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VOL. VIII.—NO. 11.

NEW YORK, JUNE 12, 1898.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

Class-Conscious Tickets and Utterances in Ohio, California and Connecticut.

OHIO.
COLUMBUS, O.—On the 30th of last month the Socialist Labor party held its State Convention in this city and put up the following ticket:
For Secretary of State: JOHN F. FLYNN, of Canton.
For Justice of Supreme Court: DANIEL W. WALLACE, of Hollister.
For Clerk of Supreme Court: FREDERICK PANDOLF, of Cincinnati.
For Dairy Food Commissioner: ELMER E. APPELGARTH, of Maynard.
For Board of Public Works: THOMAS F. SMITH, of Zoar Station.

THE WAR.
The matter of the war came up for consideration. The following declaration was adopted as the attitude of the party on the existing clash of arms:
"While condemning the inhuman treatment of the Cubans by the Spanish ruling class and its butcher Weyler, and desiring most earnestly the real freedom of Cuba, economic as well as political, we point to the atrocities of the capitalist class of America and its butchers, like Martin, who at Hazleton tore the Stars and Stripes out of the hands of unarmed, innocent workers, trampled it in the dust, murdered the workers in cold blood, and escaped unpunished at the hands of capitalist officials.
"We hold, therefore, that there can be no real freedom, whether in the United States, Cuba or elsewhere, until the working class wrests the powers of government from the capitalist class and administers them in the interests of the whole people."

CALIFORNIA.
SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., June 3.—The State Convention of the S. L. P. of this State met in this city on the 29th of last month and nominated the below complete State ticket:
For Governor: JOB HARRIMAN, of Los Angeles.
For Lieutenant-Governor: JAMES ANDREW, of Berkeley.
Besides Emil Liess, of San Francisco, for Secretary of State; Jane A. Roulston, of San Francisco for Public Instructor; John Robertson, of Cotati, for Comptroller; George Smith, of Oakland, for Surveyor General; Le Mark D. Biddle, of Los Angeles, for Clerk of Supreme Court; A. F. Strath-Hamilton, of San Francisco, for Attorney General; A. Conti, of San Francisco, for Superintendent of State Printing, and E. M. Dewey, of Tulare, for State Treasurer.
The following timely declarations were adopted:

ON THE WAR.
The Socialist Labor party of California, in convention assembled, views with admiration the ardent spirit of humanity which has impelled the workmen of this country to volunteer their lives and services to politically emancipate the suffering Cubans from the barbarous expression of the Kingdom of Spain. We extend the sympathy of American workmen to the oppressed Cubans and to Spanish workers who are trying to overthrow the hateful despotism which is destroying them.
Fellow workers—the capitalist class, which is the enemy of the oppressed Cubans and Spanish workmen, is also our enemy. The capitalist class show by their actions in the present war their real spirit; while professing great love for this country, they charge exorbitant rates for transportation and supplies, feed our soldiers of unfit and unwholesome food, while the capitalists themselves enjoy their ill-gotten gains at a safe distance from the enemy.
We recognize that the patriotism of the workers is enthusiasm for humanity, while the patriotism of the capitalist class is enthusiasm for profits. We heartily commend the self-sacrifice of the former and condemn the self-seeking of the latter. Profit and not service is the measure of capitalist patriotism.
We therefore call upon the workmen of this country to be true to their own interests and those of their wives and children, and turn a deaf ear to the capitalist class, who rob them economically all the year round as a reward for political support on election day; and
Whereas, The life of a poor man is as dear to him as the life of a rich man to him, and more necessary to the support of his wife and children; and
Whereas, An overwhelming majority of those who have volunteered to serve as private soldiers in the United States army in the war with Spain have come from the ranks of the wage-working, non-property owning class, we demand that in case conscription becomes necessary to keep the army up to a war

standard that the conscripts be drawn from the ranks of the property-owners, the percentage of men to be drawn from each class of property owners, graded according to the wealth possessed by the individual of the class, shall be in proportion to the total percentage of the national wealth possessed by that class;
We further demand that no man conscripted shall be allowed to purchase a substitute to take his place in the ranks of the army.

