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THAT DIAMOND JUBILEE. PRESIDENT BOYCE.

An Address that Marks the Development of Things.

The President of the Western Federa tion of Miners Discovers that the Silver Barons are no Better than Shylocks-

He Falls into the Error of Giving Unionism up Because of Pure and Simpledom. President Boyce, of the Western Federation of Miners, delivered at Salt Lake City, on the 10th instant, an address before the convention of his organization that contains more than one point of interest.

CAPITAL'S SILVER MASK.

We have for over four years been pointing out the fact that the People's party movement was in the control of an element not a whit friendlier to labor than the "monopolists" or "gold bugs. We have persistently argued that the silver mine bosses were using the pop-ular discontent, not to relieve, let alone remove, the cause of discontent, but to feather their own nests; we pointed out the identity of interests there is between all capitalists, whether of the silver or the gold variety, that these interests require the exploitation of labor and that the declamations indulged in by the silverites in favor of the workers was simply a mask to cover their dastardly purposes. We adduced facts and reasoned closely, and all the while were answered either with the childish lisp about "there being no authoritative Socialism," about "this silver movement being the 'American' form of So-cialism," or we were even roundly blackguarded, and the facts which we blackguarded, and the facts which we adduced, historical though they were, and taken from Congressional and other official records, were denounced as "lies," Now comes President Boyce, himself an ex-free coinagist, and says: "For eighty years the two great na-tional parties have had control-of this government to the detriment of labor-and yet laboring men are so blinded by

government to the detriment of labor-and yet laboring men are so blinded by party idolatry that they hug and 'kiss their chains. The miners are₉ no ex-ception; they will support their worst enemy-PROVIDED HE WEARS A SILVER MASK. Among all the silver champions from the West no one has ever introduced a measure in the in-terest of labor; nevertheless, we hear workingmen proclaim that the very exworkingmen proclaim that the very ex-istence of the Republic depends on the Silver Democrats or the Silver Repub-hicans. THE SILVER BARONS OF THE WEST ARE AS BITTER ENE-MIES OF ORGANIZED LABOR AS THE GOLD BUG SHYLOCK IN HIS GR.DED DEN ON WASL STREET. Score one for the Socialist Labor

party and its uncompromising gospel of truth despite all the howlings and vituperations hurled at it by the schemers and their parrots.

IS TRADE UNIONISM A FAILURE?

Again, it has been one of the burdens of our song that the effect of "pure and simple" trade unionism and of the labor fakirs upon the rank and file was to destroy the confidence of the masses in labor organizations, and thereby to tend to strip the labor movement of a valuable weapon in its struggles against the capitalist class, to wit, the union. Accordingly, we reasoned that the labor fakirs were enemies of the workers; we showed that the ignorance of the fakirs built the unions upon the false foundation of imagining Labor and Capital to have common interests, and that their recorruption guided the unions to de-struction. For these reasons we preached the gospel of New Trade Unionism, we organized the workers upon the scientific basis that Capital and Labor are enemies born, and the one or the other had to go down for one or the other had to go down for good; we insisted upon the unity of the box, and emphasized the fact that obedience to union rules in the shop should cover obedience to union rules at the hustings, he who voted for a capitalist candidate on a capitalist platform being a political scab. In pursuit of these tactics we waged and continue to wage relentless war against the cormorant labor fakirs. For all this we were called "union wreckers" this epithet being the only argument used by the felons who were the real wreckers of unions. And now comes President Boyce, and gives testimony on our side. He says: "As delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention I have little of a report to make; the convention met of a report to make; the convention met December 14, and continued in session 6 days. DURING ALL THIS TIME THERE WAS NOTHING - ACCOM-PLISHED IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR. I do not believe American workingmen can ever regain their rights through "Trades Unionism." Every wage earner knows, if a corpora-tion orders a reduction of wages. or an tion orders a reduction of wages, or an ALL THE TRADES UNIONS IN AMERICA CAN NOT PREVENT IT. With this knowledge—and the bitter experience of the past—SURELY IT IS TIME FOR WORKINGMEN TO SEE THAT TRADES UNIONISM IS A THAT TRADES UNIONISM IS A FAILURE. Here we have all the evil results of "pure and simpledom" prophesied by is. The conclusions of President Boyce that "all the trades unions in America could not prevent" a reduction in wages and the other that "trades unionism is and the other that trades unbinsm is a failure" are serious errors. But they are the natural errors into which a man will fall who, is acquainted only with "pure and simple" unions. What he says is true of the "pure and simple" unions: it is false as to a labor move-ment in which the unions are built upon the principles of New Trade Unionion. the principles of New Trade Unionism, and, consequently, are backed by a strong and ever stronger labor political

principle of labor movement: a unionism that ignores the one point of common interest among the workers, such a unionism cannot bind the workers together; it instills economic errors into their minds; and the result is that the men will fight each other instead of pulling together. The attitude of the pure and simple leaders on the tariff is a case in point. The earnings of the wage workers depend upon the supply of labor and the demand for it; ma-chinery and the concentration of cap-ital steadily lower the demand and increase the supply; the common interest of the proletariat is to gain possession of the machinery of production so that improved machinery, instead of throw-ing men out of work, should reduce the hours of labor and increase the earnings of the workers. This is their only issue. Now, then, in what way does protection or free trade aid the workers of production of free trade and the workers in gaining possession of the mach nery of production? In none, Yet the pure and simple labor leaders take up the tariff issue, and that issue, thrown in among the workers, can have no effect other than to split them up among themselves according as their respec-tive besses may need protection or free tive bosses may need protection or free trade. So of all other capitalist issues, such as gold or silver. It follows that such as gold or silver. It follows that unions built upon such false principles can never present all the workers in a solid front. Strikes cannot succeed under such circumstances, and such unionism is an unqualified failure.

People.

But there is worse yet. By reason of the false economics upon which the "pure and simple" union is built, the workers divide at the ballot box as food for the political cannon of their warring bosses, with the result that, whichever side wins, the boss class gets into power, i. e., on the right side of the policemen's clubs, of the State and National soldiers, and of the "gatling guns on paper." Let a strike break out under such circumstances, and what chance has the union? The bosses who see their "union" men vote them into power and then strike against them can caterian no respect for the them can entertain no respect for the power of the employes; they will feel free to lower their wages, lengthen their hours, and in other respects mal-treat them; they will feel they can do so with impunity, because those same striking "union" men will on election day vote upon capitalist principles, and thus vote their identical bosses into power again. Such is "pure and simple" unionism, and such unionism is indeed utterly impotent and so un-qualified a failure that it should be thrown overboard without loss of time. Otherwise with New Trade Union-ism. It is built upon the exclusive class interests of the wage slave class; it seeks the overthrow of capitalism and the public ownership of the whole machinery of production. No capital-ist issue of free trade or projection, of gold or silver, of water or rum, can ever make its way into such a body and thereby split up the workers. A New Trade Unionist movement of the mag-nitude of the present "pure and simple" unions would have the workers moving is indeed utterly impotent and so un

unions would have the workers moving on one would have the workers moving so compactly, animated by such a sense of the solidarity of their class that their power would be infinitely greater at the economic conflicts called "strikes." But not alone from this source would But not alone from this source would unionism have superior force. It would have a positive, irresistible force by reason of its political reflex—the political party of labor that it would set up would give it a protection that now the unions have not. What the boss now dares to do, he will either think twice before he attempts it, or would not dare at all if he knows that the workers have discovered the secret the workers have discovered the secret of where they are strong and the bosses weak—the hustings. A strong Socialist Labor party, growing rapidly from year to year, would be a shield under which the economic warfare could be con-ducted by labor under circumstances infinitely superior to what they are now. No! Unionism is not a failure; what is a failure is that British abortion of "pure and simple" unionism.

AlIMS. Having incurred the gross error of throwing up the sponge of unionism, owing to the bitter experience of pure owing to the bitter experience of pure and simpledom, President Boyce takes a further step in error. He recommends the arming of the unions; in other words, he gives up the ballot and rec-ommends the drilling for war. The ballot has not failed. Crazy men are now going about in the country howling that the ballot has failed and the bullet must be resorted to, and they are getting up fdiotic pamphlets on the sub-ject. The last elections did not demon-strate the futility of the ballot. They demonstrated the futility of any politdemonstrated the fullify of any polit-ical move in behalf of the workers that was not direct, plump and plain couched in the revolutionary language of the Socialist Labor party. If the working class do not know how to vote neither will they know how to shoot. Unhappy the nation if the heels-over-head notion prevail of throwing away the ballot at this stage of the conflict Not until the working class of America is extensively converted to Socialism would it shoot in the right direction and when it shall be so far, 10 to 1 it will not need to shoot, its ballots will have drowned the capitalist class too deep for the hand of resurrection to fathom.

OFFICIAL BRAND

Placed on Kurzenknabe and Kurzenknabism.

On the 18th and 19th instant the case of Ernest Bohm, the Secretary of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, against Ernest Kurzenknabe, the editor of the "Brauer-Zeitung," and leading lumhary in the labor fakir brigade, for málicious criminal libel, was tried in Part I. of the City Court of this city, with the result that the urve promutiv with the result that the jury promptly found Kurzenknabe guilty, and mulcted him in §750, besides additional allow-ance to Bohm's counsel and costs,

This case and this event have much more than a local significance. Not only have the labor fikirs disgraced the labor movement by their crass ignor-ance; not only have they piled upon it the still greater disgrace, of corruption: but they have dragged it down into the mire by their fishwife style of debate. Worsted in every argument, and con-victed of ignorance and of creeked practises, they have taken refuge to defamation of character. They go about whispering every infamy that occurs to their degraded minds; occasionally they indulge in vile insinuations in their organs, yet in so cowardly a way that they cannot be seized. In short, their weapon has become that of the their weapon has become that of the midnight assassin, hitting from behind and from cover. The suffocating at-mosphere thus created by these worthies was becoming intolerable, when Kurzenknabe, who had been re-sorting to all of the above blackguardly tactics force thisself for a moment and tactics, forgot himself for a moment and put his charges against Bohm clear and put his charges against Bohm clear and explicit in print. He was promptly pounced upon by Bohm. Were the "Brauer-Zeitung" a New York publica-tion, Kurzenknabe would have been promptly put in the hands of the Dis-trict Attorney, and by this time would have been behind the bars in a striped suit and shaven face and head. As it was, he could only be sued in a civil court. But the verdict of the civil jury is emphatic, and no doubt will do much is emphatic, and no doubt will do much towards clarifying the atmosphere throughout the field of labor.

