



DECLARATION

By the Socialist Labor Party of Philadelphia.

TO THE VOTERS.

The Issue Between the Working Class and the Capitalist Class is the Supreme Question in American Politics—The Guidon of the Class Struggle Determines the True Position of the Working Class in all Elections—State and Municipal Elections are Only Skirmishes in the Great National Fight.

The Socialists of Philadelphia, in convention assembled, declare allegiance to the principles of Socialism enunciated by the last National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, and affirm adherence to the party tactics decreed by that body and endorsed by referendum vote.

We hold that the sole cause of social misery—the present hard times, panics, general bankruptcy, compulsory idleness, pauperism, crime and political corruption—is the existing capitalistic system of private property in land and the machinery of production and distribution; a system under which the laborer has become a drug in the labor market; a system that renders it less and less possible for the masses to acquire any property at all; a system that spreads poverty among the people and concentrates wealth in the hands of a few; a system that the nation has outgrown and must throw off before a government for the people by the people can be established.

We point out that, since the birth of this nation, a revolution has taken place in industry. Formerly, hand labor and individual effort produced the necessities of human society. To-day, machine labor and associated effort are the means of producing the needs of civilized life. And as it was the imperative duty of government, in the days of individual production, to protect the individual possession of property, we affirm that it is to-day the equal duty of government to protect associated labor in the possession of that which it creates. This is what we demand that the Government do. This is why we demand that the industries of the country be reorganized on the basis of national ownership of socially produced wealth and the abolition of wage slavery.

The anomaly of social production and individual ownership of wealth has produced two classes in America—a propertyless class and a capitalist class. The issue between these classes is the supreme question in American politics. The frantic efforts of a capitalistic press, labor fakirs and political hirelings to obscure the issue or delay its settlement are futile and ridiculous. All other issues will speedily be absorbed by it or go down before it. Thus develops the class struggle, a battle to determine which class shall hold and direct the power of government, the result of which will decide forever whether the so-called rights of property shall triumph over or become subordinate to the rights of man.

State and municipal elections are but local skirmishes in this class war. The guidon of the class struggle determines the true position of the working class in all elections—one of ceaseless antagonism to capitalist politicians and their decoy ducks, the "reformers," whose fight is now to retain possession of what has been stolen from the people under pretense of serving them. The capitalist class, in full control of State and municipality, has assumed public duties that have never been performed, stolen franchises involving the use of public property, imposed extortionate charges, watered stocks to hide their enormous plunder, bought law and bribed public officials, corrupted elections, violated charters and contracts at pleasure, evaded taxation, robbed and enslaved their employees, assumed police powers and sacrificed human life. We demand the absolute and unconditional restoration to the people of all property confiscated by capitalists. We demand the recovery of all franchises, privileges, rights and property that have been alienated to private corporations, and oppose any further grant or alienation under any circumstances or conditions.

We propose that the city of Philadelphia own and operate all franchises working within its limits, and that the principles of the Co-operative Commonwealth, as far as practicable under present conditions, be applied to their management. That is to say: (1) the employees shall choose all foremen, superintendents and other officials not elected by general vote of the people; (2) a minimum salary shall be fixed, and supplemented by an equal distribution of a portion of the surplus value, or profits, among the workers; (3) a pension fund for aged employees, and a relief fund for the sick, shall be established with another fraction of such surplus value; (4) the remainder of the profits shall be applied to the maintenance and extension of such public services, the price of which to the people shall be lowered to the extent of the saving permanently effected by mechanical and other improvements.

With this declaration guiding its interpretation, we present the following MUNICIPAL PROGRAMME:

1.—Absolute municipal self-government. Direct vote and secret ballot in all city elections, and equal suffrage without regard to sex.

2.—Abolition of Select Council, and of the veto power of the Mayor.

3.—Abolition of ward representation in City Council, the municipal legislature to be chosen by a system of proportional representation extending to the entire city's electorate.

4.—The citizens of Philadelphia to have the right of initiating municipal legislation by signature papers, and the right of approving or rejecting any municipal law, according to the referendum principle.

5.—The City of Philadelphia to obtain possession of all street railways within its limits and operate them, together with all electric, heat, power, telephone and other plants requiring municipal franchise.

6.—Abolition of the contract system on all municipal work, and the substitution of day's labor under direct supervision of the city's officials. Union labor to have preference over unorganized labor, and eight hours to constitute a day's work.

7.—Unabridged right of organization on the part of city employees.

8.—An increase of school facilities commensurate with the present needs and future growth of the city, and strict enforcement of the Compulsory Education law. In cases where the poverty of parents renders it necessary, the city shall extend aid to school children by means of meals and clothing, in such manner as not to impair the self-respect of the child.

9.—The condemnation of all slum property, and the establishment of a system of small parks and children's playgrounds throughout the city.

10.—Uniform administration of justice by the city's magistracy, the same to be free of charge.

11.—Reduction of the present exorbitant salaries of the higher city officials, and the abolition of all fees and perquisites.

12.—Repeal or amendment of all State or municipal law in conflict with the provisions of this programme.

FURTHER DETAILS

Of the Attempted Police Intimidation at Manchester, N. H.

MANCHESTER, N. H., August 13.—We have heard of magneto, thermo, voltaic, static and other conditions of electricity, but what is ethical electricity?

Well, in Ward 5 it seems to be sociologic thought expressed by Joseph F. Malloney, of Lynn, Mass., and like the high tension static, leaped through the air and electrified his listeners with Socialism Saturday evening, the 7th instant, at Park Square. The speaker held 1,200 people in captivity; they were simply his; then came police interference, followed by an uproar of disapproval toward the officer, and as the few moments of disturbance passed, the indignation of citizens intensified. "Mind your own business," was heard from one; "Go, get sober," shouted another; he was told to go to Klondike, and even to warmer regions by many.

Smarting with the lash of disapprobation which was showered upon him, the policeman sought his superior officer to ascertain if the United States Constitution really meant it when it protected the right of "free speech," and of "peaceable assemblage." But evidently the superior thought the Constitution meant that free speech and peaceable assemblage should be permitted only at such places as Delmonico's, for the cop came back, and after another interruption the speaker resumed his argument amid cheers of his listeners, and altogether talked an hour and a quarter. Suspecting there was no reporter in attendance at our rally Saturday evening, I wrote the above with a vague hope that some of it would appear in the Manchester, N. H., "Union," of August 9th. As I suspected, upon delivering my report, they were utterly ignorant of any such gathering, and here is what they published:

"HAD NO PERMIT.
"Socialist Joseph Malloney Will Have to Get One the Next Time."

"Joseph Malloney, of Lynn, Mass., a Socialist-Labor lecturer, addressed two or three hundred men, women and children in the vicinity of Park Common, on Saturday night, on Socialist topics, including the money power and the capitalistic press. Malloney was blocking the public street, and Policeman John D. Healy ordered him to move. There was a squabble, the speaker and his friends endeavoring to make a stir with cries of "free speech" and insulting remarks to the officer, and the latter insisting that the city ordinances must be obeyed."

"Healy directed Malloney to move his chair into the common, and this was done. Over the police telephone the officer was directed to allow Malloney to speak in the square, but to inform the Massachusetts man that hereafter he must secure such permission from the Board of Street and Park Commissioners."

This published report contains scarcely a syllable of truth. Permission WAS obtained from the Street and Park Commissioners THREE DAYS prior to the meeting, and my communication, which was rejected, refutes all other erroneous statements, as I aimed to give a report of the meeting without the slightest exaggeration.

On Friday evening, August 6th, Comrade Payne and myself silently slid down to Gott's Falls to plant a few seeds of scientific existence. Upon explaining the purpose of our visit, some one suggested getting the drum corps, who drummed up "the whole town," and for over an hour, interrupted by frequent manifestations of approval, we talked to the woolen mill operatives, and defiantly challenged refutation of our statements, much to the joy of the operative—and the chagrin of capitalist party politicians. After the speaking we sold as fast as we could hand them out all the "Merrie Englands" we had, and were sorry we had no more. The people are now ready to listen.

H. H. ACTON.

FREE SPEECH.

The Socialist Struggle to Maintain it Everywhere.

The Rosindale Case—Henry Wittekin, Who, in Boston Itself, Years Ago Had to Come to the Aid of Wendell Phillips and Help Him Maintain Free Speech Against a Mob of Sympathizers With Chattel Slavery, Now Comes Forward Again to the Aid of the Abolitionists of Wages—Slavery—Police Outrages and Attempted Outrages Elsewhere—Baltimore, Manchester, Springfield Witness Scenes Similar to Rosindale.

BOSTON, August 15.—"The government" is afraid of the case of Comrade Martha Moore Avery. It was not heard on the 13th in the little court in Jamaica Plain, as it was intended it should be.

When it was called first last Monday Comrade Avery was not ready. When it was called to-day the government was not ready. Probably the government had not anticipated any legal fight. They evidently were under the impression that Comrade Avery would plead guilty, pay a small fine, and that would be the last of it.

When they heard that John B. Moran had been engaged as counsel for Comrade Avery, and they had every prospect of an interesting fight on their hands, the government, otherwise the police, wanted time to prepare their side. So a continuance was asked for, and the court set two weeks from to-day as the date for the trial.

While this fight is going on we have maintained our point, and had a good meeting at Rosindale. Mrs. Avery, Mr. Florentine Throbaud and David Goldstein spoke; there were at least 200 persons in the hall, which was at one time used as a store; at least as many were outside who could not get in. We were "guarded" by police in uniform and in citizens' clothes. At the close of the meeting we organized a Section and expect before the campaign is over it will be the largest in Boston.

The hall we had was the only hall that we were allowed to use in the town—it was Wittekin Hall, which was given to us free by Henry Wittekin, who was a member of the 20th Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers, enlisted May 22d, 1861, served three years, and was discharged owing to disability. He is one of the members of the Turn Verein, who in Turn Hall, Boston, armed themselves and saved the life of Wendell Phillips when he was pursued by a mob; and he stood armed at all of Phillips' public meetings in Essex Square when he delivered addresses.

The outrage against free speech has done more to attract the minds of Bostonians towards Socialism than anything that has yet occurred in this city.

Telegrams and letters of congratulation are pouring in.

Boston Central Labor Union, supposed to "represent 90,000 working-men," applied two years ago for a permit to meet on Boston Common; Mayor Curtis, Republican, refused. Immediately a mass meeting was called in Faneuil Hall, with McBride as the main speaker, and resolutions were passed condemning the authorities. August 5th the Central Labor Union again asked for a permit, this time of Mayor Josiah Quincy, Democrat, who put Harry Lloyd on the City Committee from Ward 22, again refused through some technicality, and there it ended. WHAT 90,000 PURE AND SIMPLER ARE AFRAID TO ATTEMPT 90 SOCIALISTS will establish—the right to free assemblage and free speech.

The Anarchist-Capitalist attempt to muzzle Socialists seems to become epidemic. While the thing is tried in Rosindale, Mass., and Comrade Avery is arrested, Comrade Arthur Kepp meets with the same experience in Baltimore, the bluecoat minions of wrong try a similar trick on Comrade Malloney at Manchester, N. H., and we hear rumors of a not unlike attempt at one of our meetings in Springfield, Mass. But Socialists are not to be brushed aside; this is the Nineteenth Century, and while capitalism is the most brutal of tyrants, its brutality can neither stop the mouths of Socialists nor arrest the downfall of capitalism. The fight waxes hot; it will be yet hotter; and then the robber class will be seen rolling in the dust.

