



### VOL. VII.-NO. 24.



Republican and Democratic Cures Ex-amined and Found Wanting-The Com-modity Labor Bound to Go Down in Price While the Purchaser in the Capitalist Class-Exchange of Services

by Co-operation the Only Way to Un-tie the Knot-And the Means Thereto is None Other than the Socialist Labor Party, the Party of the Prole-

DES MOINES, Ia., Aug. 16th.

Dr. A. Rindler. Secretary of the State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of Iowa. Dear Comrade-Your letter of the

12th inst. with the notice that I was honored by the State Convention of the S. L. P. when at Davenport on the 7th inst, with the nomination for Lieutenant Governor of Iowa is duly received.

Let me say a few words in regard to the political situation of Iowa. There never was more urgent need for a sound workingmen's party, such as the Socialist Labor Party of Iowa is. In glancing over the political arena of our great State we find corruption on our great State we find corruption on every hand. The two great political parties, as they are called. Democratic and Republican, are making prepara-iions for an active campaign to be waged this coming fall. The amount of money that will be spent during the campaign and the eloquence that will be wasted on either side, would be al-most sufficient to meet the expenditure of our State government for one vear. of our State government for one year. And to what purpose? It is simply this, to turn one set of experienced boodlers out and to let another set of unexperiout and to let another set of unexperi-enced boodlers in. Both parties pro-pose to cure the disease through differ-ent remedies. The Republican party offers as a cue the single gold standard. The yellow metal might be good enough to help the eyesight, but it certainly cannot help the workingman who is out of employment, because he has pro-duced three times as many commodities of employment, because he has pro-duced three times as many commodities as he has been paid for. The glittering **bold** in the banks cannot help the work-ingman to empty the tank (the market) which he has helped to fill through the aid of machinery. The Democratic cure is more complicated; they offer us both metals and tell us workingmen that through the use of both metals we can entirely cure our disease and make the workingmen happy. A moment's reworkingmen happy. A moment's re-lection is necessary. If through the use of both metals we can cure our aliments, it is then worthy of consideration and it should require an intelligent investi-gation of every voter in the State of

Certainly through the free use of both Certainly through the free use of both metals at the mint of 16 to 1 prices would go up and all commodities or necessities would rise in price, and as labor is a commodity so labor would go up, too. So they tell us, of course. A little investigation from a scientific standpoint brings out the truth that the above statement wou't hold water. the above statement won't hold water Raising prices would only benefit the owner of commodities of merchandise, owner of commodities of merchandlse, etc., and the workingmen who have bothing to sell but their labor power (and they number nearly 60 per cent. of the population) cannot be benefited by rising prices. To illustrate: As a rule any other commodity outside of muscle you can withhold from imme-diate sale on the market; that is, if you know that prices of every other com-modity are tending to rise in the near future, you can store it away, and await the time when you can dispose of it at your expected price. But the working-man who has nothing but his labor power, cannot withhold his commodity from the market a single day. If he toes, starvation is his prospect. He must sell his commodity at once, and as the market since the age of machinery the market, since the age of machinery gan, has always been overcrowded, so man who consumes the labor power will not be hasty until he finds out the lowest possible market price, and that a barely a subsistence for the working-Once the product of the workingmen Once the product of the workingment is in the possession of the employer, he can take the advantage and sell it at a rising price. So we can plainly see that the workingman under free coinage of sliver has got to sell to the bidder, that is, sell his labor power at the lowest market price and consume it in return at the speculative market value. Socialist Labor Party is the only party in the State, also in the nation, that offers the true remedy for the disease of which mankind is suffering through out the civilized world. Its offer is the abolishing of the present system of individual production and distribution to that the tollers can get the full prod-uct of their labor. So that they may sell their labor for equal value of an-other man's labor of the same length of time and he can buy any other man's labor at a non-speculative price. To labor at a non-speculative price. To put it in plain English, when the work-ingman gets almost the full value of his labor he can exchange it in return for almost the full value of some one that here Developed and commun. for almost the full value of some one ehe's labor. Production and consump-tion would be equally balanced, the sur-flus on the market would not be great and the employment of labor more per-manent and prices steady. Only then and not until then will the workingmen realize the full benefit of their toil. In studying the different alms and tactics studying the different aims and there of the present political parties I have come to the conclusion that the Socialist Labor Party is the only party where the workingman can work out his own sal-

vation by voting the Socialist Labor Party ticket into power. I gladly accept the honor which you I glady accept the honor which you have bestowed upon me with the nom-ination for the second highest office in the State, and I will do all in my power to spread and agliate the principle of Socialism through the abolishing of the present competitive system by sub-stituting the co-operative commonsultuing the co-operative common-wealth where every man who will labor shall enjoy the fruits of his labor, and those who can and won't shall be treated in the language of St. Paul, "The man that does not labor neither shall he eat."

M, S., HIRSCHFIELD.

### OKLAHOMA IN LINE.

Formation of the First Socialist Labor Party Section and Address by the Same.

MEDFORD, O. T., Saturday, Aug. 28, A meeting was held at the residence of O. M. Howard this p. m. for the purpose of organizing a Section of the Socialist Labor party. O. M. Howard was chosen chairman and G. G. Halbrooks as sec-retary. The platform and constitution were read by the secretary and the aims and objects of the organization explained by the chairman. After enrollment of names-twelve in number-O. M. Howard was elected organizer, and the election of permanent officers deferred until next meeting, which was set for Saturday, September 11. On motion the organizer was instructed to issue address and declaration of Section Medford, as follows:

#### ADDRESS.

Conscious of the terrible condition into which the people of earth have drifted because of the prevailing social system, and being fully convinced that the condition of the masses must continue to grow ever worse under the competitive and capitalistic form of production, we, the charter members of Section Medford, declare ourselves in favor of and now ready for a better form of government-the Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth.

Desirous of rendering the greatest aid in our power to the accomplishment of the ends sought, and having determined that all so-called reform movements are at best only palligitives, we unequivocally declare our failt in the minimum and declare our faith in the principles and organization of the Socialist Labor party of America, and link our fortunes, energies and efforts, weak though they may be, thereto, with high hope that Socialism may prevail in our day, and firm determination to demand and

help secure even and exact justice to all. We endorse and adopt the platform of principles and demands of the Socialist Labor party of America entire, and send greetings to our Comrades in the cause throughout the universe, assuring them that the fair Territory of Okla-homa will be represented in that grand norma will be represented in that grand procession which is steadily marching toward a more humane and just eco-nomic system and a grander era, with banner held aloft proclaiming our faith in the ultimate success of universal and there is a succession of the succ ideal Socialism.



Interesting Items on the Movement. SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Aug. 23d.-I now take occasion to tell the Comrades in the East through THE PEOPLE how we are getting along with our street meetings here in San Francisco, and show them that the "gold craze," that just now is epidemic here, has not swept us off our feet. We have had since the last week in April of this year up to date, not less than ninety-two street meetings conducted by the undersigned under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee of Section San Francisco, S. L. P. From two hundred to a thousand people have attended the meetings, and great interest is taken in what the speakers have got to say, and when some poor deluded fool cries out, "Go to work!" as often happens, it is hard to prevent the crowd from taking a hard-handed interest in him. The poor fools do not know anything better than WORK, and like a parrot cry it out on every occasion. The comrades have seen through our national organ an account of that egg party we had here not long ago. Well, it's a new way to do politics: lots of trouble to first buy the eggs, and then to let them ripen. Of course, that may boom the egg in-dustry in this State. I wonder how many eggs our opponents think it is necessary to procure to carry the State? The Socialists here think more of their solid literature than eggs, no matgood solid literature than eggs, no mat-ter how ripe, and the people at large seem to do the same. We have at the street meetings held this summer sold 458 copies of Merrie England, and other books, besides THE PEOPLE and the "New Charter." and for free distribution we have used up to date about 5,000 leaflets and manifestoes. A policement the other night said that about 5,000 leaflets and manifestoes. A policeman the other night said that he would arrest "the whole Socialist grang." as he expressed himself, if they did not "make so damn much fuss about it." He was not explicit as to whether he meant the public or the Socialists, and he decided not to give us any free advertising. GUS BRAUN, Assistant City Organizer. Assistant City Organizer, Section San Francisco, S. L. P.

### NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 12, 1897.

# "THE CONVENTION."

last Aug. 29.

As Many Views as Delegates-Revolu-tion and Conservatism at Once-Not One Clear Head-Every One Either Dodgesor Prates, or Poses, or Schemes. but all are on the Run.

BRIGHTON, Ill., Sept. 3.-I have just returned from the strangest convention the world has ever seen. Just what convention it was I am unable to tell. It was so strange it never had a name. Some called it by one name and some by another; it was generally spoken of as 'the convention." I don't know whether I will be able to make myself understood what convention I have reference to. I don't like to be personal and call any had names, but I know no other way of making myself understood than by describing it as that conglomerated mass of labor fakirs, reform fakirs, labor skinners (farmers), single taxers, etc., who lately met in St. Louis. This is not a definite description of what I have reference to, as the convention was divided into as many different opinions on each subject presented as there were delegates. Probably the "Bill Posters' wall of Debs, Ratchford, Sovereign, et al," would be explicit. Or the "Debs, Ratchford, Sovereign Blunderbus" might be better. If you still fail to understand me, it is not my fault, but the fault of "the convention." At least you are no more stupid than the delegates in this respect, every one of whom failed to understand what it was convened for, and unable to tell what they had accomplished.

In the convention Ratchford proved himself to be a most wonderful piece of anatomy. He was both revolutionary and conservative. His one hobby that and conservative. His one hobby that he brought to the convention was the suppression of the injunction. To sup-press the injunction would be to sup-press the courts, and to suppress the courts would be to suppress the con-stitution. And what could be more revolutionary than to suppress the con-stitution! And still several times he distinctly wanted it understood that he was conservative. was conservative.