But the vindication of Bohm and the rebuke of Kurzenknabism is fuller than appears on the surface. The case of Kurzenknabe was felt to be the case of the capitalist class; the case of Bohm was felt to be the case of the decent and therefore intelligently aggressive element in the ranks of labor. Had Bohm lost, the capitalist press would have teemed with items on the subject. Indeed the policy shop "Daily News" of this city prepared the day before the field for an onslaught by some pfellm-inary remarks on the trial scandalously favorable to Kurzenkmabe, and yet the

inary remarks on the trial scandalously favorable to Kurzenkmabe, and yet the following day, the verdict having been so emphatically adverse to this outpost of capitalism—Kurzenknabe—neither the "Daily News" nor any other paper had a line or a word on the subject. The judge himself had charged the jury in a manner that greatly favored Kurzen-knabe by falsely stating that the burden of proof lay with the plaintiff, when it is an axiom in law and sense that the burden of proof, in libel cases, lies on the defendant, who must prove the corthe defendant, who must prove the cor-rectness of his charges. But all this notwithstanding, so plain was the testimony, Bohm's innocence was proved so conclusively with the office books of the defendant himself, which he was forced to produce, that the jury swept aside the false testimonies of the defendant and his witnesses, the judge's misleading charge, and the evident desire of the capitalist class, and placed its mark of condemnation upon the whole conspiracy and all the conspirators.

It is not Kurzenknabe alone who was the 19th instantbranded guilty on the 19th instant-Kurzenknabism, which means labor fakirism and its abettor, capitalism, each and all carry thebrand on their each and an early development of the second take notice.

.S. I. & L. Call For the 2d Annual Convention in Fancuil Hall, Boston.

To the Local and District Alliances of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance:

Greeting—You are hereby called upon to send delegates—one for every L. A. and three for every D. A.—to the second National Convention of the S. T. & L. A., to be held in Fancuil Hall. Boston, on Monday, July 5. The convention will be called to order at 10 a. m. sharp. The condition in which the working class finds itself, thanks to the usurpa-tions of camitalism and the aid lent to

The condition in which the working class finds itself, thanks to the usurpations of capitalism and the aid lent to the capitalist class by an ignorant and corrupt set of labor leaders, to whom the workers had confided their interests, calls every day more loudly for reorganization upon the more intelligent plane of the S. T. & L. A. When a year and a half ago the parent bodies of the S. T. & L. A. issued the call to set up this new organization, and subsequently called the first convention in New York, many honorable people doubted the wisdom of the act. They doubted, first, because they saw around them the demoralizing effects of "pure and simple" leadership upon the masses, and concluded that the just hatred and concluded that the just hatred and concluded that the day. L. and the K. of L. labor chieftains had engendered in the rank and file, had so thoroughly disgusted the workers that these had lost all faith in trades union-ism, and, having been so scandously cheated by the officers of these old organizations, would be apt to conclude that all trades unions were futile, and that all traces unloss were fullie, and all officers equally ignorant and cor-rupt; consequently, that the establish-ment of a new national and inter-national central body, however sound its basis, however intelligent its aims, and however wise its factics, would re-ceive no response from the disheartened other than a small the disheartened toilers. And, secondly, they doubted because they considered too arduous for execution the task of erecting such an aggressively progressive body, in the very teeth of the violent opposition that was to be expected from the combined forces of capitalists and their lackeys, the labor fakirs. They were mistaken in both respects.

the labor fakirs. They were mistaken in both respects. Disgustei and disheartened, and sus-picious of everything that hore even the semblance of a "union," the rank and file recognized in the language of the S. T. & L. A. manifestoes the ring of honesty and note of sound judgment. It was to them like a ray of light that pierced its way through the dense clouds of dark hopelessness that hung over their heads. From ocean to ocean, from the lakes to the Gulf, the teners of the S. T. & L. A. became the subject of discussion. They breathed a new spirit into those who had dropped out of labor arganization, and they nerved many of those who still held their mem-bership but cared not to wage a hope-less war acaugst incompetent leadership backed by a listless mass. The appear-ance of the S. T. & L. A. gave both something to fight for. In some places new organizations were formed, in other places organizations tore loose and other instances the honorable and intelligent element took up the fight within their own bodies. Gauged by these manifestations alone, the work of the S. T. & L. A. cannot be estimated too highly. The word "unionism," which had sunk to the lowest cbb of infamy—the bulk of the unjons having become simply buffers for capitalism and merchandise for a disreputable pack of labor fakirs to trade upon—has been rescued and shown to be capable of aiding the onward march of the pro-letariat to emancipation.

letariat to emancipation. And as to the second cause of doubt, there is no task too arduous to those who determinedly assail wrong and are armored with the armor of science. The parent organizations of the S. T. & L. A. fully understood the situation. They knew the power of capital, and that of the labor fakirs, but they also knew the Inherent weakness of both. They knew that it is the law of capital to cut its own throat, and that one of its important missions is zealously to furnish ob-ject lessons to verify the preachings of the revolutionary Socialists The the revolutionary Socialists. The parent organizations of the S. T. & L. A. could confidently rely upon aid from the development of capitalism; that aid comes in every day; and our warning that labor can not expect any improvement, can not even expect to hold its own, under the capitalist system, is being daily verified. On the other hand, the illusions that capitalism fosters among the rank and file of the workers were fostered by the aid of the labor fakirs; these illusions could not vanish without at the same time undermining the fakir himself. Time, if left to itself was bound to bring help; with the aid of the S. T. & L. A. the destructive of the S. T. & L. A. the destructive forces within the old unions were stimulated, and simultaneously the con-structive forces of New Trade Unionism reared a home for the future economic wing of the Army of Emancipation. The parent organizations of the S. T. & L. A. undertook a task that was arduous, but that to the knowing and the brave had only success in store. At this second gathering of our noble organization we find the economic organizations of labor that are outside of our own ranks in a pitiful condition. Reared upon the false dogma that Canital and Labor are brothers, kept alive in the past with the false hope that "something will turn up," directed by the false tactics that split the ranks of the workers into warring fragments these unions have wasted their energies that to keep in affluence, in food and liquor, the paid officers that they supported, and to postpone the day when the usurping capitalist class will be hurled out of power.

The S. T. & L. A., however, reared on the principles that he who does not labor cannot be justly entitled to any portion of the wealth that is produced; that the capitalist class is an idle class, entitled to nothing but political and economic burial; that the power of this class and the inevitably deepening misery of the proletariat is due to the private ownership by the former of the machinery of production; that the pro-letariat is, under the existing order, nothing but a merchandise whose price depends, like that of all other mer-chandise, upon the supply of and the demand for it; that such an inhuman demand for it; that such an inhuman and beastly condition of things can, in the very nature of things, no longer be mended, and must be ended; that an irrepressible conflict rages between the capitalist class and the class of the proletarlat; that this conflict can be ended only by putting in the hands of the whole people the whole machinery of production; and that, to accomplish this the class of the proletariat must or-ganize to fight the capitalist class unitedly in the shop and at the ballot box—reared upon these sound and ir-refutable principles, the S. T. & L. A. has taken a commanding place among the forces that in this country are in social conflict.

Nor has the S. T. & L. A. taken the field too soon. Capitalism in this country is in its last paroxysms. The internecine fends between the sev-eral and conflicting interests in the camp of the capitalist class are splitting that class into numerous and irrecon-cilable fragments. Left to the guidance of the ignorant and perverse adventuror the have hitherto led the hosts of labor, the working class would, instead of forming one solid body pursuing its own great historic mission of wiping out class rule and establishing actual free-dom, be found to reflect the divisions in the ranks of their masters and array of the ranks of their masters, and arrayed against each other on the various eco-nomic capitalist platforms of free trade and protection, gold and silver, "Glas-gow plans," and "individualism," etc., etc. Our organization, by holding up clear the only principle that along can unite the proletariat and keep it united. fills a place of high importance in this generation, and moving on parallel lines with the Socialist Labor party, supplements on the economic field the

efforts of the latter on the political. The nation's condition at this our second annual convention renders our gathering one of great historic import-ance. A full delegation is invited to aid in the performing of our work to the full extent of our powers, and in a man-ner becoming to the high aspirations of our great caus By order of the General Executive Board.

ERNEST BOHM, Secretary.

THE "DEBS PLAN."

Its Upholders Being Out-Argued Resort to Blackguardism.

It is significant that the "Coming ation" prints with evident glee an idiotic misrepresentation from the "Western Miner," criticising THE PEOPLE and its editor because THE PEOPLE told the truth about the Debs plan of colonizing a State. The idiocy of the editor of the "Western Miner" and "Coming Nation" is shown when not a line of THE PEOPLE article is refuted.

It is simply a howl and an echo

The "Western Miner" and E. V. Debs both preach Socialism, and both say Soboth preach Socialism, and both say So-cialism is the only remedy, but neither ever supported or voted for Socialism or a Socialist candidate. Both sup-ported William J. Bryan, who has de-clared that he IS NOT A SOCIALIST. . The editor of THE PEOPLE, nor any other real Socialist; is trying to catch flics. We are after men, and we are not looking to increase the humber of dislooking to increase the number of dissatisfied men, but to convert those who are already dissatisfied. Nine out of every ten men in this country are today dissatisfied, and the labor leader or abor paper that refuses to point out the true path to economic freedom cer-tainly fails to do a duty. Neither THE PEOPLE nor the So-cialist Labor party has ever called the rank and file of labor unions fools and rascals. We have shown up the fakirs, and will continue to show them up. But both the "Western Miner" and the "Coming Nation" display their ignorance in printing that: "We don't care what school of economic thought a man has." If a brother wished to go man has." If a brother wished to go to New York and started from Rich-mond, Va. towards the South Pole, that logic would let him proceed. But the logic of the Socialist Labor party would say to this brother: "Turn about, the right road is North, not South." The statement about the S. L. P. meeting in the back rooms of saloons is too con-temptible a lie to be noticed. The fact that the S. L. P. is making a steady advance, and will number 16,000,000 votes in 12 years if it maintains the ratio of growth it has had in the last 8 years makes some half-backed Socialists quite mad. Hence the bray of the 'Western Miner's" jackass.