Mr. Harry Lloyd, of the Carpenters, who recently turned up as lecturer for a "Socialist Reform," and who was branded by the Socialists as a fakir wherever he went, has just been appointed a member of the Democratic State Committee of Massachusetts. What are these fellows after if not to line their own coats?

That scene in the Ohio Middle-of-the-Road Convention last week was grand. A parson turns up as detective against Hanna and shows thereby that the cloth which he masquerades in was considered by Hanna's agent as a proper thing to bribe and a thing likely to succeed to bribery.

For the rest, no sane man doubts that the same anxiety that Hanna has to see a Middle-of-the-Road Pop ticket in the field, the Democrat Chapman and Hanna's rival, McLean, have to see a Fusion ticket. Nor can anyone doubt that the Chapman-McLean Democratic combine is spending as much corruption money as Hanna.

How large the corruption fund at the disposal of these Democratic and Republican mine operators—Hanna and Chapman—is one may judge of by the poverty of the miners. The wealth that these workers produce is now partly used by their flocks to corrupt conventions with and get into public office.

STARTLING FACTS.

The Mammoth Machine's Work of Crowding Out Labor.

Condition of the Mining Industry—Recklessness With Which Capitalism Exposes the Life of the Mine-workers—Inside History of the Pittston "Accident"—Generality of the Pluck-me-store—Displacement of Labor in the Steelworks—Modern Feature of Capitalist Plants—Folly of Further Experimenting for Emancipation—Mobilizing Labor's Forces on the Political Battle Field.

ZANESVILLE, O., August 16.—My recent tour through Pennsylvania revealed several things to me that the Comrades should know, and that reveal the conditions that will eventually produce a strong Socialist movement in the State of Pennsylvania. Luzerne County is in the heart of the anthracite coal region of that State. Whatever natural beauty it may have one time possessed has long since been destroyed by capitalism. In whatever direction the eye may wander it is greeted with the somber smile of "mine shafts," "breakers" and "mine refuse." Even the grass seems to possess a nasty, dirty appearance.

The miners' wages, when they are employed, are so low that many of them do not taste meat more than once a week. When unemployed, they are face to face with absolute starvation. Their shanties (misnamed homes), are miserable in the extreme. Most of the streets of the mining towns are undermined. In Pittston they are so much so that the miners, when working, can tell when an empty trolley car is passing through the streets. It was in this town that a little over a year ago, a mine "caved in" and entombed at least fifty-eight men, whose dead bodies have never been recovered. This so-called "accident" was nothing short of a heinous crime. The capitalists who owned it wanted to make plenty of profit, and so failed to properly timber the mine. Whenever the miners complained of the bad roof they were readily told that if they did not like it they could leave the company's employ. This simply meant that they must either run the risk of being killed in the mine or starved to death if they remained outside altogether. Finally, one Sunday night the "mine boss" saw the "cave" coming. As rapidly as possible fifty-eight men were gathered together and (under the promise of good pay), they attempted to prevent it. It was too late though. As the men descended the shaft it was not into a mine they went, but to the grave they now occupy.

It is almost needless to say that amidst such poverty, distress, constant danger and sacrifice of human life, the principles of Socialism are enthusiastically received throughout this coal region. Heretofore I had the impression that only coal miners are compelled to spend most of their scanty earnings at the "Pluck-me store," but upon arriving at Johnstown I found how erroneous that impression was. The Cambria Iron Company is located there. It owns a store, in which everything is sold with the exception of beer and whiskey. If an employee does not patronize the same as liberally as his wages will allow, he, like the miner, must look out for another job. Prior to election the officials of this company told all its employees to vote for the "Major," and then prosperity would be sure to follow. On the first of last March all of them received the first installment of the same in the shape of a 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

When in Pittsburg the following startling facts were related to me by several steelworkers: In 1892 it required the following set of men TO MAKE 50 TONS of steel billets in ten hours:

Men.	Average Daily Wages.	Total Wages.
3 Heaters	\$7.00	\$21.00
3 Helpers	3.50	10.50
6 Chargers	2.50	15.00
1 Roller	10.00	10.00
2 Roughers	4.50	9.00
4 Hookers	3.00	12.00
2 Catchers	4.00	8.00

23 Men. Total wages... \$91.50
At Jones & McLaughlin's mill they are now operating what is known as the "Morgan billet mill," which requires the following set of men TO MAKE 250 TONS of steel billets in ten hours:

Men.	Average Daily Wages.	Total.
1 Roller	\$4.50	\$4.50
1 Shearman	2.70	2.70
1 Greaser	1.35	1.35

3 Men. Total wages... \$8.55
Cost of labor power to produce 250 tons of steel billets in
1892 \$457.50
1897 8.55

At Carnegie's plant in Braddock the machinery for making steel rails is simply marvelous. There you can see an "iron man" run into the heating furnace, pull out a steel bloom, take it to the rolling machines and in less than two minutes the bloom is converted into three steel rails. THE MOST STRIKING FEATURE OF THE MODERN IRON AND STEEL WORKS IS THE ALMOST TOTAL ABSENCE OF WORKINGMEN, AND THE ENORMOUS OUTPUT OF THE MACHINES. If all labor evangelists, co-operative colonists, etc., would visit such modern capitalist concerns as Carnegie's they would soon admit the soundness of the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party. What is wanted is not so-called object lessons in Socialism; we have them;

capitalism has furnished them; but we want a knowledge of modern capitalism. When that is acquired we cannot help but reject such silly propositions as labor exchanges, etc.

The development of capitalism has taken the tool of production from the hand of the wealth producer. He now makes but a part of a commodity. He cannot carry blooms, billets or rails upon his back to a labor exchange and there deposit them in return for beans grown in a back garden. Glass, shoes, clothes, furniture, food, etc., are now produced by associated labor, operating giant tools, owned by capitalists. These tools we must have. Anything short of this CANNOT be called Socialism. To get them we must cease experimenting, cease wasting time. We must mobilize our army of emancipation upon the political battle field. It is there that defeat is an impossibility. H. CARLESS.

A comrade in Tennessee has hit upon a unique plan of advertising and simultaneously teaching Socialism. The card which he uses in private and business intercourse bears the Hand and Hammer printed conspicuously in red on both sides. The front reads:

SOCIALISM—Collective Ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

J. HOWARD SHARP, Socialist.

The rear of the card contains the following condensed facts and hints in clear type:

How the Condition of the Workers "Improves."

Year.	Wealth.	per ct.	Workers' Parasites	per ct.
1860.	16 Billions	43%	56%	
1870.	30 Billions	32-3	67%	
1880.	40 Billions	24	76	
1890.	60 Billions	17	83	

Distribution of Population and Wealth in the United States.

The rich class (plutocracy) constitute 9 per cent. of population; they own 71 per cent. of the nation's wealth.

The middle class (bourgeois) constitute 39 per cent. of population; they own 25 per cent. of the nation's wealth.

The poor class (proletariat)—the wealth producers—constitute 52 per cent. of population, and own barely 4 per cent. of the nation's wealth.

91 per cent. of the people own but 29 per cent. of the nation's wealth.

The average new wealth created each day is \$10.50. The average daily wage paid per day is \$1.12. Who gets the \$9.38?

Always vote for Socialist candidates and NONE OTHER.

Mr. William J. Bryan's future is becoming more and more clouded. His only hope ofrenomination for President lies in the keeping up of the "Silver Issue," but right along the master- hands of Populism are dropping off.

Senator Stewart comes out with the plump and plain declaration that "the time has passed for the old issues," and after thus sticking the knife into the heart of the "White Metal Issue," he turns it around with a vicious twitch and declares that "there is no room for pessimism in this country, a prosperity unparalleled in the annals of history is about to be enjoyed by this nation."

As though such apostasy were not enough, worse or as bad news comes from Kansas. There, Populism proposes to drop the silver question as "played out," and to start a new party on the single plank of "the abolition of the Federal Courts."

All of this means but one thing: the rats are leaving the ship and each wants to save itself. Stewart wants to get his share of the expected "prosperity" in stocks and the like, and his affiliation with a Lost Cause would interfere with his reception of the coveted stocks, hence he pulls out; the Kansas Populists in office feel that they will lose their jobs unless they hitch on to some new political party that may keep them afloat, and a new party reared on the single plank of abolishing the Federal Courts is fittest for their purpose; such a party is wholly harmless, and, consequently, will not scare their middle class supporters away, and, furthermore, such a party would offer grand opportunities for radical-sounding talk that may entrap the unwary workingman; hence these gentlemen also are abandoning the "Lost Cause."

Poor Bryan!

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

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

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

"HARD TIMES."

Suggestion of a New Term to Cover the Existing Malady.

ANOTHER REV. ROASTED.

An Excellent Correspondence, Rejected by a McKinley Paper in the West—The "Rev." R. H. Boaz Being Satisfied with 34 Cents a Day Considers that Times are Good and is Surprised that the Workingmen Grumble—Some Socialist Thought Presented to the Weak-Souled Parson.

The following, which I sent to a Mc'Skin'leyite paper, has been refused:

Mr. Editor:—I have, by pure accident, read the articles of Rev. R. H. Boaz, published in the "Guard." His one aim and effort is to convince your readers there are "no hard times." If he intends to use this term in the meaning we have always construed it, then we surely have no "hard times." In the past, the expression meant the stoppage of business and booms for the short period of six or eight months, and then, as the Englishman expresses it, all was "bloomingly lovely." But his reverence seems to have forgotten that this panic is apparently endless, having already established itself for four years. Hence it is surely not what we have been accustomed to call "hard times."

We must have a new name for it, either coin one or borrow one from the dead languages. TEMPORA MALA AD INFINITUM would probably be a proper name for this new state of affairs. It is rather long, but not as long as these so-called "hard times." Many may not understand it, but not as many as fail to understand these "hard times." Including his reverence. It may require much labor of the jaws but not as much labor as the present arrangement of society requires a workingman to earn a miserable existence. It takes some time to pronounce it, but not as much time as it takes a workingman to find a "job." It may be painful to articulate, but not as painful as the empty stomachs of the 5,000,000 under enforced idleness. It may be bad Latin, but not as bad as turning the sons of toil into tramps, paupers and criminals.

Now, in all seriousness, Mr. Editor, are we not enveloped in a terrible state of affairs? Depew, in an after dinner speech, said there are 5,000,000 in this country under enforced idleness. This silences those brainless and heartless people who always reply to the suffering of the workingman by saying that "he won't work; he's drunken and dissolute." This is simply heaping fuel on the flames of unbearable wrongs. I am sorry to say that I have found many such people among the "reverends" and professed Christians. They propose to give the workers much spiritual blessings; but he's not to get this until he's dead. Instead of getting blessings for his toil on this earth he has only received poverty, ostracism and misrepresentation.

In spite of Rev. Boaz thinking this is a proper arrangement of society, how much labor is he compelled to perform for a miserable existence? He lately told a friend that times were prosperous. In proof of this he cited that in the last year he had made \$1,000 off his farm. But when I made inquiries I found this \$1,000 had to be divided among eight—himself, wife and six sons, for they did all the work on the farm themselves. For their long year's toil this only allowed \$125 for each. There being 365 days in a year, and a farmer being compelled to work more or less on Sunday, this would only give each about 34 cents a day.