Sovereign merely repeated a few platitudes; his principal one was. "I am sick and tired of resolutions." His role consisted in affecting great earnest-

But Debs was the lion of the day. he has any grand principles for the sal-vation of the workingman it is not likely he will ever have another such opportunity world. But opportunity to present them to the world. But did he present any such principles? No. It is true he said he was a Socialist, but never for one mo-ment stopped to tell what Socialism is. It would seem if he was really a Soof this extraordinary occasion to ex-pound its principles. But instead he merely aired his empty oratory. I now feel convinced that he is a scheming demagogue, and thinks a few flowery sentences will entrap more people than scientific demonstrations. Indeed, I do not think he has the intelligence to grasp the deep and broad principles of Socialism. He does not care to trouble himself with them. It is true that the platform of the Social Democracy is taken from a part of the Socialist Labor party platform, and the most vital part of our platform, the class struggle, was thrown into the waste basket. To run the Social Democracy on the lines of class consciousness would give no

chance for fakes and boodlers. In his speech Debs said he would

## ON THE BREACH. Report of the St. Louis Spectacle of The Socialist Alderman Maguire at

## Work in Paterson.

e Capitalistic Management of the City Branded as an Intrigue and the Trick of a Creditor Dodging Bankrupt —Mayor and other Officers Exposed to Public Scorn.

New, Mr. President, allow me to consider once more, but very briefly, the important questions at issue; questions that no amount of political bossism on one aide, and evasion, procrastination, terr versation or financial makeshift on the other side, can either settle or keen dormant.

A lax ordinance was first passed by this body and vetoed by the Mayor. I replied at length to that veto. Not one of the facts which I then brought out was disputed; not one of my arguments was controverted. The false plea of the Mayor for "economy," so-called; the fact that he desired only to "economize" the unearned dollars of the wealthy and to increase the debt of the city for the benefit of the Shylocks and monopolists who are sucking dry all its natural sources of income; the further fact that he was not only upholding but prompting the assessors in their preposterous attitude and perverse course; all this and more became so plain that no attempt was made to deny it.

Yet, in a spirit of conciliation that the Mayor did not intend to reciprocate. this Board, while rejecting all his plutocratic suggestions of false economy and substantially maintaining the position I had taken concerning the assessment of property and the mode of making necessary public improvements, cut down its tax ordinance from \$1,213,851 to \$1,171,006 (or \$42,845), by reducing the contingent account \$5,000, striking out the appropriations of \$1,000 - for

out the appropriations of \$1,000-for manual instruction and \$12,568 for the city's share of new sewers, and leaving out the amount of \$24,277, due the county, to be provided for by an issue of bonds. Then began a campaign of intrigue having in view to establish the suprem-acy of the assessors and to whip the Board of Aldermen into complete sub-mission; so that in the future the tax-dodging plutocracy of Paterson, acting dodging plutocracy of Paterson, acting through the Mayor and his appointees might have the full control of the city's finances; no public service to be per formed and no public improvement t be made, except to the extent and in the way approved by the said plutoc-racy, whose sacred members would, of course, be so assessed as to bear a con-stantly decreasing share of the public decreasing share of the public

expenditure. In this campaign the conspirators adopted tactics that were admirably fitted to their object. They did not undertake to deny, refute or even dis-cuss the points made here against the methods of the assessors. This they nethods of the assessors. This they could not do. Therefore they ignored the issue entirely. While admitting that they could not give facts and fig-ures until the assessors had finished their work, yet they continued to boldly. brazenly assert that enough property could not be found, and they exercised upon this board, by means of private conferences with its individual members, all the pressure they could bring to bear, in order to compel it to abandon its position and to make a further enormous reduction in the city budget. It was important, mark you, to have this board act quickly, in the dark, that is, in advance of the returns of the assessors, so that any criticism to which the work of these appointees might subsequently be subjected should have no practical effect upon the accomplished fact of an ordinance passed by this board and signed by the Mayor. In other words, we had been told that in passing the first ordinance this board had acted prematurely. Now we were to be told that in passing a second ordinance we could not act too prem-In the meantime, in order to create In the meantime, in order to create the impression that the wind of "public sentiment"—poor public sentiment!— was blowing their way, one of their officious organs, which styles itself the friend of the poor man, took up the plutocratic trumpet and gave a great there is a content to when the for plutocratic trumpet and gave a great blast. A certain tax-payer, who for some reason is not very popular among the working people—a man who is not my friend, although I am, perhaps, largely indebted to him, or rather to his unpopularity, for my first election to this body—a certain William Strange. I say, who pays taxes to the amount of \$6,000 instead of the \$15,000, or more, that he ought to nay if his property was that he ought to pay if his property was correctly assessed, was held up to the public gaze as a benefactor of the people. Think of it! were we told; \$6-000 a year! \$500 a month! \$125 a week! \$20 a day! 80 cents an hour! 1 1-3 cents minute! How could you ask such a a minute! How could you ask such a liberal man, such a great philanthropist, to part in fayor of the municipal treasury with a greater portion of the skin of his wage workers? Another bene-factor was the Gas Company! Who actor was the taxes of the Gas Company? Who pays the taxes of the Gas Company? At what price would it sell the fran-chise that the city gave it? There were other benefactors—a whole circus full of them. I spare you the list; it is ludic-couple circus for

taxpayers, have again been violated in the assessment of property. What are its features as compared with the or-dinance which it is intended to supplant?

First of all, as a matter of course, the appropriation of \$25,000 for permanent street improvements is wiped out; for the Mayor must have his way, and the plutocratic scheme of bonding the city plutocratic scheme of bonding the city for such improvements as the wealthy alone are entitled to must be carried out. Let the "great unwashed," who can afford no improvements, go to—, where they belong. No improvement is needed there. For the purpose in view, however—that is, for such improve-ments as will exclusively benefit the wealthy—it is not \$25,000, obtained by taxing in full those beneficiaries that taxing in full those beneficiaries that the Mayor proposes to spend; it is \$50,-000 or \$60,000 obtained by bonding the city, and the burden of which will bear most heavily upon those whose little property is assessed at a much higher rate than the property of the wealthy. It is even contemplated to continue this bonding process for the special object in view until it reaches \$200,000, and by that time more bonding may be author that time more bonding may be author-ized. How does all this agree with the Mayor's declaration, in his veto, that he

was opposed to the increase of the mun-icipal debt? As to the rest of the so-called "cut-ting down," amounting to an additional sum of \$44,000, it is (with one single legitimate exception, which is, however of little importance, and affects only the current year) a pure sham and false pretense. It is no cut at all. It is a ere postponement of payments which will have to be met next year, either by at last raising the fax to a greater ex-tent than it would have now to be raised or by increasing the bonded debt, float-ing notes, etc. And this is called finance! Pshaw! It is the merest kind of combined with the set of capitalistic trickery.

to capitalistic trickery. Look at this in particular. By a trick that would be more creditable to the bookkeeping and creditor-doiging in-genuity of a bankrupt than to the ad-ministration of a great eity, a deficiency of \$21,000 is created in the school ap-propriation: in conservation of which propriation; in consequence of which the payment of a portion of the salaries earned by the teachers this year shall bave to be delayed until next year. In the meantime the other city servants, including his honor the Mayor, will promptly draw their own salaries. Now, if it is necessary for this great city to coart to such entermethic mekerbitte resort to such contemptible makeshifts. why don't the Mayor begin at home. I am a poor man, and think I earn by hard work every cent I get; and that is, probably, the reason why I am a poor man; but I should first go without the small aldermanic stipend before I used my authority as an alderman to delay one minute the payment of a school teacher.

Do you now realize that in adopting the wasteful policy and contemptible makeshifts which, under the false name of "economy." the Mayor insists upon in order to assert his dominion and prolong the assessors' misconduct, this board not only cannot do away with the pending issue; not only cannot delay it; but can only precipitate it by spreading and intensifying the indignation which at last is beginning to be felt by a large number of citizens? The duty of this board is glaringly plain. Let it sternly refuse to do anything other than what it has already done until the assessors, not only of this city, but of this county. have been compelled to do their full duty, as traced out by the constitution and the law. And why should this board hesitate?

And why should this board nestate: The City Counsel has told you right here that if the assessors were called before the proper tribunal they would not have an inch of legal ground to stand upon with their slippery boots. True, these men are full of bluff and bluster. According to a newspaper report, they had the audacity to say that port, they had the audacity to say that "they would be justified in taking action against Alderman Maguire for his utterances." I said, and I repeat, that they have violated the constitu-tion, the law and every principle of equity in their assessment of property; that in presuming to consider how much the city should spend and what the total amount of taxation should be the total amount of taxation should be, instead of considering simply what each piece and kind of property was actually worth, they have assumed over this board and over the people dictatorial powers which they do not now and shall hever possess; and that in asessing certain properties at 60 per cent. or more, and other properties at 30 per cent. or less, of their actual value, they have followed not a straight but a crooked line in the performance of their functions. All this I said; all this I wrote in black ink on white paper; all this I have allowed to be published, and while I have nothing to retract, I shall have much more to say, if, as I am credibly informed, they have this year increased the valuation of property of people of comparatively small mean without correspondingly increasing the valuation of property of certain wealthy nersons-all for the obvious purpose of destroying the effect of my exposures by alarming the small property owners, creating among them the false impres-sion that higher assessments NECES-SARILA meant higher taxes TO THEM, and therefore arraying them (and those still more numerous, who, propertyless, may be influenced by them), against justice, against their own interests, to the detriment of the city as a whole, and for the benefit of a few tax-dodgers. Now let them "take action." This may, Now let them "take action." This may, after all, prove the best way of bring-ing to light many facts which would otherwise remain forever in obscurity. This may afford me the means, which I do not now possess, of dragging before the courts, as unwilling witnesses against the methods by which they profit, and with their own books in evi-dence, some of the tax-dodgers that the assessors claim to be unable to reach. By all means let them "take action." But if they do not take action against me I hone that you will at last take



### NO KILLING WITH LABEL.

The Keyes-Baker Cigar Rolling Machine Company of England, With "Lord" Bateman as Chairman, Prepares to Invade America, and to Give the Labor Fakirs in the Cigarmakers' Union a Chance to Consume in Salaries for "Label Agitation" Some More Wealth Squeezed out of the Rank and File, in Trying to "Kill the Machine with the Label."

ABRIDGED PROSPECTUS.

This Company has been formed to acquire Messrs. Keyes and Baker's invention for the construction of cigar rolling machines, as embodied in the various patents hereinafter mentioned, and all further improvements on such patents, and the right to any improvement, modification, alteration, or new invention that Messrs. Keyes and Baker may make or acquire, bearing upon or in any way connected with the said machines for the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Spain, including Cuba, and for all other countries, with the exception of the United States, Canada, the Australian Colonies, and New Zealand.

