

By KARL MARR.

[Translated from the German for THE PEOPLE.]

I.

Hegel says somewhere that all great historic facts and personages recur twice. He forgot to add: "Once as tragedy and then as farce."

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 as he finds close at hand.

Accordingly, the reviving of the dead in those revolutions served the purpose of glorifying the new struggles, not of parodying the old.

In 1848-51 only the ghost of the old revolution was about, from Marrast the "Republican en gants jaunes," who disguised himself in old Bailey, down to the adventurer, who hid his repulsive features under the iron mask of Napoleon.

The social revolution of the nineteenth century can not draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot start upon its work before it has stricken off all superstition concerning the past.

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 brilliants, ecstasies is the prevailing spirit.

Hi Rhodus, hic salta!
Here is the rose, now dance!

Every observer of average intelligence, even if he failed to follow step by step the course of French development, must have anticipated that an unheard-of fiasco was in store for the revolution.

The constitution, the national assembly, the dynastic parties, the blue and the red republicans, the heroes from Africa, the thunder from the tribune, the flash-lightnings from the daily press, the whole literature, the political names and the intellectual celebrities, the civil and the criminal law, the "liberté, égalité, fraternité," together with the 2d of May, 1852—all vanished like a phantasmagoria before the ban of one man, whom his enemies themselves do not pronounce a adept at witchcraft.

It is not enough to say, as the Frenchmen do, that their nation was taken by surprise. A nation, no more than a woman, is excused for the unguarded hour when the first adventurer who comes along can do violence to her.

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 revolution 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 national assembly (May 4, 1848 to May 29th, 1849);

Third—The period of the constitutional republic, or of the legislative national assembly (May 29, 1849, to December 2, 1851).

The first period, from February 24, or the downfall of Louis Philippe, 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 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.

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 surprised by Paris.

Upon the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe, only the bourgeois republic 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.

True enough, the defeat of the June insurgents 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."

All classes and parties joined hands in the June days in a "PARTY OF ORDER" 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."

Putnam, then of Suffolk, all in the State of New York. Let me tell you how this happened. Last fall, a prominent Socialist of New York City ran for Congress in a district which included Westchester County.

(To be continued.)

ON THE BREACH.

(Continued from Page 1.)

Don't imagine that any officious organ has it any longer in its power to discredit 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.

PARTISAN POLITICS.

In the last two issues of THE PEOPLE 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."

The occasion for this article was the following: In Ohio the printers, pressmen and bookbinders have a State union.

Permit me to briefly reply to Secretary W. W. Grifley, of the Ohio State Union, which organization I confess to having criticized in a recent issue of the "Citizen."

Why should a printer be indorsed and not a molder or cigarmaker? But the fact remains that when a man gets into office he forgets his unionism. He is ambitious; he stands by his party; he defends or apologizes for its most perfidious acts.

Truly, I assisted in organizing the State union, and when Brother Grifley declares that politics was barred out at the beginning he is unacquainted with the facts. Your humble servant introduced 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 splintered discussion, during which Republicans and Democrats alike expressed their readiness to join a labor party.

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."

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.

In conclusion, I invite Brother Grifley to also join the awakened political labor movement—the Socialist Labor party—and strike for the abolition of wage-slavery.

A QUERY.

"I dilt into the future far as human eye could see. Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be."

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 Belschazzar the vacillating destiny of modern life, and the eventual outcome of the serious questions of the day.

Let us follow in imagination the footsteps 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 surely hear how the miserably lonely woman, whose ill-nourished flesh is of the same perishable material as that of her well-fed, pampered sister of society, stagger through the busy, cruel town unknown, unloved, with her precious burden, her dead baby, reposing in her arms.

And then the prodigal extravagance of wealth, that dissipates occasionally in a charity amusement or a bal masque and links its dowered daughters to the decaying branches of a foreign snobbish nobility, the offspring of which is decorated even in the cradle with jeweled diaper pins and costly flippers.

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?

That the peaceful ballot was still a power in the hands of honest representatives to check the ruthless career of the political stock-jobber and lobbyist, and tear the grinding heel of the mighty trust from the neck of our people, and place it in our own people's hands?

Brooklyn.
JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers. Cyrus F. Willard, Chicago.—Do not by any means "intercede in our behalf" to prevent bricks from flying this way.

S. W. Martin, Midland, Ga.—Your indictment 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.

Let this answer be accepted as directed to themselves by all the other correspondents on the matter.

Isidore Cohen, N. Y. City.—Your report was not published especially because 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.

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

Labor saved by using the DIAMOND POINT GOLD FOUNTAIN PEN FREE! For a short while. FREE!

