

The People.

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AN ADDRESS

**'In Boot and Shoe Workers',
Especially Lynn Local No. 52.**

THE RIGHT ORGANIZATION.

**A Member of the Craft Addresses his
Fellow—Full Review of the Situation
of Labor in General and the Shoe
Workers in Particular—A Wise Pro-
posed Amendment to Constitution of
the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.**

Greeting—
The question of what to do with the unemployed is the vital one before the world to-day, and in the solution of that question the wage-workers are the most deeply interested.

Wages are being reduced and conditions are getting worse, not because of the smartness of the employers to worst the trade unions, but because of the large number of hungry unemployed, who are begging for a job, many of the unorganized offering to work for any price, until the employers get sick of the question, and put out signs: "Keep out, no help wanted."

It is not surprising that these employers (who shut their eyes to the fact that the smaller the wage the less shoes they can sell), should take advantage of the situation, and

CUT US DOWN
just because they can. If the situation were reversed, and employers were hunting for workmen at any price, we would probably secure better prices and conditions, and it would not be because of any particular smartness of the trade union either.

There are twice as many shoe manufacturers and twice as much capital invested than the demands of the market require; hence

PIERCED COMPETITION

among these manufacturers. The result must ultimately be combination, and the squeezing of the weakest down into the ranks of the wage workers, and finally from the employed workers into the idle or tramp class.

The manufacturers cannot reduce the cost of the material or of the machinery, because the capitalists who have these to sell have got their unions thoroughly organized and maintain a trust price.

They cannot reduce rents, taxes or interest, because these are dependent upon legislation, which is controlled by the capitalistic class, in the success of whom they are directly interested.

Their energy is therefore expended along the line of least resistance, and the full force falls upon poor, divided, over-crowded labor.

How shall we provide remunerative employment for the unemployed is the question. The Lynn Lesters' Union, if true to its past record, must

TAKE THE LEAD. If we can secure jobs for the unemployed, the wages of our men and the conditions under which we will consent to labor will be easily adjusted, and life will be life, instead of a lingering death from slow suicide, caused by work and worry.

The unemployed need everything that labor produces. They are anxious and able to produce it. The country has

AN ABUNDANCE

of natural resources idle. Our inventive genius is unsurpassed. Why are we suffering for the necessities of life?

Simply because the opportunity to produce is controlled by a few sharks for their own private gain.

We don't blame the sharks one half as much as we blame the millions of citizens who allow the sharks to exist and control.

It costs as much to try and raise money enough to fight the money of our combined enemies, and pay for food for the unemployed, which we must do if we keep these hungry unemployed from scabbing our jobs when trying to right wrongs by means of the strike.

It costs us nothing to vote!
There are many of us on election day, and our enemies are few. The most successful trade union of the future must require its members to make use of their

VOTING POWER

as well as their money power and their manhood.

You have elected a labor man as Mayor because you are sore over the treatment received from manufacturers and from the powers of municipal government, who clubbed and fined you into obedience of the unfair manufacturers' demands. He can do but little to be ever so good, on account of not having existing laws in favor of his ideas.

We have the voting strength to conquer the powers of government and place industry in control of the people, instead of in the hands of private cut-throats and combines.

How much longer shall we suffer want—want of work, want of food, want of clothing and want of life?

How many more of our fellow men must commit slow suicide by facing the inhuman conditions caused by the competitive wage system, before you will get brave enough to lay aside your prejudice against collective ownership by the people of the opportunity to produce bread for yourselves and families; and put into the obligation of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union a clause which says:

"We do solemnly swear that we will vote for any of the old capitalistic parties, and we pledge ourselves by all we hold sacred in life and by our hope of happiness hereafter, that we will vote for the Socialist Labor party and its platform, and do all in our power to

expel from our ranks any member who, after fighting our enemies all the year, turns round and helps them into power and control on election day."

If we can approach the unorganized with a plan of action of this kind, we can

ORGANIZE THE CRAFT.

We have then unanswerable arguments. We can hold up ahead of our preliminary moves, organization, strike, boycott and union stamp the grand principles of the Co-operative Commonwealth, where no one need go hungry, or cold, or homeless or out of a job, only those who refuse to work.

We want new methods and new hopes ahead of the workers, to put fresh courage into the hopeless and disheartened.

The way is plain; the end an assured success. Our votes are so numerous that we cannot fail if we unite in this direction, and it won't cost us anything to try. Let us unite before our right of suffrage is taken away from us.

The popular idea among trade union leaders is to engraft out of work, travelling, sick and death benefits on to our organization. That means a large increase of dues.

When those who are so fortunate as to have jobs decide to contribute enough from their small earnings to care for the unemployed, they undertake a big job, and one that will be ever on the increase so long as the competitive wage-system exists. It means more chipped in collectively from our already small wage to enable all to live through the ever-lengthening periods of depression, so

THE SLAVES

can be in good condition when business starts for a few weeks.

I don't believe in this. We can add our voting strength to the many good things we have already got, and it won't cost us one cent. It will frighten our enemies into better treatment, because they realize we have the power—easy—to take industry out of their hands entirely, and are commencing to make use of that power. It will call to our support a world-wide body of men who have buried the question of race or creed, who understand the true principles of political and industrial warfare, who recognize the class struggle, and who know that ours is a revolutionary movement to conquer the powers of government and place industries on a

CO-OPERATIVE BASIS.

where the people produce for use, instead of for private profit. A body of men who are determined to work for the emancipation of the wage-worker by every known legitimate means until we are free.

I recommend that Local 32 propose an amendment to our constitution for the consideration of our next convention in accord with the above ideas, and that each member study the true

MEANING OF SOCIALISM

free from all prejudice, and become convinced of its practicability and beauty.

We do not need to give up any of our present weapons, but just make use of one new one.

The Socialist who becomes such a fanatic that he decides to work against his class on the industrial field, and help out the unfair employer by scabbing a job deserves our condemnation.

The trade unionist who makes use of his political power for the benefit of our oppressors also deserves our condemnation; only it has not yet become so popular to look with disfavor on him as it has on the industrial scab; however, there is a healthy growth in that direction.

Man was cursed by being told that he must labor; in the sweat of his brow he must eat bread.

There are four millions unemployed in this country looking for a chance to get in under the curse, so as to get a little bread—and they can't find the chance.

Every invention which enables one man to produce what it formerly took one hundred men to produce, ought to

LIGHTEN LABOR

in the same proportion, until the curse was nearly removed.

But the opposite is the result, owing to our system of industry. Each labor-saving machine increases the unemployed, and makes opportunity less.

If the inventive genius of the future should enable us to produce goods simply by pressing a button, the most of the people would starve because none could get a job, even while it was so very easy to produce all which hungry humanity needs. Isn't it absurd to allow present conditions to continue, when all that is necessary is for the people to

OWN THE BUTTONS

and press them for themselves?

The employers themselves would be better off because their ability, if they have any, as they claim, to manage industry would be needed under Socialism, and that ability would receive ample and sure reward. The fierce competition which causes them to lie awake nights planning how to come out square at the end of the year would be removed.

Many of our members object to Socialism because they are prejudiced against the name or have some personal dislike for those who advocate it, and if asked the simple question: What is Socialism? are not able to answer.

I kindly request you to read and study this subject, and thoroughly understand before you decide and condemn.

In the meantime let each do all he can in the industrial field for the organization and financial betterment of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, so that when we reach that happy time when, unitedly we enter the political field, we shall have no regrets for any past neglect of duty, and will have that respect for the cause and for each other, because of past efforts and suffering together, which will enable us to overcome every obstacle placed in the path of progress.

Yours for Right and Life,
FRED. S. CARTER.

Lynn, Mass.

CAMPING

**On the Trail of the Aspiring Politician in
Brooklyn.**

Mr. Edward M. Grout, of Fishy Capitalist Antecedents, Seeks Notoriety and an Office by Booming the Glasgow Plan of Municipalism—He is Run Down by a Socialist.

This is the story of the game of politics as played in Kings County:

It is an interesting tale, worthy of the careful study of the people in general, and of sympathizing Socialists in particular.

When you have studied the facts in connection with it, you will readily see the foolishness of the "one thing at a time" idea and the stupidity or knavishness of those who propose to help the people by any other method than a struggle on class lines.

There is a gentleman in Brooklyn named Edward M. Grout, well and favorably known to the politicians of the City of Churches and hunger. He was the standard bearer of the Ring Democracy in the last Mayoralty campaign. He is a corporation lawyer of note, and made quite a name for himself after the trolley strike by his defence of the members of the 13th regiment when they were tried for the murder of young Carney, who was shot in Hicks street by the militia while engaged at his trade of repairing roofs.

This eminent citizen, for reasons best known to himself, conceived the idea of stirring up sentiment in favor of "The public ownership of street cars, gas and electric light plants in the Greater New York" a la "Glasgow plan," of course.

It did not take long to set the wheels of agitation in motion.

There is a large and ever increasing army of disgruntled office seekers in Brooklyn, who are ready at a moment's notice to jump in and work for any man or set of men who can promise them some pap in the event of success. There is also a number of well-meaning cranks who profess with tears in their eyes that they "are as good Socialists as you are." But, alas, you are not going the right way about it. They propose you should try "direct legislation," "co-operative colonies," "single tax," "municipal ownership," "initiative and referendum," "government banks"—anything, in short, but the class-conscious demand of the workers that the capitalist must step down and out, that demand emphasized by the revolutionary hall of the S. L. P.

That a scheme of municipal ownership such as Mr. Grout proposes should meet with the hearty indorsement of those gentlemen is not to be wondered at. They had furthermore the promise of support from the policy shop, "Citizen," a paper owned and controlled by the Hon. Judge Delmar and other ring politicians of Brooklyn. The next thing in order was the starting of the "Citizens' Democratic League" by the cranks and office seekers afore mentioned. Everything was now ready for launching the scheme.

The ball was opened at a "citizens'" meeting in the Jefferson building, on the second week in January. Mr. Grout made a very able speech, which was published in full in the "Citizen" the following day, with the announcement that Mr. Grout would repeat his speech before the Democratic League two weeks later.