Rev. Boaz may be contented with this pittance and submit to the fleecers of society sponging \$10, \$50 or even \$100 a day. But there are working men who don't own a farm or anything else, who have too much intelligence and manhood to submit to such a state of affairs. These are the men who have devoted their lives to the principles of the Socialist Labor Party. These men, through the light of Socialism, have discovered that by owning and running all the machinery, factories, land, etc., in a co-operative instead of a competitive capacity, or by running these instruments of production for the benefit of the public instead of the benefit of a few individuals, there would, with comparative little labor, be produced abundance for every man, woman and child.

It must be borne in mind that under this new civilization every able-bodied man would work, and that those who would not work should not eat. While to-day a large number of people who do not work are wine and dined and driven in a "coach and four." For illustration, the Goulds and Vanderbilts. Indeed, they have discovered that the private ownership of these instruments have come to an end, and that it will no longer work except as it works or injure. This is proved by Rev. Boaz himself when by the private ownership of his farm he only realizes 34 cents a day.

C. R. DAVIS, Brighton, Ill.

S. L. F. Supplies.

Platform and constitution, 50 cents per 100.

One cards, 40 cents per 100.

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

THE PEOPLE.
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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 1,068
In 1890..... 12,331
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 21,157
In 1894..... 23,183
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,684

The martyr can not be dishonored. Every lash inflicted is a tongue of fame; every prison, a more illustrious abode; every burned book or house enlightens the world; every suppressed or expunged word reverberates through the earth from side to side.
Emerson.

YES, IT WILL.

The politicians of this State are claiming that the State campaign this Fall will not be exciting. They ground their opinion upon the circumstance that the only officer to be chosen is a Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals. From this they conclude that the State campaign cannot offer much interest.

Yes, it will.

Of course, to those of the working class who have not yet discovered the secret of the intimate connection there is between their pockets and all the offices, between their wages and the political life of the nation—to all these a political contest that involves only a Judicial office will not seem interesting, let alone exciting. But all those who have discovered the secret feel very differently about it. Their vision having been cleared on this point, they have observed that the Judiciary is becoming more and more the palladium of the usurping class of capitalists; that the Judiciary is becoming more and more the subject of their tender solicitude; and that they look to the Judiciary more and more as a means to protect them against the accidental conquest by the workers of Legislative or even Executive offices. To all these the State campaign in New York will be animated with the same enthusiasm as any other campaign.

But beyond these there are large numbers of workers who have peered even deeper into this mystery. They have seen that the Judiciary, more frequently even than the Executive, has stepped into the field in the conflicts between capital and labor, siding with the former, giving it the benefit of the full power of the governmental machine, and doing its level best to crush the latter. Neither will these be apt to look with indifference upon a Judicial election; on the contrary, they will feel as interested in that issue as in any other, and be anxious to place in power a man who stands on their platform and interprets the law in the interests of the working class.

Furthermore, as things now stand, the Judiciary is becoming both Legislature and Executive. It is declaring unconstitutional what laws it likes; it virtually, by its decisions, is enacting new laws, what laws it likes; and it calls upon the force of the State to enforce its decision. It was but yesterday that a Judge of that identical Court gave a decision of the Court the virtual effect of which was to repeal the Factory laws, and the immediate effect of which was to hold unscathed a boss by whose negligence a female operative lost her arm!

The workers who have been living with their eyes open know all this; they will cause all this to be understood by wider circles of their fellow wage-slaves; they will be fully up to the importance of the issue; and will energetically push the State campaign as well as the municipal one, and the municipal as well as the State campaign.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

The United States is not India, our people are not Hindus, nor are the external manifestations of capitalist robbery here those which we see in India; and yet in a broad measure the situation here and that in India just now are so closely akin that the article from the London "Justice" under the above heading, printed elsewhere in this issue, may be read with profit in America as an aid to the understanding of our own situation.

Here, too, the ruling class lulls itself in dreams of "prosperity"; here, too, the politician at the outpost looks with fear upon the horizon, yet dares not impart his apprehensions to his paymasters lest he be blamed, and, consequently, pretends that the outlook is fair; here, too, that other outpost of the ruling class, the capitalist press, is "printing from hand to mouth" the views and news that suits the frame of mind of the festive hosts of our Bel-

shazzar crew; here, too, that other set of our rulers' menials, the statisticians are figuring false diagrams lest they upset the calculations of the investors and bring about a "derangement" of things that they hope may be somehow averted; and finally, here, too, those special coryphees of our society, the professors and the political parsons, seek to cover up the social ulcers with silken handkerchiefs woven of learned or pious or pretty phrases, and seek to impute to every cause imaginable except the right one the putrefaction that, despite all coverings, peeps into sight. But there is fortunately a radical difference between India and us. The heading "The Beginning of the End" may prove a mistaken one applied to India, her laggard civilization may bring about a holocaust not followed by emancipation; ours may bring, may betoken emancipation without a holocaust.

Certainly the times are ripe for great events; the century may not close without such radical changes that will take the breath out of those who now sit in high places deeming themselves safe for all time.

LIKE OXEN BEFORE A HILL.

The Rev. Herman Paul Faust and the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst are together by the ears, and both stand before the social problem of prostitution like the proverbial oxen at the foot of the proverbial hill.

The Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst has "drawn the sword against prostitution." He has prodded the police to prod the houses of ill fame, and his activity has made the existence of these "institutions" so burdensome that they have melted away. Out of existence? As collective institutions, yes; as individuals, no. And here it is that the Rev. Herman Paul Faust steps in.

The Rev. Herman Paul Faust also has "drawn the sword against prostitution," and the way he wields it is by swinging it against the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, whom he accuses of "disseminating prostitution." He argues thus: Formerly prostitution was circumscribed to certain streets; the leprosy was under quarantine, so to speak; the disease infected the community no more than hospitals of infectious diseases, kept in secluded spots, spread the diseases held within the hospital walls. The leprosy of prostitution was thus rendered harmless. Now, however, comes the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, cleans out these virtual hospitals of their leprous inmates and scatters them broadcast throughout the city. The prostitutes have gone into decent neighborhoods, have there hired flats, and, coming in contact with the young and the innocent, have spread the disease with which they are infected. They have spread prostitution.

This state of things presents a veritable social lock-jaw: Burn out the houses of prostitution, and the prostitutes spread all over creation; drive the prostitutes away from "decent creation" and they gather into "factories," where they ply their trade. Before this problem stand the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst and the Rev. Herman Paul Faust with jaws pendent.

But their predicament is not theirs alone; they only typify a class, the class that would eat its cake and yet have; the class that would have capitalism and escape its inevitable results; the class that wants to live on the labor of others and yet wishes that there be not the ulcers that such a social system must needs produce; lastly, the wondrous class, a compound of stupidity and viciousness, that never would think of abolishing prostitution by the only method possible, to wit, abolishing themselves, and who, at the very mentioning of such a method, compose their own internal class quarrels, and turn like furies upon the proposer as "un-American," little realizing that the logic of their denunciation is that: "Prostitution is Americanism, and Americanism is Prostitution."

COMING OUT OF THEIR SHELLS.

As a sign of the times, the new political organization of capital that has appeared in Pennsylvania is not without its significance. It calls itself the "Republican State League of BUSINESS MEN." Time was when the capitalist political parties sought to conceal the fact of their being the party of a class, and that class the employers' or labor flectors' class; they even sought to deny that there were any classes in the country; their talk was that we had no classes here; they always made it a point that their organizations were made up of all the people.

This is now all dropped. The boss class of Pennsylvania considers itself now strong enough to drop its mask, and it considers that its dupes, the working class, are sufficiently reduced in courage, character and spirit to profit by their bosses' boldness.

The old political parties are "Business Men's" parties, gotten up and conducted in the interests of "Business Men"; and the working class fill in these parties no place or function other than the place and function they fill in the factories. In the factories the place and function is to do the work of producing wealth for the capitalists; in the political parties their place and function is to do the work of placing with their votes the fleecers of their class in

the public places where the fleecing can be enforced.

The "Republican State League of Business Men" helps to bring into strong light and contrast the Socialist Labor party, on the one hand, and all the existing political parties on the other. While the latter are there for the benefit of the boss class at the expense of the workers, the former is there for the benefit of the workers, and, consequently, for the purpose of wiping out the capitalist class together with all class rule.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

Credit is due to the Cleveland, O., "Citizen," for giving to the public this valuable piece of news which was suppressed by the capitalist press:

"Here's a scoop. When President McKinley visited Canton recently there was a parade. Among the marchers were eight hundred workmen who, when the procession arrived at the McKinley home, lined up before the famous lawn and pulled their empty pockets inside out to indicate that the advance agent's prosperity promises remained unfulfilled. Several of the men declared that probably by the next time McKinley came to Canton they would have no trousers to wear; then they would be genuine sans culottes. None of the papers noticed this little incident, therefore we claim a scoop, and take pleasure in referring it to the Reception Committee that will have in charge the President's entertainment in this city shortly."

Although the Waco, Tex., "Brann's Iconoclast" has correctly sized up the present status of the single tax, as shown by the quotation from it in our last week's issue, and, although it has penetrated the secret of single taxism by saying that theory proposes to "make the poverty-stricken millions prosperous by revoking the taxes of the rich and increasing the burdens of the poor," it wholly misses the point in an important particular when it claims:

"The single tax is evidently passing, just as the 'impot unique' disappeared a century since."

The "impot unique" did not disappear, nor is the single tax passing. The pregnant fact is that every year we come nearer to the single tax—thanks to the capitalist shifts whereby taxation is shoved ever more on to real estate, while the ever increasing accumulations of personal or movable property go ever more scot free. Any report from the bureaux for the collection of taxes attests this.

The fact is that the "impot unique" was a shrewd aspiration, a long look ahead by the French bourgeois, or oncoming capitalists, over a century ago. The "impot unique," or single tax, is the ideal form of taxation for the capitalist class, and one that has the additional good feature of binding the proletariat to poverty while seeming to free it. As the "Iconoclast" correctly puts it, it is a scheme whereby to free the rich from the burdens of taxation. The plan could not be executed with the directness of French thought, but it is slowly enforcing itself. And it would enforce itself a good deal faster if the single tax mountebanks did not, in their desire to court popular support, alarm the witless capitalists with their wild language.

The San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter" does not lend itself to the dirty work of so many "reform" papers of helping to circulate the false theories that the capitalist press of both the gold and silver variety set afloat. These despicable luminaries use, as a favorite means to cheat their readers, the plausible argument that, there being an increase of wealth in the land, the class of the wage-slaves must be the sharers in the increase. Just now this theory is applied to the "large yield of wheat," and we are told that prosperity must come upon the heels of that—as though the share of the wealth produced by the wage-slaves and even the middle class, and kept by them, depended upon the quantity of wealth they bring forth, when the fact is that the greater the productivity of labor the smaller is the share of the toilers, while the share of the idlers becomes more and more leonine. On this yield of wheat subject, the "New Charter" says:

"The dispatches in the dailies for the past week tell us that America has the largest yield of wheat this year of any year in its history. Well, what of it? It is safe to say that a hundred thousand farmers in the wheat growing States will lose their farms during the next year by mortgage foreclosure. It is safe to say that an average of one million people in this country will have too little food for every day for the next year. Isn't it a beautiful system under which millions starve while the markets are glutted with food—under which the producers of life's necessities are bankrupted and impoverished? Yet the overwhelming majority of these struggling farmers and starving workmen are tied to the political support of this system, with all its enormities, and get quite impatient when the Socialists demonstrate that conditions will become worse and worse for the masses while the system lasts."