Irishmen.

In the Midst of the Noise Started in Great Britain by the Parasite Class of Capitalists and Landlords and Echoed by the Unthinking, the Socialist Or-ganization of Ireland Utters a Clear Note in Manly Strain.

Fellow Workers-The loyal subjects of Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., celebrate this year the longest reign on record. Already the air is laden with rumors of preparations for a wholesale manufacture of sham "popular rejoicings" at this glorious commemoration (?) Home Rule orators and Nationalist Lord Mayors, Whig politicians and Parnellite pressmen, have ere now lent their prestige and influence to the attempt to arouse public interest in the sickening details of this Feast of Flunkeyism. It is time then that some organized party in Ireland-other than those in whose mouths Patriotism means Compromise, and Freedom, High Dividends-should speak out bravely and honestly the sentiments awakened in the breast of every lover of freedom by this ghastly farce now being played out before our eyes. Hence the Irish Socialist Republican party-which, from its inception has never hesitated to proclaim its unswerving hostility to the British Crown, and to the political and social order of which in those islands that crown is but the symboltakes this opportunity of hurling at the heads of all the courtly mummers who grovel at the shrine of royalty, the con-tempt and hatred of the Irish Revolutionary Democracy. We, at least, are not loyal men, we confess to have more respect and honor for the raggedest child of the poorest laborer in Ircland to-day, than for any, even the most virtuous, descendant of the long array of murderers adultorers and madreen of murderers, adulterers and madmen who have sat upon the throne of Eng-land. During this glorious reign, Ireland. During this glorious reign, Ire-land has seen 1,225,000 of her children elle of famine; starved to death, whilst the produce of her soil and their labor way caten up by a vulture aristocracy, enforcing their rents by the bayonets of a hired assassib army, in the pay of the "hest of the English Queens;" the evic-tion of 3,668,000; a multitude greater than the entire population of Switzer-tand; and the reluctant emigration of 4,186,000 of our kindred; a greater host than the entire, peeple of Greece. At the present moment 78 per cent, of our the present moment 78 per cent, of our wage-earners receive less than 11 per week, our streets are thronged by starving crowds of the unemployed, cattle graze on our tenantless farms and around the ruins of our battered homesteads, our ports are crowded with departing emigrants, and our poorhouses are full of paupers. Such are the constituent clements out of which we are bade to construct a national festival of rejoicing!

Working Class of Ireland—We appeal to you not to allow your opinions to be misrepresented on this occasion. Join your voice with ours in protesting against the base assumption that we against the base assumption that we owe to this empire any other debt than that of hatred of all its plundering in-stitutions. Let this year be indeed, a memorable one, as marking the data, when the Irish workers at last flung off that slavish dependence on the lead of "the gentry," which has paralyzed the arm of every soldier of freedom in the past. The Irish landlords, now as ever, the enemy's garrison, instinctively supthe enemy's garrison, instinctively sup-port every institution, which like monarchy, degrades the manhood people and weakens the moral fibre of people and weakens the moral fibre of the oppressed; the middle class, ab-sorbed in the pursuit of gold, have pawned their souls for the prestitute glories of commercialism, and remain openly or secretly hostile, to every movement which would imperil the sanctity of their dividends: the working class alone have nothing to hope for save in a revolutionary reconstruction of society; they, and they alone, are capable of that revolutionary initiative. which with all the political and eco-nomic development of the time to aid it nomic development of the time to ald it. can carry us forward into the promised land of Perfect Freedon, the reward of the age-long travail of the people. To you, workers of Ireland, we address our-selves—AGITATE in the workshop, in the field, in the factory, until you arouse your brothers to haired of the slavery of which we are all the victimes. of which we are all the victims.-EDUCATE, that the people may no longer be deluded by illusory hopes of prosperity under any system of society of which monarchs or noblemen, capitalists or landlords form an integral part:-ORGANIZE, that a solid, com-part:-ORGANIZE, that a solid, com-pact and intelligent force, conscious of your historic mission as a class, you may seize the reins of political power whenever possible, and by intelligent application of the working-class ballot clear the field of action for the perceclear the field of action for the revo-lutionary forces of the future. Let the "canting, fed classes" bow the knee as they may, be you true to your own manhood, and to the cause of freedom, whose hope is in you, and pressing un-weariedly onward in pursuit of the high destiny to which the Socialist Republic invites you, let the words which the poet puts into the mouth of Mazeppa console you amid the orgies of the tyrants to-day.

Irish Socialist Republican' Party to

G. R. GORDON. Manchester, N. H., May 15.

A new pamphlet on Socialism has been issued from the San Francisco headquarters. It is entitled "The Coming Social Struggle; Capitalist Contradictions Exposed: Socialism Defined:" and is the work of Comrade William Edlin.

The pamphlet is 23 pages long, and contains a compilation of points that may serve as tips to students and as aids to speakers.

Its price is 5 cents a copy; special rates for large orders. Apply to the author at "The Temple," 115 Turk street; San Francisco, Cal.; or at Labor News Co., 64 East 4th street, N. Y.

But time at last makes all things even, And if we do but watch the hour, There never yet was human power That could evade, if unforgiven. The patient HATE and vigil long, Of those who treasure up a wrong.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

party. A unionism that ignores the basic

Take it all in all President Boyce's address is replete with object lessons, all of which point emphatically to the necessity of organizing the workers on the New Trade Unionist lines—in a solid body acting as one man in the shop and at the hustings.

The dainty poem, "On the First of May." by our young comrade, Elizabeth Serber, and published in our May Day issue, has been put to inspiring music by the composer, Platon Brounoff, and is dedicated to the "Young generation of America." All who can play or sing should have it. Inquire Labor News Co., 64 East 4th street, N. Y.

The 68,000 votes of protest, nominally polled by the apostate Henry George in 1886, will yet cause some people to land in the lunatic asylum. The Rainsfords, the Wingates, the Whites and as many other charlatans as are trying to set up and run the so-called Citizen's . Union. are scheming how to get the 68,000 again. It is time lost to spend it on such speculations. Those days are over. Hurrah driftages, like the one of '86, can't recur. Henceforth it will be Socialism or no Socialism, with the driftages scattered in the air.

Captain of Industry Consuelo, the Dutchess of Marlborough, née Vanderbilt, is displaying great expertness in that chief proficiency of the "captain's" -the proficiency of political tight rope dancing to the end of escaping all sorts of taxation. Being asked to subscribe for the poor in London on a list gotten up by Americans, she declined on the plea that she had ceased to be American.

When it is a question of fleecing the American workers, she is an "American," with a right divine to all the fleecings her capitalist gear can swoop in; when, however, contributions are asked from Americans in Europe, onsuelo refuses on the plea that she is no longer an American.

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THE PEOPLE.

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	One year	1.00
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enclosed. Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office, on April 6th, 1891.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED

In	1888	(Presidential)	2,068
			13,331
In	1892	(Presidential)	21,157
In	1894		33,133
1	189	6 (Presidential) 36	3,564

here is a history in all lands' lives, figuring ; the nature of times deceas'd;

The : which] observ'd a man may prophesy. With a near aim, of the main, chance

of things As yet not come to life; which in their seeds

And week beginnings lie intress-ured. Shakespeare.

"NO ONE CAN BECOME RICH BY LEGISLATION.

The working class should read carefully the debate that is going on among the capitalists on the subject of the tariff bill, now pending in Congress. Everyone cannot read the debates in Congress on the subject; but everyone can read the debates going on among the various editors of the various capitalist organs, misnamed "organs of public opinion." If these articles are perused, the reader will quickly be struck by a valuable observation.

Every time there seems to be a danger of the working class taking the political bit into its own mouth and running away with it to promote its own interests, a howl is raised in chorus by the above named editors of the ' organs of public opinion" to the effect that the workingmen are tugging at the wrong end in their desire to improve their condition; that the hope to change the social ills by the conquest of the public powers is "rainbow chasing;" in short, that "no one can become rich by legislation:" wherever riches may come from, we are at such times admonished in chorus by these editors, they do not come from legislation. Now, let us turn to some of their statements made anent the proposed tariff bill.

A Louislana paper that represents the interests of the "American Cane Growers' Association" is up in arms against the Senate sugar schedule, and says:-"The Senate sugar schedule means that the masses shall be taxed to the

end that fat dividends may be paid to the owners of the sugar trust." And a New England paper that failed

to get hush money from the sugar trust indignantly cries out: 1

Those not familiar with the refining business may not realize that the sugar schedule of the Senate really means an enormous addition to the sugar trust's profits."

"Enormous 'additions?" "Fat dividends?" How can that be if it is true, as these identical present paladins of the people only recently said that "No one can become rich by legislation?" Surely here is a contradiction!

Let's see further. A Chicago organ of the Western cattle raisers insists that: There is no use concealing the truth.

Either leather is put on the free list and the cattle raisers will be ruined; or leather is put on the dutiable list and

report is to the effect that an alchemist, who, claims to have discovered the secret of this "philosopher's stone," has gained the ear of Mr. Gage on this subject. The report may or may not be a hoax. Yet, whether hoax or not, it is significant of our times.

The closing days of the feudal regime on the continent of Europe were marked by the apearance of the al-chemists, men, some of whom were big with swindle, and others of whom were big with craziness. The stimulus to this crop of crooks and cranks was the national bankrupicy, the feverishness it engendered in the ruling class, and the resulting proneness to belief in the miraculous.