The remarkable invention for which the foregoing patents have been granted is the outcome of years of experimenting and the expenditure of a large amount of money by the patentees. Messrs, Keyes and Baker, who have succeeded in inventing a machine proved by large practical working and experience to be capable of rolling and finishing cigars more perfectly and at con-siderably less than one-fourth of the cost entailed in their production by hand labor.

The efficiency and value of the patents The emclency and value of the parents have been proved, not by mere theoret-ical tests, but by what has already been accomplished by a Company which ac-quired the patent rights of the machine for the UNITED STATES in the early for the UNITED STATES in the early part of last year, and who paid to Messrs. Keyes and Baker, for the ac-quisition of this patent alone, a sum equivalent in English sterling to OVER £86,000. After some delay, which is always incident to the commencement of operations by a new Company, busi-ness was actively commenced in the United States in May, 1896, and as a re-sult there are at the present TIME 475 MACHINES let out on lease, whilst the orders on hand amount to a further 700 machines, and the extraordinary demachines, and the extraordinary mand which has now sprung up for them points to some 5,000 being leased within a comparatively short space of time.

The terms upon which the machines are let out on lease in the United States are as follows: A yearly rental of 200 dollars (£40), payable in advance, is charged for each machine, the lessee having to undertake not to sublet the same nor to remove it from the building in which he structure is the new location of in which he states in his application it is his intention to use it. He further undertakes to give access at all times to employees of the lessor, in order that they may see that the machine is being properly handled and not unfairly dealt with, and at the expiration of his lease he is to return the machine in the same condition in which he received it, fair reasonable wear and tear alone ex-cented

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

countenance an uprising of the p at the next convention, to be held in Chicago September 27. He was silent as to what the people would do after an, uprising except to suppress injunctions. If you expunge from his speech the sentence"I am a Socialist," you would then have a speech that would turn a Populist or sixteen-to-one audience wild with joy.

Only one delegate seemed to have any future aim, and that was where he said "the big capitalist was not the greatest enemy of the toilers; it was the little capitalists or middle class. When the fakirs can have no more

hide from the strikers, they turn their attention to paring those not yet on a strike. It would seem the toilers are too fat in wealth to run an industrial ace with the capitalist, and instead of adding some burden or responsibility to the capitalist, they propose to slice off some of the hide of the tollers themsolves. The way they propose to do the slicing is for the workingman who has a job to lessen his store of wealth by donating his wages of every Good Friday to the striking miners. This was one of the resolutions passed at the con-vention. It would further seem that after a certain number of good Fridays, he will be relieved of his superfluous wealth and then be able to run the industrial race with the capitalist. The sole business of the capitalist is skinning the toilers when at work, but if nothing impedes the course of the fakirs, the capitalist will soon have nothing to skin.

A nice spectacle in this age, 1897 in the year of our Lord, when the fakir can no longer skin his fellow craftsman, instead of turning his batteries on the capitalist, he stealthily takes the last bit of hide from the toiler who happens to be in the skinning vat. Henceforth when I pray, I will supplicate in the primitive style of the darkie, thusly: "Ob Lord deliver us from capitalism: primitive style of the darkie, thusty: "Oh, Lord, deliver us from capitalism; if you have but one gatling gun we im-plore you to first turn it on the labor and reform fakirs." C, R. DAVIS.

rously sickening. At any rate the campaign of intrigue At any rate the campaign of intrigue is coming to an end. A critical moment has been reached. A tax ordinance, made by the Mayor, or made to fit him and his assessors, is to be pressed upon this body before any one of its members can ascertain the extent to which the constitution, the law and equity among

me, I hope that you will at last take action against them. Don't make any mistake about the "public sentiment."

(Continued on Page 3.)

cepted.

As a complete machine can be pro-duced at a cost of under £10, it will be seen that upon the present output of machines by the American Company— namely, 1.175—a profit is shown of not less than 153.250 for the first year, whilst this profit will be increased to 147.250 for each subsequent year (as the first year has to hear the entire cost of the year has to bear the entire cost of the production of the machine), without taking in consideration the additional profits arising from the fresh orders which are continually coming to hand. The machines have been already inspected in full work by a great number of the leading cigar manufacturers of the United Kingdom, who have stated their entire approval of them and com-plete satisfaction with their working, and they have further decided to adopt them in their factories so soon as this Company can sumply them Company can supply them.

The Directors propose to carry on the business of the Company, so far as the patent for the United Kingdom is concerned, upon similar lines to those adopted by the American Company now working the United States patent-namely, to let out the machines on lease at a yearly rental, and they are in receipt of tenders from eminent engineering firms to supply the same to their order complete at less than f10 per machine.

The Directors consider that there will be no difficulty in leasing at least 1,500 machines in the United Kingdom alone upon terms which would show a profit of £45,000 for the first year and £60,000 for each subsequent year; while from the sales of the Continental and other patents, either privately or to sub-sidiary companies formed to acquire and work them, profits considerably in excess of the total capital of this Com-pany should easily be secured.

For Contracts see full Prospectus Prospectuses and Forms of Applica-tion can be obtained from the Bankers, Solicitors, Brokers, and Auditors, and at the offices of the Company. May 26th, 1897. .

1 THE A DOLLAR, CONDI

### THE PEOPLE.

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OCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED

In 1988 (Presidential)	3,065
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	31,157
Tn 1894	
In 1896 (Presidential) 30	8.564

We shape ourselves the joy or fear Of what the coming life is made and fill our Future's atmosphere With sunshine or with shade

The tissue of the Life to be We weave with colors all our ow And in the field of Destiny We resp as we have sown.

Whittier.

THE EIGHTEBNTH BRUMAIRE. With this issue we start the publication in English of one of Karl Marx' most profound and most brilliant monographs. It may be considered the best work extant on the philosophy of history, with an eye especially upon the history of the movement of the proletariat, together with the bourgeois and other manifestations that accompany the same, and the tactics that such conditions dictate.

The recent populist uprising; the more recent "Debs movement"; the thousand and one utopian and chimerical notions that are flaring up; the capitalist manoeuvres; the hopeless, helpless grasping after straws, that marks the conduct of the bulk of organized labor; all of these, together with the empty-headed, fishy figures who are springing into notoriety for a time and have their day, mark the present period of the movement in the nation a critical one. The best information acquirable, the best mental training obtainable are requisite to steer through the existing chaos that the death-tainted social system of today creates all around us. To aid in this needed, information and mental training, this instructive work is now placed into the hands of our readers. and is commended to the serious study of the serious.

The teachings contained in this work are hung on an episode in recent French history. With some this fact may detract of its value. A pedantic, supercilious notion is extensively abroad among us that we are an "Anglo-Saxon" nation, and an equally pedantic, supercilious habit causes many to look to England for inspiration, as from a racial birthplace. Nevertheless, for weal of for woe, there is no such thing extant as "Anglo-Saxon," and, of all nations, said to be "Anglo-Saxon," in the United States least. What we have from England, much as appearances may seem to point the other way, is not of our bone-and-marrow, so to speak, but rather nartakes of the "importations." We are no more English on account of them than we are Chinese because we all drink tea. Of all European nations, France is the one to which we come nearest. Besides its republican form of government, the directness of its history, the unity of its actions, the sharpness that marks its internal development, are all characteristics that find their parallel here best, and vice versa. In all essentials the study of modern French history, particularly when sketched by such a master-hand as Marx', is the most valuable one for the acquisition of that historic, social and biologic insight that our country stands particularly in need of, and that will be inestimable during the approaching critical days.

Charles X). In July, 1830, an uprising of the upper tier of the bourgeoisie, or capitalist class-the aristocracy of finance-overthrew the Bourbon throne of Charles X and set up the throne of Orleans, a younger branch of the house of Bourbon, with Louis Philippe as king. From the month in which this revolution occurred, this monarchy is called the "July monarchy." In February, 1848, a revolt of the industrial bourgeoisie in turn dethroned Louis Philippe. This affair, also named from the month in which it took place, is the "February revolution." The "Eighteenth Brumaire" starts with that event.

Despite the inapplicableness to our own affairs of the political names and political leaderships therein described, both these names and leaderships are to such an extent the products of an economic-social development that has here too taken place with even greater sharpness, and have their counterparts here so completely, that, by the light of this work of Marx, we are best enabled to understand our own history, to know whence we come, whither we are going. and how to conduct ourselves.

#### "IN THE FEAR OF GOD."

At the same time that the ex-cornerer of coffee. now masquerading as College President, Seth Low, accepts "in the fear of G 1," the nomination for Mayor tendered to him by the class-conscious combine of capitalists in the "Citizens" Union," the Methodist Protestant minister, Rev. W. H. Wiley, has his mouth puckered up, "in the fear of God," by an injunction issued against him by Judge J. M. Hagan in West Virginia, enjoining him from preaching to the striking miners in the vicinity of Morgantown. in that State!

"In the fear of God, indeed!

If but only all these metaphysical abstractions, that the fleecing class of the Low capitalists, together with their lackeys, the Hagan politicians, seek to stuff the people with, mystify them, and keep their thoughts away from the living, stern realities of life;--if the "Fear of God." "Patriotism," "National Honor," "Americanism," and scores of such metaphysical entities really had a living spirit, and these several spirits were one day to gather in mass meeting and materialize with a big stout club in their collective hands, what a wheezing sound would not there be heard in the air, as that club swang up, and what a howling and gnashing of teeth would not there go up from the capitalist crew of reprobates and their hirelings aforesaid, as that club came down upon their skulls and caved them in!

In the meantime, let the Seth Low capitalist combine and their political hirelings keep in unison at their "Inthe-fear-of-God" game. It helps to bring home to the working class the fact of the unity of industry and politics, of the unity of the fleecer in the shop and his office-holding politicianfrom President, Congressman, Governor, Mayor, down to .dog catcher; it helps to bring home to the working class the truth that it must fight at both ends of the line, that it can not save itself by fighting against the one while at the same time fighting for the other set, that IT MUST BOUNCE THEM BOTH.