ON BELLAMY'S DEATH.
Whereas, In the death of Edward Bellamy the cause of human progress has suffered the loss of a great and good friend; and
Whereas, The Socialists of the State of California, represented by the Socialist Labor Party, desire to testify to the respect and honor with which we regard the memory of this philanthropist and author;
Resolved, That we tender to his widow and children our sincere sympathy, and assure them that the high ideals and glorious aspirations which he has implanted in the minds of oppressed and down-trodden millions, will ever remain an enduring and living monument to his loving heart and his noble life.

ON GENERAL AND LOCAL ISSUES.
While the means of producing and distributing wealth are in the possession of private capitalists, the condition of the wage-working masses will not be materially improved by a gold standard or a bi-metallic standard, or by any other money standard that might be adopted.
We denounce the present tramp law of California as an infamous and criminal measure, furnishing a pecuniary harvest to a lot of political barnacles known as constables and justices of the peace, at the cost of great injustice to every worker in search of work, and we demand the repeal of said law.
We demand that no person shall be detained or punished for vagrancy in California until said person, being physically able, shall have refused an offer by the community of a chance to earn a living at wages not less than the average wages of unskilled labor.

CONNECTICUT.
On May 30, the S. L. P. State Convention of Connecticut met in New Haven. It nominated this ticket:
For Governor: CHAS. STODEL, of Hartford.
For Lieutenant-Governor: CHAS. PATRICK, of New Britain.
Besides Faustin Serrer, of New Haven, for Secretary of State; Chas. Kulsell, of Danbury, for Treasurer; and Thos. Steigerwald, of Bridgeport, for Comptroller.
The following important declarations were made:

ON THE WAR.
Whereas, A state of war now exists between this country and Spain, in which large numbers of wage workers will be killed and maimed;
Therefore, We call the attention of the American wage-worker to the fact that no matter which country wins, neither the condition of the wage-workers of Cuba or America will be improved by reason of the fact that they will still be dependent upon the capitalist class for a chance to earn a living, and that by and through its ownership of the means whereby wealth is produced, the wage-workers are compelled to sell their labor power as so much merchandise, which labor power is ever cheapened and underbid by improved machinery and methods of production and distribution; hence, there exists but one war which affects the wage-worker, and that is the world-wide class war between the proletariat and the capitalist class; in proof thereof we call your attention to the fact that the treatment of the miners at Hazleton, Pa., was no better than that accorded to the Cubans by General Weyler, hence we reassert the solidarity of the workers of the world, irrespective of creed, color or race, and therefore we call upon the American proletarian to join his party, the Socialist Labor Party, and thus abolish the capitalist system and establish the Cooperative Commonwealth, in which we shall all have peace and plenty.

ON THE PEOPLE.
That this convention endorse the course pursued by THE PEOPLE toward the Social Democracy and labor fakirs.
ON THE S. T. & L. A.
That the delegates at this convention endorse the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, and recommend to all sections in the State to wherever practical organize local alliances of the same as a means of strengthening the party, but where no S. T. & L. A. exists, that the members of the party join the respective unions of their craft, and there agitate for Socialism, and use all means within their power to induce them to draw out of pure and simpledom and join the S. T. & L. A.

ON THE EVENTS IN ITALY.
The delegates of this convention denounce the diabolical acts of legalized murder perpetrated upon the famished proletariat of Italy to the number of 30,000 by the military henchmen of her capitalist class; and we tender our heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved families and friends of those who were murdered for demanding bread. We hope that this sacrifice will bind together the proletariat of Italy in their own class interests, and thus enable them, by adopting the principles and tactics of International Socialism, to abolish forever the cause of their suffering and degradation, viz., the private ownership of the means of wealth production.

IN ALABAMA.
BIRMINGHAM, June 6.—The Sections located in Jefferson County held a convention at Bricklayers' Hall on June 1. Owing to the limited amount of material of office-holding type, we were unable to do more than make nominations for State representatives.

Let the older districts look well for their colors. The Socialist vote for this district promises to eclipse our most sanguine expectations.
Outsiders report the greatest amount of dissatisfaction with "the powers that be," and this is so general, and our aggressive work so effective, that some insist that the Socialist vote for the county will reach 3,000. We will be well satisfied if we poll 1,000.
Conditions are such that 3,000 is possible if events pursue the course they generally do.