That a similar crop of cranks and crooks should appear in our generation is no wise surprising. All the conditions that breed such apparitions are here. A national deficiency in the treasury looms up more and more portentous, while schemes to supply the want by a tariff bump themselves against so many irreconcilable capitalist interests that the danger, sought to be averted by high dues, is only aggravated. A "gold reserve," that has an exasperating tendency to sink out of sight, keeps the "confidence" of the mercantile class in perpetual hot water, and the financiers perpetually at the end of their wits. The men in Washington have no more a conception of the nature of the present social malady than the men who bowed before the French monarch at the receptions in the "Ocil de Boeuf" had of the then nature of the disease that gnawed at the vitals of feudalism. The nervous tension produced by continuous and approaching danger, the cause of which is a mystery to those whom it threatens. is the parent of credulity. It would not at all be surprising if the "intclligent" Secretary of the Treasury were really lending an ear to a scheme whereby gold could be manufactured dirt cheap.

But there is another circumstance that gives additional significance to the event. Cranks and crooks carry their mark upon their faces; their whole make-up proclaims what they are. Such people could hardly recommend themselves to a Lyman J. Gage sufficiently to dignify them with an audience. That Mr. Gage should have granted such audience is an evidence that the crankcrook species of our days has evolved so far as to appear clad in the preposing garb of a Cagliostro, and to assume the facial expressions of wisdom.

Take it all in all, the report is significant. The death rattle of a departing social system is distinctly audible in the throat of capitalism.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

At this season in our national existence when the large majority of our people is deeply concerned about the question. How at all to get something to digest? the New York "Voice," organ of the Prohibition party, is publishing double-headed columns with the question, Does alcohol aid digestion?

We have here a striking illustration of the scientific fact that the questions that preoccupy the capitalist parties are questions that don't concern the working class, and leave the working class out in the cold.

The working class is interested in getting something to eat; before It need consider what "aids" digestion it must have something to digest. The Standard Oil magnates, however, and other wholesale fleecers of labor, who are more and more depriving the workers of something to digest, and who run the Prohibition party, they are not interested in getting something to digest; they are beyond that point; having more to digest than they can attend to, they are now fretting about "aids" to digestion. How foolish were it not for men, who have nothing to digest, to fight a political battle upon the issue of whether this, that, or the other thing "alds" digestion! The political issue that interests such men certainly must be one as to how to get something to digest.

the same, is like a man, freezing on the frozen Hudson's Bay, who would like to go to Kansas to enjoy the more genial temperature of the Sunflower State, and is stuffed with the notion that if he spreads a map of Kansas on his Hudson's Bay ice and squats on that he has "got there." or is any nearer to his wishes.

But, after all, the illusion is perfectly natural in the columns of a paper that imagines the road to Socialism lies via voting for the Presidential candidate of the silver mine barons, who fleece their workers and then shoot them down.

Comrade G. B. Leonard, of Minneapolis, Minn., is leading the "Times" of his city a wild dance. To the communications that he has been sending to the paper, and which it has been publishing, editorial comments are added which reveal the editor's bankruptcy. The poor capitalist editor-poor in the stock of his information-finds himself driven to catch at such straws as these: "Socialism is foreign."

"The Anglo-Saxon race is hostile to Socialism," etc., etc.

In view of these two gems of stupidity we would say that Comrade Leonard may consider the "Times" as waterlogged by his cannonade, and may turn his fire on some fresh adversary.

The "Shenandoah (Pa.) Daily." the property of silver mine interests. is alarmed at the successful agitation of the Socialist Labor party in its, State, and issues this amusing warning:

and issues this amusing warning: "The agitator has appeared among foreign-born citizens, and it behooves them to be wary of the glittering or-atory and golden promises to which the, may be treated. These, people have had a recent experience by which the i may profit, if they will only give it care consideration. In the last Presi-der tial campaign, paid demagogues were sent out among them in all the large cities and centres of population. large cities and centres of population. and with promises and assurance of an era of golden prosperity to begin immediately after the triumph of McKinley and the gold standard, aided by other influences, the success of these demagogues was magnificent, so much so, indeed, that leading gold standard partisans and organs felt constrained, after the election, to extend thanks publicly to the foreign-born citizens for 'saving the honor and integrity of the nation.' Something was saved, ho doubt, to the great manipulators of elections, but the goiden prosperity for which the votes were cast has not yet appeared, and instead we find the souphouse and almost universal distress. Truly, these people shouid look out for the demagogue, and seek a safer guide in their own intelligence and experience. All that glisters is not gold."

Quite aptly does the Wallace, Id., "Idaho State Tribune" characterize Gompers and Gomperism:

"Mr. Gompers does not realize the spirit of the institutions under which he lives. He looks upon the lawmakers of this country much as does the tenant farmer in Ireland look upon his land-lord: Lords, indeed, before whom we must bend the knee and implore an opportunity to live."

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen," justly observes that:

"Dating from the last Presidential election, when Socialism was momentarily eclipsed by the revolutionary re-action as exemplified by Bryanism, the Socialist cause has experienced a healthy growth, as the phenomenal gains at the recent municipal elections clearly demonstrated, and the growth of the Sections and the manifested en-thusiasm of the members, as well as the better understanding of the prin-ciples of Socialism on the part of the thinking people, adds further proof that

This growth will be permanent. The crucial test was passed in No-vember, 1896, when all minority partics except the Socialist Labor party were swept from the field. And as Bryanism becomes more dim as time passes, so the cause of Socialism will eain the cause of Socialism will gain strength from that movement by ap-sorbing the class-conscious proletarsorbing the class-conscious proletar-ians that it contained and who mistook opportunism for real progress.

are the first cause of a much larger percentage of criminality than is the liquor evil. That it is man's inhumanity to man and our Government's partner-ship in that inhumanity rather than man's inebriety that demands a large police force in every city. This is the opinion of your humble servant, and I have never been accused of being friendly to rum. "Prohibition in patches will never do

anything but harm to the particular patch worked upon. If the reform could become general, there might ulti-mately be less demand for large num-bers of policemen in all our cities, but it would require time to change people's dispositions, or rather, to work the brimstone out of their systems. Until economic conditions are bettered. I an of the opinion that there will be little improvement in our criminal record, no matter how much prohibition in patches may be applied to liquor. I re-peat that want and misery caused by unnatural conditions is a greater progenitor of crime than liquor, in my opinion.'

There certainly is a good deal of "intellec into" this chief of police. When he gets fully developed, he will realize that any one Prohibition party leader produces, by means of the capital which he operates, more criminals than do all the rum shops of the land put together.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

That in America," as in Europe, the Government is a Class Government. At a meeting of Section Washington a gentleman, in fact two gentlemen, made the broad assertion that "this is a peculiar country, and that your (i. e., the Socialist) attempt to create a class movement will fail. It may be all right in the older countries where liberty is not, but, etc., etc.

Those gentlemen, like a great many others, are laboring under the impression that Socialism is a theory, and that the Socialists create the theory and then try to create the conditions to make the theory prove true; they seem unable to get the fact into their heads that the Socialists do not create "movements," either "class" or "moral;" that, in fact, causes altogether outside and independent of Socialists create con-ditions, which make "movements" necessary. In witness of the fallacy of remark that this is a peculiar the country, in the respect that there are no classes here such as in Europe, and that a class movement as proclaimed by the S. L. P. is wrong or impracticable, the following clippings, both from the same paper, are inserted:

Real Estate Broker Banes Fined in the Police Court.

E. Banes, the real estate Charles broker on Seventh street, was a de-fendant in the police court this fore-noon, He was charged by Policeman Harries and Will...gham with indulging in profane and abusive language be-tween 11 and 12 o'clock Sunday night at Seventh street and Florida avenue northwest.

Patrolman Harries testifient that Mr. Banes approached him and his partner, Willingham, and declared in rather loud tones that "he would see whether people who pay taxes on a million and a half dollars' worth of property would un things, or the was about the baseball park.

about the baseball park. "We did not place Mr. Banes under arrest at the time," said the officer. "KNOWING HIM TO BE A RESPON-SIBLE BUSINESS MAN, we procured a warrant for his arrest and notified him to be in court to-day."

Arrest of a Man After a Long Chase Unable to Account for His Action.

Policeman Philip Browne, of the Ninth Precinct, saw a negro sneaking about the premises near the Reform School yesterday evening, and other-wise acting in a suspicious manner, and called upon the fellow to stop and give an account of himself. Instead of doing so, the negro started to run, and the

The policeman should to Furt, and the officer gave chase. The policeman should to several cit-izens to stop the man, and in doing so one of THEM FIRED A SHOT TO FRIGHTEN HIM, AND HIT THE MAN IN THE FACE WITH THE BUTT OF HIS WEAPON After considerable re-HIS WEAPON. After considerable resistance he was taken in a patrol wagon to No. 9 station and locked up on the charge of suspicion. He gave his name as Mike John, but was unable to give a good account of himself or his actions It is thought that he may possibly be the man who is wanted by the Mary-land authorities for assault upon a woman in one of the counties several



UNCLE SAN & BROTHER JONATHAN Brother Jonathan-There surely are

parties enough in the country, but not one is right.

Uncle Sam-Not even the Socialist Labor party?

B. J .- No: not even that.

U. S .- What's the matter with it? Are its aims not correct?

· B. J.-Its aims are correct enough, but its construction is not; that's all

wrong. U. S .- In what way?

B. J .- Is not Socialism the movement

of the working class? U. S .- Yes, if by "working class" you

mean the "proletariat." B. J .-- What is the difference? U. S .- A good deal, sufficient differ-

ence to confuse people of scrappy information?

B. J.-And what is the difference? U. S .- This: The working class is the class that works. To-day we have hundreds of thousands of people who don't work, but who would like to; they are the unemployed. If "work" determines the class on which the S. L. P. should be built, all the unemployed would be excluded.

B. J .- All of these belong of course to

B. J.—All of these being of course is the working class. U. S.—Certainly, and yet they are not working. Then again there are a lot of people who are not idle and do work, and who, if work is enough to deter-mine the class to which a man belongs, would be ranked among the working would be ranked among the working class, and yet such people do not belong there. Such men are the small shopkeepers, small farmers, etc. All of them work, but seeing they also employ labor and fleece it, and have some capital. however small, to do that with, they do not belong in the working class proper.