It helps, finally, to teach the lesson that once learned, will promptly cause that mass meeting, not of spectres, but of flesh and bones-the Proletariat of America-, to convene and swing, not a spectral, but a sound hickory club, loaded with cannon balls, and consisting of the crushing Socialist Labor party ballot, over the skull of the capitalist class, and crushing, together with that bandit crew, its bandit system of Capitalism.

"In the fear of God," by all means.

## PEPPER AND SALT.

PETER E. BURROWES.

The Anarchist demands the abolition of the central directing authority. Does the Anarchist know that that is already abolished?

It is now no longer what it once was an organism looking after the business of the whole people; it has ceased to be that and has become an armed organi-zation looking after the business interests of one class as against all the rest of the inhabitants. . .

### Walk through the Senate chamber. Here the silver business has its desk room: there are the sugar desks; here leather sits and oil. What an eccom-modating chamber. And labor. where is labor? Oh labor is squelched under the portly forms of those gentlemen. Rise, Mr. Hanna: lift up that cushion of yours and let us gather up the mangled remains of labor.

Why should our capitalistic newspaper noodles be fooling with their Anarchist friends? . There are no defenders of the competitive system so able, fearless and logical as they. No such devout worshipper of "laissez faire," as the Anarchist, when he is at the right side of the tellers' window. This evolution; where did it evolute from? Must this poor devil of a get back among Darwin's 'ho:no' animals in order to qualify for Spencer's exam? Who will write a quiz for poor mankind that we may know what is required of us? We, too, want to sur-vive, oh, ye little commercial rats! Won't you give us a straight tip?

Sickly sentimentalism must be in a very bad state of health by this time. The charity organization fell upon her some years ago and nearly killed her. Two late bishops have to my own knowledge publicly blackguarded the poor thing, and a little snip of a phil-osopher out Chicago way, entitled Fran-cis Dashwood Tandy, in his handbook of Anarchy, declares, in spite of her protracted sickness, that she is still "wide-spread." Let us hope this insinuation against her moral character will put an end to her. Socialists do not want her. I wish the old lady not would die. . .

There are some other sickly old ladies for whose burial I am also devoutly exclaiming: Competition has been so long dead that, like Lazarus. she stinketh. . Free America is still overground, though the carrion crows of capitalism have long ago pecked out its eyes, and their beaks are tapping against the bare bones. The Consti-tution, while on a visit to the Supreme Court, expired some time ago in the arms of her host. Isn't it sickly senti-mentalism not to bury our dead?

The calm unemotional politico-economic philosopher says: Watch me explore without a throb this thing called human nature, or its fob, calm and unmoved his pockets I go through. But hark! What hand is this. Police? hark! What hand is this. Police? hallo! In fact human nature, under the name of Socialism, was just as calmly picking back the capitalist's pocket. Hence the racket. Isn't it a little sickly to listen to this fellow's twaddle abou calmness of his investigation and the cold scientificness of his method?

Socialism may be defined as the science which explains the present class struggle. As a thing, Socialism is that orderly society which shall survive the conflict and disorder of the present mobilety. Socialism is the chain of social experience. Its first link was forged by the first sob of the first slave; its last will be in the end of human ex-perience. Looking backward, Socialism is history. In the present it is explanation, education, agitation. future it is realization. In the

You supercilious scented black guards who curse us from the hill of prosperity (like the devil's prophet, whose ass rebuked him) hear yet another rebuke from one of the asses. When you stand or the hill and sneer at those who have failed to get on in the world, think what the commercial world is, and what "getting on" in it calls for in meanness and fraud, and then say which are fittest to survive-those who fail in such an atmosphere of moral putridity or those who live on and rot?

loss of common manhood and liberty. Lilliputians keep your Gullivers out at sea, and read once more your Dean Swift and his chapter of Lilliput wees after the arrival of the man that was too big.

.When the profit-prigging Anarchist complains of too much government, there is a chance that something right is taking place in the land. Trolley fenders are being lowered; an attempt is being made at a comparatively decent assessment, human beings are snatched from beneath the stockholders' iron heels, a decent portion of twenty-four hours out of the human day is legally allotted to humanity and Anarchy reams Paternal! Paternal! Too much "Washington" and not enough "Amer-ica" in the land. Too much Armor, not enough man in our mines. Too much injunction and not enough Blackstone on the bench .- But not too much law by a long way.

### SECTION TORONTO, S. L. P.

#### To the Blue Label Committee of Cigar makers Union No. 27.

Brothers-Your printed communication to our Section respecting the condition of your trade, and urging us to assist you by purchasing only unionmade cigars, was deemed by us so important as to demand more than passing attention.

In your circular you say: "It is a vital question with us-a question of life and death in so far as our union is concerned." So it is with all workers, not only in so far as their UNION is concerned, but inasmuch as their whole collective and individual lives are concerned, it is "a vital question, a ques-tion of life or death." We feel that you recognize-though

perhaps yet but dimly-the unity and solidarity of the working class as a class, and not as isolated bodies of workers fighting for their own interests only. It is in that spirit we address you and wish to point out to you a few facts that you have doubtless overlooked.

It is with no caviling or fault-finding spirit that we address you, but with the spirit of men who feel the pressing need of solving the labor problem, with the spirit of men who feel that your inter-ests are the same as ours, and who know that our welfare depends largely upon your action, and yours upon ours.

We ask you to read our communication in the same spirit: to forget for a while —if such should be harbored amongst you-the calumnies and misrepresentation of our opponents, and to consider only whether our words be wise or foolish, false or true.

In your circular you state that "the market in Toronto is being stocked by non-union goods to the exclusion of union made goods." To change this condition of things you urge organized labor in Toronto to discourage the sale of non-union goods, and to demand the cigarmakers' label, and by this means you hope to find employment for the idle members of your union. You say you have made the same appeal again and again, and are "forced to acknowl-edge that the blue label does not cut much of a former in this city."

much of a figure in this city." -New, we do not wish to dissuade you from the course you are pursuing, but we wish to point out its insufficiency. If you succeeded in stopping the sale of non-union goods, would not the workers now employed in making these goods then seek work in union factories? Would not the condition of your trade as a whole remain as before: there would be about the same quantity of work to be done, about the same number of cigarmakers would be seeking em-ployment, the same proportion only would be able to obtain work, the same proportion would have to remain idle. The condition of the cigarmaking trade as a whole—the proportion of employed and unemployed—would remain the same.

"But," you may answer, "if non-union men can be brought into the union we will be able to wrest a shorter workday and better conditions from our employers, and a shorter workday will enable more men to be employed.

That is a fruitless hope. The machine has appeared in your trade, and, as managed by the capitalist, it will do there what it has done in weaving, in shoemaking, in typesetting, and, as it has already done in your own trade, it will increase the number of unem-

dissuade you from advertising the blue label goods—in that we shall assist you label goods—in that we shall assist you all we can. What we wished to show is its 'nsufficiency as a solution of the Labor Problem, and to urge you to agitate for the capture by the working class of the legislative, power of, the country. That power—the greatest in the land—is now used by the capitalist class for its own benefit. Let us cap-ture it and use it for the benefit of the working class. working class.

With that power you may forever free yourselves from the oppression of the capitalist class. You can take from that class the power to rob you of the wealth you produce. You can take from the capitalists the land and all the means of production and distribution, all the mines, factories, shops, all the railways and canals, all the machinery and tools. It is the ownership of these by the capitalists that gives them the power to oppress and rob you-to say whether you shall eat or not eat-live or not live. The ownership of these by the workers, to be operated by the workers for their own benefit, will free them once for all from degrading slavery, from the hell of poverty, from the grave of living death

We judge from your circular that exis teaching you that tariff changes do not injure or, benefit, the workers-that your lot is starvation, whether tariff be high or low. Do not, then, allow the capitalist politicians to deceive you any longer on that or any other of their false issues and feats of legerdemain. Break from that capitalist party the Conservative-Liberal or Liberal Conservative, and join with the International army of emancipation-the Socialist Labor party. If you would be free add to your economic hand hammer the political sledge. If you would break down the Bastile of Capitalism, use the battering-ram of the ballot.

We urge you to reorganize your union, to adopt the methods of the new your trade unionists-of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada. While you strive to benefit yourselves temporarily as a trade, do not forget to strive for that which will benefit the whole working class. We will do all in our power to help you with the Blue Label, and would suggest that you make a list as far as possible of those who keep union-made goods, and of those who don't-not forgetting the grocers, the druggists and dry goods stores who supply cigars. Those of us stores who supply cigars. Those of us who can afford cigars will always smoke union ones; those who smoke the pipe will boycott as far as possible those who keep non-union cigars or other-

wise. With fraternal greetings SECTION No. 1, TORONTO, S. L. P.

### **A DIALOGUE**

#### Just Held in Some Back Parlor in Greater New York City.

Tammany Bill talks with Tom Platt. "Say, Tommy, wat are wese goin to do about dose Socialists? Dey is due to give us de solar plexus in a few pay

days and we must dope em some ways. "Youse can't see how we is to give

em a dose for keeps?" "Why, wots de matter, Tommy, is yer getting wobbly?"

Wots dat, deys got de argeyment on deir side.

Wot ell has argeyment got to do wid it? Ain't wese got de dough?" "Dough don't go any more; de work-ingmen is getting tired of being played

for suckers; why, Tommy, youse nutty

"Well, youse is about de leading dub in de show wen you says times won't get any better. I don't tink it takes a mind reader to know dat, but can't we jolly dem if de dough's no good?"

"You and me, Tommy, has got ter get our livin offen de workers, and we can't let dem get to be runnin deir own game, wese got to stack the cards; if dey listen much longer to dose Socialists dey'll want to run deir own machine." "Wots dat deir tired of reform? Well,

den let's give dem a stiff about good government; let's you and I run Seth Low as 'anti-Platt' and den run some odder dub on de regular ticket; we'll run Billy Schmer or some odder guy as de regular, and den let dat stiff Purroy run dat skate Henry George; whichever one comes under the wire first we win, savey? Are you next me?'

'Youse don't tink much of dat guy George; de workers know he's a quitter.