"A meeting to protest against the arrest of a woman who intentionally violated the law against speaking in a public place without permission is not creditable to any who take part in it."

This squib surely was printed before the war.

No, it was printed only last week. It sounds, doesn't it, as if it had been printed in some Southern slave-holding State?

No, it was printed in a Northern

State, the "Illustrious" State of Massachusetts.

But it sounds and reads just like what a Bourbon Copperhead would have said against the Abolitionist speakers.

Yes, it does that, and in that lies its significance. It appeared in the Boston, Mass., "Journal" of the 12th instant, and was directed against a Socialist speaker whom the present Copper Head who rule Massachusetts wanted to muzzle, so as to prevent the wage-slaves of the State, that "did most to emancipate the blacks," from acquiring the needed light to emancipate themselves.

The Milwaukee and Chicago correspondents of the New York "Vorwärts," the national German organ of the Socialist Labor party, tell a tale that does not tally with the flaming reports on the spread of the Debs party that are retailed through the columns of Mr. Debs' paper, the Chicago "Social Democrat."

From Milwaukee, the "Vorwärts" correspondent says:

"Despite spasmodic efforts on the part of certain well known would-be leaders, the expected flood has not yet set in towards the Debs Social Democracy. Messrs. John F. Lloyd and Roy Goodwin have been uninterruptedly at work for the new party during the last five weeks, and yet no flood, or anything like it; in fact, just the reverse. So far, four ward clubs of the new party have been founded. To judge by their composition, they are worthless. With the exception of a few well meaning new people, the clubs consist of notorious political crooks and their still hungrier appendages, who stick to them through thick and thin. This prophecy is safe: 'Before a year has gone by, the whole new party here will have been buried and forgotten along with its predecessors.'"

The Chicago correspondent writes very much in the same vein, and he goes further. The claim of the spokesmen for the new party that it is the "American Socialist party," and that Debs is the American Lassalle, awakens some interesting reminiscences in the mind of the "Vorwärts" correspondent, who says:

"In 1888, as the eight martyrs were awaiting their judgment in the County Jail, a man bobbed up in Denver, Colorado, who, with pen and speech, protested loudly against the conduct of the ruling gang. His name was Joseph R. Buchanan. The 'Arbeiter-Zeitung,' the now German Anarchist paper that has joined Debs, hugged Buchanan close to its heart, comparing him occasionally to Lassalle, just as it does now Debs. The demand to have this man come to Chicago became ever louder, and one fine day he turned up here, together with his paper, the 'Labor Enquirer.' The Germans made all possible efforts to keep the man and his paper above water. But the paper did not pay. The Americans did not understand the American. What was the result? The man became a 'practical politician,' and then he finally decamped."

The secret of making the "Americans" understand Socialism is not to make Socialism ridiculous by attaching colonization plans to it, nor by preaching a score of contradictory stuff, nor by giving up the class struggle, the secret lies in persistently preaching the right thing straight out.

Is the Lincoln, Neb., "Independent," owned by a silver mine baron? It asks: "Under 16 to 1, shortly prior to 1873, our silver bullion went abroad, because it was worth from 1 to 3 per cent. more for shipment to foreign countries than for coinage here. Will some goldite tell us just what we got out of it, if anything? Did it take wings and fly away like some half-tamed eaglet, or did we get an equivalent for it?"

"We" certainly got an equivalent for it; but who are the "We's," who pocketed that equivalent? Only the capitalists who had silver to sell. The "We's" were not the workmen; they don't get an equivalent for anything that is sold, not even for their own labor power.

If the "Independent" is what it claims to be, an organ of labor, and if it is not bought by the capitalist class to deceive the workers, it should promptly learn, and publish what it learns, that the worker is not interested in what the boss gets for the goods that the worker produces but are stolen from him by the boss; that what the worker is interested in is to keep what he produces; that to do that he must be a part owner, with the rest of the workers, of the machinery of production; and that to become such part owner, it is of worse than no consequence to him whether the gold bug or the silver bug fleecers of labor are right: the only thing of consequence is for the working class to conquer the political power by joining and voting with the Socialist Labor party.

But to publish such views don't furnish some editors with silver pap.

We are glad to see that the "Coming Nation" has some little sense. It has shut up. After the criminal charges published against it in our issue of two weeks ago, contained in Albert Holst's second letter, there would be no sense in trying to fool people with any more "answers"; there was but one of two things for it to do: either to shut up, or to prosecute us for criminal libel. It has shut up, with guns spiked, and publication of the mass of further and incriminating testimony that has flown into this office will be for a time suspended, as the campaign needs more agitational matter. We would prefer, however, that the "Coming Nation" would be hot-headed enough to insti-

tute criminal procedures. We are ready for it, as we always are for every miscreant who seeks to throw disrepute upon the movement by crookedness, and whom we nail to the pillory.

The New York "Sun" tells this tale evidently without realizing what a pregnant lesson it points out to the working men against its own political parties, and what an eye-opener it furnishes them on the political tactics of the capitalists. The story is about two brothers named Charles and Dennis Kelly, who resided in Delaware county, Pa. It says of them:

"Charles at Kellyville and Dennis in Merion township, about five miles apart. Each owned and operated what was in the thirties a large cotton and woolen mill. Charles Kelly was the most aggressive Democrat in Delaware County, and Kellyville always went hell-bent for the Democratic ticket, while Charles Kelly was ever the largest contributor to Democratic State and national campaign funds in the county."

Dennis Kelly was a Whig, the most amiable, affable and jolly Whig in the county, and he worked as hard against the election of Jackson, Van Buren, Polk, Cass, Pierce and Buchanan as his brother Charles electioneered for them. At the time of Jackson's election Charles Kelly had a government contract for making army and navy cloth to be used by the soldiers and seamen in the United States service, and, as his mill at Kellyville could not begin to turn out all the cloth and blankets required by the War and Navy Departments, his brother Dennis Kelly's mill helped him out. When Van Buren lost and Harrison won in 1840 the government clothing contract was promptly taken from Charles Kelly, the uncompromising Democrat, and very properly, as the people of Delaware County thought, given to the old Log Cabin and Hard Cider leader, Dennis Kelly. Even at its utmost running capacity Dennis's mill was wholly unable to fill the contract, and, like an affectionate and prudent brother, he turned the surplus over to Charles Kelly to manufacture, and throughout the Harrison and Tyler Administration the two mills of Dennis and Charles Kelly were kept running continuously, just as the two mills of Charles and Dennis Kelly were constantly at work under the administration of James K. Polk, for supporting whom Charles Kelly had his contract transferred to his brother Dennis, when Taylor was elected in 1848.

"It was a nice game: kept the business in the family, just as my friend Harritt is willing that the governorship shall be kept in the Harritt-Pattison family, term after term."

For Charles Kelly, say Democratic capitalists; for Dennis Kelly, say Republican capitalists, and the case is complete.

The Topeka, Kans., "Daily Capital," has started to reproduce extensive articles from THE PEOPLE, in which the tricky Populist politicians of its State are hauled over the coals. The space taken by these articles must be taken away from the gold bug articles that the "Daily Capital" otherwise loves to retail. "Tis to be hoped that the 'Daily Capital' will persevere, will reproduce more and more articles from THE PEOPLE, and will not stop until its columns have been swept clean of the disgraceful articles in favor of the gold wing of the robber class, and are wholly filled with the rejuvenating strains of Socialist dispensation.

The Johnston, R. I., "Beacon," joins its testimony to the long list of testimony establishing the fact that all the progress of science goes to the usurping capitalists, and leaves the workers no better off, worse in fact. It says:

"Every piece of labor-saving machinery helps to make wealth more plentiful, and should help to make happier and brighter the lives of the workers. Does it? It certainly does not! And why not? Simply because a private individual, a profit-seeking capitalist, appropriates to himself the extra wealth thus created. And the workers? They struggle on more fiercely than ever for the few jobs still remaining. Isn't that true?"

Books that Ought to Be Read.

The following books can be obtained by mailing price and one-tenth of price for postage, to the New York Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth Street, New York City. Send for full catalogue.

"The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1844."—By Fredrick Engels.....\$1 25
"Capital."—By Carl Marx.—An exhaustive dissertation on political economy from the most advanced and scientific standpoint. Bound. 2 00
"Co-operative Commonwealth."—An Exposition of Socialism, by Laurence Gronlund..... 50
"Socialism vs. Tax Reform."—By Laurence Gronlund..... 10
"Socialism."—By William Scholl McClure..... 10
"A Traveler from Altruria."—By William Dean Howells, Cloth... 1 50
"Merrie England."—By Robert Blatchford..... 10
"The Fabian Essays."—By H. G. Wilsheire. Paper..... 25
"French and German Socialism."—By Prof. Richard T. Ely..... 25
"Six Centuries of Work and Wages."—By J. E. Thorold Rogers..... 25
"Quintessence of Socialism."—By Dr. A. Schaeffe..... 15
"Reform or Revolution."—By Daniel De Leon..... 06
"The Evolution of Property."—By Lafargue..... 1 00
"Heterodox Economics vs. Orthodox Profits."—By Henry B. Ashplant..... 12
"Patriotism and Socialism."—By C. B. Benham..... 5
"Ancient Society."—By Prof. Lewis Morgan..... 4 00
"National Party Platforms from 1798 to 1896."—By J. M. H. Frederick..... 25



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN

Brother Jonathan—Heavens how intolerant the Socialists are!

Uncle Sam—In what way have they again interfered with your schemes?

B. J.—They have not interfered with any scheme of mine; that's not it; but they want their own way and won't admit that anybody else is right.

U. S.—Have you any way of your own that you think will solve the Social Question?

B. J.—I won't call it "a way of my own," but I have a way.

U. S.—Which is it?

B. J.—I'll tell you: This social system puts me in mind of a bird with a big, broad, long tail and hardly any body or head. Now, such birds are easy to catch. All you have to do is to put a lump of salt three pounds and a half heavy on their tails, and you have got them. It is upon that theory that I base my solution.

U. S.—In what way?

B. J.—This way: Just set up public baths everywhere. Cleanliness is next to Godliness. Just get people to be clean, and the weight of the cleanliness of the masses will be so heavy on the tail of the classes that you can just catch 'em and do away with them. This theory is no mine. It is called the Social Cleanliness theory. I believe in it.

U. S.—Then you must believe that you are right and others are wrong.

B. J.—Of course I do; but I don't act as if I thought that I can not possibly be mistaken. I always hold that others may be right.

U. S.—You thereby show that you take no stock in your own theory. If you did, you would maintain it as right against all others; but seeing you don't, it is clear you feel your ground very weak under you. No wonder you are tolerant. A social principle is right or it is wrong. If you think yours is right you must hold that all others are wrong, and then you cease to be tolerant.