B. J.—Of course they don't. U. S.—It follows that the simple fact of working or not working is not enough to determine whether a person or is not of the working class proper. B. J.-Well,-no! U. S.-What marks the distinction

and establishes the class differences is not "work" or "idleness;" it is the not "work" or "idleness;" it is the ownership of things needed for produc-tion, or the non-ownership of them. Work or idleness are a result of such ownership or non-ownership. Those who own the means of production can, by virtue of such ownership, employ others who don't, and fleece them; if such owners hold large means of pro-duction they can live in absolute idleduction, they can live in absolute idle-ness upon the wealth that they fleece their employes of; if they hold only small means of production, they note only small means of production, they cannot live on only what they fleece their em-ploy is of, that would be too little, and, consequently, they have to do some work themselves. None of such are of the working class proper or proletariat.

the working class proper or protetariat, B. J.--I admit all that, U. S.-The class distinction of the proletariat is that its members are stripped of the needed machinery of production; that, consequently, they must sell themselves into wage slavery before they can work and eat; and that, as a result of that, they are fleeced by their employers of all that they proby their employers of all that they pro-duce except what they need to barely keep body and soul together. For this reason the term "proletariat" is prefer-able: it is not open to misunderstand-ing. And the proletariat is the class upon which the Socialist movement rests and depends

ests and depends. B. J.—I accept all that; and for that very reason I claim that the S. L. P. is constructed wrongly; it is not construc-ted on the proletariat; it admits a whole

line between himself and you on the ground that he produces a prime neces sary of life, while you only produce a luxury; and so on. This notion lies at the bottom of the "pure and simple" union. Hence you will find that "pure and simpledom" has never been able to unite the whole proletariat. It first drew the line, as you now do, between the "horny-handed" and the "nonthe normy-handed;" then it drew the line between the "skilled" and the "un-skilled" among the "horny-handed;" and it has proceeded on in this way till it stands to-day impotent before the Social Problem.

The Social is trobien. The Socialist Labor party and its twin sister the Socialist Trade & Labor Al-liance build upon the whole class of the wage slaves or the proletariat. Never losing sight of the scientific fact that the economic class distinctions and the class bonds of the proletariat are the fact of its being stripped of the machinery of production, the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. are uniting the whole proletariat into one mighty body. And this sound position once taken, the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. can safely admit in their camps people who are not proletarians at all, but whose hearts rebel at existing wrongs, and whose enlightenment teaches them that only the aims and tactics of these two bodies can solve the Social Problem.

B. J. remains silent sucking his thumb.

U. S. (taking his leave from B. J.)-U. S. ttaking his leave from b. sp-I hope you will suck some good sense out of that thumb, enough to prevent you from again making a "pure and simple" fool out of yourself. Ta, ta!

THE FACTORY BELL.

[Written by EDMUND CURTIS, a poor English factory boy, known all over England as the "Boy Poet of Silvertown."]

There comes a sound in the morning

gray. When a few faint gleams are heralds of day: And it calls the bosoms by cares opprest Back from the peace-giving country of rest

Calling them back to the workshops heat, To the benches long and engines' beat,

Where the brow of the worker must ever be wet In the dew of his streaming, honest

sweat.

Tis the factory bell, the morning bell, Harsh are the notes of its tuneless knell.

Calling them back from the dreamland fair Calling them back to the world of

The loud-clanging factory bell.

And all in a moment the streets are

alive. As the toilers pour out, like the bees

from a hive. The streets are awake with the tramp and the noise

Of the workers-the men, the women, the boys. Onward they pour to the factory gates, Behind which the meagre-paid labor

awaits-The labor that stifles the mind and the

soul; And, just just as they reach them, there sounds the last toll—

Of the factory bell, the morning bell, Harsh are the notes of its tuneless" Harsh are knell,

Calling them back from the dream-land fair---Calling them back to the world of

The loud-clanging factory bell.

But when the great engine is laboring And the last few sunbeams with gold

are aglow; When the heart is content and the brows become dry, And the evening is drawing her veil o'er the sky.

The work is all over, the tools laid

away, All bright for the use of the soon-com-

Hark! all of a sudden, a rush and a

For sweet to the ear comes the now-

Of the factory bell-but the evening

bell; Welcome its tones in the evening

ing day.

bound,

swell;

welcome sound-

the cattle raisers will be able once more to see the smiles of prosperity upon their homesteads."

"Smiles of prosperity." if a certain piece of legislation goes through? "Ruin" if an opposite piece of legislation gain the day? Surely the times are out of gear! What becomes of the admonition, so uncluously bestowed upon the workers that "no one can become rich by legislation?

Fact is that legislation is the strategic point of private wealth and of all that thereby hangs. Remove legislation, do away with it altogether, and our glorious capitalist class are as weak as soft shell crabs. Blow up Congress and the other branches of Government. and wealth will no longer be a stagnant pool in the dirty hands of our elite. It will fluctuate backward and forward like water driven by a hurricane. It is due to this fact that, on the one hand, the capitalist class seeks to keep possession of the government, of the legislation-dispensing and enforcing powers, and that, on the other hand, the intelligent workingmen seek to gain control of those powers so as to be able to legislate wealth into the clean hands of the proletariat.

The key to the fortress of the capitalist class is the government of the nation. Onwards, proletarians, to its conquest!

AT ANY, BATE, SIGNIFICANT.

A metropolitan paper gives very soberly an account of a scheme presented to and seriously considered by the Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Gage, whereby gold is to be manufactured out of lead. The gist of the

On this special issue the working class is pretty clear, and, consequently, we see the Standard Oil's Probibition party growing beautifully like a cow's tail-downward. On other issues, however, the working class is not quite as clear. But surely the time is coming when they will realize that the issues of protection and free trade, or gold and silver, are identical with the issue of, Does alcohol aid digestion?

The Independence, Kans., "Star and Kansan," is of the opinion that

Kansan," is of the opinion that "The men like the editor of the New York PEOPLE, who say they are in favor of the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution, and yet oppose public ownership of street railways, and gas and water plants, seem to me about as foolish as a man who should insist that he wanted to go to Kansas City, but absolutely reto go to Kansas City, but absolutely re-fuse to go to Cherryvale or Neodesha." He who does not see the difference between "public ownership" such as Socialists demand, to wit, the ownership of gas, street railways, etc., by the people in such way as to abolish the wages system of slavery under which the employees now work-he who does not see any difference between that and "municipal ownership," a la Glasgow plan, where the fleecers rule the roost and the workers continue fleeced just

The Johnston, R. I., "Beacon" has this obituary notice over the bier of a recently deceased "pure and simple" union in its State, the Cotton Spinners' Union of Blackstone:

"Another union, the Blackstone Cotton Spinners', has been forced to succumb to circumstances and go out of existto circumstances and go out of exist-ence. As in other cases, strikes ruined it. It is unfortunate and saddening that epitaphs of this character are being spread before the workers with growing frequency. This union was a pure and simple organization. It 'struck' in the mill and in the polling booth voted power into the hands of its employers. There could be only one re-sult of such a procedure and that has sult of such a procedure, and that has now come to hand. The fate of the Blackstone Cotton Spinners' Union is pressing close on the heels of every labor union that practices 'keeping pol-itics out of the union.' "

The San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter," publishes the following answer, made by the Oakland, Cal., Chief of Police, to the question. What share of the police business of his city is caused by the use of intoxicating liquor:

"While I realize the great harm grow-ing out of over-indulgence in intoxicating liquor, I am not prepared to ad-mit that a great amount of the im-portant police business is due to that evil, as the most hardened, desperate and dangerous criminals we have are not addicted to drunkenness, and hence I cannot see that the absence of the open saloon would materially change the status of police business.

"In fact I am of the opinion that the great majority of dangerous criminals requiring large police forces are the direct outgrowth of our unnatural social and economic conditions that breed poverty, want and despair in the human heart. That men out of em-ployment and unable to secure the necessaries of life in this land of plenty

weeks ago. The police are investigating the matter to-day, John being held at No. 9 station as a suspicious character.

One was not arrested even though he had committed an offence in the pres-ence of the police, and the reason given for not arresting him is that he was "a business man." i, e., a capitalist: the other is arrested on SUSPICION of having committed an offence, put in danger of his life and seriously hurt (has since been released by the lieutenant of the police, without even appear ing in court), and though the LAW states he has redress, yet, as a matter of fact, he has absolutely no chance to get redress. Why? Simply because he is poor, i. e., a proletarian. No one can deny that such instances happen every day in every city of this and every other capitalistic country. To all intents and purposes we are here inst as people are in Furgose

here just as people are in Europe. ARTHUR KEEP. Washington, D. C., May 26,

The ex-Prime Minister of Italy, Crispi, is undergoing trial for theft on an extensive scale. This was the man who stepped forward in Italy with a programme to crush the Socialist move-ment. Of course the Socialist movement crushed its would-be crusher; but the real significance of the career of Crispi is that in nine cases out of ten these "paladins of social order" are criminals who know full well that So-cialism threatens their existence, and who, accordingly, fight in the defense of their own criminal 'interests behind the mask of "Social Order."

lot of people who are not engaged in manual and productive labor; it has people who work with their jaws.

U. S.-My good man, you are more than a generation behind the times, and you contradict yourself beautifully

B. J. (faring up violently)—I don't! U. S.—Keep your shirt on. You con-tradict yourself because you just ad-mitted that the proletariat is the class on which the Socialist movement must rest, and that a proletarian is one who not owning any machinery of produc-tion, must sell himself into wage slavery; and now you claim that a proletarian must be a manual worker. In other words, the line you draw between proletarians and non-proletarians is manual labor, whereas before you ad-mitted the line to be ownership or nonownership of the machinery of pro-duction. That's a contradiction. In the second place you are behind your times because long ago, when the scientific principle of class distinctions was not yet clear, there were people who claimed that the Socialist movewho crained that the Socialist move-ment was the movement of manual workers only. The people who held so have come down in history as the theorists of the "horny hand." The ripened movement has thrown them aside as unscientific and mischievous Unscientific, because they would dwarf the Socialist movement to the

dimensions of the movement of a FRACTION of the proletariat, whereas the Socialist movement is the move-ment of the WHOLE proletariat. A drummer who "works with his jaws," a clerk, a teacher, all others, when they hire themselves out to earn a living are proletarians and belong to us.