Up to this all was plain sailing. But Nemesis was after Mr. Grout and his peculiar collection of pink tea revolutionists, or single taxers, populists, etc., etc. Nemesis took the form of a young Socialist, who had the red card in his pocket and his head full of facts, and sported an Irish brogue. The time for questioning having arrived, the following incident took place that caused the first puncture in Mr. Grout's public ownership proposition:

Soc.—Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Mr. Grout a question. Before doing so, I wish to lay down one or two premises on which to base my question. They are as follows: The electric light, apart from its public function of lighting the streets, is the light of the rich, as it is only in the parlors of Columbia Heights, the Park Slope and the millionaire residence districts that we find it. Gas is the light of the middle class and fairly well to do. It is in flats renting from \$18 to \$50 a month that gas is burned. Oil is the light of the very poor. The longshoreman, the porter, the helper, the washwoman, the struggling widow. As you understand those premises and bow acknowledgment to them, kindly answer this question: Are you in favor of the public ownership of the most damnable monopoly of them all—The Standard Oil Company?

The effect of this plain statement and logical question on those men present who had no axe to grind, who came there as disinterested spectators, was wonderful. They jumped to their feet electric with the energy of hope. The hope that seemed to come into their hearts for the first time that in the application of this simple proposition lay the solving of the trust problem. They waved their hats, they cheered again and again, utterly oblivious of the fact that Mr. Grout was standing waiting to reply.

The reply came—a nail in the coffin of the hopes just born. It was in substance that the proposition of his was merely a local one, one applying to the Greater New York, and therefore he could not say anything about the Standard Oil Company save this, that the Standard Oil Company owned some gas companies. We would take them from them, of course paying them interest-bearing gold bonds for them. This reply gave birth to several other questions in the Socialist's mind; but as the single taxers and populists all wanted the floor, any more questions was ruled out of order by the chairman.

Thus ended the first Socialist attack on Mr. Grout; the second, in which he met him in debate, will be published in next week's PEOPLE. T. A. H.

STATE CAPITALISM.

**Governor Pingree's Plan to Save a
Drowning Class.**

The Uncertainty of Property, Bred by Capitalism, Reaches Such a Point in these Days of its Maturity that it Seeks to Identify Itself With the Government which it Owns.

DETROIT, Mich., Feb. 16.—I have undertaken to get articles criticizing the present system printed in capitalist and pure and simple unionist papers. Occasionally I get them printed right; oftentimes they clip them; sometimes they change them, and then again they refuse to take them.

The following article was returned by the "Detroit Evening News" as "too long;" they wanted to clip it; it was returned by the "Free Press" after it had lain on the editor's table for a whole week; they gave no explanation.

This is the article:

Please allow space for the following criticism of an article which appeared in the "Evening News" under the heading "Monopoly Encourages the Growth of Socialism." It states that "the public must be protected against the public-beneficial policy of a quasi trust which controls the market."

This I agree with, but the "News" confuses Socialism with government ownership pure and simple, and hence its reasons for the excusableness of municipal ownership are false.

Corporations and trusts encroach and have encroached upon the rights of the individual continually. But the inconsistency of the present system lies deeper than its simple inability indicates to protect the interests of the business men, by giving them cheaper light, water, telephones, etc.

The necessity for Socialism may be found in the necessity to establish a system where consumption corresponds with production. It is in the irregular, anarchistic method of production and distribution which we have to-day that lies the weakness and inconsistency of capitalism. The interests of the business man, as well as the interests of the workers, demand a "return to prosperity," but "confidence" means something more than "prosperity." Prosperity means that the people enjoy a certain something, a certain equipment, which enables them to buy and consume as much as they have produced. This equivalent was not restored to the people of the United States at the last election, and hence the continuation of the hard times. Nor can this be restored before Socialism is inaugurated.

When politicians claim that the shops will be opened, and that the opening of the shops will enable the workers to spend money, i. e., buy necessities with the money they have earned, and in this way consume the stores of goods that are on hand, and creating a demand for more to be manufactured, they reveal their ignorance of the present economic system.

When I say that "the workers should receive the full equivalent of the product of their labor in order to be able to consume and create a continual demand," I take the workers as a class, and allow for the reproduction and improvement of machinery and the plants, and for the distribution of the commodities.

The wages of the workers of this country are 17 per cent. of the total retail price of their products; they can therefore not consume any more than their 17 per cent. exchange equivalent will buy; the buying of 17 cents' worth at the old store means the adding of 100 cents' worth to the new or general store.

Under such conditions it is necessary that the remainder, amounting to 83 per cent. of the total product, be disposed of in some way. The most popular way to dispose of it is to find another market, but some goods decay, others are returned to the workers in consideration of the production of more new machinery, new railroads and new shops, while still others are consumed by an army of men that do no useful or no productive work, and they receive this portion of the remainder of the commodities from the capitalist class or capitalist government, in consideration of performing certain, to the capitalists, useful or pleasing services.

All of the above named functions, including the consumption of a part of the capitalists themselves, are working first rate, but the two main ones are coming to an undesired stoppage; they are decreasing enormously; and now the whole army of political economists, i. e., of the conservative hue, finds itself at sea and wonders why things are coming about just as the social science of the Socialists has predicted long ago.

The extension of the market into new, undeveloped or barbaric parts of the world for the products of capitalist industry has stopped; international capitalism prefers to build factories where labor is cheapest and freight can be saved.

The building of the means necessary to transport the goods to these markets, together with the machinery, shops and other buildings that this necessitates, and which formerly re-employed many of those thrown upon the street by the introduction of machinery, is very much a thing of the past also, unless improvements are made, which revolutionize railroad or steamboat transportation entirely.

Capitalists are forced—through competition and the struggle to survive—to cut the wages of labor still lower and to introduce more wage-saving machinery, in spite of the fact that the market is overstocked with goods. This means that they must curtail the consumptive power of labor still more.

It must now be clear that it is equal to wishing to fly to the moon, to be hoping for prosperity to return under the present system, unless something happens to make all present non-producers increased consumers, and creates a

great demand for certain commodities. A world war, for instance, with millions of men under arms, might do it. But this sort of prosperity would be of short duration.

Nor can government and municipal ownership, pure and simple, make any difference so long as the wages system is allowed to exist. The interest on borrowed capital, the rent for buildings and land, the profits pocketed by the employers directly, and even the taxes, out of which capitalist politicians are paid, —all are deducted from the total value of the workers' products; the amount left is given to labor as wages, so that the workers may reproduce as much labor-power as the capitalists may need to satisfy the desires of his class.

Socialism is a state of society where the people own and operate the means of production and distribution collectively. Collective ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution bar out the opportunity to profit by the work of some one else.

Government ownership pure and simple necessitates the issuing of bonds, the interest on which, together with watch-dog politicians' salaries, must be deducted from the workers' returns. This allows some of the bondholders and their political hirelings to live upon the labor of others, just the same as before, and this destroys the equilibrium between the consumptive power of labor and the total amount of products, leaving the present state of anarchistic production and distribution unimproved. This is not Socialism but State Capitalism.

The difference between present capitalism and "State capitalism" is this: While now the uncertainty for the individual to retain or lose property exists, and profit-making is not certain, except when the capitalists are taken as a class, under "State capitalism" the State—the whole capitalist class, through its representatives—takes upon herself the functions of guaranteeing the preservation of the capitalist's property and the payment of profits thereon.

It is to the interest of the matured capitalist class to inaugurate "State capitalism," and it will try to inaugurate such a system just as soon as it becomes aware of the actual condition of society. On the other hand, however, hunger's goad in the workers' ranks will influence and encourage them to cut the last strings that bind their class to barbarism. The sufferings and misery of labor, and even of the middle class, during the last days of capitalism are the worst that the world has ever seen.

The oppressing uncertainty of living forces everybody to take part in its abolition. Even if the attitude of the people has been one of doubt, nevertheless they have been searching for light. The clouds are breaking, and clearness of aim is rapidly taking the place of confusion. Not philanthropy, but necessity and self interest on the side of the largest, most numerous, class forces revolutions. The inauguration of Socialism implies a social revolution.

M. MEYER.

GRAPHIC.

**Importance of the Principle of the Class
Struggle Illustrated.**

Philadelphia, Feb. 14.—The following occurrence should help to enlighten the workers in picking their way across the tangled field of politics:

This is a fresh and interesting instance of how the "workers are worked." A finely dressed gentleman called at the office of Cigaretmaker's Union No. 100 on Monday. The kid-gloved gentleman asked when and where the House Painters' Union meets, he was informed that the painters and decorators meet every Wednesday evening in the hall adjoining the office. "Well," said the gentleman, "that is what I am in search of. I am a house painter, I do not belong to the union. I am sorry I never was a member, but I want to join just as soon as possible. I am going to do all I can to get the people to join in my end of the town. I think us working people should all get together at once and see if we cannot do something for ourselves. I think the union is a splendid institution and all workmen should belong to it."

His auditors were interested and much gratified to hear the new convert wax warm on the theme of thorough organization.

He said: "I will surely be a member on Wednesday," then producing a card he continued, "by the way, friends, I am a candidate for — in the — Ward, and I think the organized working men could and will advertise my candidacy and introduce me to our friends in my Ward, as us workmen must all stand together if we expect to get anything."

This announcement was received in such manner that it is believed the thermometer in the next block fell several degrees, and the gentleman immediately left the office, it is presumed, to get warm.

The card left in the office informs the dear workmen that this gentleman is a candidate for Common Council on the Democratic ticket and next Tuesday is election.

J. M. B.

The papers announce under the appropriate heading of "Flower's Bonanza," that Harry Foiger, the secretary of the banker Roswell P. Flower, discovered by accident a rich deposit of gold in Canada; and they add that the two "will work the mine themselves." They will own it, and will work the workers, would be correcter, and presently each will try to squeeze the other, as capitalists are accustomed to do.

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

OPEN LETTERS.

**Addressed to the United States
"Patriots."**

No. 1—TO THE POLITICIAN.