"Ten cents per pound on tea." This is one of the taxes imposed in the Senate by the war revenue bill. Looked at superficially, the item seems uninteresting; looked at more closely it develops and blossoms like a veritable "Rosa Multiflora."
How did the tax get there?
It was suggested and backed by the importers of tea!
"No," we hear the unbelieving Thomases say, "that can't be; importers are patriotically free traders; their country, i. e., their pockets, can thrive better with a low than with a high tariff, and with no tariff better than with one; the lower the tariff the better able are they to import and to sell; they surely can't favor a duty on the goods they deal in; least of all suggest such a duty."
Well, it is so all the same; and the significance of the incident lies in the correctness of the theory of the doubting Thomases above quoted: Importers are not likely to favor, much less suggest a duty on their importations. How then come they to favor such a duty now? Is it an evidence of patriotism, shining bright by reason of its exception? What is the matter with them?

With whom?
With these tea importers.
The matter with them is that they are no importers at all. They deal in "tea" (quotation marks); and that theoretically must be imported. But their "tea" is not. It is one of the "sophistications" of the market. Their "tea" is raised right here.
To make a long story short, our tea dealers have quickly "hitched their cars to the stars." There is a war on. It is to be utilized for all that is worth a duty on imported tea will make imported tea dearer, and thus the bogus article will have readier sales.
Can there be anything more clever than to be "patriotic" at other's expense?
Bravo, "importers of tea"! Don't let the railroad magnates and money lenders get ahead of ye! Here is a war; here is your chance; take it!

The election in Oregon last Monday must have sent a chill through the ranks of the silver mine barons. The gold standard ticket swept the State with majorities greatly in excess of those of '96. The combined silver forces were routed everywhere.

The middle class, it is once more proved, is but a broken reed to lean on. Capitalist interests, like those of the silver mine barons, will have to chaffer among themselves for slices of the hide of the workers. To imagine they can intimidate their confederates with revolutionary talk and with the wooden cannon of the middle class is folly.
The most important battle of the war fought so far, was not fought either at Manila or Santiago; it was fought at the hustings in Oregon. One of the causes for hurling the country into a war, having thus subsided, it is to be hoped the war may come to a speedy end.

Last Tuesday the first primary elections were held in the Greater New York under the new primary law. The result confirms the justice of the Socialist claim, advanced during the debate on the bill, that its ostensible purpose was to break the "Platt Machine." The Mugwumps were routed last Tuesday as they never were before; and the tricks that they complain were practised upon them were at all points similar to those which, in their unsophisticated minds, their new law would do away with.
These gentlemen will now learn the truth of our words: "There is no such thing as legislating political activity into a politically slothful class." They better get a new law passed bringing the primary ballot box alongside of their beds and bath-tubs. Only that will give them a chance.

Last week has been an all around "fool-killers" week.
In Oregon, the fools, who did not realize that the silver capitalists are no better than their gold doubles, are given a wetting.
Here in New York, the "reform" Republican capitalists get soaked by Tom Platt in strict accordance with the wondrous primary law.
And in Pennsylvania, Mat Quay's machine works with a precision never known before at the State Convention, despite Wanamaker's "75 speeches" and the revolt of "the decent elements in the State."
The 10 cents on a pound tax on tea was proposed by a "South Carolina Senator." In the absence of the Congressional Record we can't tell who that Senator was. When the Record arrives we shall know. In the meantime two questions arise:
First—Who was that Senator?
Second—Is South Carolina raising "tea," and if so, does that Senator have a hand in that industry?

JEAN JAURES'

Post Election Words to Paris Workingmen.

DRILL FOR THE REVOLUTION.