"Wots de odds; he'll ketch a few floaters; and, say, I tink whoever we win wid had better play close; in de nex four years I tink we'll be left at de post nex' time, and de Socielitet will go in nex time, and d under de wire wid de boy holding him



DNOLESSIN & BROTHLA JONATHAN

Uncie Sam .- Are you going to vote he Socialist Labor party ticket this the year

Brother Jonathan (snappishly) .-- No! U. S.-Why not? B. J.-I believe in freedom, Socialism

B. J.-1 believe in freedom, Socialism believes in compulsion. U. S.-Inasmuch as to which? B. J.-It says, for instance, that we SHALL co-operate. If it had its way, even if I did not want to co-operate, I would be compelled to. U. S.-Of course; before having made

up your mind, you looked into this mat-

B. J.-I did. U. S.—The long and short of it is that you did not. Socialism does not pro-pose to compel you to co-operate, what Socialism does is to pull you by the ear and call your attention to the fact that and call your attention to the fact that to-day, under capitalism, you are com-pelled to work co-operatively, whether you like it or not you must. Next that this co-operative labor has a good feature: it enables the productivity of labor to be so great that, with very little work every one could have an lattor to be so great that, with very little work, every one could have an abundance. Next that the reason this good feature does not assert itself is that the machinery of production, which compels co-operation, is privately owned by a special class and is oper-ated for the averyieue benefit of the ated for the exclusive benefit of that class, so that that class alone rolls in class, so that that class alone rolls in wealth without working, while the workers roll in toll without wealth. So far for the premises of Socialism. B. J.—Is that it? U. S.—Yes. Now, from these prem-ises, Socialism draws the conclusion that, if you and all other workingmen, the working class in short want to be

the working class in short, want to be free, you must own the machinery of work as collectively as it is operated. That is the beginning and the end of Socialism as an aim. Now, where is the "compulsion" in that?

B. J .- But we shall have to co-operate U. S .- Yes, or fall back into barbarism.

. B. J.-And suppose people should pre-fer to fall back into barbarism? U. S .- We all walked on all fours

when we were bables, didn't we? B. J.-Yes. U. S.-And, if we want to, we may

walk on all fours now, eh? B. J.-Yes, U. S.-Do we?

B. J.-We don't. U. S.-We don't. U. S.-Neither will the race of civil-ized man choose to return to barbar-ism. Your opposition to Socialism on the ground of its "compulsory" feature is as if you were to oppose man's grow-ing into maturity, because maturity would "compel" him to walk on his feet.

Will "President" Ratchford, of the United Mine Workers, sit down quietly under' the pointed charge brought pointedly against him by the coal operator, Col. W. P. Rand, or, will "President" Ratchford drag the Colonel before the public tribunals under a charge for criminal libel? Col. Rend charged "President" Ratch-ford with having accepted bribes from the operators. We know that to take

the operators. We know that to take notice of gossip, however infamous it may be, is as silly as to run after a lot of vicious boys on the street,-there is nothing to take hold of; but we also know that when a charge is made with tangible pointedness, silence implies consent. "President" Ratchford agree

Does with Col. Rend, and thus furnish to the public additional confirmation of what we have so often asserted and proved to wit, that the "pure and simple ers are generally as corrupt as hell, and run their unions only for private profit at the expense of the misguided rank and file?

For the assistance of those of our readers, who, unfamiliar with the history of France, may be confused by some of the terms used by Marx, the following explanations may not be out of place.

On the 18th Brumaire (Nov. 9th), the post-revolutionary development of affairs in France enabled the first Napoleon to take a step that led with inevitable certainty to the imperial throne. The circumstance that fifty and odd years later similar events aided his nephew, Louis Napoleon, to take a similar step with a similar result, gives the name to this work-"The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon.'

As to the other terms and allusions that occur, the following sketch will suffice:

Upon the overthrow of the first Na poleon came the restoration of the



The Johnston, R. I., "Beacon" is not mystified by "Americanism":

"If Socialism is foreign to the genius of American institutions and should be stamped upon by all patriotic people, then the same treatment must be meted out to capitalism. Capitalism is the parent of Socialism. It is too late now to try to throttle the child. Socialism is here to stay and grow. It only can kill off capitalism, and it has the under-taking well in hand."

The Pittsburgh, Pa., "Glass Budget" is in a positively happy frame of mind:

"Assurances have reached the friends of Joseph D. Troth, ex-president of the Green Bottle Blowers' Association, that he is to receive the appointment of post-master in Miliville, N. J. We are al-ways glad to see a so-called labor leader get his reward from the party he has served so well and faithfully. We are assured that Mr. Troth has always been a hard-working Republican, and an in-fluential leader in Millville politics. We are only sorry that there are so many hard-working Republicans who cannot be as nicely provided for. Joseph Grapevine, the ex-green blower of Massillon, who organized McKinley clubs last fail, has also been taken care of, and we are pleased to know will at-tend to some land office, with head-quarters in Salt Lake City. We know Grapevine will feel at home and con-tented among the Mormons, among whom we think he is entitled to a seat among the elders. Now if we could are only sorry that there are so many among the elders. Now if we could only be assured that Louis Arrington was dead sure of some soft sit in Alton, and some of our Pittsburg labor fakirs were given a chance at the public crib we would be entirely happy."

The receipt of a sample copy of this Bourbon throne (Louis XVIII and paper is an invitation to subscribe.

Was he an Anarchist who shot that so-called great statesman of Spain the other day? Why should an Anarchist shoot him? Anarchy is a return to overgrown individualistic-big-headism. Why, then, should it spoil Canovas? Oh, they are about to make every nerve of that poor fool bear its fullest tide of anguish to the bursting brain. Strained muscle, quivering flesh, starting eye-balls, live yet a moment while the gentlemen and ladies of Spain, bring one more sob from you. And yet they say the world is suffering from a sickly sentimentalism.

Do you know what "favorable variations" are in the cant of Anarchy? Croker variates Low; Gleason variates Strong quite favorably now. But political life is so uncertain that the final extent and whereuntowards of their variation is not known until death takes them from all the perils and chances of this mortal life-its changes of opinion its rotten eggs and to Sing Sing stripes. Which then are the favorable varieties? Oh. tell me which? Who are fit in this conflict of protoplastic poppycock to survive?

When the world her tale has told When she's a thousand centuries old: Ask again.

Democracy, first, second and all the time is the price we must pay for social solvency. Just as a great sow feeding out of the same trough with two small pigs will wax fat contra their leanness, so the overgrown personality must al-ways be paid for by society with the

ployed. The capture of the Toronto market for the blue label will not lessen the number of names on your out-of-work list. You say: "The cheap labor districts of

the east and west practically control the Toronto cigar market," but we observe also that blue label goods from Montreal and Hamilton are for sale in Toronto, and if the manufacturers of union goods in those cities can capture the Toronto market now, why not also if only union goods were sold? This would seem to be more a question for your employers than for you, but we suggest it may have some bearing upon the question at issue. You may remem-ber how Montreal has been played against Toronto in other trades, notice-ably in that of shoemaking, with the result that the Toronto workmen were crushed and their trade paralyzed.

However, suppose that you were suc-cessful in securing the trade, in shortening the workday, and in finding employ-ment for those who are at present idle, still it would be only a TEMPORARY betterment, for the unemployed from other trades would flock to yours, and things would again become as bad as before, or worse. The whole working class is linked to-

gether by unbreakable bonds-one por-tion cannot lift itself while another portion remains in poverty. The unem ployed flock from overrun and poorly paid trades to those that are more flourishing, and in turn drag them into the dust. So long as there is an unem-ployed man, be he a member of a union or not, so long will the position of every other workingman be insecure and his livelihood uncertain. So long as there is an army of unemployed, so long will the fate of the working class be poverty and privation, sorrow and suffering, despair and death. To the workman, or to the organization of workmen, who have no hope except through the or-dinary trade union, it is truly as Dickens put into the mouth of Stephen Black-pool in "Hard Times": "It's all a muddle from beginning to end-all a muddle." As we said above, we do not wish to

'You tinks as I do, eh?"

"Wots dat, de workingmen of dis country is beginning to get deir heads untwisted and is getting on to the fact that dey are the only ting on earth?

"Say, Tomy, dey'll make us work." "And you don't see no way to give 'em de dinky dink? Dey can't be greased ?"

'Say, don't you wish dem old skates who used to train for us weren't played

'Say, dem labor fakirs was beauts in deir day, but dey ain't wort playing for a place now; de workers gives 'em de frozen phiz and the Alaska fist!"

"Yes, Tommy, wese got to play dis hand without any help from dem; and I guess dem Socialist guys will take de stake. Wot ell can we do? We may stake. Wot en can we do? We may come out winners on dis spiel, but de nex' time—'aber nit.' We is due to get it were de Pompador Club got it from de spider legs last St. Patrick's Day; we is like a steamer half way trough a six monts' trip wit only 2 weeks coal aboard. Say, Tommy, if I knowed how to pray I'd pray for us. We'll need it wen dem Socialists get trew telling de workers how we WORKED dem. And, say, Tommy, before you go I want to say dat dose Socialists is de bottest ting dat ever came down de stretch; dey's got deir hoss trained down to de feet and dere ain't anyting wot can head him wen he gets his age-let's rake in all de shiners we can in de nex' four years, for I knows you runs double wit me, Tommy, wen I tells you dis is liable to be de last race in which we gets a place. Den we wants to get ready to go see 'Dick' and the 'Printz.' ARTHUR KEEP. Washington, D. C.

#### Singers, ho!

Comrades with good voices who wish to join an English Socialist Singing Soclety are requested to address A. S. VANDERPORTEN, 1773 1st avenue.

We await "President" Ratchford's answer in the steps, if any, that he will take against Colonel Rend.

### CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS. Written for THE PROPLE by SYRON EFFORD.] Bleeding at every limb from the scourges, inflicted by the explai-ist. . the American proletarial will yet be emacchated from the thrall of wate-slavery, fired to the deed by the breath of the Socialist Labor Party. The People. THE PEOPLE, Aug. 1st, 1997. O firm in the class that is mounting on high, My life from exploiters and vampires would fly; From this limb-bleeding system, oh, Thou strong proletariat, I'm conscious of thee. When myself I withdraw from the turmoil of the day. And delve into history and science alway, Then, then can I hear the deep hearty hail, Of class-conscious pilots, borne in on the gale. In sessions of night, in progressions of day; Clearer, still clearer rings inward the lay:--"Proletarians, all nations, united arise, Unfold your red ensign beneath the blue skies." The pearls of Arabia, the gold of the mine; Soft tissues of cassimere; all, all shall be thine; Step forth to the harvest, and scan the bright main, There's nothing to lose, but a gind world to gain. Chorus.—Uncompromisingly, Self-sacrificingly, Thon strong proletariat, All class-conscious be.