B. J.—There is where you make your mistake. It is not true that a social principle is either wrong or right; and, even if it were the way to get at the truth or the right one is to keep on trying.

U. S.—You have excellently defined the social school of the empirics. These refuse to profit by the experience of previous generations. They must make their own experience. According to them, all the experience made in investigating electricity, for instance, should be ignored; the investigator must get one arm blown off by ignoring one set of experiences; must get a leg burnt off by ignoring another; must get his hair singed by ignoring a third; and if, by ignoring several others he escapes being fried alive and there is enough of him left to profit by what he learned he may become an expert, scientific electrician.

B. J.—Well, now—

U. S.—And if the electricians, who have gone through a systematic course, and are equipped with the accumulated experience of their predecessors, warn such a man and tell him he is blundering, he forthwith answers them that they are "dogmatic" and they may esteem themselves happy if his friends and personal admirers don't fall over him with bucketfuls of vilification. That's your "school."

B. J.—Well, now—

U. S.—And that "school" is infinitely more dangerous when its tenets are applied to society. The empiric electrician may mutilate or even kill himself alone in the course of his experimenting. Much would not be lost thereby. But the empiric in social science can do no end of mischief. He may and does cost society no end of accidents in the course of his conceited career of experimentation. He causes social mutilations, and may cause social cataclysms. While he is learning, society's sufferings are prolonged, and a new set of sufferings are piled upon it. This is what comes from your "trying."

B. J.—Well, now—

U. S.—But there is worse that comes from such "trying" in the social movement. The "tryer," the empiric experimenter, may himself be honest, but his conduct attracts the biggest lot of crooks, as fly-paper attracts flies. Hence, not only does it happen that society suffers by the experimenter, but its future welfare is put in jeopardy by these carrion crows, who invariably flock to such "experimenters." Take, for instance, this latest of experiments, Debs' colonization plan; who turns up at the head of the "Colonization Commission" of the "Social Democracy of America"? One Col. Richard J. Hinton, a veritable bird of ill omen to any revolutionary movement, a man whom the Socialist Labor party had to expel, not for insubordination or such comparatively minor offence, but for the grave one of a breach of the trust reposed in him as editor of its paper in the very midst of a campaign, in other words, for an act of moral turpitude, a man, who, forthwith after that, the movement of '86-87 having gone down, landed on his feet as an employee of the capitalist government at Washington! That comes from "experimenting." No. Protection, Free Trade, Single Tax, Glaslog plans, bimetallic, "Reforms," etc., etc., have all been tried. Based upon the experience of others, proceeding as an enlightened body, the Socialist Labor party takes its stand, and, without any wobbling, says pointedly: THIS IS THE PARTY, AND NONE OTHER.

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

SERVANTS, MENIALS AND SLUMS.

The recruiting ground for Socialism is the class of the proletariat; but not all the ranks of this class are equally favorable.

The student of history knows that, although the sweeping phrase of the philistines is false, to the effect that there have always been poor people. It is nevertheless true that pauperism is as old as the system of production for sale. At first it appeared only as an exceptional phenomenon. In the days of our colonial life and even shortly after the commencement of our national existence, the number of those was but slight who did not own the implements of production necessary to satisfy their own wants. It was then an easy matter for that small number of propertyless people to find situations with some property-holding family in the capacity of assistants, servants, journeymen, maids, etc. There were generally young people, who still entertained the prospect of establishing their own workshop or starting their own farm. In all cases they worked jointly with the head of the family, or his wife, and enjoyed in common with them the fruits of their labor. As members of a property-holding family, they were not proletarians; they felt an interest in the family's property, whose prosperity and adversity alike they shared. Where servants are part of the family of the property-holder, they will be found ready to defend property, although they be propertyless themselves. In such a place Socialism cannot cast roots.

The status of the servant changed by degrees; it changed in the same measure as the capitalist system of exploitation unfolded, and as the capitalist exploiter took shape. In even step and tread with his evolution, and presently at a more rapid pace, the class of the propertyless became more numerous, and in increased numbers did its members look for service in the families of the capitalist exploiters. But the functions they were now to fill, and for which they applied, were not the same as of yore. They were not now expected to help the property-holder to work. Work ceased by degrees to be performed "at home." Those who applied for work went to the shops, the yards, the factories, and the mills: This differentiation of labor transformed the character of the serving class proper. It became a class that performed former days disappeared, and the lucky, the menial of to-day, sprang up, anxious to escape want, and greedy to partake of the crumbs that fell from Dives' table. The community of labor and of enjoyment, the patriarchal relations between master and servant of our colonial days, and of the first few decades of our independent national existence, dropped with the development of the capitalist system among us, and with it also went by the board the solidarity that had existed between the proletariat and the property-holders.

In lieu of the old, however, a new sort of solidarity sprang up between the master and his menial. Where a large number of these are retained, there are also many degrees among them. Each individual strives to rise, to increase his hire, and thereby his own importance over his fellows. Success in this direction depends upon the whim of the master. The more skillfully the menial accommodates and adapts himself to his master, i. e., the more completely he succeeds in wiping out his own individuality, and the greater his success in outstripping his fellows in this ignoble race, all the better are his prospects. Again, the larger the income of the master, and the greater his power and distinction, all the more plentiful are the pickings for his menials; this holds good especially with regard to those menials who are held for show, whose only task is to make a parade of the superfluities which their master enjoys, to assist him in squandering his wealth, and to stand "true" and "loyal" by him throughout his career of folly and of crime. Accordingly, the modern servant, the breed of menials we now meet wherever large capitalists settle down, is drawn into peculiar relations of intimacy with his master, and he has, as a matter of course, developed into a secret foe of the exploited and oppressed working people; not infrequently he excels even his master in the reckless treatment of these. The master, if he has any sense at all, will not kill the hen that lays him the golden eggs; he would preserve her, not for himself alone, but also for his successors. The menial is not held back by any such considerations; like the eunuchs, he has no posterity.

The characteristics of the menial are, however, detected not alone among the propertyless people from the lower, but also among those of the upper classes. The aristocratic and the plebeian lackey go hand in hand. No wonder there is nothing the people hate more heartily than the flunkies, the lackeys, the menial class, whatever their extraction, whose servility towards the upper and brutality to the lower ranks of society are fast becoming as proverbial among us as they are in older countries. The words "lackey" and "menial" already convey the meaning of the very essence of villainess.

The growing intensity of exploitation, the yearly swelling quantity of capitalists' surplus, together with the resulting extravagances of luxury, all favor a steady increase of the menial class—the class least favorable to the progress of Socialism.

But despite the power of these causes, other tendencies are fortunately working in an opposite direction: the steady going revolution in industry with its encroachments upon the family, its withdrawing from the sphere of household duties one occupation after another and turning them into special industries, and, above all, the infinite division and subdivision of labor, are building up the various trades of barbers, waiters, cabmen, etc. Long after these trades branched off from their original trunk of the menial class and became independent pursuits, they preserved the characteristics of their origin; nevertheless, as time passes, these ugly characteristics are wearing off and the members of these trades are acquiring the qualities and methods of thought of the industrial wage-working class.

However numerous the menial class may be in its ramifications, it is not now, and was not even in the luxuriant days of the declining Roman Empire, capacious enough to absorb the whole proletariat class. The steady displacement of labor by the perfection of machinery, the concentration of capital, and a score of other causes, all of them the results of the development of capital, increase the number of the propertyless people immeasurably faster than they can be taken up by the class of the menials. To these masses, whether they consist of able-bodied men and women or children, old people, the crippled and infirm, unable to work, there is nothing left but to beg, steal or prostitute themselves. The alternative forced upon these is either to perish or to throw overboard all sense of shame, honor and self-respect. They could prolong their existence only by giving precedence to their own personal and immediate wants rather than to their regard for their own reputation. That such a condition cannot but exercise the most demoralizing and corrupting influence is self-evident.

Furthermore, the effect of this corrupting influence is all the more intensified by the circumstance that the unemployed poor are utterly superfluous in the existing social order; that, not only does it not need them, but, on the contrary, it would be relieved of an undesirable burden by their extinction. Whatever class is superfluous, whatever class has no necessary functions to fulfill, must perish; that is a law that applies both to the high and the low.

Beggars cannot even indulge the self-deception that they are necessary to the social system; they have no recollections of a time when their class rendered any services to society; they cannot brag about their power, and force their parasitic existence upon society. They are only tolerated. Humility is, consequently, the first duty of the beggar, and is the highest virtue of the poor. Like the menials, this class of the proletariat also is servile towards the powerful; it furnishes no opposition against the existing social order. On the contrary, it ekes out its existence from the bones thrown at it by the rich; how could it want to abolish them? Furthermore, beggars are not themselves exploited; the higher the degree of exploitation is carried against the workmen, and the larger the incomes of the rich, all the more have the beggars to expect. Like the menial class, they are partakers of the fruits of exploitation; what could move them to put an end to that system? When William M. Tweed, the shining star of Tammany twenty odd years ago, was unmasked and brought to justice for his wholesale plunder of the public treasury, it was this class among the population of New York City that stuck to him fastest; he had been a generous almoner to it; nor has the character of Tammany's "following" materially changed since then, although that of Goo Goo organization of "reformers" is closely competing with Tammany in this respect.

This division of the proletariat constitutes, strictly speaking, the SLUMS; never yet has it shown the least spontaneity of spirit for resistance against the system of exploitation. But neither is it a bulwark of the present system. Cowardly and unprincipled, it readily leaves in the lurch those whose aims it has taken so soon as wealth and power have slipped from their hands. This class has never taken the lead in any revolutionary movement; but it has always been found on hand, during social disturbances, ready to fish in troubled waters. Occasionally it has given the last kick to a falling class; as a rule, however, it has satisfied itself with exploiting and corrupting every revolution that has broken out, and to be ready to betray it at the earliest opportunity.

The capitalist system of production has given strong increment to the slums; it steadily sends to them fresh recruits; in the large centers of industry it constitutes a considerable portion of the population.

STRIKES.

An Address Before the Pioneer Alliance of the S. T. & L. A.

BROOKLYN, August 14.—Last week Comrade Hugo Vogt delivered an address on strikes, as illustrated by the miners' and other recent conflicts. He presented the development and growth of the coal mining industry of the United States from its infancy, and showed the general sinking of the wages earned in the industry, until to-day we find native-born miners "scabbing" the Slav and the Hun for a pitiable wage. The speaker showed further that the reason for a great deal of the degradation of the miner lay in the fact that the Ratchfords, the McBrides and other leaders of the miners had simply used them as cattle and had sold them out to the highest political bidder, instead of organizing them politically for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of the mine owners. The speaker substantiated each statement with such an array of facts that doubt became impossible. He went on to show that there is no hope for the miners in the Gompers form of organization; that the miner must unite his political power in conjunction with other wage workers, and become imbued with the knowledge that there can be no genuine relief for the wealth producers than by the political overthrow of capitalism and the substitution of the Co-operative commonwealth. The lecture for next Saturday, August 21, is to be "The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance: Relation to Political Action." The lecturer will be Daniel DeLeon. The object of this lecture is to show the necessity of trades unions using their united political power, through their own working-class party, to resist the degrading conditions which our present economic development forces upon the wage-worker—let his calling be the most skilled or the most simple form of labor. Four applications for membership were received, among them three trolley-men.