A Lucid Review of the Situation in France, as Manifested by the Election Returns—Instructive Experiences that Should Guide Tactics Here too—A State of Things that May be of Decisive Importance in the Threatening International Complications—The Coalition Forces of the Capitalist Class can not Hold Together—No One to be Trusted Who does not un-qualifiedly Stand on the Revolutionary Platform.
Workingmen of Paris:—
What the next Chamber of Deputies will be no one can tell. The opposing forces—the ministerial party and the anti-ministerial party—seem to be about equal in numbers; and besides this general confusion there is a good deal of individual uncertainty and ambiguity among many of the elected. A number of the Radicals, for example, have made democratic pledges on the question of taxation, and these pledges may lead them quickly to a determined struggle against social reaction. But at the same time they have made such miserable concessions to retrograde Chauvinism and scurrilous anti-Semitism that they can become in the hands of Deroulede and Drumont the dishonorable instruments of military and clerical reaction. Will they go toward the Social Republic or will they go toward Cesarism? As yet they do not know themselves; and perhaps, as a just punishment for all the weaknesses and treasuries of the campaign, the little Nationalist and Boulangist group will be, to the disgrace of the Chamber, the arbiters of its politics.
Above this confusion and this uncertainty, the Socialist party can and ought to play a grand role. Its strength in the Chamber and throughout the country has largely increased. If it has lost for a time a few of its strong districts, it has, on the other hand, gained a large extent of territory. Its representatives have increased in number, and they will speak in the name of one million citizens, of one million proletarians who have at last revolted against an ungrateful society.
When we say that Socialism has today four hundred thousand more votes than it had in 1893 we do not say enough. It is necessary to take into consideration the altogether different conditions of the struggle to-day compared with that of five years ago. In 1893 all the parties of the bourgeois republic, including those of Opportunism and Radicalism, were decomposed by the Panama scandal. The Reactionists, hoping to turn to their profit the disgust of the people, joyfully watched the shipwreck, and even aided it. Far from forming an alliance with the Radicals and the Opportunists against Socialism, they saw in Socialism a disorganizing force that might give them the power of government, and, consequently, they made no fight against it. The Revisionists and the Boulangists, utterly disabled since the downfall of Boulanger, sought revenge in throwing their strength to the followers of revolutionary Socialism.
Thus, although the Socialist party from the very first spoke through its representatives, through Vaillant, through Guesde, through Allemane, and loudly affirmed its Collectivist or Communist principles, it did not find itself confronted with the combined and compact resistance of all the conservative forces, and it dragged behind it, by the side of its solid battalions of the revolutionary proletariat, allies on whom it looked with suspicion and camp followers in whom it placed no dependence.
To-day everything is changed. By the vigor of its action, by the stability of its principles, the Socialist party has sent fear to the very heart of the old parties of conservatism and reaction. The Opportunists and the Reactionists were thoroughly coalesced against us. The Boulangists, frightened by the dangerous distinctness of the party's attitude, were on the lookout for occasions and pretexts to separate themselves from it. When we signed the peremptory manifesto against President Ferrier, the Revisionists began to complain of our "violence." There were many protests from them, and at that time the secession began. Later, when Millerand, at the Saint-Mandé banquet, explained in the most circumspetuous terms the essential principles of the Socialist party—the substitution of social property for capitalist property and an international union of all proletarians—the Revisionists refused their adhesion. They did not wish openly to declare war against bourgeois society. From that day they placed themselves outside of the forces working for Socialism; they hung about the margin and waited for the first opportunity to retire to the dubious regions of Cesarism.
The Dreyfus affair gave them the pretext. When the intoxication of the Franco-Rusian fetes, so reactionary and so deceptive, and the skillful exploitation of anti-Semitism had bewildered many of the working class and small tradesmen, the Boulangists decided to openly fight Socialism.

They began it by crying venality and treason against all those who did not bow down before the infallibility of court martials and the majesty of the army officers; and they prostrated themselves before Esterhazy, who was guarded by the Jesuits and the generals of Boulanger's coup d'etat. Against Vaillant, against Chauviere, against Gerault-Richard, against Lavy, against all those who defended revolutionary traditions—they became the accomplices of the worst reaction. Knowing that the Clericals, if they dared run openly, would be overwhelmingly defeated, they gave to Clericalism the cloak it required, and publicly made themselves sponsor for the candidates of the Church.