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

### By KARL MARX.

### [Translated from the German for THE PEOPLE.]

Hegel says somewhere that all great historic facts and personages recur twice. He forgot to add: "Once as trigedy and then as farce." Caussidiere for Danton. Louis Hanc for Robespierre, the "Mountain" of 1848-51 for the "Mountain" of 1793-95, the Nephew for the Uncle. The identical caricature marks also the conditions under which the second edition of the eighteenth of Brumaire is issued.

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Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such

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pose of glorifying the new struggles, not of parodying the old; it served the purpose of exaggerating to the imagination the given task, not to recoil before its practical solution; it served the purpose of rekindling the revolutionary

purpose of glorifying the new struggles, not of parodying the old; it served the purpose of exaggrenting to the imagination the given task, not to recoil before spratcical solution; it served the purpose of rekindling the revolutionary infinited to to to to use the served the purpose of rekindling the revolutionary of the distribution of the glost of the old revolution was about, from Marrast the frombiledin en gaunts jaunes, "who disguised himself in old Bailly, down for the diventurer, who hid his repulsively trivial features under the iron death accelerated powers of motion through a revolution, suddenly finds liself transfored back to a dead epoch, and, lest there be any mistake possible on this deciender with ohe adjust the level of the antiquarian's learning, which old bailty who had hours seened mouldering with decay. The nation haves on the appearance of that crazy Englishman in Bedlam, who imagines the is do to the Ethiopian mines as sold digger, immured in a subternation with a dim lamp fastened on his head, behind him the slave overseer with a doin whip, and, at the mouths of the mine a mob of barbarous camp services of decays of the Pharaos, and dely lammers the hard work that prison who understand neither the convicts in the mines are one on the, beau they do not speak a common language. "And all this," cries the crazy fightman, "is demanded of me, the free-born Englishman, in order to main?" who shape and the the notito of the debts of the Bons of the Structure only of the one of the proved. They longed to appear in the diagers of revolution dould not rid themselves of the Structure of the intercent. They have not the caricature only of Mapoleon, they have the old Napoleon himself—caricature as henced. Baplot of the number do the debt so the Bons of Expt. They share not the caricature only of the apst, but only from the faust. They have not the caricature data service is not developed for the intercent century from the debt of the struct century from the debt of the structure provide astructure, w

Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rush onward faster from success to success, their stage effects outbid one another, men and things seem to be set in flaming brillants, ecstasis is the prevailing spirit; but they are short-lived, they reach their climax speedily, then society relapses into a long fit of nervous reaction before it learns how to appropriate the fruits into a long fit of nervous reaction before it learns how to appropriate the fruits of its period of feverish excitement. Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, such as those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly; consuch as those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly; con-stantly interrupt themselves in their own course; come back upon what seems to have been accomplished, in order to start over anew; scorn with cruel thor-oughness the half measures, weaknesses and meannesses of their first at-tempts; seem to throw down their adversary only in order to enable him to draw fresh strength from the earth, and again to rise up against them in more signatic stature; constantly recoil in fear before-the undefined monster mag-nitude of their own objects—until finally that situation is created that renders all retreat impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out:

riddle is not solved by such shifts, it is only formulated in other words. There remains to be explained how a nation of thirty-six millions can be surprised by three swindlers, and taken to prison without resistance. Let us recapitulate in general outlines the phases which the French revo-Intion of February 24th, 1848, to December, 1851, ran through. Three main periods are unmistakable: First-The February period: Second-The period of constituting the republic, or of the constitutional rational assembly (May 4, 1848 to May 29th, 1849); Third-The period of the constitutional republic, or of the legislative na-tional assembly (May 29, 1849, to December 2, 1851). The first period, from February 24, or the downfall of Louis Phillipe, to May 4, 1848, the date of the assembling of the constitutional assembly, the February period, proper, may be designated as the prologue of the revolution. It officially expressed its own character in this, that the government, everything that was broached, attempted or uttered, pronounced itself provisional. No-body and nothing dared to assume the right of permanent existence and of an actual fact. All the elements that had prepared or determined the revolution -dynastic opposition, republican bourgeoise, democratic-republican small traders' class, social-democratic labor element—all found "provisionally" their place in the February government.

traders' class, social-democratic labor element—all found "provisionally" their place in the February government. It could not be otherwise. The February days contemplated originally a reform of the suffrage laws, whereby the area of the privileged ones among the property-holding class was to be extended, while the exclusive rule of the aristocracy of finance was to be overthrown. When, however, it came to a real conflict, when the people mounted the barricades, when the national guard stood passive, when the army offered no serious resistance, and the kingdom ran away, then the republic seemed self-understood. Each party in-terpreted it in its own sense. Won, arms in hand, by the proletariat, they put upon it the stamp of their own class, and proclaimed the SOCIAL REPUBLIC. Thus the general purpose of modern revolutions was indicated, a purpose, however, that stood in most singular contradiction to every thing that, with the material at hand, with the stage of enlightemment that the masses had reached, and under the existing circumstances and conditions, could be im-mediately used. On the other hand, the claims of all the other elements, that had co-operated in the revolution of February, were recognized by the lion's reached, and under the existing circumstances and conditions, could be im-mediately used. On the other hand, the claims of all the other elements, that had co-operated in the revolution of February, were recognized by the lion's share that they received in the government. Hence, in no period do we find a more motiley mixture of high-sounding phrases together with actual doubt and helplessness; of more enthusiastic reform aspirations, together with a more slavish adherance to the old routine; more seeming harmony permeating the whole of society-together with a deeper allenation of its several elements. While the Parisian proletariat was still gloating over the sight of the great perspective, that had disclosed itself to their view, and was indulging in seri-ously meant discussions over the social problems, the old powers of society had grouped themselves, had gathered together, had deliberated and found an unexpected support in the mass of the nation—the peasants and small traders—all of whom threw themselves on a sudden upon the political stage, after the barriers of the July monarchy had fallen down. The second period, from May 4, 1848, to the end of May, 1849, is the period of the constitution, of the founding of the bourgeois republic. Immediately after the February days, not only was the dynastic opposition surprised by the republicans, and the republicans by the Socialists, but all France was sur-prised by Paris. The national assembly, that met on May 4, 1848, to frame a con-stitution, had come out of the elections of the nation; it represented the nation. It was a living protest against the assumption of the February days, and it was intended to bring the results of the revolution back to the bourgeois measure.

intended to bring the results of the revolution back to the bourgeois measure. In vain did the proletariat of Paris, which forthwith understood the character of this national assembly, endeavor, a few days after its meeting, on May 15, of this national assembly, endeavor, a few days after its meeting, on May 15, to deny its existence by force, to dissolve it, to disperse the organic apparition, in which the reacting spirit of the nation was threatening them, and thus re-duce it back to its separate component parts. As is known, the 15th of May had no other result than that of removing Blanqui and his associates, i. e., the real leaders of the proletarian party, from the public scene for the whole period of the cycle which we are here considering.

real leaders of the proletarian party, from the public scene for the whole period of the cycle which we are here considering. Upon the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe, only the bourgeois repub-lic could follow; that is to say, a limited portion of the bourgeoisie, having ruled under the name of the king, now the whole bourgeoisie was to rule under the name of the people. The demands of the Parisian proletariat are utopian tom-fooleries that have to be done away with. To this declaration of the con-stitutional national assembly, the Paris proletariat answers with the June insurrection, the most colossal event in the history of European civil wars. The bourgeois republic won. On its side stood the aristocracy of finance, the industrial bourgeoisie; the middle class: the small traders' class; the army; the slums, organized as Guarde Mobile; the intellectual celebrities, the parsons' class, and the rural population. On the side of the Parisian proletariat stood none but itself. Over 3,000 insurgents were massacred, after the victory 15,000 were transported without trial. With this defeat, the proletariat steps to the background on the revolutionary stage. It always seeks to crowd forward, so scoen as the movement seems to acquire new impetus, but with ever weaker effort and ever smaller results. So soon as any of the above lying layers of scciety gets into revolutionary fermentation, it enters into alliance therewith and thus shares all the defeats which the several parties successively suffer. But these succeeding blows become ever weaker the more generally they are distributed over the whole surface of society. The more important leaders of the Proletariat, in its councils, and the press, fall one after another victims of the courts, and ever more questionable figures SCHPMES, WO OPERATIVE BANKING'' AND ''LABOR EXCHANGE'' SCHEMES, IN OTHER WORDS, TT GOES INTO MOVEMENTS, IN WHICH IT GYVES UP THE TASK OF REVO. THROWS ITSELF UPON DOCTRINAIRE EXPERIMENTS, "CO-OPERATIVE BANKING" AND "LABOR EXCHANGE" SCHEMES, IN OTHER WORDS, IT GOES INTO MOVEMENTS, IN WHICH IT GYES UP THE TASK OF REVO-LUTIONIZING THE OLD WORLD WITH ITS OWN LARGE COLLECTIVE WEAPONS, AND, ON THE CONTRARY, SEEKS TO BRING ABOUT ITS EMANCIPATION, BEHIND THE BACK OF SOCIETY, IN PRIVATE WAYS, WITHIN THE NARROW BOUNDS OF ITS OWN CLASS CONDITIONS, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, INEVITABLY FAILS. The proletariat seems to be able neither to find again the revolutionary magnitude within itself nor to draw new energy from the newly arisen conditions, until ALL THE CLASSES, with whom it contended in June, shall lie prostrate along with itself. But in all these defeats, the proletariat succombs at least with the honor that at-taches to great historic struggles; not France alone, all Europe trembles before the June earthquake, while the successive defeats inflicted upon the higher classes are bought so easily that they need the brazen exaggration of the vic-torious party itself to be at all able to pass muster as an event; and these de-feats become more disgraceful the further removed the defeated party stands from the proletariat. from the proletariat.

