Socialist weekly, Arbetaren, 429

429 SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, BRANCH 2, meets lat and 3d Sunday of month, at 10 a.m., at Linnea Hall, 319 Atlantic ay-enue, Brooklyn.

PROGRESSIVE TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION tevening of month at 460

WAITERS ALLIANCE "LIBERTY" No. 19. S. T. & L. A. Office 257 E. Houston st S. T. & L. A. Office 257 E. Houston st. Telephone call, 2321 Spring. Meets every Thursday. 3 p. m. 430

WEST HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, head-quarters of the 23d Assembly District 312 W, 143d st. Business meeting, 2d and 4th Monday. Free reading room; open 8 to 10 pm. Subscriptions for this paper taken. Visitors welcome

WORKINGMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 14th Assembly District. Business meet-ing every Tuesday evening. S p.m., at Club rooms, southwest corner 11th street and First avenue. Pool Parlor open ev-ery evening.

The receipt of a sample copy of THE PEOPLE is an invitation to subscribe,

# Form of Pledge for Use of Individual Sympathizers.

To HENBY KUHN, National Secretary S. L. P., 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

The undersigned herewith pledges him-self to contribute the sum of \$...... for the establishment of a daily Socialist newspaper in the city of New York, on or about July 1, 1900, said sum to be paid in full by May 1, 1900. I herewith send \$...... on account, and promise to pay the balance in monthly installments of \$...... (or in full) on or before May 1, 1900.

Name.....

Address......

P. S.—Contributors will either clip or copy this form of pledge. Only such pledges can be considered as made in good faith as are accompanied by part pay-

# S. L. P. Supplies

ter purpose.

Address all orders to Henry Kuhn, 2-6 New Reade street, New York city.