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.

GROANS FOR MCKINLEY CHEERS FOR THE S. L. P.

SAN FRANCISCO, August 12.—Under the auspices of the combined Social Labor party organizations and the Trades and Labor Alliance of San Francisco, a mass meeting was held in Metropolitan Temple, Tuesday evening, August 2, to consider, from the Socialist standpoint, the non-appearance of the prosperity promised under the McKinley administration.

In opening the meeting, the chairman said: "The pledges and conduct of both old parties have proved their fitness to be forever removed from public power. The condition of the people, while not the result of any one particular capitalist party, is supported and continued by them all. That greatest task of mankind—to govern itself, is to be accomplished only by thoughtful and studious attention to material affairs, and the best possible use of the conclusions of the highest thought of the age. The speeches of to-night are impelled in their desire to address you by their absolute certainty of the coming of an epoch of opposite industrial character to that of the present; an epoch which encroaches upon the present with no soft intrusion, but is placing upon the workers of this transition period a grievous load of oppression and injustice; the termination of which is the desire of all who are interested in the welfare and progress of the race."

George Speed gave a clear-cut exposition of the tricks of politicians, the intelligent use of political and economic co-operation by the capitalists, and showed the insanity of a continuance of proletarian adherence to old party principles, whose only basis was the continuation of a living for profit and a production for gain, all at the expense of the producer.

William Edlin directed his audience's attention to the ethical possibilities of the coming social order as contrasted with the immoralities of the present. His remarks were well chosen and delivered effectively, and the rounds of applause which were enthusiastically given by the audience, showed their appreciation of his well presented argument.

The following resolutions were read, and, on motion, adopted by the unanimous rising vote of the audience, who followed their vote with cheers for the Social Labor party and groans for McKinley:

WHEREAS, William McKinley was elected President of the United States upon his promise and that of the Republican party that the mills would open, that the workers of the nation would find remunerative employment, and that a general and genial prosperity would be felt immediately upon the restoration of confidence consequent upon the election of McKinley and the people's faith in the monetary and protective policy of the Republican party, and

WHEREAS, The masses of this country have diligently observed the affairs of the nation, hoping to descry the approach of prosperity, only to see that there was no appreciable increase in productive enterprise; nor any advance in the reward to the producer; no employment, remunerative or otherwise, for the standing army of the unemployed, and that that confidence, so persistently promised, is not evidenced in the organized protests against the further spoliation of the miners and other workers by their masters; therefore, seeing too plainly the engines of a corrupt government used against the people, and not recognizing a prosperity signified by wealth supported by force on the one hand, and industry made miserable by every form of legal and military restriction on the other, be it, and it is hereby

RESOLVED, That we, the citizens of San Francisco, in mass meeting assembled, denounce as intentional and infamous deceptions the promises of the Republican party; we denounce the acts of the Republican officials as being as palpably insincere as were those of their Democratic predecessors, all being inimical to the prosperity and welfare of the masses, and we see in the concerted action of the old parties in upholding the present abuses, a part of the continuation of the struggle of capitalism, by political means, to extend and intensify the economic degradation of the producers of these United States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the working class and honest citizens of this city and country, to leave the parties of perfidious promises, and join the Socialist Labor party, the only political organization whose principle, when put in operation by the people, will bring to the worker the full measure of his product and insure the righting of the economic evils of to-day by placing in the hands of the people all the means of production and distribution.

The Socialist Männerchor's singing of the "Socialist March" was followed by the "Marseillaise," and the enthusiasm of this American audience rose as they heard the Germans sing the favorite hymn of France.

M. W. Wilkins spoke for nearly an hour, conclusively proving the fallacy of the tariff and the money arguments as to their benefit to the worker. He showed the schemes of the coal operators, the perfidy of the "labor" leaders, or fakirs, and the gullibility of the public, which gained its information from a press forever bound to support the private ownership of the means of production, even at the expense of the life of the worker. Mr. Wilkins left no room for argument favorable to the increase of either wage or employment by any old line political or economic policy. The imbecility of the coal miners' strike was touched upon, and it was conclusively shown that through the demands of the miners were conceded, it at best gave them poor and precarious existence in the land of plenty, and rewarded their industry with dishonor, danger and death.

The meeting closed with a song by the Männerchor, and hundreds of people for the first time heard why their promised prosperity was not and could not be under capitalism. A VOTER.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END IN INDIA.

When the history of the downfall of British rule in India comes to be written, nothing, I venture to think, will appear more contemptible to the next generation than the miserable cowardice of English public men and the English press at the critical juncture. Neither our statesmen nor our journalists dare look facts in the face. The former are afraid of the unpopularity which they would certainly incur with the moneyed and professional classes if they took the steps which some of them at least know to be essential to save the situation (if it can be saved); the latter write, as it were, from hand to mouth, and put forward only just so much of the truth as will not upset their employers, or offend the pensioned Anglo-Indian mediocrities—Sir Tom, Sir Dick, Sir Harry, Sir Bill—who have earwigged their editors. Thus it comes about that, between the deliberate misrepresentations of politicians—of which Lord George Hamilton's systematic lying for his five thousand a year is a loathsome example—and the conspiracy of silence on the part of the press, the nation at large is still ignorant of the desperate situation which has been created in India by our misgovernment and frightful economic tyranny. Some idea may be formed of how desperate the position really is from the fact, as Sir William Wedderburn forced the Secretary of State for India to admit in the House of Commons the other night, that the government of India, with Lord George Hamilton's concurrence, has actually ordered that NO DEATHS BY STARVATION SHALL BE RETURNED BY THE OFFICIALS WHEREVER IT IS IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE TO FORGE ANOTHER CAUSE OF DEATH. I read Lord George Hamilton's answer to Sir William Wedderburn's question on this matter to an old friend of mine, who considers that I am quite mad on this Indian question, if not on others. He at once said vehemently: "Something must be very wrong indeed there. It is quite an un-English proceeding." "Such proceedings, unfortunately, are the rule rather than the exception in British India," I replied; and for the first time my friend, who is a rich man, began, I do believe, to feel uneasy about his investments in Indian stocks.

There is the mischief. The whole problem of administration in British India is considered not from the point of view of what is best for the people, nor even as to how best to secure permanence of British rule, but solely from the standpoint of the pensioner, the home-charger, the interest-receiver, the profit-monger, the Anglo-Indian official. Politicians and pressmen, financiers and traders, are all engaged in one huge conspiracy to prevent any other and higher aspect of the matter from being discussed. The House of Commons, in this as in other things, exhibits such miserable incapacity and decrepitude as prove clearly that it is completely worn out, even as a critical body. And Victoria, whose noble sixty years of sloth and greed the nation has just been celebrating, she takes the same view of her duties, and is content to be handed down in the annals of the East as the Empress of Famine and the Queen of Black Death.

But now that, in the faces of protest after protest, we have continued to drain away, year after year, the wealth of the poverty-stricken inhabitants of India, and to deliberately manufacture famine by our infamous extortion of a huge tribute even in a famine year—now that on the top of the murder of millions, and death of thousands by the plague of the poor, comes something suspiciously like the first minor sputterings of the volcano of revolt—what a scare we note at once! In Poona, perhaps the finest and most enlightened city in British India, the British officials have been carrying on their usual mean and brutal fashion. Native advice and assistance were, it seems, offered, but were contemptuously pushed aside. In consequence, native usages, prejudices if you will, were rudely outraged, and planned assassination followed. What else could the people do? We don't approve of assassination, of course, but there is no other remedy whatever for wrongs committed by the Government of India. And it may well be that, with their countrymen being starved to death by Englishmen all round them, the violation of the domestic arrangements of the Hindoos was deliberately used by determined men merely as a means of rousing popular feeling. That, also, apart from our systematic murdering by extortion, grave mistakes of detail have been made, is proved even by the official telegrams. The practically simultaneous riot at Chitpur, near Calcutta, is much more important. It really looks as if Mohammedans and Hindoos made common cause against the Government, in order to secure a paltry mud-hut built on Hindoo land, which had been devoted to Moslem uses. The more trivial the cause of the outbreak the more serious does the outbreak itself appear. And this rather that the people seemed to have gained what they sought. It has long been stated, notably by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that the old race and religious feuds between Mohammedan and Hindoo were being crushed out in India by the pressure of English domination; and here is certainly a remarkable example of this. That the believers in the two great antagonistic religions of India should even for once sink their differences to attack the tyrannous European is itself, as Reuter's correspondent on the spot sees clearly, a most dangerous symptom. Yet these two outbreaks, on different sides of India, would count for little were they not accompanied by a growing manifestation of sullen hatred throughout our great dependency. Without the tacit approval of the bulk of the natives we could not hold India for a week. The doom of our rule is pronounced, as all who know India are well aware, when once the patient natives become even quietly hostile. "Your strength in India," said Shere Ali's envoy to Sir Lewis Pelly twenty years ago, as they paced the ramparts of Peshawar in the cool of the evening, "your strength in India is just sixty thousand men well armed." That is far more true to-day than it was then; for we have no moral hold left on the country whatever.

And now let us say plainly, as Englishmen who are utterly sick of the infamous wrong and robbery that is being done in our name, who regard with horror the extortion of a tribute of more than £500,000,000 in gold since the last great famine from our impoverished fellow subjects, who would gladly see the villains tried and hanged, from Lord George Hamilton upwards, who have created this famine and have murdered the natives by the million—let us say plainly as Englishmen that if ever rebellion was justified in the history of the world it is justified in British India to-day. No more intolerable tyranny ever crushed and ruined a suffering people. This we Social-Democrats have already said in every great city in this island, and we intend to say it again, and again, and again. This very number of "Justice," too, will be sent to every native newspaper in India, in order that the natives may know that there is at least an active and growing section of Englishmen at home who sympathise with them in their calamities, and wish them a speedy deliverance from their oppressors. Thanks to the work of our forefathers, even this cabinet of reactionists can't suppress "Justice" or blow us Englishmen from guns without trial; though I have not the slightest doubt they would gladly do it, if they dared, when times get hot. The natives of India are quite right, then, to revolt, and to organize for the destruction of our infamous rule; and though I do not myself believe that emancipation can come quite yet, I am confident that I am expressing the opinion of every Democrat and Socialist in this country when I say that the sooner it does come the better we shall all be pleased.

H. M. HYNDMAN.
London "Justice."

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

E. A. B. South Hadley Falls, Mass.—Rather long and too "general" for this season, campaign season. If you let it stand until after November, may use it then.

J. McG., Newburg, N. Y.—To take up that question now by a lengthy essay is to impute to the question an importance which it has not, especially as no political party advocates it. It is, however, carefully worked out, and may be useful at some later juncture.

S. L. P., Philadelphia, Pa.—Yes, indeed, the world do move; and that we are aware of the fact, and appreciate it, these columns give evidence.