True enough, the defeat of the June insurgents prepared, leveled the ground, upon which the bourgeois republic could be founded and erected; but it, at the same time, showed that there are in Europe other issues besides that of "Republic or Monarchy." It revealed the fact that here the BOURGEOIS RE-PUBLIC meant the unbridled despotism of one class over another. It proved PUBLIC meant the unbridled despotism of one class over another. It proved that, with nations enjoying an older civilization, having developed class dis-tinctions, modern conditions of production, an intellectual consciousness, wherein all traditions of old have been dissolved through the work of centuries, that with such countries the republic means only the POLITICAL REVOLU-TIONARY FORM OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY, not its CONSERVATIVE FORM OF EXISTENCE, as is the case in the United States of America, where, true enough, the classes already exist, but have not yet acquired permanent char-acter, are in constant flux and reflux, constantly changing their elements and vielding them up to one another: where the modern means of production inyielding them up to one another; where the modern means of production, in-stead of coinciding with a stagnant population, rather supply the relative scar-city of heads and hands; and, finally, where the feverishly youthful life of ma-terial production, which has to appropriate a new world to itself, has so far

## PARTISAN POLITICS.

In the last two issues of THE FEOPLE we republished successively two significant articles, on the Social Question in connection with trade unionism, the principal significance of which lay in their appearance in the "Typographical Journal." Here is a third article on the same lines, which, to its own intrinsic merit, adds the merit of appearing in the same journal of the 16th instant. It is written by Comrade M. S. Hayes, of Cleveland, O., and is felicitously headed:

"The Acceptance of Party Favors Begets Forgetfulness of Unionism-An Invitation to Join a Class-Conscious **Political Movement.**"

The occasion for this article was the following:

In Ohio the printers, pressmen and bookbinders have a State union. Some weeks ago at their annual convention a resolution was passed prchibiting polit ical discussions, as well as the indorsement of political candidates unless those candidates happen to be members of the aforesaid union, and then there was passed a second resolution thank-ing the capitalist Governor Bushnell for having appointed a printer named Drake to a position as clerk in one of the State offices, said Drake having used in the previous campaign what influence he had to get other union men to vote the capitalist Republican party into power. The Cleveland "Citizen" thereupon advised the local unions of Cleveland not to affiliate with the State union until it could demonstrate that it was "worthy of the confidence of honest and progressive union men." This attitude of the "Citizen" was not pleasant to W. W. Griffey, the Secretary of the State union, so he wrote to the Typographical Journal" criticising the position taken by the "Citizen." In the next issue of the "Journal," Robert Bandlow, manager of the "Citizen," replied to the critic, which reply we published last week. In the current issue of the "Journal" Max S. Hayes, editor of

the "Citizen," has this to say: Permit me to briefly reply to Secretary W. W. Griffey, of the Ohio State Union, which organization I confess to having criticized in a recent issue of the "Citizen." Brother Griffey can see no inconsistency in adopting a resolu-tion tabooing all political action and then indorsing a member of a subor-dinate union for an office, to be followed dinate union for an office, to be followed by profusely thanking a capitalistic politician for the appointment. Let us assume that all the other delegates to the State union, besides Mr. Drake, had office bees buzzing in their bonnets, what would be the result? There would be multing and builting to such an exwhat would be the result. That would be pulling and hauling to such an ex-tent that the organization would be dis-rupted. The Ohlo Trades Assembly went to pieces in just that manner; so did the Cleveland Trades Assembly and scores of other central bodies through-out the country.

out the country. Why should a printer be indorsed and not a molder or cigarmaker? But the fact remains that when a man gets into fact remains that when a main gets into office he forgets his unionism. He is ambitious; he stands by his party; he defends or apologizes for its most per-fidious acts. The enactment of oppres-sive laws; the calling out of the militia to shoot down strikers, the issuing of blanket injunctions to smash strikes, still finds the office-holding union man identified with his Democratic or Republican party, whichever happens to

publican party, whichever happens to be responsible. Truly, I assisted in organizing the State union, and when Brother Griffey declares that politics was barred out at the beginning he is unacquainted with the facts. Your humble servant intro-duced the American Federation of Labor platform containing the famous plank 10, declaring that "collective ownership of the means of production and distribution," which, after a spir-ited discussion, during which Republi-caps and Democrats allke expressed their readiness to join a labor party, was adopted by a good majority and re-

their readiness to join a labor party, was adopted by a good majority and re-ferred to local unions. The "Citizen" is indeed "in favor of political action by the State union providing such action be in favor of the Socialist party, but not otherwise claim it is the duty of union men to join the class-conscious Socialist Labor party. At present our unions are class organizations-composed of working men whose interests are identical, who constantly aim to wrest concessions from the capitalistic class. The latter class is thoroughly conscious of its in-terests, which always clash with our interests, and controls both old parties terests, and controls both out parties, and, consequently, all political power. Having but an economic class combina-tion, we, as workers, are like a one-armed man, and, therefore, the Socialist holds that we are at a disadvantage and must adopt the tactics of our opponents and use two arms-strike upon the po-litical as well as the industrial field, and through a workingmen's party. We must follow in the footsteps of our brothers across the sea, where the labor unions are Socialistic, where they understand the basic principles of trades unionism. The day of non-political labor organizations is drawing to a close. The rapid concentration of cap-ital, where individuals and companies are swallowed by huge trusts, the intro-duction of marvelous labor-saving ma-chinery, the growth of the unemployed army, the startling increase of crime, insanity, prostitution, divorce, etc., all due to the development of the competitive system, and which the old po-litical parties will not consider-these cold facts are educating the working class; are showing those who produce all and have nothing the injustice of the present planless economic system; and, no matter how Mr. Griffey or I or any other person may like it, or may think, say or do. Socialism is growing like a prairie fire, and in a few years this dog-eat-dog commercialism will be swept out of existence. The greed of capital-ism is choking the monster to death. In conclusion, I invite Brother Griffey in conclusion, i invite Bronner Griffey to also join the awakened political labor movement—the Socialist Labor party—and strike for the abolition of wage-slavery. A QUERY.

3

"I dipt into the future far as human eye could se he vision of the would be." —A. Tennyson. Saw the vision of the world, and all the

How interesting it would be in our modern incredulous community if there suddenly appeared on the horizon of anxiety and doubt a sage to whom the veiled and unknown eras of the future were plain as the history of the past: who could spread before us as clearly as the prophetic warning of Belschazzer the vacillating destiny of modern life. and the eventual outcome of the serious questions of the day. He could tell us how much longer the period of man's inhumanity to man would continue; or when the cruel barrier of aristocratic snobbery would cease to relegate to the humble poor the cast-off bitter dregs of life; the "looped and windowed" raggedness of poverty.

ness of poverty. Out of the threats and protests of maddened labor, taunled with the Anarchy-brewing black rag of capital-istic trust brutality and gluttonous wealth accumulation, the edifice of which has for its foundation the half paid-for sweat of the workingman, the prophet might evolve a theory of retri-bution, which, if carried into effect, and savoring less of talk than action, would realize the wildest dreams of the champions of the neople and call a halt realize the wildest dreams of the champions of the people and call a halt on the trust dickering law-makers, who are traitorous alike to sworn pledges and alluring promises. Let us follow in imagination the foot-

and alluring promises. Let us follow in imagination the foot-steps of this observant seer through the humming aisles of the metropolis of millions, set in the verdant garden of a land overflowing with riches enough to endow a universe. He would find that the natural opportunities most useful and life-comforting of these natural mineral, animal and vegetable riches, together with the social opportmilties (capital), without which natural oppor-tunities are unavailable to civilized man—all these he will find monopoliseit by a few whose marble mansfons are planted with ostentatious pride within a few blocks of the filthy narrow tene-ment peopled to an excess daugerous morally and physically with halt-fed anxious tollers, who shiver and starve for lack of what their master fellowmen gamble with in greedy avarice.

He would most surely hear how the miserable lonely woman, whose ill-nourished flesh is of the same perish-able material as that of her well-fed, pampered sister of society, stagger through the busy, cruel town unknown, unpilied with her procious burders through the busy, cruel town unknown, unpitled, with her precious burden, her dead baby, reposing in her arms, buf-fetted by the red tape of official thick-headedness, and refused even the right to deposit her dead babe in the silent charity chambers of the dead. He would meet the desperate victims of the stuffy sweat shop, the creatives of both sexes who are trampled on by the heel of the capitalist class, that can afford to sneer at the ineffective strike and its helpless leaders. And then the profigate extravagence

afford to sneer at the ineffective strike and its helpless leaders. And then the profigate extravagance of wealth, that dissipates occasionally in a charity amusement effusion or bal masque and links its doward daughters to the decaying branches of a foreign snobbish nobility, the offspring of which is decorated even in the cradie with jewelled diaper pins and costly flippery, while the sons and daughters of our own people slave and starve for enough to ensure them a breathing space on the top of the earth. After weighing well such incongruous conditions, what would be his prophetic verdict for the coming years to which many of us look forward with growing anxiety and fear? Would he console us with the assurance that an era of the political stock-jobber and lobbylat, and tear the grinding heel of the mighty trust from the neck of our people shands? JOSEPH FITZPATRICK Brooklyn.

Brooklyn.