It was for these reasons that this year the Socialist party, finding in front of it a coalition of all the forces of capitalist society, and betrayed by the Revisionists, who had gone over to the Clericals, could not occupy all the territory it had planned to. But its victory, although less comprehensive, is more decisive and sure. This time, it is a united army that marches with it. This time, it is for the Social Revolution that the proletariat has begun its movement. This time, in spite of all the coalitions and in spite of all the treachery, ONE MILLION of workingmen have asserted their strength and their belief. There is to be no more ambiguity and no more mingling with the enemy. It is Socialism, and Socialism alone, that is fighting the other combined forces of society, and Socialism in spite of everything will continue to grow.
Consequently the Socialists of Paris, when they learned on the 8th of May, and again on the 22d, of a number of grievous defeats, did not experience one moment of discouragement. They were in rage against those who had perfidiously worked for the enemy, and never, so long as time lasts, will those traitors be pardoned, no matter what happens. Everything is over between them. But there was also a high degree of confidence, for the proletariat is animated by a courage that knows nothing but cheerfulness. Yes, in spite of a few reverses and a few wounds, Socialism is on the march. The strength of the working class and the peasants is growing, and Paris, still conscious of the revolutionary function it has to perform, is proud of the great Socialist task which, in common with the working class of France, it is its duty to accomplish.
It is not a question of throwing to the ground a royal or an imperial throne. That was the glorious, but relatively easy, task of the past. It is not a question of rushing blindly into Boulangist adventures. Nor is it a question of a quarrel with an ephemeral ministry.
No.
It is society entire that must be changed. It is property that must be transformed. It is capitalism and wage slavery that must be abolished. And to pave the way for this immense work the forces of the proletariat must be organized, the prejudice of the petit bourgeoisie (which is even now in the throws of suicide) must be dispelled, and this military oligarchy, which today is courting favor from all the enemies of the Republic, and which tomorrow will turn its guns upon the Socialist Commonwealth, must be humbled. This is the great and formidable work to which Paris must rise.
Away with the reactionists of every kind and name! Let the Socialist party, without neglecting immediate action wherever it is possible, hold its ideal high up above every other party. Workingmen of Paris, the Nationalists and the Clericals, associated for the business of deception and reaction, have here and there robbed you of victory. From to-day prepare for your revenge by marching straight ahead against all your enemies, declared or masked. It is your economic liberty, your material well-being, and your moral grandeur for which you are battling.
JEAN JAURES.

The elections for the Belgian Chamber of Deputies were held on the 24th of May. As in the case in France, a supplementary election will be held later in all those districts where no candidate received a majority vote.
At the elections held in 1894, the Socialist elected twenty-eight members to the Chamber, and polled 240,200 votes. According to the information sent out by the headquarters of the party in Brussels they have raised their poll this year to 322,000.
Eight Socialists were elected on the first ballot, and they confidently expect to elect twenty-four more at the supplementary election, thus increasing their representation by four.
The muchly promised, and in advance muchly bragged about financial report of the International Cigar-makers' Union is out at last. Reserving for a special article, in which the features of this report will be dealt with minutely, it may be here stated in advance that the report, not only substantiates fully our claim that the fakirs who run the organization have bankrupted it, but that it is unquestionably, hopelessly and fast going to wreck.
Instead of the "flourishing" financial condition that the organization had been all along claimed to be in during the period that the report was supposed, it now turns out from the figures that it is worse off than two years ago, when we first uncovered its bankruptcy. Two years ago its deficiency was at least \$32,978; now the deficiency is near to \$110,000, with a decreased membership at that; instead of the \$263,410 its treasury should contain under the constitution to meet its obligations, it now contains only \$153,977—a larger deficit than in '96.
Thus flourishes "pure and simpledom."

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

APPEAL

To the Labor Organizations of Pennsylvania.

TURN OVER A NEW LEAF!