**Patriotism is not Love for the Physical
Soll. It is Love for all its Inhabitants
—The Politician is so Strongly At-
tached to the Soll that he Seeks to
get out of it all he can for Himself,
Though the People Decline and Perish.**

Dear Mr. Politician—In the process of evolution, which has led us up to our present social condition, I do not blame you for any misconception that may have crept into the inner chambers of your head as to the meaning of the word patriot. Neither do I intend to jump at the conclusion that you are a patriot. I prefer to analyze you, and let the people find out for themselves just where you are at. Should they discover that you are a patriot, in the true sense of the word, I wish you God-speed, because you are in the noble occupation of guiding the destinies of a great people. But should they discover that you are not a patriot in the true sense of the word; then I shall conclude that you are a traitor to your fellow men, a hypocrite and a self-seeking trickster, and say: "The devil take you; you are a hindrance to social progress; a parasite on society, and not only a worthless, but a harmful fellow."

What is patriotism? The generally accepted meaning of the word is love of one's country. Now, here is where we want to get at you. What is one's country? If the land, mines, railroads, buildings and machinery are one's country, and you stop at this conception of it, then, Mr. Politician, I believe you love it with all your heart; that you really try to get all you can out of it; that what you do get you hang on to for dear life; that you would even go so far as to have all the patriotic wage slaves in the land join the militia or regular army and at not one another down at your bidding, like so many nine-pins, to help you to hang on to it, because you love it so.

Oh, what love this man inherits;
Oh, what wealth he thinks he merits;
Dare he tell us how he got it?
If he won't, we'll make him drop it.

If you are willing to condescend to the taking of bribes, lobbying bills, selling franchises, misappropriating public monies, over-burdening your constituents with taxation, and grabbing all you can of your country for your own use and benefit you are not a patriot at all, and the people don't want you. You are a relic of barbarism, and the only way you can be saved from oblivion is to come over into the new light of Socialism.

Come and learn to understand that your country includes every person who lives in it. Every individual, whatever his color, creed, or nationality, is entitled to equal natural and social opportunity to produce from what he needs for his wants; is entitled to equal justice and an equal chance to develop himself physically, mentally and morally. The whole people of your country are one family. The operations of production and distribution should be organized systematically and carried on for the whole, collectively, instead of in the present haphazard jumpy-jump way for the benefit of a few cliques who contrive to legally rob the producers of all the surplus wealth they produce; juggle it among themselves, and use it for the purpose of further expropriating the earnings of the toilers.

I don't care what old thing of a political party you have previously belonged to, nor what old political hobbies you have previously ridden, if you are willing to be drawn out of darkness, selfishness, injustice and oppression into the bright light of justice, order and common sense contained in Socialism—then there is still hope for you.

The great battle is rapidly coming on, not only in this country but in every civilized nation. Stand up and be a man. Say which side you are on—capital's or labor's. If you are on the side of capital, look out for the ballots that are going to bury you forever. If you stand by the working class you must give up all hopes of boodle and office. There will be nothing but justice and true economy. You may yet, if you bury your past, help to bring about the great revolution that is going to clear the way for the resistless progress of social evolution. Take the side of right; be a true patriot, let us all learn to enjoy, collectively, the great beneficent gifts of nature and society.

PHILIP JACKSON.

Rochester, N. Y.

The Secretary of the Treasury had selected the picture of Cyrus H. McCormick for the \$10 silver notes that are to be issued. Mr. McCormick was chosen as a representative American inventor. No sooner was this known when protests began to shower on the Secretary, and he stopped the printing of the notes. This American "inventor" is protested against on the ground that he is no inventor, and only the appropriator of other peoples' inventions. McCormick is, of course, a rich man.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table showing Socialist vote in the United States for Presidential elections: 1888 (2,088), 1892 (13,331), 1896 (21,137).

Truth is tough. It will not break, like a bubble, at a touch; you may kick it about all day, like a football, and it will be round and full at evening.

THAT PER CAPITA.

At a time when the gorgeous Bradley Martin ball was casting its shadow before it, and within the very week when that displayful event took place, the New York "Times" appeared with an article entitled "The Progress of Thirty Years," arguing that "the whining and grumbling among the American people in these days" was groundless, and seeking to prove the point with statistics.

In 1867 the money in the country was \$20.11 per capita; in 1896 it was \$32.86—an increased affluence of \$12.75 per inhabitant; and much more to the same purpose.

The deceptiveness of "averages" as a measure of prosperity has long been demonstrated. If in a room there are 100 people, 1 of whom has \$1,000, and the remaining 99 have \$1 apiece, the average wealth in the room would be \$10.99. Yet the fraud upon the intellect of pointing to this amount as an indication of the financial status of each person in that room is palpable.

The amount of money that the Bradley Martin ball has cost is variously estimated; the lowest figure is \$500,000. The number of people—hostess and guests—whose aggregate expenses foot up this grand total, is at the utmost 250. On an average, these people must have spent \$2,000 a piece. Let us contemplate the fact.

The per capita of money in the country is \$32.86; the 250 Bradley-Martin-Ballers, each of whom had \$2,000, must have been each in possession of at least \$1,967.14 more than his "per capita" entitled him to, or an amount almost equal to the "per capita" of 60 other "per capita holders."

First—In so far as the "average" or "per capita" argument implies that a certain amount of wealth is ACTUALLY ENJOYED by each and every citizen, it suggests an unqualified falsehood. The Bradley Martin ball furnishes undeniable evidence that, in this instance alone, an amount of enjoyment, equivalent to at least the aggregate "per capita" or "average" enjoyment of 15,000 inhabitants, was confiscated by 250 other people.

Second—In so far as the "average" or "per capita" argument implies that a certain amount of wealth ACTUALLY BELONGS to each and every citizen, it points the finger to the fact that the working class is robbed by the capitalist class. The Bradley Martin ball furnishes undeniable evidence that, in this instance alone, an amount equal to at least the aggregate "per capita" or "average" of 15,000 inhabitants was in the pockets of only 250 other people.

Third—The working class supports the capitalist class in life and in luxury. The Bradley Martin ball was paid with moneys that of right belong to at least 15,000 people who were not there, and were not allowed in.

SOME MORE HINTS TO SENATOR LEXOW.

The "Trust Investigation" is going on with undiminished clatter, but Senator Lexow is giving unmistakable signs of his being about the end of his tether. If things go on this way the "investigation" will soon come to an abrupt end. We wish to come to the aid of the "Investigators."

A feature of the Trust—and not the least interesting, at that—is the harmony it establishes between capitalists. The cat and dog, monkey and parrot exhibitions, these gentlemen give

of themselves during the strictly competitive period of their career, come to an end in the Trust. The Trust transforms the menagerie of capitalist wild and warring animals into a veritable "happy family" show. But the fact remains concealed. None is more anxious than the befriended capitalists to allow the impression to remain that they are at war with one another.

Senator Lexow can prolong the "investigation" indefinitely, and afford the people valuable information, thus pleasing himself and us, by putting the following questions to Mr. John E. Searles: "Name the quantities of stock held in the Sugar Trust, the Standard Oil Trust and the Pullman concern by the Democrat Cleveland, the Republican Rockefeller, the Democrat Brice and the Republican Pullman?"

SOVEREIGN, THE CLOWN.

Mr. James R. Sovereign has once more meteorically shot through the public firmament. His fake organization of K. of L., so called, is so wholly collapsed that it offers no further opportunity for self-advertising; the silver mine baron's campaign has turned out so disastrous that its heap of ruined platitudes is now too low a stump from which to do any more hollering; and his own reputation for knowing what he talks about is so discredited that he was running great risk of wholly sinking into oblivion.

The people have not lost faith in the ballot. What the late campaign did teach was that middle class politics are suicidal: they scare the middle class itself, away, and rivet the large masses of the working class to the capitalists.

In the second place, Mr. Sovereign is not getting any such letters as he says, at least not in any such numbers. Mr. Sovereign belongs to a clown class that can't count. We know more such. Each of these looks at himself in the glass and imagines he sees a whole regiment, and says, and is silly enough actually to believe, that the "people" are all there with him.

Finally, to imagine Mr. Sovereign on his feet in case of a real outbreak is funniness itself. At the first noise he will crawl behind Jack Haye's petticoat, and the two will creep under the nearest bed, fearing that the police are at last after them to demand an account of certain schemes concerning the bribing of aldermen to obtain franchises for wild cat gas companies.

Comrade Rudnick, of Catskill, Greene County, N. Y., was this week in New York and imparted some information that explains what becomes of the Socialist vote in the rural counties where the party has no organization.

For the whole of Greene County the official returns credit us only with 18 votes for Matchett. In the city of Catskill alone, however, 22 votes for Matchett were actually seen by our watchers and caused to be counted.

The election frauds against the Socialist ballot of the county officials in rural districts have long been suspected. That they leave us at all any vote there is an evidence of some respect, and proves that a strong Socialist movement is the best preventive against fraud. There is very little cheating done in New York.

FORESHADOWINGS.

The People's Party and the Year of Grace 1900.

That middle class politician, Geo. F. Washburn, of Boston, has issued a circular to leading Populists, with the aid of the capitalist "Boston Herald," and Uncle Sam's P. O., calling upon Populists to repudiate fusion and in 1900 demand greenbacks and government ownership of railroads.

In Russia the government owns the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street railway lines, several mines, four-fifths of the land, the savings banks, and control the paper money and national banks. In addition to all this the government has at many different times loaned money direct to farmers at a small rate of interest.

As the people are growing more and more discontented in every nation it might be that they will leap from the frying pan into the fire in 1900 and elect a Bryan to the White House.

It may be noticed that the great Rothschild family recently purchased one of the largest silver mines in this country. This may not be astraw. But any man who has brains enough to think ought to know that whether we have Bryan and free silver, Watson and greenbacks, McKinley and gold, under capitalism the money, as well as all means of production and distribution, will be controlled by the capitalists.

It is a down-right waste of time to fight the effect of a cause. Capitalism is the cause of world-wide misery, without any regard to monetary standards, tariffs or taxation systems, and to fight the effect of this misery and not the cause of the misery is to pattern after Don Quixote fighting windmills. When these Socialists once know that the difference between a paternalistic and a capitalistic government is just about nothing they will vote for a fraternal democratic government.