.4.8



Cyrus F. Willard, Chicago .- Do not by any means "intercede in our behalf" to

#### Hic Rhodus, hic salta! Here is the rose, now dance!

Here is the rose, now dance! Every observer of average infelligence, even if he failed to follow step by the course of French development, must have anticipated that an unheard of fasco was in store for the revolution. It was enough to hear the self-satis-tisted yelpings of victory wherewith the Messleurs Democrats mutually congrat-ulated one another upon the pardons of May 2d, 1852. Indeed, May 2d had be-come a fixed idea in their heads; it had become a dogma with them, something the the day on which Christ was to reappear and the Millennium to begin had become in the heads of the Chiliasts. Weakness had, as it ever does, taken refuge in the wonderful; it believed the enemy was overcome if, in its imagina-tion, it hocus-pocused him away: and it lost all sense of the present in the maginary apotheosis of the future, that was at hand, and of the deeds, that it had "in petto." but which it did not yet want to bring to the scratch. The stowing their sympathy upon one another and by pulling together, had packed their satchels, taken their laurels in advance payments, and were just engaged in the work of getting discounted "in partibus," on the stock exchange, the republics for which, in the silence of their unassuming dispositions, they and caretally organized the government personel. The 2d of December index screamers, will perhaps have become convinced that the days are zone by when the cackling of geese could save the Capitol. The constitution, the national assembly, the dynastic parties, the blue and the finabelightings from the daily press, the whole literature, the political the finatesmagoria before the ban of one man, whom his enemies themselves do not pronounce an adept at witchcraft. Universal suffrage seems to have sur-rived only for a moment, to the end that, before the eyes of the world, it before the work of the atternité, " together with the sown hands, and, in the name of the pronounce is a dept at witchcraft. Universal suffrage seems to have sur-view only for a mome Every observer of average intelligence, even if he failed to follow step by

The pronounce an adept at whether at the other at each of the whole world, it is a solution of the second s

left neither time nor opportunity to abolish the illusions of old.\* All classes and parties joined hands in the June days in a "PARTY OF OR-All classes and parties joined hands in the June days in a "PARTY OF OR-DER" against the class of the proletariat, which was designated as the "PARTY OF ANARCHY." of Socialism, of Communism. They claimed to have "saved" society against the "enemies of society." They gave out the slogans of the old social order—"Property, Family, Religion, Order"—as the pass-words for their army, and cried out to the counter-revolutionary crusaders: "In this sign thou wilt conquer!" From that moment on, so soon as any of the numerous parties, which had marshalled themselves under this sign against the June insurgents, tries, in turn, to take the revolu-tionary field in the interest of its own class. It goes down in its turn before tionary field in the interest of its own class, it goes down in its turn before the cry: "Property, Family, Religion, Order." Thus it happens that "society is saved" as often as the circle of its ruling class is narrowed, as often as a more exclusive interest asserts itself over the general. Every demand for a more exclusive interest asserts itself over the general. Every demand for the most simple bourgeois financial reform, for the most ordinary liberalism, for the most commonplace republicanism, for the flattest democracy, is forthwith punished as an "assault upon society," and is branded as "Socialism." Finally the High Priests of "Religion and Order" themselves are kicked off their tripods; are fetched out of their beds in the dark, hurried into patrol wagons, thrust into jail or sent into exile; their temple is razed to the ground, their mouths are sealed, their pen is broken, their law torn to pleces in the name of Religion, of Family, of Property, and of Order. Bourgeois, fanatic on the point of "Order." are shot down on their own balconies by drunken sol-diers, forfeit their family property, and their houses are bombarded for pasdiers, forfeit their family property, and their houses are bombarded for pas-time—all in the name of Property, of Family, of Religion, and of Order. Finally the refuse of bourgeois society constitutes the "holy phalanx of Or-der," and the hero Crapulinsky makes his entry into the Tuileries as the "Savior of Society."

(To be continued.)

\* This was written at the beginning of 1852.



(Continued from Page 1.)

Don't imagine that any officious organ has it any longer in its power to dis-credit an equitable measure by merely calling it Socialistic. I have told you before that if Socialism was in power its representatives would not concern themselves with taxation, because there would be no occasion, under Socialism, for the levying of any taxes whatever, in the meantime, however, its represen-tatives are tireless in exposing and denouncing the inequalities brought about by the present system; and they find a more and more responsive chord in the hearts of the people. You have heard, probably, of what is going on in a neighboring State. You have heard, first, of Westchester County, then of

Putnam, then of Suffolk, all in the State of New York. Let me tell you how this happened. Last fall, a promihow this happened. Last fall, a promi-nent Socialist of New York City ran for Congress in a district which included Westchester County. In an address to the voters, 40,000 copies of which were distributed in that county, he illus-trated the tendencies of the present system by giving local figures which system by giving local figures which showed the monstrous inequalities of taxation. He was not elected, but the assessors were indicted. A mighty change of policy immediately followed. change of policy immediately followed. In the wake of Westchester soon came Putnam and Suffolk Counties. The wave will not stop until it has reached the State of New Jersey and many other States; it will not stop until it has reached the remotest corner of this country; and then it will not stop at taxation either. prevent bricks from flying this way. If the bricks are hollow, as they surely are, they'll smash themselves, not us, and will thereby aid in the work that is being performed and has been per-formed by a storm of such bricks hitherto: the pillorying of the intellec-tual and moral bankruptcy of our foces; and, on the other hand, if, indeed, the bricks should be solid, they can not fly too soon or too numerous. There is no healthy revolutionary progress possible without the crushing of error or wrong, wherever error or wrong may be.

By all means, let the bricks fly,

S. W. Martin, Midland, Ga.—Your in-dictment of the Ruskin "Co-operative Colony" is forcible, and its array of facts crushing. We are in possession of dozens of such letters, each valuable in itself, and all collectively valuable. For the present, however, we have sus-pended pursuing the matter further, for two resigns. fact we have now have a two reasons: first, we just now need all our space for matter of immediate imd all our space for matter of immediate im-portance; secondly, because the guns of that unhallowed Ruskin gang of swin-diers have been spiked. Later on, the campaign being over, the "Ruskin Question" may resume its relative im-portance, and we shall pour into them some more broadsides by the publica-tion of your and other letters. Indeed, anart from its private swindle charapart from its private swindle char-acter, the general poison spread by that concern deserves thorough chastisement. The movement will be thankful to THE PEOPLE and the correspon-dents, who, like yourself, have aided and are willing further to aid in this imortant work. Let this answer be accepted as di-

rected to themselves by all the other correspondents on the matter.

Isidore Cohen, N. Y. City.-Your re-ort was not published especially be-ause it contained matter in violation of the party constitution and principles; moreover, only when ample space allows can views of subdivisions of Sections be published.

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



THE PEOPLE, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1897.

pleted. The Section decided that as it could not very well establish a local paper and be sure of making a success of such an enterprise at the present time, that

26th-Every 1st and 3d Thursday even-ing in month at 313 East 71st street. -Every 2d and 4th Fr in month at 1497 Avenue A 30th-Every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening in month at 206 East 86th street. 31st-Every 1st and 3d Wednesday in month in Gessler's Hall, 1689 Park avenue. 32d-Every 1st and 3d Saturday even-

out in support. After a wrangle in this union the order was obeyed. There-after the U. H. T. placed a boycott on ing in month at 1059 2d avenue the said shop, and three days later the Hebrew-American Typo. Union No. 83 decided to allow its members to re-enter

would make an effort to boom our

official organs. Copies of THE PEOPLE and "Vor-wartz" will be distributed at our open air meetings, and the speakers will solicit subscriptions, as well as other Comrades. It is to be hoped that a great deal may be done for our press in this manner, and it is also the only correct method to work up a good sound

A City Campaign Committee was elected, consisting of Comrades Gus. Zanders, Max Meyer, Richter, Klein-dienst and Schneck. This committee will take charge of the campaign at once. The campaign has really been on for the past two or three months, and we have held open air meetings every week on the Campus Martius, and in every instance the meetings were suc-cessful. The crowds of people that come to listen to the gospel of Socialiam grow larger from week to week. Comrade Krumroy, of Cleveland, was with us Saturday, and made a splendid address to the crowd on the Campus

address to the crowd on the Campus.

Our local speakers are devoting all their ability and energy to the fight at the open air meetings, of the nght at the open air meetings, and "there will be a hot time in the old towr" in the near future. The speakers at these meetings are Comrades Meiko Meyer, S. Kleindienst and William Schneck. The ward clubs will commence open air agrization this week and all Datroit

air agitation this week, and all Detroit Comrades should make it their duty to attend these meetings, as they can be a street help, to the speakers. The sub great help to the speakers. The 9th Ward Club will meet every Thursday at Joseph Golki's Hall, corner of Hale and Chene streets. Fraternally. WILLIAM SCHNECK.

#### New York.

The next meeting of the General Com-mittee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., will be held on Saturday. Sep-tember 11th. 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Delegates should not fail to be present. L. ABELSON, Organizer, Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

ing at 304 E. 101st street. 33d—Every 2d and 4th Friday evening in month at 2105 2d avenue.

34th and 35th-Every Friday evening

34th and 35th—Every Friday evening 2842 3d avenue.
Branch 1—Every 1st and 3d Friday evening in month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
Branch 3—Every 1st and 3d Sunday evening in month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
Bohemian Branch—Every 2d Monday evening in month at 313 East 71st street. street

Socialist Liedertafel-Every 2d Monday evening in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. wish Working Women Society-

Jewish Working Women Society-Every Friday evening at 209 East Broadway.

French Branch-Every 2d and Monday in the month at 470 6th avenue

Hungarian Branch-Every 1st Sunday evening in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. West Side Agitation Committee-Every

2d and 4th Monday evening in month at 342 West 42d street.

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN.

American Branch-Every Sunday even-ing at 515 Fulton street. Danish Branch-Every 2d and 4th Sat-urday in month at 205 Ewen street. 6th Ward Branch-Every Friday even-lag at 208 Columbia street. 8th Ward Branch-Every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at 126 33d street.

street.

16th Ward, Branch 1-Every Friday evening at 46 Ewen street. 16th Ward, Branch 3-Every 1st Wed-nesday evening in month at 205

Ewen street.

the boycotted shop and work. The U. H. T. insisted on being obeyed, and when the Hebrew-American Typo. Union No. 83 paid no attention to the order, they were expelled for insubor-dination. On November 18th, 1896, the U. H. T. reported the circumstances to the General Executive Board. The union appealed to the G. E. B. on December 2d, 1896, and requested a delay to argue the appeal, which was granted On December 30th, 1896, a committee from Hebrew-American Typo. Union No. 83 was present at the G. E. B., but the Pressmen and Feeders' Union re-quested sufficient time to be represented also. The Hebrew-American Typo. No. 83 consenting, the request was granted. January 13th, 1897, the case was heard and the decision of the U. H. T. unani-monshe superior and the Hebrer mously sustained, and the Hebrew-American Typo. Union No. 83 ordered to obey or stand expelled from the S. T.

& L. A., and charter revoked. These are the facts at the bottom of the pending conflict among the Hebrew compositors, and the above is the record of the Hebrew-American Typo. Union No. 83, that now has the impudence to masquerade as a lecturer on unionism-with the effect, however, of being laughed at.

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12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).

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of the country.

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.

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