Your theory is mischievous, because Your theory is mischlevous, because it lays the foundation for the splitting up of the proletariat into as many classes as there are trades, and thereby incapacitates the proletariat from working unitedly. If you draw the line

Calling them back to the firesld bright. And a pleasant meal in the gray twi-light-The welcome factory bell. Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publics-tions. ENGLISH. THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year, The New Charter, 35 Turk street, Sau Francisco, Cal. \$1 per year. The Syracuse Socialist, The Rochester Socialist (Monthly). 25 cents per year. The Beacon, Johnston, R. I. (Fort-nightly). 50 cents per year. GERMAN. Vorwärts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year. Cleveland, Ohio. \$2 per year. ENGLISH. Cleveland volkshedna, 25 char stream Cleveland, Ohio. \$2 per year. DANISH-NORWEGIAN. Arbejderen, 6832 Marshfield avenue, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year. SWEDISH. SWEDISH. Arbetaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year. ITALIAN. Il Proletario, 1221 Penn avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. \$1 per year. POLISH. Sila, 1146 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. #1 per year. JEWISH. JEWISH. Arbelterzeltung, 9 Rutgers street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year. HUNGARIAN. Nepszava, 226 East 4th street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year. ENGLISH AND GERMAN. The Truth, 514 West 3d street, Daven-port, Iowa. \$1 per year.

Our Municipal Programme.

Daniel De Leon will deliver an adbetween a drummer and, say, a cigar-maker, because the former does not work productively and "works with his jaws," notwithstanding both are wage-slaves, then a farm hand will draw the

KINDERGARTEN INSTRUC-TION

In the Duties of Citizenship as the Workers Should Exercise them.

A new organization has been launched to stem the tide of the intellectual uprising of the people against their exploiters. The name of the organization is the "Patriotic League." Its modus operandi is to take up the children of the working class from an early age into "civic kindergartens" and there train them in the "duties of citizen-The concern is managed by ship." Prof. John R. Commons, the Rev. Chas. F. Dole, of Boston, and other such worthies. This body will surely draw up a bort of catechism for these little tods. We respectfully suggest the following catechism to these gentlemen; they will find that it covers the ground fully: CATECHISM.

Question-What is thy name?

Answer-Wageworker.

Q .- Who are thy parents? A .- My father was called wage

worker; my mother's name is Poverty. Q .- Where was't thou born? A .-- In a garret under the roof of a tenement house which my father and

his comrades built. Q.-What is thy religion?

A .- The religion of CAPITAL.

Q .- What general duties does thy religion enjoin upon thee?

A .- Two principally: First, the duty of Abnegation; second, the duty of Toil. My religion commands me to abdicate my rights upon all property on earth. that common mother of us all, upon the treasures she bears in her womb, upon the product of her surface, upon her wonderful fertility through the light and the heat of the sun: it commands me to abdicate my rights of property in the product of the labor of my hands and my brain.

My religion commands me to toil from early childhood to my dying day—to toll by sun light, gas light or electric light by day and by night; to toll on the carth, under the earth, and in the waters that are under the earth; to toll every-

Q.-Does thy religion lay upon thee any other duties?

A, -t lays upon me the further duty of self-denial and privation; to still my hunger only partially; to pinch all my physical wants; and to suppress all my mental exhibition mental aspirations.

mental aspirations. Q_{-} Does thy religion forbid thee to taste of certain articles of food? A_--It forbids me to touch game, poultry and meat unless they are of fourth-rate quality, and it forbids me to taste all the better qualities of fish, wire or mult or milk

Q.- What food dcgs it allow thee? A.-Bread, potatoes, beans, herrings, the refuse of the butcher shops and also sausages. To the end that I may stim-ulate my exhausted strength, it also allows me adulterated wines, beer and similar liquors

Q.-What duties does thy religion lay upon thee with regard to thyself?

apon thee with regard to thyself? $A_{\rm eff}$ to retrack my expenses, to live in narrow and spare rooms, to wear torn, tattered and patched up clothes, until they actually fall off my body in shreds. To go about, out at toes and heels and without stockings, exposed to the wet and the solute of the streads wet and the soilure of the streets the and roads

What duties does thy religion lay upon thee with regard to the family? $\Lambda_{,-}$ To deby my wife and daughters all ornaments of elegance and good taste; to cause them to be dressed in rude materials and with barely enough to escape being hauled up by the police for indecent exposure. To teach them not to shiver in the winter in calicos, and not to smother in the summer in close or top-floor roofs, under tin roofs heated with the heat of the dog days. To inculcate in my little ones, from their tenderest years, the sacred prin-ciple of toil, to the end that they may able to earn their living from early childhood, and not become a burden upon society; to teach them to go to bed without a light and supperless; and to accustom them to the misery that is their lot in life.

Q.-What duties does thy religion lay upon thee with regard to society?

A .- By furnishing work to me, my wife and my children, down to the youngest.

-Is that thy only reward? -No. Our God allows us to help Q. still our hunger, by looking through the large pier glass windows of stylish restaurants, devour with our eyes the delightful roasts and deficacies that we have never tasted and never will taste because these viands are there only for the nourishment of the chosen ones and their high priests. Out of His kindness we are also allowed to warm our limbs, numb with c id, by affording us occas-ional opportunities to admire the soft fur and the thick-spun woolen claths for and the interspin solution could change exhibited in large stores and intended for the comfort of the chosen ones and their high priests only. He also grants us the exquisite joy of regaling our eyes, on the streets and public resorts, with the sight of the sacred crowds of marine to admire the sacred start of the sacred transmission. Capitalists and Landlords, to admire their sleekness and roundness, together with their gorgeously decked lackeys and footmen as they drive by in brilliant equipages. Q.-Are the chosen ones of the same

race as thyself? A.—The manufacturers and landlords

are kneaded out of the same clay as myself, but they have been chosen out of thousands and millions. -What have they done to deserve Q.

this elevation?

this elevation? A.-Nothing. Our God manifests His omnipotence by bestowing His favors upon those who have not earned them. Q.-Then is thy God unjust? A.-CAPITAL is the incarnation of Justice; only, His justice passeth our understanding. CAPITAL is omnipot-ent. Were he compelled to bestow His ent. Were he compelled to bestow His grace upon those who earned it, He would be weakened, because then His grace power would have limits. Consequently, He can show His power in no stronger way than by picking His favorites from

among pickpockets and idlers. Q.—How does thy God punish thee? Λ .—By sentencing me to idleness. From that moment I am excommunicated; I then know not where to find food, or where to lay myself down. From that moment I and mine must

perish with hunger and want. Q.—What are the sins that call this punishment upon thy head? A .- None. CAPITAL throws me out

work whenever it pleases Him. Q .- What prayers does thy religion

A.--I pray not with words. My prayer is LABOR. The bare utterance of any other prayer would interfere with my actual prayer-LABOR. This is the only prayer that profits, because it is the only one that pleases CAPITAL and that produces surplus values.

Q.-Where do you pray? A.-Everywhere. On the fields and in the workshops; in mills and mines; shove and at sea.

To the end that our prayer be granted we are in duty bound to lay our free-dom, our dignity, our will at the feet of CAPITAL

At the ringing of the bell, at the whistling of the machine, we must hasten to congregate, and, once engaged in prayer, set our arms and legs, hands and feet in motion like automata, we must grunt and sweat, we must strain our muscles and exhaust our nerves.

At our prayer meetings, we must submit with humble mien and patiently to the ill temper and insults of the boss and his foremen; they are always right, We must never utter a complaint if the boss lowers our wages and raises

our hours of work; everything he does is right, and is done for our best. We must consider it an honor if the

boss takes undue liberties with our wives and daughters. Rather than ever to allow a com-

plaint to escape, our lips, rather than ever to allow our blood to boil, rather than ever to think of striking, we than ever to think of striking, we should submit to all trials, swallow our bread moistened with our own splitle only, and drink dirty water to wash that down. Should we be impertinent enough to dare find fault with such treatment, then would our masters scourge us with the prisons and penitentiaries, sharp cutting sabres, repeat-ing rifles, cannons, policemen's clubs and even the gallows. They would clap us behind the bars if we were to grumble; they would mow us down if ve were to do aught that is contrary to the decrees of the laws which they have enacted and promulgated, and at ali times I must vote for the candidates of their political parties, it matters not which, who represent my lords and masters, the capitalist class. -Do you expect any reward after

death? Al very great one. After I am

FAMILY-PROSTITUTION.

The Capitalist System Destroys the Family and Breeds Prostitution.

The labor of woman in productive pursuits betokens the total destruction of the family life of the workingman. without substituting for it a higher form of family relationship. The capitalist system of production does not yet generally destroy the single household of the workingman, but robs it of all that is bright, and leaves only its dark sides. The activity of woman to-day in industrial pursuits does not mean to her freedom from household duties; it means to her an increase of her former burdens by a new one. But we cannot serve two masters. The household of the workingman suffers whenever his wife must help to earn the daily bread. What present society puts in the place of the individual household and family which it destroys, are miserable substitutes: SOUP HOUSES AND DAY NURSERIES, where the offals of the physical and mental sustenance of the rich are cast to the lower classes.

Socialists are charged with an intent to abolish the family. We do know that every system of production has had a special form of household, to which corresponds a special system of family relationship. We do not consides the existing form of the family the highest possible nor the last utter-ance upon the subject; and we do ex-pect that a new and improved social system may yet develop a new and higher form of family relationship. But to hold this view is a very different thing from striving to dissolve all family bonds. They who DO destroy the family bonds-who not only mean the family bonds—who not only mean to but who in fact DO destroy them right under our own eyes—they are, not the Socialists, but the CAPITAL-ISTS themselves. Many a slave-holder has before this torn husband from wife, and parents from grown-up children; but the capitalists have improved upon the abominations of slavery: they tear the suckling from the breast of its mother and compel her to intrust it to mother, and compel her to intrust it to strangers' hands. And yet a society in which hundreds of thousands of such instances are of daily occurrence, a so-ciety whose luminaries promote "ben-evolent" institutions for the purpose of making easy the separation of the mothers from their babes, such a so-cleiv has the effrontery to accuse the Socialists of contemplating the aboli-tion of the family simply because they. basing their opinion upon the fact that the "family" has ever been one of the reflexes of the system of production.