With the New Bedford Election Casting its Mighty Shadow Ahead, and the Disastrous Experience of the Strike of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers Casting its Shadow Behind, the Pennsylvania State Convention of the S. L. P. Issues an Appeal to the Organized Labor of the State to Shake off the Shackles of British Pure and Simpledom, and Drop from its Eyes the Skales Clipped there by the "No Politics" Labor Fakir.
The following is the appeal to the labor organizations of Pennsylvania, submitted by a member of the International Typographical Union, Delegate F. W. Long, of Philadelphia, at the Pennsylvania State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, and adopted, and ordered printed and distributed among the trades unions of the State:
"To the Labor Organizations of Pennsylvania:
"Greeting!
"The Socialists of your State, in convention assembled, after the lapse of a year since we last addressed you, once more point out the worthlessness of the pure and simple form of labor organization, and the folly of wasting effort and hard-earned money, in attempting to ameliorate your condition by economic organization alone and abstention from proletarian politics.
"The position we have hitherto held and still maintain, is amply justified by the bitter experience of the past year. The pure and simple form of labor union in America was patterned after the much praised British labor union, the strongest example of which was the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
"This union, after a most protracted and bitterly contested strike (afterwards developed into a lock-out), has been practically annihilated, although, if the principles of pure and simpledom were sound—having millions of money and practically no non-union element to contend with—they should have been triumphant. Not satisfied with their victory, the employing class is now making every effort to stamp out the last vestige of solidarity among their employees.
"In this country the steady decline of interest in pure and simple labor organization, and the helpless condition of the working class under capitalism, was demonstrated in the acquittal and vindication of the murderous deputies who shot down the strikers at Hazleton, peacefully marching with an American flag at their head.
"Again we ask you to note that the so-called leaders who for years have frantically worked to keep politics out of trades unions, are always in politics themselves—capitalist politics—and that their success therein has been proportioned to their ability in keeping the producing class out of class-conscious politics. The brightest example of this perfidy within the past year has been the case of Terence V. Powderly, who was rewarded for his treason to the working class by being made Commissioner of Immigration. Numerous other instances might be given.
"We therefore ask you to throw off the shackles of pure and simpledom—to repudiate the misleaders who would keep you forever political and economic slaves, and who make merchandise of your vote.
"We direct your attention to a genuine labor organization, a body founded upon the rock of the class struggle—the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, which makes a strike not only against one employer, but against the whole exploiting class; whose blows are directed straight at the heart of the capitalist system with the ballot of the Socialist Labor party.
"We heartily endorse this organization, and ask you to see in it a labor structure that will stand the stress of strike, lockout and panic, defying either the open assault of the capitalist or the secret treason of his spy tool, the labor fakir.
"The State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party."

The Praetorian Guards in the Senate, casting dice and quarrelling over the vestment of crucified Labor, have compounded their differences and come to an agreement.
The silver Praetorians, who objected to "bonding" the nation to the gold bugs, abandoned their objections and voted for what they had been condemning.
The gold Praetorians, who objected to any further "depreciation" of our money, abandoned their objections and voted for the coining of more silver than they have been objecting to.
Thus each having got his slice the two have patriotically made up, and are bolting for war—at a safe distance therefrom.
The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.

THE PEOPLE.

Published at 124 William Street, New York, EVERY SUNDAY.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. Invariably in advance:

One year..... \$2.50 Six months..... 1.50 Single copies..... 5c

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office on April 9, 1891.



Our whole social fabric is one vast web of interests, in which true charity, and morality, and brotherly love, have no existence. The hand of every man is more or less raised against every other man...

J. F. Bray.

DISHONORING THEMSELVES.

The election of Paul Deschanel, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, recalls a recent incident in which he figured, and that contributes its share to the understanding of what any nation may expect for its honor from its capitalist elite rulers.

A strike being on, and the Social Question having thus thrust itself into the French Chamber, an extensive debate ensued between the upholders of the present "order" and the stalwart band of Socialist Deputies, the vanguard of actual civilization.

"I protest against these Collectivist doctrines. They are an insult to our reason and our national pride, turning up here in German liveries! It looks as though, after having conquered our provinces, Germany meant to subjugate our spirit!"

The love of freedom has no nationality; noble aspirations have their birth-place in the human heart; wherever the race exists there will be found the sense of right, the contempt of wrong, and the strife for an upward march.

That is what Mr. Deschanel did for France; that is what his counterparts are doing in all other countries: they are befooling their own nest.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

It is about time that our American plutocratic papers stop giving their opinions about French elections, particularly with regard to the Socialist vote. Each of these succeeding opinions is more ridiculous than the previous one, and is forthwith exposed to laughter by the events.

A series of Ministerial defeats for the "triumphant victors" is now at hand.