"Prohibitionist," Philadelphia.—Prohibition, as you understand it, is a very different thing from the Prohibition of the Prohibition party. Your prohibitionism amounts to saying that drunkenness or alcoholism incapacitates man from rational and many action; with that we have no quarrel. The Prohibitionist, however, of the Standard Oil magnate Wardwell, the labor skinner Bascom, the note shaver Wheeler, the Staten Island, Tennessee and N. Y. "Voice" land-sharks, etc., etc., is a horse of a different color. The Prohibition of these wretches, which is the Prohibition of the Prohibition party, maintains that the cause of involuntary poverty is drink, and that, if the manufacture, importation, exportation and sale of liquor is prohibited, labor will no longer be found impoverished and enslaved. With this we radically disagree. As we are quite certain that the above named Prohibition capitalist luminaries do, collectively and individually, produce more misery, and, through misery, drunkenness than any number of rumholes put together, and as we do not take these Prohibition luminaries to be fools, however ignorant they may be, and therefore hold them to be a lot of Bible-quoting and canting hypocrites, who know full well the mischief they do, we do not think it wrong to give a twist to the collective tail of the Prohibition cat whenever the spirit so moves us. The doing of the deed helps to enlighten. We know it has had that effect.

Secretary, S. C. C. of Massachusetts, Holyoke, Mass.—Comrade De Leon begs to say that the time asked for is no longer at his disposal.

C. R., N. Y.—More than one-half, fully 65 per cent. of the raw material of sugar used in the United States is imported.

B. H. Sampson, Boston, Mass.—The information, upon which was written the article on Mr. Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Librarian, was gathered from and went the rounds of the Massachusetts capitalist papers. As Mr. Swift is not in the ranks of the Socialist Labor party, but in the ranks of the capitalist parties, the inference is justifiable that they would not wilfully misquote him, and the inference is all the more justifiable as we have not anywhere read a published denial of the language imputed to him. If, however, the papers upon which we rely for information outside of the camp of Socialism misstated him, we shall be pleased to give space to a card from him stating the facts and making the correction.

Major J. E. Burbank, U. S. A., Malden, Mass.—If the "Chicago platform is well enough for you, what are you kicking about? We did not even know of your existence, and surely did not go out of our way to pick you up and disturb your repose. Now, Major dear, the same privilege which you enjoy of placing yourself behind the age fully 100 years, we claim for ourselves of placing ourselves abreast of it; and if, Major dear, of the U. S. A., your knowledge in the military art or science is as ante-diluvian as your knowledge of economics, you must be just the sort of a Major that a well-equipped foe must want to have pitted against him to be quite sure that he will wallop you, a thing that will certainly happen, seeing that, to your ignorance, you couple just the sort of insolence and conceit that always helps along the walloping process.

New York.

TROY, August 16.—Section Troy has been compelled to postpone the raffle for the Apollo harp, which is to be disposed of to secure a fund to establish permanent headquarters, owing to the late hour at which some of the remittances arrived, and also to give the members time to dispose of a few more tickets. The date decided upon is September 9th.

PARTISAN POLITICS IN TRADES UNIONS.

In our last issue we reproduced a remarkable article, remarkable not only for its own merit but also by reason of its appearance in the "Typographical Journal" for this month. We now pile on the agony by reproducing the below equally remarkable production by Robert Bandlow, of Cleveland, O., from the same issue of the "Typographical Journal":

What or what not trades unions are organized for—whether or no political purposes must be advanced by the wage-workers—is a question that will, for some time, remain a bone of contention among those who claim to have the interest of the toiling masses at heart. Consequently, it is not astonishing that the secretary of the Ohio Allied Crafts Union should be sorry to read that, in the Cleveland "Citizen," the editor made bold enough to point out the inconsistency of the delegates who attended the last convention and passed a resolution preventing political discussions, an action unwarranted, because the membership at large in the State had no voice in determining the wisdom of such course. To cap the climax of such position, and regardless whether thereby the harmony was disturbed and a "fruitful source of disension between its members" was augmented, the representatives tendered a vote of thanks to the State Executive, because he had seen fit to award a partisan politician with an office he had been yearning for as a reward for his faithful services to his party.

As a trades unionist, pure and "simple," as one who knows he has the cause of unionism and labor at heart, I can not fail to express my condemnation of such practices on the part of representatives of organized labor. I have been convinced that to accomplish the emancipation of labor, and to abolish the damnable system under which the wealth-producers are exploited of the fruits of their toil, it is essential that the organizations must base their efforts on a class-conscious propaganda for the overthrow of the wage system. Any attempt to digress from this course leads us away from the goal. To aid individuals to rise momentarily above their class is contrary to the interests of the class, and must be disparaged. Overlooking the fact that the subtle influences of capitalism are thus used to disrupt the organizations of the wage-workers, it must be born in mind that seldom those elevated remain true to the cause of labor. I take it, this is due to the fact that the average worker who receives recognition at the hands of a political party in power, guided by the egotistic desire to do for self what he can, seeks to advance his individual welfare, regardless of what becomes of his fellow-workers, and the lack of discipline and absence of knowledge of scientific development of social conditions may be an excuse acceptable to those actuated by like motives.

Socialists, as a rule, are condemned for their intolerance, because they hold that to advance selfish ends is treachery to the cause of labor. Inasmuch as Socialism would establish a condition of society in which none would suffer, the advocates of this propaganda have reasons to be satisfied with being charged with so heinous an offense. Possibly in no branch of industry has the effect of the capitalistic system made itself so felt as in our own, and, it appears to me, it is a laudable undertaking, indeed, to advocate a propaganda that will enable every worker to satisfy his wants by creating opportunities in which he can apply his labor power in productive or useful occupations. Therefore it is evident that our organizations must be based upon a principle that will accomplish this end, and this, to me, seems to be the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

The competitive system, being responsible for the misery that abounds, must be overthrown and society so regulated that its wants can be supplied by socialized effort in every respect. To this end the trades union movement must be augmented by political action, and that upon class-conscious lines. The workers produce all wealth—the result must remain the property of the worker. Being interdependent upon one another, the individual workers must collectively engage in the production of what may be needed for their collective welfare. Rent, interest and profit have no place in such society, and could not exist. Either one of these factors are extortion, and the reason we do not accomplish more than we do in our organizations now is because the great mass is actuated by the desire to improve its condition by exploitation, each one considering his fellow-man a victim for his practices.

Fakirs, skates and ignoramuses are terms usually applied by Socialist propagandists to those who are presumed to be conversant with the economic condition of the workers, but use their knowledge to advance their individual interests at the expense of the class of which they are a part. It may or may not create a very paternal spirit to be thus dubbed, nevertheless, to be classed in these categories has the wholesome effect of drawing a line of demarcation between the conscious and the confused workers, and few like to be confronted with the charge of being traitors to their class interests. Honesty of purpose is no admissible excuse when the results are so disastrous for the wage-slave.

Let us be one or the other—an upholder of the existing order, or an advocate of the revolutionary propaganda. Either aid and abet the ruling class in its efforts to still further enslave the toilers, or ally yourself with the only party that will forever wipe out this degrading wage system. Be conscious of your class interests and take your place in the struggle to overthrow capitalist regime. Cast your ballot for the same interests that you advocate industrially, and you will find that political purposes will advance our cause with wonderful celerity, and no temptations will allure the worker to betray his class. Partisan politics will be and must be taken up—class-conscious labor politics—the propaganda of Socialism.

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PARTY NEWS.

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

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 124 William Street, N. Y.
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary M. S. Hayes, 113 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.
National Executive Committee.
Meeting of August 17th, with Comrade Seubert in the chair. Those absent were Bennett, Furman and Malkiel, of whom the latter two were excused. The financial report for the week ending August 14th shows receipts to have been \$56.85; expenditures, \$42.93; balance for the week, \$13.92.
The secretary reported having written to the party organizations that participated in the convention on Aug. 1st, called by the Jewish oppositionists. Section - Fredericksburg, Va., reports the expulsion of George Perry and William O'Brien for having given support to the capitalist parties.
Charters were granted to new Sections in Braddock and Tarentum, Pa.; Everett, Mass., and Corning, Ohio.
HENRY STAHL, Sec. Pro. tem.

Connecticut.

HARTFORD, August 3.—Section Hartford desires that the party at large be informed of its action against Branch No. 2 and the grounds for such action. Therefore it wishes the following to be published in all our party papers, from which it will appear that the Branch No. 2 had, as far back as February 1, been seeking to disrupt the party.
The trouble began with one Holzman, who came here about that time. We suspected him and decided to make inquiries regarding his character. Through Comrade Kuhn, National Secretary, and Section Yonkers, where he had been, we discovered that he had been suspended from said Section Yonkers for very dishonest conduct. This following is the report of the Grievance Committee, to which the matter of Branch No. 2 was referred after the conduct had become unbearable:
Hartford, July 30.
Meeting of Investigating or Grievance Committee, all present.
Communication of Branch No. 2 (Jewish Branch), received, the contents of which was to ignore the authority of the Investigating Committee; also of Central Committee, in the matter of charges.
The Investigating Committee proceeded in the performance of their duties. It was shown to the committee that Branch No. 2 on February 7, 1897, indorsed the starting of a "press club" to publish "Vorwärts," a paper hostile to the party in the Jewish jargon, without informing Section Hartford. On March 7th they decided at their regular branch meeting that all proceedings of their meetings be published in that opposition sheet ("Vorwärts"), and no other, thereby ignoring all the official organs of the party. On April 4th a vote was taken at the regular branch meeting, and carried, to recognize as the official party organ the above mentioned "Vorwärts." On July 25th Branch No. 2 elected a delegate named Feinsilver, and member of the Central Committee, to a convention of the oppositionist Jews, held August 1st at New York City to represent the above Branch, and that the funds to defray the expenses of Delegate Feinsilver was taken from the funds of Branch No. 2, such funds belonging to Section Hartford. We discovered later that \$15, which still remained in the hands of the treasurer of Branch No. 2, was voted to be sent to the "Zukunft" (Jewish opposition paper) in order to help the combination of the two lingering sheets. Anybody could see by such action that they expected to be suspended by Hartford Section.

Hartford, August 1.
Joint meeting of Section Hartford, Comrade William Sallor in the chair. Communications were read and received; report of Central Committee read and received; report of Investigating Committee read and received. The charges against Branch No. 2 and late Organizer Schaeffer came up for discussion. Comrade Groninger took particular pains in bringing a number of copies of THE PEOPLE to the meeting and read the various articles, including the result of the general vote on the Jewish press matter in order to show "the justice of the cause of the oppositionist Jews."
Comrade Abe Geffer, the Secretary of Branch No. 2, and who also belonged, until lately, to the oppositionists, but who recanted and joined the party again since the suspension of Branch No. 2, was allowed the privilege of the floor. He made an appeal to his fellow countrymen urging them not to give up the Socialist Labor party, and be led by a shiftless few, who are disappointed in not being able to make a living out of the Socialist labor party, and are now trying, in consideration of their disappointment, to disrupt the Socialist Labor party by urging the Jews and all the rest of the unthinking and uneducated Jewish comrades to follow them in their dishonorable cause. He said: "You who worked eight long years to help spread the doctrines of Socialism, and you who have always declared your confidence in the S. L. P. in eventually removing the poverty and misery among your class and finally establish their emancipation are being deceived by some men. I have been with you in this unworthy opposition scheme until I found out that I was misguided. I started to read the other side; then I became mindful of what I was doing, and the more I read of the side of which we were trying to sever ourselves from, the Socialist Labor party, the more I became convinced that we were in the wrong. I therefore appeal to you to give up that wild goose chase and stay in the party."