To resee that further changes in that system must also result in a more per-fect system of family relationship. Hand in hand with the accusation on the subject of the family bonds goes the accusation that Socialists aim at a community of wives. This charge is as false as the other. Socialists, on the contrary, maintain that just the reverse of a community in wives, and of all sexual oppression and license, to wit, ideal love, will be the foundation of matrimonial connections in a Socialist Commonwealth, and that pure love can only prevail in such a social system. What, on the other hand, do we see today

The irrational system of modern production tears the sexes apart. It builds up SHE-towns in New England and HE-towns in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and the further West, thereby directly promoting and inciting prostitution as a nat-ural and inevitable result. Further-more, helpless women, forced to earn their living in the factories, shops and mines, fall a prey to capitalist cupidity; the capitalist takes advantage of their inexperience, offers them wages too slight for their support, and hints at, or even brazenly refers them to, prostitution as a means of supplementing their income. Everywhere, the increase of female labor in industry is accom-panied by an increase of prostitution. In the modern State, where Christianity is presented and incompared to the state. is preached and piousness is at a premis preached and plotsness is at a prem-ium, many a "thriving" branch of in-dustry is found whose working women are paid so poorly that they would be compelled to starve unless they prosti-tuted themselves; and wonderful to say. in such instances the capitalist will ever be heard to protest that these small wages are indispensable to enable ECONOMIC TERMS.

When is Wealth Capital and the Owner of Wealth a Capitalist?

Capital is but a developed form of wealth arising out of the system of production for profit or surplus-value based on the exchange of social usevalues, the capitalist starting with money and ending with money plus an increment. To obtain this increment he must enter into the production of commodities.

That we are right in our assumption is attested by the fact that if we eliminate the productive process of commodities from the capitalist system. capital would cease to be, and wealth (of which capital is but a developed form) would of a necessity revert back to its most primitive or general form of moonshine and such like objects of utility. Thus commodity wealth used productively to secure profit or surplusvalue in the sense already given, seems a true test of capital, and that productive capital, if we may so qualify it. forms the basis of the capitalist system.

It is evident if we confine the use of the term capital in accordance with our analysis we should be logical, and, I make bold to assume, also scientific, but then, unfortunately, we should be attaching to capital and capitalists a particular and restrictive meaning, and the question arises, shall we be departing from the principle Jevóns laid down and which was accepted as to the use and meaning of terms? Would the meaning we attach to the word have the same meaning already attached to it by the public, and sanctioned by custom? For instance, we affirm of a capitalist that he should be a producer of commodities. A. non-producer, therefore, cannot be a capitalist. A banker then is not a capitalist because he is a nonproducer. Now, if the public associate capital with one type of individual more than another, it is the big moneylender.

No doubt we might call them moneystealers, and logically claim that they were no more capitalists than the ordinary gambler who speculates and invests his money to get money plus money, the race course or card table; but that would not convince the public. They would continue to call one a capitalist and the other a gambler.

One reason why the public call nonproducers capitalists is that the public pay more regard to results and appearances than to unperceived methods which have given rise to those efforts. The public perceives no difference between a banker who lends money to a manufacturer that he (the banker) may realise more money, and a productive capitalist who uses the banker's money and puts commodities on the market to secure a profit, and, like the banker, gets his money returned plus an in-crease. The system of banking and crease. The system of banking and stockbroking are so interwoven with the capitalist system that the public cannot dissociate them. The money of the banker and stock exchange spec-ulator 'seems to be set apart for the purpose of production, and such owners of money are accordingly bracketed toof money are accordingly bracketed to-gether and termed capitalists. gether and termed capitalists. Whether it be scientifically accurate to do so does not trouble the public. As the German proverb says: "Caught to-gether, hung together."

gether, hung together." We may be annoyed that we cannot restrict the definition of a capitalist to one who is actively engaged in the sphere of production, but we have to bend to the will of the public—for the public are the arbiters who settle the meaning of a term who place upon it a meaning of a term, who place upon it a particular or a more general sense as the case may be. In accepting the definition placed upon a word by the public we shall be conforming to the principle laid down by Jevons. The public, like Alexander the Great, makes no pretence to solve difficult questions or appreciate fine distinctions for which it has no mind. So like Alexander, who sum-marily settled his knotty problem by cutting the Gordian knot in halves with his sword, so does the public settle defi-

ever be on a progressive scalescale bigger than has ever existed in any preceding economic system

If the common sense view of a cap-italist by the public did not prevail we should have to admit the costermonger

as coming with the conditions laid down in our restricted definition of caplaid ital. He invests money in commodities that he may get money plus an incre-ment. He is logically entitled to be called a distributor of wealth just as much as the great capitalist factor with his hundreds of thousands of pounds. The costermonger, so far as definition is concerned, practically fills the bill. But the public recognizes that he is only a survival of ancient times, being now but a parasite creature, and he is accordingly ruled out of capitalistic ex-istence. Admit the costermonger as a capitalistt and you would have the flower woman in the street who em-ploys small children to aid her in distributing her wares, posing as a cap-

italist. The worker is never called directly a capitalist, but by compliment labor-power is sometimes described as his capital. It is true he sells a commodity, but his selling does not turn his com modify into money plus an increment. He' sells his only commodity, but he ought, to be entitled to be called a capitalist, to start with money-capital and end with money-capital plus an in-crease. He ends with buying a commodify and consuming it as an ordin-ary consumer—a proceeding which places him outside the capitalist category. In fact he is sold and used up like any ordinary commodity. We see then that capital, as a general

term, is difficult to define, and we have to accept the broad view of the public concerning it, and what constitutes a capitalist. Lord Bacon says: "Words are generally framed and applied according to the conception of the vulgar and we draw lines of separation accord ing to such differences as the vulgar can follow, and when a more diligent observation tries to introduce a better distinction words fail." But the apparently unscientific method of the vulgar, despite the sneer of Bacon, has its advantages and disadvantages. If we laid down a strict formula, as is sometimes done, for capital we should get, as we have seen, such extremes as a millionaire and a flower girl, the latter perhaps conforming to our formula more strictly than the commercial millionaire

In deciding when wealth is capital. and when a wealth-owner is a capital-ist, we must give due consideration to the circumstances which influence the judgment of society. Capitalism is a growth, not a creation. Custom stamps certain forms and social relations which are essential to a system of produc-tion, because they are brought promi-nently before the public, and it neglects to give heed to other relations because they have remained hidden from view. Political economy is only a branch of sociology, and is subject to the laws of evolution and variation like every branch of science. It is ever progressbranch of science. It is ever progress-ing, ever in a condition of becoming, ever changing its forms, the old giving place to new. To understand those forms we have to bear in mind its genesis, growth and future develop-ment. Definitions, therefore, which deal with social relations subject to the laws of evolution can only help us to point out the principal attributes which happen at different phases of its growth to impress themselves upon

A. P. HAZELL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Ed. King Sized up and Classified. To THE PEOPLE-The writer was

never most forcibly impressed with the fact that the tactics as outlined by THE PEOPLE are absolutely essential to the progress of the Socialist movement than he was last Sunday afternoon on hearing a lecture delivered by "Eddle" King at the Brooklyn Philosophical Association.

The part of the lecture in which Mr. King dwelt upon the necessity of the recognition of the fact that there is a class struggle in society was particu-larly instructive, as well as ably port-rayed, but when this same man, who rayed, but when this same main, when consistent and the second second to have the knack of telling just enough truth to entrap those who are not thoroughly grounded upon eco-nomic science, tried to hide the fact that this truth, as well as many others just as important, have been forced to the face the the encounced Sociality to the front by the organized Socialists, to wit, the Socialist Labor parties of the

BOSTON BAKERS'

Address to their "Pure and Simple" Fellow Craftsmen. Fellow Crafismen:

As you are assembled to consider ways and means to further the interests of your organization, we, the Int. Executive Board of the Bakers' and Confectioners' Alliance, consider it our duty to offer to you some fraternal advice and explain you the objects of our organization, and hope, that this will help to throw some light on the minds of the bakers of the United States, so that they may adopt the best methods in trying to improve their condition and that of labor in general.

The fact, that your national labor fakir or misleader, Henry Weismann, and his tools in your organization have always treated us with slanderous attacks, falsehood and spite and used the meanest tricks known to our opponents, the employers, in trying to undermine our organization, does not make us forget, that we consider your members, that is the rank and file of your organization, our brothers, who may be misled now, but whom we expect to see united with us under the banner, that is the only hope of labor to-day, the banner of Socialism. Since 1892 your organization not alone did NOT improve the condition of the bakers, but it was also unable to check the decline in wages and the increasing number of the unemployed.

In spite of all statements to the con trary in your national journal, we claim that your organization can not do a thing any more for the bakers, and your newest schemes to convert the International Union into an Insurance Society. will only have a disastrous result for your union.

The only unions that have maintained a high scale of wages in the United States, that is the Monumental Assembly 2389 of Washington, the American Bakers' Union of San Francisco, the Bakers' Protective Union of Boston, and the Unions of Brockton, Mass., Troy, N. the Unions of Brockton, Mass., Troy, N. Y., and perhaps Albany have to thank their superiority to their own local ef-forts and not to the International Union. The International Union, while it has done a great deal of good before 1890, is since then entirely unable to better, or even to maintain the present conditions of the bakers or ever their members. Financially your union is crippled through high salaried officers and your through high salaried officers and your journal. Your treasury can never get on fair basis with \$25.00 a week paid to your fakirs.

Financially the International Union was stronger with 5 cents per capita at the time of George Block than now. (In 1894 the Bakers' Protective Union of Boston had more money in its treasury than the whole International Union. This proves also your entire inability in undertaking anything extensive in the line of strikes and boycotts.

For the thousands of unemployed there is absolutely no hope to gain any-thing through your union. The insur-ance idea with sick and death benefit, out of work benefit, traveling benefit, etc., is simply a trick of labor fakirs to tie men to a society that is unable to tie men to a society that is unable to fulfill its mission and to pay fakirs a

high salary. The financial system of the Cigarmakers' International Union, which is shown as the model; which worked so excellent, when the number of unemployed was small, this very system is driving the strongest trade union to the verge of bankruptcy, when the number of un-employed is assuming a large percent-

age. The members of the Boston Cigar Makers' Union, the best in the country, warn us, NOT to adopt this system. They know a little by experience. You cannot cure hard times with pa-

tent medicines and labor fakir schemes of insurance.