F. G. R. GORDON, Manchester, N. H.

Can it be that a ray of sense has at last broken its way through the nodules of the inebriates who run the St. Louis "Brauer Zeitung"? We notice that in its issue of the 30th of last month it published on its English (?) page an article from THE PEOPLE, entitled "Municipal Socialism," heading and all, from top to bottom.

Now, when he had waited for a long time, thinks he: "I'll have a look!" What a strange sight it was. There were about ten little candle-holders moving along between the lines of print for common flies you know are very near sighted, and all the other flies which I have called common, for want of a wiser name, were climbing over each other's backs looking at the words, nay, reading them!

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

X-RAY-ALITIES.

That Expose the Insides of the Social Structure.

THE FROG AND THE WATERMELON. "Well, I'm elected," cried a little green frog, springing up on the very crown of the arch of that melon.

"Oh, you are; are you?" said the melon, sleepily. "What's that, anyway?" "Why, d'ye mean to say," cried the indignant frog, "that you haven't been trembling all over with excitement at the prospect of my election?"

"I spec' so," grunted the Melon. The Melon had much to wonder at in the succeeding antics of the new President. One day he would measure his girth with a great reed, another day he would be found measuring his shadow.

"What are you doing now, anyway Mr. President?" smiled the amused Melon. "Why, getting up statistics about you, I want our English friends and others who have gold to know how big you are and how ripe."

"I don't!" growled the Melon. "Why, why, my poor undeveloped country?" "Ah, get off!" shouted the Melon, with a vegetable oath, "or I'll roll over you. Git now!"

THE SPIDER IN THE FLY'S WEB.

A spider, tightly corsetted from a pressure of circumstances, began to feel disappointed. "Much outgoing and little coming in has spoiled my figure, and I am, though long engaged in politics, a most unhappy being," he sighed.

There he sat, under his own porch, which was not festooned (as the pastoral descriptionists so often describe the trellised porch of the virtuous country toiler) by honeysuckles. Oh, believe me when I tell you his porch was festooned with last year's blood-suckers, all dangling in the lazy air.

"Was it thus," he murmured, with each eye alternately open for the straggling fly, "they promised me it would be when Hanna supped at this very table and solicited me for a generous contribution towards the great Republican Spider party. Is it for this that I have been throwing stones at, and killing all the small flies that came within reach of me which I couldn't eat myself?"

In such a maledictory mood was my spider when his attention was called to a wondrously loud buzzing of many flies. Then he saw a copy of THE PEOPLE about a yard away, covered with a whole host of flies; and, moving among them like link boys in a London fog, he found they were a number of fire-flies.

By the fourth plague of Egypt!" he cried, "McKinley is keeping his promise! Oh, my paradise, art thou come at last! Is business really about to revive?" He waited with watery nippers for more than an hour for that business to come. But still those little phosphorescent link boys moved like Sunday school boys drilling to shoot the home-born foreigners of labor unions, and still that buzzing-mealy sound of flies in motion.

Among many heterodox words heard by the spider were these: "They consume us, those capitalistic spiders," and "Democrat" is but a crooked way of spelling "Republican," and "Republican" is but a crooked way of spelling "Democrat."

"What, then, is your web for, oh, spider?" said the largest of the flies, while not one of the others moved a letter away from their old enemy.

THE WROUGHT UP MINER.

I am thinking now of an operator who is nothing but a moneyed fakir.

Four months have I worked, and can safely say, On an average I've earned six dollars a pay; Taxed two and a quarter; I can prove it's no lie. That leaves me the balance of three seventy-five.

There is powder and oil—one dollar right smack; Twenty-five cents for smithing, I can still stand that; One dollar for doctor, I'm compelled to pay him; That is two and a quarter, oh, God, what a sin!

No later than the other day My butty was discharged this way: The boss came round with a book in his hand, And the doctor followed at his command. Up spoke the boss in a voice like thunder, Demanding to know my butty's number. "No, no!" says my butty, "if I have to pay, I pay no doctor in this way."

"Well," says the boss, "you will have to pay. Or pack your tools this very day." Compelling the man to go and hunger Until he needed the doctor on his number. You can see in the future: this smart operator Will bring around next a friend undertaker; That means thirty cents more to get your jaws tied with cotton, And a dollar a month to pay for your coffin.

Still men are thinking there is no salvation To deliver us from this state of starvation; But there is a road that is open for all, Which will, sure in the end, make the blood-suckers fall: It is the teachings of our Creator; For our Bible, grasp the great liberator. Just study these works, then down goes your fist, And you swear by your God you are a strong Socialist.

GATHAN McADAM, Barnesboro, Cam. County, Pa.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers. J. W., Newark, N. J.—Taxation is not abolished in Glasgow; the condition of the employees is at least as bad as before. See THE PEOPLE of Dec. 13, 1896, article "Municipal Socialism."

M. D. F., Lynn, Mass.—He who needs the opinion of another on a self-evident subject could not profit by such opinion, if given. P. N., South Norwalk, Conn.—First—The "Coming Nation" is owned and controlled by a concern called the "Ruskin Co-operative Association of Tennessee."

A. S., Louisville, Ky.—A member of the A. P. A. stands on ground that denotes both fundamental principles and fundamental aims of the S. L. P. The A. P. A. draws the line between economic classes: the capitalist, the middle and the working class. The A. P. A. seeks to unite the exploiter and his victims, provided they are Americans; the S. L. P. seeks to unite the victims, whatever their race, creed or nationality, against their exploiters, whether these be natives or aliens, Protestant, Catholic or Jew.

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UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—I've been reading the sweetest thing I ever came across. Uncle Sam—Pass it over and let me participate in its sweetness. B. J.—It is the "American Fabian."

U. S.—(with a waffle of the hand)—No, thank you; excuse me. Life is short, to spend that shortness foolishly was too long. B. J.—Ah, there you have it. You Socialists are so violent you want to destroy everything. You insist on the class struggle. You want to abolish them. The Fabians are sweeter; they want to save them. It did my heart good to read that they want to save the middle class.

U. S.—Do you know what the middle class is? B. J.—It is a class that is ground down by the big capitalists. U. S.—And does it not grind down anybody in turn? B. J.—Not that I know of. U. S.—Is a small groceryman a middle class man? B. J.—Of course. U. S.—Does he employ anybody? B. J.—He employs his help, I guess. U. S.—How do they get paid? B. J.—Wages. U. S.—That is to say they do four dollars' worth of work and get paid fifty cents in wages. Ain't it? B. J.—Well-e-l-l. U. S.—Don't Fabianize; yes or no? B. J.—Yes. U. S.—And that is the class that you—a workman—and other such noodles as you, wish to save? B. J.—Is that really the middle class? U. S.—Exactly. The middle class is a class of small capitalists. As such they have to compete with the big capitalists and get left. B. J.—Would you leave them to the mercy of these big sharks? U. S.—Why are they at the mercy of those big sharks? B. J.—Because these fellows have bigger capital. U. S.—Now, then, if the lack of sufficient capital disables them from competition, in what position does the working class, who has no capital at all, stand towards them. B. J.—I should say in a worse condition. U. S.—If, then, the big sharks can grind down the small middle class, is not this middle class, in turn, a bigger shark class towards the working class? B. J.—Y-e-s. U. S.—This Fabian British impostor, accordingly, wants to save a shark class. Can you escape that? B. J.—But are these American Fabians, so-called, a lot of damned crooks? U. S.—Be gentle; don't swear. Some are; most of them are simply unbalanced in that their sentiment is too much for their brains. Let me tell you a story:

Once upon a time there was a man who earned his living with a dancing bear. He travelled from village to village and collected pennies with the performances of his animal, and he, of course, kept him in food. As a result of that, the bear loved him dearly. On a certain occasion, while moving from one place to another, he had to cross a forest. It was a sultry summer day. He tied his bear to a tree; rolled his coat around his fiddle; placed the bundle at the root of the tree; stretched himself out on the ground with the bundle as a pillow and fell asleep. The bear, sitting close by on his haunches, watched his master. Presently he saw his master tossing restlessly. A fly was buzzing at his ears, flitting over his forehead, tickling his nose. The loving bear felt angered at the impertinent fly that so disturbed his master; he kicked up a rock and watched; and just as soon as the fly made another landing on his master's forehead he fired the rock straight at the fly— B. J.—Heavens! U. S.—Well may you jump. The fly is killed, but so was the man, too. His head was smashed and the fiddle along with it. B. J.—What a ruin!

U. S.—The Fabian composition is the composition of this bear; in their ignorance they would do mischief unspendable; fortunately they are back numbers.

Books that Ought to Be Read. The following books can be obtained by mailing price and one-tenth of price for postage, to the New York Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, New York City. Send for full catalogue. "The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1844."—By Fredrick Engels. . . . \$1.50 "Capital."—By Carl Marx.—An exhaustive dissertation on political economy from the most advanced and scientific standpoint. Bound. 2.00 Paper 1.20 "Co-operative Commonwealth."—An Exposition of Socialism, by Laurence Gronlund 50 "Socialism vs. Tax Reform."—By Laurence Gronlund 10 "Socialism."—By William Scholl McClure 10 "A Traveler from Altruria."—By William Dean Howells. Cloth. 1.50 "Merrie England."—By Robert Blatchford 10 "The Fabian Essays."—By H. G. Wilschire. Paper 25 "French and German Socialism."—By Prof. Richard T. Ely. 25 "Six Centuries of Work and Wages."—By J. E. Thorold Rogers 25 "Quintessence of Socialism."—By Dr. A. Schaeffle. 15 "Reform or Revolution."—By Daniel De Leon 60

SOCIALISM.

Address Delivered Before the Present Day Club of Dayton, O.

By William Watkins.

Gentlemen of the Present Day Club—The era in which we are living will prove to be one of the shortest in human history. It began but a hundred and sixty years ago; so to speak, but yesterday; and the end is already in sight. It is an era characterized by the most tremendous revolution the world has ever known, and this revolution went on deepening for a hundred years before its scope and character were suspected, and even now, when it has nearly run its course, most people do not know that anything in particular has happened; they are still living in the eighteenth century. Swedenborg found some who had been dead a hundred years, and had not found it out yet. The man who is absorbed in his own selfish plans, who is using society only to advance his private fortune, is dead to all social movements and may live through a revolution and not know it.