Grand Pic-Nic and Summer Nights Festival

SUNDAY, August 29th, 1897,
WISSEL'S COLOSSEUM PARK, Ridgewood, L. I.,
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

United Scandinavian Workingmen's Unions
Of Greater New York,
Together with Swedish Machinist Union, L. A. 88 of the S. T. & L. A.
For the Benefit of the Scand. Labor Press.

Performance by the Dramatical Club "Framat" and German Turn-Verein "Vorwärts"—Music by the Progr. Musical Union of Brooklyn and Soc. Drum and Fire Corps, N. Y.—Singing by Scand. Workingmen's Singing Societies of New York and Brooklyn, Ladies Singing Society "Echo," Danish Singing Society "Dana" and "Socialist Liedertafel" of Brooklyn (German).
TICKETS, admitting Gent & Lady, 25 Cts.
Games with Prizes, etc.
Park to open at 11 o'clock A. M. Take Myrtle Ave. Elevated R. R. to Ridgewood, or Ridgewood Trolley Cars from Broadway Ferris.

A motion to sustain the charges and suspend Branch No. 2 (including Schaeffer as organizer) was carried by 24 in favor and none against.
Charles Stodel was then elected organizer of Section Hartford.
A motion was made and carried that all property belonging to Section Hartford in the hands of the late organizer, Mr. Schaeffer, also of Branch No. 2, be turned over to the newly elected organizer.
A committee was then elected to receive such property.
In conclusion, I must state that the Central Committee has decided to accept the recommendation offered by the German Branch that we should take no steps to reorganize the Jewish Branch at present, but wait until some future time. We have already admitted a number of the Jewish Comrades into the American Branch who are loyal, and who were disgusted with the transactions of their ex-Comrades, and are the best element of the late branch.
CHARLES STODEL, Organizer.

New York. THE TICKET.

For Chief Judge Court of Appeals: THEODORE F. CUNO.
Socialist Labor Party Nominations for New York County.
A primary meeting of the Socialist Labor party of the County of New York to nominate County Candidates took place at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, on Saturday, August 14th, 8 p. m. The candidates nominated are as follows:

For Sheriff: PATRICK CAMPBELL.
For County Clerk: HENRY STAHL.
For District Attorney: LEON A. MALKIEL.
For Register: HARRY LIGHTBOURNE.
Socialist Labor Party Nominations for the Borough of Manhattan.
A primary meeting of the Socialist Labor Party of the Borough of Manhattan to nominate Borough Candidates took place on Saturday, August 14th, 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
The candidates nominated are as follows:
For President of the Borough: C. THOMPSON.
For Coroner: JULIUS HALPERN, JOSEPH LEVITCH, RICHARD MORTAN, S. SCHLEUTER.

To the Assembly Districts, S. L. P., of New York.

The above organizations are requested to take notice that primary meetings will be called to nominate candidates for Members of Assembly as follows:
TUESDAY, AUG. 24, 8 P. M.
17th District, at 453 West 53d street.
16th District, at 98 Avenue C.
19th District, at 165 W. 47th street.
WEDNESDAY, AUG. 25, 8 P. M.
8th District, at 66 Essex street.
18th District, at 246 1st avenue.
30th District, at 206 E. 86th street.
31st District, at 1680 Park avenue.
FRIDAY, AUG. 27, 8 P. M.
4th District, at 165 East Broadway.
9th District, at 288 18th avenue.
13th District, at 62 Pitt street.
15th District, at 342 W. 42d street.
14th District, at 238 E. 10th street.
28th District, at 1497 Avenue A.
33d District, at 2105 2d avenue.
34th District, at South-east corner of 3d avenue and 149th street.
35th District, at 2994 3d avenue.
MONDAY, AUG. 30, 8 P. M.
3d Assembly District, at 455 West Broadway.
24th Assembly District, at 1059 2d avenue.
TUESDAY, AUG. 31, 8 P. M.
15th District, at 408 W. 50th street.
THURSDAY, SEPT. 2, 8 P. M.
10th District, at 414 5th street.
6th District, at 64 East 4th street.
26th District, at 313 East 71st street.
FRIDAY, SEPT. 3, 8 P. M.
20th District, at 231-233 E. 33d street.
23d District, at 19 Manhattan street.
SATURDAY, SEPT. 4, 8 P. M.
11th District, at 436 West 38th street.
32d District, at 304 East 101st street.
MONDAY, SEPT. 6, 8 P. M.
7th District, at 137 7th avenue.
22d District, at 216 East 41st street.
L. ABELSON, Organizer.
Socialist Labor Party of Greater New York.
An Assembly primary for the 3d Assembly District will be held at 18 Columbia street, Brooklyn, Friday, night, 8 p. m.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.
(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)
Delegate B. Korn, of the German Waiters' Union No. 1, was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., and Delegate L. Pomranz, of the Pressmen and Feeders' Union, was vice-chairman.
Ale and Porter Union No. 1 reported that they would attend the picnic of the C. L. F. on Labor Day at J. Noll's Schuetzen Park, One Hundred and Sixty-ninth street and Boston road, with the flag in a body. They will also attend the Singing Festival of the United Cities Singing Societies on Aug. 29 at Ridgewood Park, with the flag.
The members will assemble for this purpose at 1 p. m. at 342 West 42d street. For the Labor Day they will assemble at 4 p. m. at the park. It was decided that the workmen in three breweries which are to be organized shall be initiated in a body at \$1 per member. Tickets for the festival of the "Freie Deutsche Schule," on September 12, were accepted and tickets for the "blow-out" of the 9th Assembly District on August 22 were distributed.
Five subscription lists for the Socialist Labor party campaign were given to the shop delegates.
Furriers' Union endorsed the Socialist Labor party candidates.
Empire City Lodge Machinists are discussing the eight hour question, and will continue the same next meeting.
Silver Workers' Protective Association endorsed the report of its delegate to the recent convention of the S. T. & L. A., and also the report of the branch organization founded by its inimical delegate, Lawrence Timothy, at Providence, R. I. The candidates of the S. E. P. will be discussed at the next meeting.
Int. Pianomakers' Union received subscription lists for the S. L. P. campaign and referred to the branches.
Prog. Typographical Union, L. A. No. 83, reported having organized two shops. It was announced that the Carl Sahn Club, Chorus Union and Bill Posters' Union had held a conference and passed condemnatory resolutions against the Pressmen and Feeders' Union for withdrawing therefrom. The Hebrew-American Typographical Union expelled by the S. T. & L. A., was represented at said conference.
It was resolved to notify the "Abendblatt" not to publish this resolution, and to demand an explanation from the other unions relative to their action. The matter was also referred to the General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A.
It was further announced that the Hebrew-American Typographical Union has committees visiting the unions on the East Side and attempting to induce them into joining another central body in opposition to the N. Y. Central Labor Federation and United Hebrew Trades. This new body is to be "managed" by Josef "Baron" Dess.
It was resolved to request the G. E. B. that it issue a warning to the effect that the label of the S. T. & L. A. must not be antagonized.
Pressmen and Feeders' Union reported that they organized two shops. They requested that the boycott against Lipschitz Brothers, No. 173 East Broadway, be endorsed, as was done by the United Hebrew Trades. This was referred to the G. E. B.
Ind. Bakers, Branch No. 2, requested that it be excused for non-attendance. They are organizing the West Side.
An invitation from the Bohemian Butchers' Union No. 1 to attend a picnic on August 22 was received and accepted.
The committee which investigated the matter between the Waiters' unions reported having decided negatively concerning the request of Waiters' Alliance Liberty, and urged that organization to demonstrate its ability by organizing its particular calling thoroughly. The report was adopted.
It was resolved to request Comrade Rudolph Katz, of Troy, N. Y., at present residing at New York, to aid in the organizing of the Bohemian workmen in a central body. He accepted the offer, and gave a report as to existing conditions at Troy.
The Picnic Committee reported that all arrangements for the Labor Day festival had been made. The two prizes, one a handsome banner and one a silver goblet, will be on exhibition this Sunday.
Several delegates announced that they were organizing a Mixed Alliance and Drill Corps. Fifteen signatures had thus far been obtained. All desirous of joining should correspond under the above name at 64 E. 4th street.

Boston, Mass.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following stores:
Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St.
Cohen's Book Store, Washington St., on the Bridge.
Crosswell's Store, Harrison avenue, near Bennett St.

5th ANNUAL OUTING
OF THE
9th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT, S. L. P.,
on SUNDAY, August 22, '97,
at HUGO GROEBEL'S BOULEVARD PARK (Formerly Floral Park),
Boulevard and Angelique St., West Hoboken, N. J.
Prize Bowling and Prize Shooting for Gentlemen—DANCING—Also various Games for Prizes for Ladies and Children—Strict Union arrangements.
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ELECTION FUND.
TICKETS, 10 Cents a Person.
Boulevard Parks can be reached from 43d St., 14th St., Christopher and Barclay St. Ferris with Electric Cars. Also with Rutherford Electric Cars. Cars stop within 5 minutes walk from park.

THE DAILY PEOPLE
\$50,000 FUND.
Amount Pledged down to August 18th, 1897.
\$4,565.
The following amounts have been paid down to August 18th, incl.:
Previously acknowledged.....\$165.90
M. L. Morris, T. J. Morgan, L. C. Crowley, L. A. 72 S. T. & L. A., all of Chicago, Ill. 40 90
Total.....\$169.90
Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
—OF THE—
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of his right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.
With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.
To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.
Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.
Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.
Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.
Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.
Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.
The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crisis on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.
We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, individual war and social disorder; a common wealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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

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

Trades and Societies Calendar.
Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading free of charge at the rate of 85.00 per annum.
Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.
Carl Sahn Club (Musicians Union), Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., 414 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum.
Business Secretary: Frel.
Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1), Meetings at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade union labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.
Cigar-makers' Progressive International Union, N. Y. 99, Meetings every Friday at 8 p. m., 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m., District II (German), at 213 Forsyth street, every Saturday at 8 p. m., District III, meets at 167 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m., District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
German Waiters' Union of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1), Meetings every Friday at 8 p. m., Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1000 (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1), Meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Wolf, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 131 E. 4th St.
Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 73 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P., Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m. at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. ARBEJTEREN.
Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th Street and 3rd avenue, every Friday at 8 p. m.
Updosterers' Union of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1), Meetings at 4th Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance.
Organized 1872. Membership 10,000.
Principal Organization, New York and vicinity.
OFFICE: 64 E. 4th St. OFFICE HOURS, daily except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 5 o'clock P. M.
BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, Utica, Oswego, Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River, Passaic, N. J., Boston, Holyoke, Mass., New Haven and Waterbury, Conn., Luzern and Altoona, Pa.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.
WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.
The above society was founded in the year 1864 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 125 local branches with more than 13,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.00 for another 40 weeks without continuation of work with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$20.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit for \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 10 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to Home Health Financial Secretary, 35-37 3rd Ave., Room 28, New York City.

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Buffalo Comrades, Attention!
A special meeting of all branches S. L. P. will be held Sunday, August 22nd, at 2:30 p. m., in the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, Broadway, for the special purpose of hearing the report of the Committee on City Platform, and making the necessary changes in the platform.
The recently organized Labor Lyceum Association will hold the next meeting in the same hall Wednesday, August 25th, at 8 p. m. At that meeting the work of adopting by-laws will be completed and admission of members will be continued.
B. REINSTEIN.