We will send it free to anyone sending us three yearly subscriptions at one dollar each. Will you take advantage of this unprecedented offer? Get a new yearly subscriber this, next and the following week, then send us \$3.00 and the pen is yours.

PARTY NEWS.

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

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE - Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y. NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS - Secretary M. S. Hayes, 115 Chambers St., Cleveland, O.

Section Peoria No. 2 reports that the old charter cannot be found, and it was decided to grant them a new one.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party and all Friends of the Cause. Comrades:—The party's agitation previous to election requires ever larger means, and the regular income of the National Executive Committee is insufficient to cover the ever growing expenditures.

DETROIT, Mich., August 31st.—Section Detroit had a well attended meeting last evening. The organizer, Comrade M. Meyer, reported that he had visited Grand Rapids and met some of the old Section members.

Copies of THE PEOPLE and "Vorwärts" will be distributed at our open air meetings, and the speakers will solicit subscriptions, as well as other Comrades.

Our local speakers are devoting all their ability and energy to the fight at the open air meetings, and there will be a hot time in the old town in the near future.

The ward clubs will commence open air agitation this week, and all Detroit Comrades should make it their duty to attend these meetings, as they can be a great help to the speakers.

NEW YORK.—Fourth Assembly District.—Comrade H. Simpson will speak on the subject: "Our Attitude to the Debs Movement," at the 4th Assembly Rooms, 765 East Broadway, on Friday, September 10th, at 8 p. m.

Notice From the N. Y. State Committee. The following requirements of the law are to be observed in the filing of certificates of nomination:

17th Ward Branch—Every 1st and 3d Saturday evening in month at Eckford Hall, corner of Eckford and Calmyer streets.

RICHMOND COUNTY. Branch Northfield—Every 1st and 3d Saturday evening in month at Wygant's Hall, Corner of Jewett avenue, Port Richmond.

HUGO VOGT. Secretary, State Committee, 184 William street, N. Y. City.

Calendar

- of Organizations represented in Section Greater New York, S. L. P. General Committee meetings every 2d and 4th Saturday evening in month at 64 East 4th street.

- 17th Ward Branch—Every 1st and 3d Saturday evening in month at Eckford Hall, corner of Eckford and Calmyer streets.

FACTS ON THE CONFLICT AMONG THE HEBREW COMPOSITORS.

Hebrew - American Typographical Union No. 83 was organized in 1888, and joined the United Hebrew Trades in October of the same year.

After the expulsion that union had a strike on an Anarchistic paper called the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme," and for the purpose of receiving the aid of the U. H. T. the slander was withdrawn, and the union was readmitted.

During this struggle one Raphael and others split away from the original union and organized an opposition, which received charter No. 317 from the International Typographical Union.

In 1893 the Pressmen and Feeders' Union were requested by No. 317 to join the Int. Typo. Union, but they refused, and amalgamated with the Pressmen's Union No. 16, thus individually giving up their union.

In the time of one and a half years they lost all of their union shops, not being protected by the Int. Typo. Union, and hence reorganized as a new union, with the consent of the Hebrew-American Typo. Union.

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.

Table with 2 columns: Name, Amount. Total \$1,777.43. HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND. \$4,565.

Amount Pledged down to September 8th, 1897. The following amounts have been paid down to September 7th, incl.: Previously acknowledged \$1,851.90

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY - OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Platform. The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right;

RESOLUTIONS.

- With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands: 1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following stores: Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St., Boston, Mass.

United Journeymen Tailors Union of N. Y. Second Grand Conference Meeting. Owing to the success of our last meeting, a second meeting will be held on Sept. 13, 8 p. m.

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

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 385 Bowers, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028. D. A. 48, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th Street. Meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock noon.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P. 34th Street, N. Y. City. Office: 385 Bowers, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. Organized 1872. Membership 10,000. Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance. Organized 1872. Membership 10,000. Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America. The above society was founded in the year 1896 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought.

DR. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST, 121 SCHERMERHORN ST., BROOKLYN, N. Y.

HILLKOWITZ & HILLKOWITZ, Attorneys at Law, 230 Broadway. Rooms 1214-1216.

JOHN OEHLER'S Steam Printing. 87 Frankfort Street 87 Cor. Pearl St., Franklin Square E. R. R. Station. Orders will be taken at 116 E. 8th street, betw Avenue A and First Ave., New York City.

I. Goldman's Printing Office, cor. New Chambers and William Sts. works with Type Setting Machines. German and English.

Socialist Tracts. Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms \$1.50 per thousand: 1. "What shall we do to be saved?"