It is no wonder that the revolution had to wait so long for an explanation; its newness, its immense scope, its course slow at first, its increasing speed and momentum, and the fact that for the first hundred years of its course, the science of sociology was unknown, will account for the fact the world at large falls to understand it.

THE GREAT REVOLUTION of which we speak is a revolution in the field of economics—in the production of what we eat, drink, wear and use. It hence affects the whole population of the countries where it is going on. It affects the foundation upon which rests the whole superstructure of human life. Until his animal wants are supplied; until man is supplied with food, clothing and shelter, he will live the life and show the character of a beast; it is vain to look for the development of human character and virtue. The social condition of a people can be traced to their economic state; the form of government and structure of society depends upon it. A change in methods of production will be followed by a change in social state, and this cannot fail to affect the government and the structure of society.

Our present state is not a finality. Evolution has not operated up to the present and then stopped, but is still working. The situation changes from day to day. Other forms of society have risen, run their course and passed away; ours will have a like history.

The history of the great economic revolution must be briefly traced.

THE EARLIEST FORM OF PRODUCTION was solitary and individual. One man, working alone, did every part of the work. The mechanic owned his tools, worked alone, made articles to order, and received the full product of his labor without dividing with anyone. If he employed "help" he employed another man, also a master of his trade, and in the very nature of things the employer was compelled to pay the employe wages which were, on the whole, equal to what the latter could earn by practicing the trade independently. All, or nearly all, the trades required the strength of a man, and all required the skill which was gained by long apprenticeship. The necessity of the skill prevented the competition of unskilled labor of every kind, and the necessity of considerable muscular strength made the employment of women and children in the trades impracticable. Thus the mechanic was protected from the competition of outsiders.

After studying and reflecting upon this state of things, Adam Smith, the father of political economy, formulated his celebrated law of wages, which is that wages can never fall below the amount necessary to the support of a family. This law applies perfectly to the conditions of small production just described, but has no reference or application to other conditions. The era in which this was the only form of production lasted uncounted ages, and it continued to be the only method down to about the middle of the sixteenth century. During all this time all social conditions corresponded to and grew out of this state of things. The mode of production was slow, costly and laborious. The people were ignorant, rude and poor. A few were rich, but there were no capitalists.

THE PERIOD OF MANUFACTURES followed, by which is meant the production of articles by hand labor associated and divided, the division of labor without the use of machinery. A number of men worked together, each doing a part of the work necessary to produce the finished article, and thus accomplished much more than could be accomplished by each working separately. An enterprising mechanic would take a shop, employ a number of journeymen, assign to each the part of the work which he liked best and could do best, could pay each man as much as he could earn by the independent practice of his trade and still receive a considerable profit from the extra amount of work turned out.

Here a new principle was introduced into the industrial world. Up to that time there had been no gain in production except by personal toil. But by this scheme the master receives a value created by others, and this is done by organizing labor by making it social and interdependent. This is the small end of the wedge which in later times split economic society into the two, now widely separated, classes of employer and employe. This plan began the process of reducing the independent to economic dependence, that is, to slavery.

The employe in these shops practiced but a part of the trade, which it had cost them years to learn, and that part could be learned in much less time than the whole trade. The place of any of these journeymen could be supplied by a boy of say 16, who could learn the part assigned to him in a few days, weeks, or months at most, and who, until he reached the age of 21, would be delighted to receive half man's wages.

This form of production appeared in what the geologist would call the eocene period, the dawn of the present, when the forces which have formed our present society were mustering their strength and overcoming various obstacles necessary to be removed in order that society might develop into its present form.

It should be noted that these ages are not sharply defined periods. The age of small productions is the age when it was the only form of production, and by the age of manufactures we mean the age when division of labor began to be an important factor in production. Both still exist to-day, but have sunk into insignificance.

THE AGE OF CAPITALISTIC PRODUCTION. The great industrial revolution which brought in the age of capitalistic production is the result of a series of inventions beginning about the middle of the eighteenth century, by which such marked effects have been produced that the economic world of to-day is farther removed from that of 1750 than that of 1750 is from the age of the Pharaohs. Changes in capital and its management have produced the most significant changes in labor. Capital, taking advantage of the inventions in industry and in transportation, has been able to extend production and carry it on in an ever increasing ratio. This production on a vast scale, based upon a far-reaching division of labor, has become essentially social. Capitalism has passed out of the shop and entered the factory. The master workman of yore has given place to the "captain of industry," journeymen and apprentices to regiments of wage-workers. Production becomes every day more socialized. Of old, the workman owned his tools; now the capitalist owns the machine. The master and the journeyman worked together, but the modern employe does not know the employe by sight or name. Then the journeyman could hope to become a master, but now the factory worker cannot hope to become a factory owner.

MONOPOLY. We have seen that in former ages all the mechanic arts were open to the youth who had nothing but his hands. No capital was needed; he had simply to serve an apprenticeship, to learn the trade, and he was assured that his skill and industry would procure him a living. Now, whoever would enter into the business of production must be possessed of an ample capital. Only a few are rich enough to build and equip a factory with modern machinery, and those who do so are seeking, not a living, but wealth, measured not by ten thousands, but by millions. In the age of small production the producer was his own employer, and all the value added to the raw material by his labor was his; now he is a wage-worker, and must accept his employer's terms. His wages are fixed by the law of supply and demand; the more men offer their labor power for sale the lower the wages. His power to labor—his life—has become a commodity, and is the cheapest thing in the market.

He is unable to trace his part in the manufactured article, is in the dark as to its value, and quite in the power of its employer. For his work he is allowed only about one-fourth of what he produces. If a thousand dollars' worth of raw material is worked up into manufactured products worth five thousand dollars, that is, if four thousand dollars of value has been produced by the process of manufacture, then one thousand dollars of that four thousand is the share of labor, the wages paid, and three thousand the share of capital. The laborer does the work and the capitalist takes the lion's share of the product. We now see where the great fortunes amassed in manufacturing come from. They are composed of unpaid labor. We are not now concerned with the right and wrong of this course, though that is well worth considering, but only with its economic effects. To the capitalist who says that he does so because he cannot help it, we reply: "Good sir, you take our capitalistic system for a scheme by which you can gain unearned money; you mistake it; it is a scheme as much against you as against the wage-worker; you know that you are in danger of losing your capital, but you don't know that you must lose it; there is no other way; your capital must become a part of some larger competing capital, and that of some still larger one, until all is concentrated in a very few hands. Take ten years and see it."

MACHINERY. We see the evil effects which follow the employment of machinery under our present system; but this is not why we oppose the machinery itself, but because machinery is owned by private individuals and used for private advantage. No one so fully appreciates the value and nature of labor-saving machinery as does the Socialist. It has in it the power and potency of the greatest blessing to mankind. Hitherto it has never lightened the toil of any human being, but it is destined to be that which shall lighten human toil and give to man a chance to live a human life.

We note that the benefits of the machine come to the owner. This is the key to the situation. If society would reap the benefits of a machine it must own and work that machine; there is no other way.

SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISTS. Socialism is not the system, plan or scheme of any reformer, whether philosopher or crank. It is the doctrine of those who see forces at work in our system which cannot be controlled, and which will inevitably destroy the system itself. The Socialist claims that it is necessary that the public should own and operate the means of production and distribution; that is to say, the shops, factories, railroads, mines and lands, and operate these for the public benefit. He claims that the most important of all rights—the right to life and the right to support life by labor—are not recognized; that the disorders of our system are caused by the fact that these rights are not recognized, and that in the near future their recognition will be a political necessity.

Your Socialist is not a sorehead, he kicks not, he grumbles not whatever happens. He is an evolutionist; he believes that evolution evolves, that it does not stop. All men and all things are working together to bring about the co-operative commonwealth, those who oppose it most hasten it most. All systems, all political events are necessary steps in the evolution of Socialism. The Socialist rejoices in the election of McKinley to attempt the impossible, but he would have been equally well satisfied with Bryan, under whom we would have reached the same goal by a slightly different course.

The capitalist system is filling the world with sin, vice, crime, poverty, insanity and premature death, but all these are necessary to open our eyes to the necessity of change. The reason why we have not already changed is that the class which knows of these evils and feels them is not the class which has possession of the political power. The change will come all the same; will come as certainly as to-morrow's sun, nothing can stop it, and nothing but a return of general prosperity can stay it, and the prophecy may be risked that the child is born that will see, at least, its beginning.

THE EFFECT OF THE ONE TO THREE SYSTEM. The division of the product of labor, one-fourth to the worker and three-fourths to the capitalist, is fatal to the capitalistic system itself, and produces the very state of things under which we now suffer. The manufacturer does not make goods for his own use and enjoyment, but for sale. He must have a market for his wares; anything that destroys his market breaks him. The wageworkers of the United States form a majority of the population, and are daily increasing in numbers by accessions from the middle class, who find independent existence impossible. Now, if the wage-working class receive, as the census of 1890 shows, only one-fourth of the value added to the raw material for their labor, it is plain that they as a class can buy not more than one-fourth of that which is produced. But they cannot do that, for the manufacturer adds to the cost of the raw material, and the jobber, the wholesaler and the retailer must have their profits before the wage-worker can buy any manufactured article. Then, too, the wage-worker has to buy a number of things which are not manufactured articles, thus diminishing the amount he can spend for manufactures. We see, then, that more than one-half the nation can absorb only from one-tenth to one-eighth of what is made. The remainder of the nation, impoverished, by a great degree by the poverty of the wage-workers, cannot absorb the other seven-eighths, or nine-tenths, of the goods produced, and hence we see the market glutted with goods, that staple articles used and needed by the mass of the people are offered at less than cost of production. Merchants become bankrupt, mills and factories shut down, banks fail, capital to the amount of millions is lost, and does not return to the people, but is absorbed in larger capital; millions are thrown out of work; misery, vice and crime prevail in the land.