Remember, every dollar you want to draw, you have to pay in first and the salary and extravagant methods of your national fakirs have to be paid out of these funds. The wages of the best organized

trades in the country, those of the cigarmakers, printers, shoemakers, iron trades, in fact of all trades, are going down because trade unionism pure and simple with strikes and boycotts and labor fakir schemes is utterly powerless to check the effects of concentrated capital and perfected machinery, woman labor and the many labor saving in ventions. The work of some trades will will be almost entirely done by machinery

A .- To increase the national wealthfirst through my toil, and next through savings as soon as I can make any, --What does thy religion order thee

 Q_{+} what does thy religion order thee to do with thy savings? A_,—To entrust them to the savings' banks and such other institutions, that have been established by philanthropic financiers, to the end that they may financiers, to the end that they may loan them out to our bosses. We are commanded to place our earnings at all times at the disposal of our masters. \mathbf{Q}_{-} boes thy religion allow thee to take the generative sector \mathbf{Q}_{-} boes the religion allow the to

touch thy savings? A.-As varciy as possible; but it rec

ommends to us not to insist too strongly upor receiving our funds back; we are told we should patiently submit to our fate if the philanthropic financiers are unable to meet our demands, and in-form us that our savings have gone up in smoke.

Q .- Who is thy God?

A.-CAPITAL.

A.--CAPITAL. Q.--Has He existed since the begin-ning of time? A.--Our most learned high priests, the official political economists, say He exists since the creation of the world. At first, however, He was very little, hence this theore was neared by hence His throne was usurped by Jupiter and other Gods. But since about the year 1500. He grew daily into power and glory, and to-day He rules the world according to His will, Q--1s thy God omnipotent?

A-Yes. His grace can grant any and all enjoyments. When He turns His countenance from a person, a Ins countenance from a person, a family, a country, they are smitten with misery. The power of the God CAP-ITAL increases with the increase of His bulk. Daily does He conquer new countries: daily does He entarge the swarms of His vassals, who devote their lives to the mission of increasing His power.

His power. Q.-Who are the chosen ones of thy

A - The Capitalists-manufacturers, merchants and landlords.

Q-How does thy God reward thee?

dead CAPITAL allows me to he down and rest; I am then freed from hunger and cold and from the fear of want for evermore. I then enjoy the eternal peace of the GRAVE.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

Arthur Keep, Washington, D. C.-Why, of course; send it on, monument or no monument.

S. K., Chicago .- You can, of course not have been meant. The article was directed against professional atheists. Religious opinions are no part of the Social movement. We attack, however, all those who use the religious of atheist mantle to prop up capitalism. OF

Old Timer .- He is just such a chameleon as John Burns.

Bolton Hall, New York,-There are no "different" definitions of wealth and capital, any more than there are different definitions of geometry. One is correct, and proves its correctness by the experience; all others are whimsical and unscientific, and prove their falseness by leading to no results. So with terms of political economy. The So-cialist or scientific definitions alone are back of a progressive movement; all other definitions are back of only such movements as fail and lead to nothing.

C. F. Carlson, Buffalo, N. Y.-The address of the "Beacon" is Johnston, R. I.

To Jewish Sections and Branches.

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

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

him to compete successfully in market, and to maintain his establish-ment in a "thriving" condition.

Prostitution is as old as the contrast between rich and poor. At one time, however, prostitutes constituted a middle class between beggars and thieves; they were then an article of luxury, which society indulged in, but the loss of which would in no way have en-dangered its existence. To-day, how-ever, it is no longer the females of the slums alone, but WORKING women who are compelled to sell their bodies for money. This latter sale is no longer simply a matter of luxury, it has be-come one of the foundations upon which production is carried on. Under the capitalistic system of production, PROSTITUTION BECOMES A PILLAR OF SOCIETY. What the defenders of this social system falsely charge So-cialists with, is the very thing they are guilty of themselves. Community of wives is a feature of capitalism. In-deed, such deep roots has this system of community of wives cast in modern so-ciety that its representatives are as in clety that its representatives agree in declaring prostitution to be a NECES-SARY thing. They cannot understand that the abolition of the proletariat implies the abolition of prostitution implies the abolition of prostitution. So deep are they sunk in intellectual stagnation that they cannot conceive social system without community of

But be it noted, community of wives has ever been an invention of the upper layers of society; never of the proletar-iat. The community of wives is one of the modes of exploiting the proletariat; it is not Socialism; it is the exact op-posite of Socialism.

Notic.

If you are a resident of the 14th As-If you are a resident of the 14th As-sembly District and receive a sample copy of THE PEOPLE, will you read it carefully and subscribe? You are in-vited to attend the business meeting every second and fourth Friday at 238 East 10th street. We want you to join the S. L. P.

will. It delights to classify; but prefers to do it roughly. Its conclusions are general, and often vague; but to dogmatically assert for that reason that the public were hopelessly unscientific would savor of pedantry. Besides the banker and money-lender

there are other characters who play a part in the capitalist system on whom the public passes its dictum of inclusion or exclusion despite economists. For instance, we might cite the ordinary shareholder and the ubiquitous shopkeeper and general distributor. Can we regard the ordinary shareholder as a capitalist? I think I am not wrong in affirming that he is not regarded as a capitalist by the public, and to maintain that he always must be seems a stretch of imagination. Yet the share-holder conforms to the conditions required of a capitalist. He invests money and employs labor as part proprietor of the establishment in which he is interested. But the public ignores, his economic locus standi. He appears to the public a passive member, and being of late growth, he is regarded as a sleep ing partner. He is a personality who does not seem necessary to the capital-ist system, and is therefore ignored accordingly.

In answer to the question: "Is a shop-keeper a capitalist?" we might say "Yes" and "No." Here the public, as is its wont, classifies roughly. A shop-keeper with a big turnover is generally accounted a capitalist. It would be ri-diculous to rule a "universal provider" outside the pale of capitalism—he is therefore reckoned a capitalist; but a small shopkeeper—well, he is a hanger-on, a picker-up of unconsidered triffes. To call the latter a capitalist would be reducing the term to an absurdity. He is ruled out accordingly, while the big

shop-keeper is accepted. The public may be illogical in many ways, but, on the whole, it hits the mark fairly well. Capital to it must loom large, with the possibility of greater growth, and it is right in as-uming that capitalist production must suming that capitalist production must

world, he evinces the same desire day that he always has, to be a disin-tegrating and destructive force, arrayed against any policy of practical import-

The circumstance that forced Mr. King's hand was his remark that the council at Paris, France, was "in the hands of the workingmen of that city

In the criticism which was allowed after the lecture, I drew Mr. King's at-tention to the fact that he omitted to state that the city council was in the hands of SOCIALIST workingmen. In his reply, Mr. King said that I was wrong, that these workingmen in power did not represent any "special school of thought or movement," and therefore the Socialists as a class did not win the

victory. Mr. King has been too long interested in the doings of labor to be unaware of the fact that in France, as well as America, there are myriads of workingmen who as yet are not class-conscious and still vote for capitalistic methods and rulers. These men in France voted contrary to their own interests; it was only those organized under the banner of Socialism who placed their representatives in the council.

Mr. King's purpose was plainly to be-Mr. King's purpose was plainly to be-little the great organized movement that alone to-day is making the capital-fatic class of Europe tremble. Such false leaders and friends (?) of

labor are more to be feared than the open-spoken foe, for masquerading as saviours, the knife of such assassin is more deadly to the cause of industrial emancipation than that of the open foe. But the cloven hoofs of such can, fortunately, not be concealed.

A. S. BROWN. Brooklyn, N. Y., May 19.

To complete a file.

A reader of THE PEOPLE wishes No. A leader of this restrict in the will exchange for any other issue of that volume. Send it to THE PEOPLE, 184 William street.

in the future. Now, brothers, what is the way out of this industrial situation? Strikes and boycotts fail, because ig-

norant labor, misled by a fakir, elects the whole machinery of government used to defeat these strikes and boycotts. The unemployed, shut out by trade unions, want to live and make their living with work. Don't listen to schemes of "shutting out immigration," coining the silver of the western mine owners at the ratio of 16 te 1. Don't feel around any more with ne

Don't fool around any more with netitioning legislature to do us a favor, don't throw your money away by advertising a paper stamp on bread called the "Union Label." This agitation will never employ the

unemployed. Don't let us rely on schemes of fakirs, while millions arc unemployed.

If you want to form an organized barricade against progress, go ahead in your old way:

If you want to help to employ the unemployed and to relief the sufferings of those who work for a living, then brothers, we call on you to recognize the value of independent pelitical action of labor, to throw your own fakirs off, to leave the fakirs brigade of the American Federation of Labor and join the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the only class-conscious and up-to-date trade union, that can do effective work in emancipating labor and in bringing the struggle for existence to an end.

Fraternally yours the International Executive Board of the Bakers' and Confectioners', District Alliance 8, of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

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



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Total	\$33,39
Total for three months	\$91.39
On hand Jan. 1, 1897	39.73
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EXPENDITURE.	
January, 1897.	
To Nat. Exec., for stamps	\$15.00

To Nat. Exec., for stamps	\$15.00
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February, 1897.,	
To Nat. Exec., for due stamps	10.00
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postage, etc	1.83
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Total for three months	\$58.00
Total income	\$131.0:
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Balance on hand April 1, 1897 JOS. MAREK,	72.98
Treas., Connecticut State Com	mittee
CONNECTICUT STATE CON TION.	VEN
The tenth annual convention	of the

Socialist Labor party, State of Connect-icut, is to be held Sunday, May 30, at

There is much business the committee must do at the State House, and that



Delegate C. Amadi, of the Furriers' Union, was chairman at the largely at-tended meeting of the N. Y. Central La-bor Federation (D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A.) last Sunday, and delegate H. Zinc, of the Empire City Lodge Machinists' was vice-chairman was vice-chairman.

The Boston Scandinavia

of the session, which continued to a very late hour.

THE SECRETARY.

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.