Our system impoverishes the masses and holds before the capitalist the hope of immense gain which, in most cases, proves illusory.

THE WAGE-WORKER NOT PROTECTED. The introduction of modern machinery, driven by steam or water power, has taken the place both of the muscular strength and of the skill of eye and hand, which used to be necessary in production, and hence has opened competition in manufacturing processes to the whole world. Labor that can be used in production is in permanent over-supply. The time can never come when all who desire work can obtain it unless a reduction of the hours of labor should be made to that degree that all could be employed, which would probably reduce the hours to four or five per day, and this can never be done while the machinery of production is in private hands and is run for private profit. But it can be done easily and at once as soon as the instruments of production are in the hands of the public, and articles are made for use and not for sale.

Labor-saving machinery saves labor; it does the same work with one-fifth, one-tenth, one-hundredth or one-thousandth the number of workers. It makes men unnecessary; it takes away the source of their living. These facts were disputed by the writers of sixty years ago, but they are now beyond all question. The world's work is done by a continually decreasing number of persons. There is not work enough to go around. The man who is willing and anxious to work is not allowed to do so. This is a wrong—a gigantic wrong, and under this system is utterly without remedy. To right this wrong we must have a change in the structure of society.

MACHINERY. We see the evil effects which follow the employment of machinery under our present system; but this is not why we oppose the machinery itself, but because machinery is owned by private individuals and used for private advantage. No one so fully appreciates the value and nature of labor-saving machinery as does the Socialist. It has in it the power and potency of the greatest blessing to mankind. Hitherto it has never lightened the toil of any human being, but it is destined to be that which shall lighten human toil and give to man a chance to live a human life.

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S. L. P.
Gives John Wanamaker Another Thorough Drubbing.
Sir:—I presume that you are cognizant of the attempt about to be made by certain citizens of Philadelphia to purify local politics. Is it not wonderful, the amount of purification that our politics—local and national—require? The memory of the oldest inhabitant goes not back to the time when "reform" of some kind or other was not demanded by certain political elements. Ever louder grows the cry for a "change." The more "reform" our political system has undergone, the more is demanded. What is the nature of this ailment of the body politic which, everyone admits, requires treatment, but which up to the present time has not yielded to any of the efforts put forth to eradicate it? A glance at a single symptom will show its real character to any sensible man.

And here is the symptom, as diagnosed by that reliable political doctor, Colonel A. K. McClure, editor of the Philadelphia "Times":

"Our whole election system has become so utterly debauched that elections are simply farcical. There has not been a contested election in this city during the last five years that has not embraced in its returns tens of thousands of fraudulent votes. Under the leadership of Lobbyist Martin, who was early trained in the worst attributes of the ballot-thief, our elections have become more and more lawless with each year, until to-day they are simply monumental in the mastery of fraud."

This indictment, you will kindly note, lies against the City of Brotherly Love, where the Declaration of Independence was signed and where the Liberty Bell is situated, not against the town of Red Dog, Idaho.

The indictment is strictly true, and might, with a change of name, with equal truthfulness have been written of almost any large city in this country.

All the schemes of "reform" that I have memory of were directed against this debauchery of elections, but no scheme of reform that I ever heard of proposed to go to the root of the matter and discover the real cause of the evil. Loud demands for the arrest and conviction of the petty criminals have frequently been made, but I have never heard of any of the able editors of our great journals calling for an inquiry into the reasons why our elections are tampered with, or asking for the names of the persons in whose interest the dirty work was done, or instituting a search for the people who foot the bills for the "work" performed.

This is what would be done were there any honesty or sincerity in these multitudinous "reform" movements, and because it has never been done I have not hesitated to characterize them all as being as fraudulent as the elections they pretended to purify. Doubtless many of the people who engage in these movements were honest enough, but ignorance of the real nature of the wrongs complained of have led many to enter upon reform work who quietly gave way when they had a look behind the curtain. The reform of our political system will not be accomplished, and cannot be accomplished, by those who are not willing to accept the facts, and all the facts, in relation to this universal debauchery of the ballot.

Before I go further in this matter, permit me to point out a fact or two involved. The ballot is supposed to be the basis of government in this country; the rock upon which all our institutions rest; the safe-guard of our liberties, and the highest expression of our rights. Whoever tampers with the ballot is an enemy of the people and a traitor to the country; the foe of safety, or order, and of Democracy. The treason of Benedict Arnold was insignificant in comparison with such a crime as the continual corruption of our elections.

Another fact: Whenever there is a great strike, or any labor disturbance affecting the serenity of the great Capitalists of the country, our press and pulpit are tireless in declaring the people themselves responsible for whatever they may complain of. "You have the ballot; use it," yells the Capitalist press in chorus; "This is a government of law!" cries the same editor who a few weeks before had declared that elections were "simply farcical."

If our elections are influenced by corrupt practices, the people haven't the ballot. If our elections are controlled by ballot-box stuffers and thieves, and their political masters, then this government is a government of thieves, and not a "government of law." It is simply a government by Martin et al.

Democracy is worth everything, or it is worth nothing. If the American people are to go forward to a higher civilization—indeed, if they are not to go backward to chattel slavery—this matter of government by Martin et al. must be submitted to critical and merciless analysis. Who is responsible for this monstrous crime against Republican government? Not the Martins! They are merely tools. The continued immunity of the Martins, and the light punishment meted out to those whom a passing wave of "reform" may demand the sacrifice of (only to be pardoned out when the wave subsides), proves that the real criminals must be looked for elsewhere.

In a case of burglary or highway robbery, the first thing to do is to locate possession of the stolen goods. This line of procedure, in the case of our stolen ballots, will show who are responsible for the crimes that are continually committed against the integrity of our elections.

Who owns the goods that have been stolen and are being continually stolen from the people? Let David Martin himself answer: "I am not responsible for this thing," said that individual, speaking of a certain political job, "the fact is that I am employed by a certain

corporation at a large salary, and the interests of the corporation compel me to act as I have."

Here we discover the whereabouts of our stolen goods, Mr. Wanamaker: With this clew every crime, every ballot thief, may be unerringly traced. Our Councils, full of Traction councilmen, though the people hate Traction with a deadly hatred; our Legislature full of corporation legislators, though the people are bitterly, but as yet blindly, opposed to corporations; our Congress full of corporation attorneys, though elected to guard the people against corporate crime and greed—show in their character, person and work the real cause of the pollution of the ballot.

The ballot may be corrupted in an infinite number of ways; merely miscounting or throwing out votes are among the least of them. The multiplication of needless political offices, for the purpose of creating a hiring political army; the gerrymandering of election districts at the behest of certain corporate or "business" interests; lobbying (bribery) in legislation; the passage of laws by false representation and stealth; the gradual restriction of the franchise under one pretence and another; the steady encroachment by the judiciary upon the legislative power, and, above all, the use of power to compel the people to vote under dictation, are as much prostitutions of the ballot-box as is the counting of fictitious votes.

All these crimes against the ballot have been committed for years by the "business interests" of the country. The money paid for corrupt legislation and the support of lobbies has all been supplied by our "business interests," or, to be precise, by our "business men." The politics and legislation of the country have been dictated by our "business interests" exclusively. The laws and the Constitution have been interpreted with an eye single to the interests of business. Our business interests having in all things been paramount, are directly responsible for every organic evil that afflicts the American people to-day, and the responsibility cannot be evaded. All work of "reform" that leaves untouched the "business" interests of the country is absolutely worthless. Driven by inexorable fate, the logic of events will leave no choice other than sinking all human rights in our business interests, or else sinking all business interests in the rights of the people. This, the only possible reform, will never be accomplished by those who have a stake in Capitalism. It will be carried out only by those who know and feel that they are the victims of our "business interests"; by those who know and teach that the Republican form of government bequeathed to us by our fathers has been undermined and well-nigh destroyed by a traitor class; by those who have discovered the impossibility of being at one and the same time a free citizen and a slave workman. The free laborer is the father, not the son, of the free citizen.

S. L. P.
Philadelphia, Feb. 17.

CORRESPONDENCE.
The Shadow of the Bradley Martin Ball and Seelye Dinner in Massachusetts.
Lawrence has had the name of being one of the most prosperous cities in New England, if not in the country. Let us look at the prosperity of our city. Let me quote a few remarks from one of our papers:

"There is more want and privation in Lawrence to-day than there has been for years; perhaps more than there has ever been before. Continued business depression and the consequent reduction in wage-money have brought many families face to face with cold and hunger. The poor-farm is over-taxed, and charitable organizations are doing all they can."

Look at the wages that able-bodied men are receiving—from \$2.50 to \$5 a week; some are expected to support a family on such wages.

Now, listen to city missionaries' reasons why there is so much poverty. One is that the mills can select the best workmen—the best in health and habits; heretofore a man could get a job by presenting himself at the gate, as sickness and discharge were making continual vacancies; the situation is now changed, there is much less work at much less pay. The missionary should have said: "Much more work and ever so much less pay." So you see it is the same old story: new machinery displacing labor. Some have not worked in six or eight months since a new machine has been put in the dye-house of the Pacific Mills; it does the work of seventy men; the new Northrup loom will throw hundreds out soon, as they are going to put some in soon. But the majority expect everything will be all right when we get a new tariff bill. Others tell you it is over-production; the market is over-stocked, and they are shivering for want of a decent suit of clothes or an overcoat, and they really believe it is so. Truly it has been said: "What fools we mortals be."

J. W. L.
Lawrence, Mass., Feb. 15.

Prog. Clothing Cutters and Trimmers.
At the last session of the above union, held on Thursday, Feb. 11, at our rooms, 64 East 4th street, communications from D. A. 49 and Comrade H. B. Salisbury were received. The Agitation Committee reported having secured Comrade Salisbury to lecture on "Labor's Share and How to Get It," at our next agitation meeting, Feb. 25, Thursday, at the above place. The committee to the tailoring council reported that the Brooklyn United Brotherhood of Tailors held a successful mass meeting, in spite of the continued interruption of the fakers from the U. T. W. of A. Three reports were received. After the routine business had been concluded, a general discussion followed on the merits of the system cutting club for members only. All members wishing to advance in the art of cutting are urged to be requested to join this club. The Agitation Committee is instructed to invite all workmen, whether of the progressive or retrogressive element, to our lecture meetings, and we wish to announce that no person will be thrown out of such meetings. Questions as well as criticism will be permitted to all present.

THE SECRETARY.

PARTY NEWS.
Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.
National Executive.
Regular meeting held Feb. 16, 1897; Comrade Reed in the chair; minutes of the previous meeting read and approved. Communications read from Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis and San Francisco.
C. B. COPP, Rec. Secy.

California.
Financial Report of California State Executive Committee for the month of January, 1897:
INCOME.
Brought forward from Dec. 27, 1896; balance on hand.....\$25 30
Dec. 27, 1897—15 due stamps, secretary, Sacramento..... 1 50
Jan. 11, 1897—50 due stamps, secretary, City Central Committee 5 00
Jan. 18—50 due stamps, City Central Committee..... 5 00
Jan. 18—10 due stamps, Section Benky..... 1 00
Total income.....\$37 80
EXPENSES.
Dec. 27, 1896—To G. B. Benham, 1,000 cards..... \$3 30
Jan. 11, 1897—To Mrs. McCullough, type-writing..... 3 00
Jan. 11—To E. Hecht, secretary, postage..... 60
Jan. 11—To G. B. Benham, literature, Section Stockton..... 2 70
Jan. 11—To National Ex. Commit. for 200 stamps..... 10 00
Jan. 18—To E. Hecht for postage 35
Jan. 18—To G. B. Benham, per Wells Fargo Company..... 1 00
Jan. 18—To agitation for Section Benky..... 60
Jan. 18—To Comrade Wilkins, as per agreement..... 10 00
Total expenses.....\$32 15
Cash on hand Jan. 31, 1897..... \$5 65
STAMP ACCOUNT.
Dec. 27—On hand..... 196
Sold during January..... 125
Balance..... 71
Received from N. E. C..... 290
On hand February 1, 1897..... 271
H. F. SAHLINDER, Treas.,
Cal. State Ex. Com.

Massachusetts.
BOSTON, Feb. 7.—The American Section held its regular monthly meeting at No. 45 Elliot street Monday night. A communication was received from the State Committee in reply to the order adopted by the Section last month in regard to a paper called "Massachusetts Labor." The following was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the State Committee be, and it is hereby, requested to communicate with the publishers of a paper purporting to be a Massachusetts Socialist paper published at Cave Mills, Tennessee, and called "Massachusetts Labor," and request the publisher of said paper to discontinue sending it into this State.

As "Massachusetts Labor" is neither edited or managed by Massachusetts Socialists or by Socialist organizations in the State, it is clearly an imposition on Socialists here, and a fraud upon the public to longer continue to circulate this paper, which is plainly a "fake" publication.

That in the event of the publisher refusing to discontinue sending it here, it is recommended to the State Committee to call the attention of the Post Office Department to the fact that it is not a bona fide Massachusetts paper; that we protest against any member of the State Committee acting as an agent of this paper.

On the first column of the issue of Jan. 20, 1897, appears the following:

MASSACHUSETTS LABOR.
THE JOURNAL OF ORGANIZED LABOR.
Published every Saturday by the Labor Newspaper Union.
Albert E. Sanderson, general manager, Ruskin, Cave Mills, Tenn.
Local Managers—C. Crossfield, Boston; J. Friedland, Dorchester; Mary Gunning, Waltham; Fred Hodecker, Adams; Herm. Koepke, Pittsfield; Herman Klisen, Fitchburg; W. Ohnesorge, New Bedford.

On the first column of the second page the words "Our Press" appear in large letters at the top of the column; immediately below is inscribed on a flag the words "Socialist Labor Party." The paper is not dated at any place, and it is only because the law requires that a paper must print the name of the post office it is entered at that we have any knowledge as to where it comes from, unless it might be inferred that it was printed at the place where the general manager received his mail, though a paper that was at once the "journal of organized labor" of Massachusetts and an organ of the Socialist Labor party might send its "general manager" into the woods of Tennessee; for his health.

A number of those who are down as "local managers" say they have never been consulted, and that their names have been used without their knowledge or consent. All the local "managers" do, however, is to manage to get a subscriber when it is possible. Their duties as managers end there.

The paper is not a Massachusetts publication, and as the resolutions adopted by the Section say it is an imposition on Socialism here to father them with it; one object to have a child fathered on him when it belongs to some one else, whatever its quality; but it is doubly painful when it is a black bastard.

The statement in the resolution that it is a fraud upon the public to pretend that this is a Massachusetts Socialist paper is true.

Of course any Socialist can start a paper, but he may not palm it off on another. The following appeared in "Massachusetts Labor" as an editorial two weeks ago:

"The Socialist Labor party movement contains some selfish, narrow-minded individuals of the 'rule or ruin' order. All propaganda, unless suggested, dictated or controlled by them is mercilessly condemned. These vermin have no true place in our movement, and all Sections cursed by their presence should lose no time in ridding themselves of them. The principles of scientific Socialism are thoroughly understood by the rank and file of our Section, and these alone should be our guide."

So long as the paper is fathered on us

THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to February 17th, 1897.

\$3,650.

At the meeting of the Daily People Committee, held Sunday, the 20th of December, 1896, an important step was taken from which, if a daily Socialist

paper is at all possible within a reasonable time, the consummation will be reached. The committee adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, A daily PEOPLE has become an absolute necessity to counteract the false and falsified "news" that the capitalist press sets afloat, and to spread enlightenment in the ranks of the working class upon the Labor Question, and to prepare it to deal intelligently with the Social Revolution that is inevitable and is impending;

WHEREAS, The urgency of such a weapon of political and economic warfare in the English language against the plundering class of the capitalist is felt with increasing force, and the demand therefor becomes stronger by the day;

WHEREAS, The undertaking would result disastrously if not successfully put through;

WHEREAS, To make success certain, the paper must be able to survive two consecutive campaigns, that is to say, must appear daily during the period of at least thirteen consecutive months, absolutely independent, firm and uncompromising;

WHEREAS, The sum of not less than \$50,000 in hand is necessary to safely launch such an undertaking;

WHEREAS, Despite the general sense of the necessity of a daily English organ of labor, the collections for it have hitherto been slight; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that, so long as the foundation of such a paper seems indefinitely distant, the contributions will continue slight, while, on the contrary, if its foundation can appear prompt and definite it is likely that ample funds could be promptly gathered; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a call be issued to the stalwarts, friends and sympathizers, to pledge themselves in the number of 5,000 to contribute each the sum of \$10, payable between the issuing of this call and the 1st day of September, 1897;

RESOLVED, That, if by that date the sum of not less than \$50,000 is cash in hands of the DAILY PEOPLE Committee, a DAILY PEOPLE be started forthwith on October 1st, 1897;

RESOLVED, That this call be printed in the party press of all languages; that subscription lists, headed with these resolutions, be issued to all the Sections and all applicants; and that the names of the subscribers, together with the sum subscribed by each and the installments in which the same is to be paid, be promptly notified to the Committee for publication from week to week.

Are there in the land 5,000 stalwarts equal to the emergency, ready to step up and to mount that needed and redoubtable battery of the Social Revolution in America—a DAILY PEOPLE?

Daily People Committee, 184 William St., N. Y. City.

Table listing names and amounts pledged to the fund, including J. Chernoff, N. Y., \$10; Morris Steinberg, N. Y., \$10; W. R. Taylor, Brooklyn, \$10; Harriet Brackett, Berlin University, Germ., \$10; Simon Fried, Hartford, Ct., \$10; Joseph Dostler, Brooklyn, \$10; E. E. Etzel, Cleveland, \$10; A. Simonet, Cleveland, \$10; Robert Barthels, Cleveland, \$10; J. H. Forster, Cleveland, \$10; Henry Schmeizer, Cleveland, \$10; P. C. Christiansen, Cleveland, \$10; H. G. Hassler, Detroit, \$10; Max Therman, Xenia, W. Va., \$10; Bruno Thome, Brooklyn, \$10; Alex Krueger, Littlefield, Neb., \$10; Section Adams, Mass., \$20; Amer. Branch, Section San Francisco, Cal., \$10; Conrad Kerner, Boston, \$10; L. Rental, N. Y., \$10; William Black, N. Y., \$10.

Table listing names and amounts pledged to the fund, including J. Chernoff, N. Y., \$10 payable \$1.50 a month from February 15; Morris Steinberg, N. Y., \$10 payable \$1.50 a month from February 15; W. R. Taylor, Brooklyn, \$10 June 5; Harriet Brackett, Berlin University, Germ., \$10 Cash; Simon Fried, Hartford, Ct., \$10 \$1.00 a month from March 1, \$4.00 Sept. 1; Joseph Dostler, Brooklyn, \$10 \$2.00 a month from April 1; E. E. Etzel, Cleveland, \$10 August 1; A. Simonet, Cleveland, \$10 \$1 Cash, \$2 a month from Feb. 1, \$5 Sept. 1; Robert Barthels, Cleveland, \$10 May 15; J. H. Forster, Cleveland, \$10 \$3.00 June 1, \$3.00 August 1; Henry Schmeizer, Cleveland, \$10 On demand; P. C. Christiansen, Cleveland, \$10 \$5.00 Cash, \$5.00 July 1; H. G. Hassler, Detroit, \$10 Cash; Max Therman, Xenia, W. Va., \$10 \$5.00 July 1, \$5.00 August 1; Bruno Thome, Brooklyn, \$10 \$1.00 a month from February 1, \$4 Sept. 1; Alex Krueger, Littlefield, Neb., \$10 August 15; Section Adams, Mass., \$20 Cash; Amer. Branch, Section San Francisco, Cal., \$10 Cash; Conrad Kerner, Boston, \$10 August 1; L. Rental, N. Y., \$10 \$5.00 July 1, \$5.00 Sept. 1; William Black, N. Y., \$10 \$3.00 June 1, \$5.00 July 5.

The \$5 credited to P. C. Christiansen, Cleveland, Ohio, in last week's report of payments should be credited to A. Behner, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE, 184 William St., N. Y.

day afternoon Comrade Allman lectures. Subject: "St. Simon and Babeuf." The public is invited.

Bakers' No. 3 reported that its secretary never read the written report sent by the C. L. F. weekly. They claimed that the Sick and Death Benefit Club was organized independent of the union. They informed the committee that they would in future only support their own members. Their principles now were to attend only to the wants of the unemployed, and create a large fund for them. The chairman of the meeting declared "that No. 3 was still in existence, and would send delegates if such could be found, but no more dues would be paid to anybody."

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1. (CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.) Delegate M. Kronimus of the United Journeymen Tailors' Union was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation (D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A.), and delegate H. Finklestein of the Carl Salm Club, was vice-chairman.

Silver Workers P. A. reported having gained eleven members. Some minor trouble exists at the Whiting Manufacturing Co.

Independent Bakers' Union No. 1 reported having voted for F. W. Wilson as member to the G. E. B., and Boston, Mass., for the next convention of the S. T. & L. A. The union also decided to furnish a large and handsome cake for the "Arbeiter Zeitung" festival, which is to be raffled for its benefit.

It was resolved to instruct Ind. Bakers' No. 1 and 2 to prefer charges against No. 3 by next Sunday, so that the C. L. F. can take proper action.

Independent Bakers' Union No. 2 reported that boss Leopold sent for union labels on Saturday. Their Executive Board suspended br. 3 as the same owes br. 2 and the National Alliance dues for a year.

It was also resolved that the delegates of the C. L. F. assemble this Saturday at the Grand Central Palace at 9 p. m., in the hall to the right, for the purpose of attending the "Arbeiter Zeitung" festival in a body. Badges will be distributed.

Furriers' Union reported having held a well attended meeting on Saturday. A committee from the C. L. F. was present, urging that the festival of the "Motte," booked for Saturday, be postponed on account of the "Arbeiter Zeitung" festival. The union promised to use its influence in this matter. This union voted for Lawrence Fischer, of the C. L. F., Newark, as member of the G. E. B., and for Newark, N. J., as the place for the convention of the S. T. & L. A.

The "Journal" of the Prog. Workmen of North New York was given an advertisement by the C. L. F.

Walters' Alliance Liberty reported that two members had applied for readmission. By a large majority it was decided to impose a fine of \$10 each, and both must pay the back dues and assessments.

The corresponding secretary was instructed to in future note the absent organizations, and then notify the Organization Committee.

Empire City Lodge Machinists reported gaining many members. They voted for Lawrence Fischer as member of the G. E. B. and for Boston, Mass., for the convention. The union will attend the "Arbeiter Zeitung" festival this Saturday in a body. An advertisement was given the journal of the Progressive Workmen of North New York.

Delegates J. B. Clayton and Ernest Bohm were elected a special committee to attend a meeting of the Women's Infant Cloakmakers' Union.

A spirited debate ensued on the subject of the tactics so long pursued by the C. L. F. Delegates of the Ale and Porter No. 1, Empire City Lodge, Furriers, Silver Workers, P. A. Int. Piano-makers, etc., participated.

A debate ensued as to the latest published statistics of the "State Bureau of Labor," which gave very flattering averages, and a document showing the actual average was presented in opposition. Action thereon was deferred for one week.

We call the attention of all the members to attend the series of lectures which are delivered by Comrade London every Saturday night. Next Sunday

Relative to a joint meeting of D. A. No. 1, 2 and 49 once a month, decision was reserved until next Sunday.

The committee which visited ind.

For an Italia. Paper. All Comrades and sympathizers who realize the importance of upholding a Socialist paper in the Italian language in this country are requested to send contributions and subscriptions to Comrade C. F. Garzone, 14 Varick place, New York City. Send at least a nickel. "Il Proletario" needs assistance. To discontinue its valuable work would be a serious setback to the movement among the Italian wage earners.

These lectures are free to all.

Photos taken in a work. Every picture taken at Feinberg's is a work of art. Special low rates for Organizations, Singing Societies and leaders of "THE PEOPLE" who show this ady.

L. ABELSON.

FENNBERG'S ART GALLERY, West 4th St. PHOTOGRAPHER.

N. Y. CITY.—The New York Socialist Literary Society held their regular meeting on Saturday evening at their club rooms, No. 161 Monroe street, with Comrade Shatzkin acting as chairman. Reports of committees were accepted; four new members were admitted; the installation of officers took place. The following were installed: Joe Marcus, financial secretary; Christensen, recording secretary; Levitt, treasurer; M. B. Shatzkin, corresponding secretary. The House Committee consists of Katz, Eisenberg, Gevitzman, Boxenbaum, Schiff, Obeler, and Kirsner; librarians, Hoch and Reich; lecture agent, L. Bernstein.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE LABOR PRESS.

N. Y. CITY.—The 32d Assembly District, S. L. P., will hold a mass meeting at King's Hall, No. 2105 2d avenue, between 108th and 109th streets, on Saturday evening, Feb. 20. An address will be delivered on the "Aims and Objects of Socialism." Admission free.

Concert, Living Pictures, Singing, Athletic Performances, Grand Ball, Appearance of the World-renowned, Imperial Japanese Troupe of Osaka, Japan, Acrobats, Jugglers, Wire performers.

N. Y. CITY.—Lectures on Socialism will take place next Sunday, Feb. 21, at 8 p. m., as follows: At Stuyvesant Hall, 351 E. 17th street, between 1st and 2d avenues, where J. Allman will lecture on "A Revolutionary Poet." At Hudson Building, corner of 37th street and 8th avenue, where L. A. Malkiel will speak on "Our Critics." At Webster Hall, corner of 140th street and 3d avenue, where C. H. Furman will lecture on "Conventional Lies vs. Socialism;" and also at Cosmopolitan Hall, corner of Catherine street and East Broadway, where H. Wessling will speak on "Objections to Socialism Answered." There will also be a meeting in the afternoon, at 2:30 p. m., at the club rooms of the Socialist Literary Society, 161 Monroe street. These lectures are free to all.

TICKETS.....15 Cents.

N. Y. CITY.—The 33d Assembly District, S. L. P., will hold a mass meeting at King's Hall, No. 2105 2d avenue, between 108th and 109th streets, on Saturday evening, Feb. 20. An address will be delivered on the "Aims and Objects of Socialism." Admission free.

for sale in all meetings of the different Assembly District Organizations, 184 William St., Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th St., West Side Labor Lyceum, 342 W. 43d St., and Clubhouse of the Workmen Educational Association, 306 E. 80th St.

N. Y. CITY.—The 34th Assembly District, S. L. P., will hold a mass meeting at King's Hall, No. 2105 2d avenue, between 108th and 109th streets, on Saturday evening, Feb. 20. An address will be delivered on the "Aims and Objects of Socialism." Admission free.

Meeting Rooms, Large Hall for Mass Meetings, Books for Sale and Pic-Nics.

N. Y. CITY.—The 35th Assembly District, S. L. P., will hold a mass meeting at King's Hall, No. 2105 2d avenue, between 108th and 109th streets, on Saturday evening, Feb. 20. An address will be delivered on the "Aims and Objects of Socialism." Admission free.

WORKMEN PATRONIZE YOUR OWN

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

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

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

RESOLUTIONS.

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

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

N. Y. PAINTERS

Meet Every Month, 8 P. M., at 138 and 140 East 57th Street.

(This paper will be mailed to every member free of charge by order of the organization, and will contain all such notices and information as are necessary.)

The last meeting of the New York Painters, held on Feb. 15, was well attended, dispatching the necessary business in usual order.

The Amalgamation Committee reported that a mass meeting of the several unions will be held on Wednesday, March 3 next, in Chickering Hall, to lay before the attendance the plans of the new unification and also progress in minor matters.

The report of Arbitration Committee was read and adopted.

A committee from Int. Bakers' Union No. 92 addressed the meeting, seeking aid in their battle against unfair employers by sustaining a boycott on Bost. Freitag, 1632 2d avenue, between 84th and 85th streets, giving full and ample reasons, and distributing circulars. The boycott was endorsed by the C. L. F. Also on another baker boss, named Schneider. Members of our union, especially those living in the neighborhood, are requested not to supply themselves with products from above sources.

A letter from Baumgarten and the report of our delegate were read, being closely connected. They were received, and caused a long debate. The delegate received instructions in this matter.

As a great deal of business is to be acted upon, especially relative to the amalgamation, members are hereby notified that the meeting of our body will be held as usual on next Monday, Feb. 22.

One candidate was admitted to membership, and action on several others was postponed for one week.

THE SECRETARY.

GRAND MASQUERADE and CIVIC BALL

arranged by the Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, District Assembly 49, S. T. L. A.,

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Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meeting.

Branch 1 (American) S. L. P. Discussion meeting every first Friday. Business meeting every 3rd Friday at 64 East 4th St., 1st floor every Sunday P. M., at Stuyvesant Hall, 17th St., and Hudson Building, 37th St. and 4th Ave.

Carl Salm Club (Musicians' Union) Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th St., New Labor Lyceum. Business Meetings Friday.

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

Cloakmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th Street—District I (Bohemian), 524 East 71st Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 218 Forsyth Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 100 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 142 2nd Avenue, at 8 p. m.

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

German Workers' Union of New York. Office: 885 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same Hall.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meet the first Sunday in each month at 8 p. m. in the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P., meet the first Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 255 East 3rd Street, New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBEITERS.

Socialist Science Club. Meets at Webster Hall, 140th Street and 2d Avenue, every 1st and 3rd Friday at 8 p. m. Also Free Lectures every Sunday night, 7:30 P. M., preceded by entertainment at 8 p. m. Hall.

Union of Union of New York and vicinity. Meets at 4th Treasury Street, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th Street. Secretary: Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd Street.

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

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

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present) consists of 170 local branches with more than 12,000 male members. It rapidly increasing membership workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 40 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of a one-time fee of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and \$2.00 for another 40 weeks without cessation of work with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$20.00 is granted for every member who dies in New York City or its vicinity. Members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit for \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to Henry Zinck, Financial Secretary, 25-27 2nd Ave., Room 60, New York City.

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