The Indianapolis, Ind., "Deutsch-Amerikanische Buchdrucker-Zeitung," a trade paper that still is controlled, on the whole, by the spirit of "pure and simpleton," and whose editor, as a consequence, is pursued by the bare thought of the Socialist Labor party very much as a mouse may be imagined to be pursued by the thought of the cat that is camping on its trail, accomplishes the following passage:

"The better and more enlightened members of the S. L. P. will finally cleanse the Temple, and throw out the unclean and harmful elements; THEREUPON THE TIME WILL COME WHEN THERE WILL BE NO MORE S. L. P." (!!!)—Correct!

It certainly must be a great gratification to the S. L. P. to perceive the intellectual bankruptcy that typifies all its enemies, without a single exception. How hopelessly bankrupt must not be that mind that, while it tries to make appear that its fight is not with the party, and that it loves the party, but only fights the party's "unclean and harmful elements," so completely

gives itself away as to admit that the result of the "cleansing" and "throwing out" which it advocates will be the vanishing of the party itself!

We have yet to hear of the enemy of the S. L. P., whatever the mask he wears, who is capable of opening his mouth without forthwith putting his foot into it.

For some mysterious reason, Gorman, the Senator from Maryland, tacked on the war revenue bill an amendment to lay a tax of one-half of 1 per cent. on the gross annual receipts of railroads. Thereupon the New York "Evening Post" condemns the proposition as "barbarous severity" towards the railroads.

These roads may violate the automatic coupler law, they may destroy the life and limbs of the employes,—all that is proper, reasonable and humane. It is also proper, reasonable and humane for these roads to extort from the Government exorbitant fares for the transportation of soldiers. But to expect that these same roads pay a fraction of one per cent. on the blood-money they collect, that is "barbarous."

But is not the "Evening Post" the property of just these railroads, and is it not a prescriber of the rifle diet for the workmen?

The Duluth, Minn., "Labor World" has taken the referendum malaria in an aggravated form. It says:

"Socialists and Single Taxers and all the rest can push their projects as best they may, but all can better hope for success with direct legislation. It is the one article of faith on which all agree and the one that can be first adopted by the agreement of all."

The most aggravated form of the malarial fever known as the "Referendum" fever is "Direct Legislation." It is an aggravated form of the disease because the referendum is, at least, theoretically possible to-day, and would fall through only on account of the present complicated legislation that capitalist society requires; under Socialism it could be of easy and beneficent application. But Direct Legislation is wholly inapplicable, now or hereafter. Direct Legislation is possible only in primitive society.

There the system of production is such that small commonwealths are possible. The moment, however, the system of production develops and is more fruitful, co-operation sets in upon an ever larger scale; this development sweeps away in its course the small, independent commonwealths, and, with them Direct Legislation goes overboard.

The largeness of the number of people who become co-operators, and thereby interdependent, precludes the possibility of their meeting in "Committee of the Whole" and exercising Direct Legislation. From that moment on the Representative System, or the System of Indirect Legislation, springs up, and its roots lie in the ruins of Direct Legislation—irretrievably ruined.

What a shocking amount of phrases and terms are being bandied about without a consciousness of what they mean, as the "Labor World" does with cool assurance, and thereby increases confusion!

It seems more than probable that the accounts given by Jane Grey Swisshelm of the sufferings of our troops during the Rebellion, owing to the conceit and incompetence of our officials, are to have their parallels during this war with Spain. In "Harper's Weekly," Poulitney Bigelow gives a detailed account of the sufferings of our troops in the military camp at Tampa. He says:

"They are tortured by being made to wear winter uniforms in the heat of Florida; are given only the most unseasonable food to eat; have no opportunities to bathe; and are wasting their strength in drilling raw recruits, who are unloaded upon them to be licked into shape in the most trying climate. In no army of Europe, not even in Spain, have I seen troops so badly treated through the incompetence of staff officers, who to-day are strutting about in new uniforms when they ought to be whistled out of camp as frauds."

Yet who doubts that these frauds will not be pluming themselves with the heroism of Hobson and his companions in the roadstead of Santiago de Cuba;—just as their counterparts, the scions of capitalist firms, plumed themselves during the Rebellion with the heroic deeds of the Shermaans?

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen" calls, with fit commentary, attention to certain recent occurrences in Milwaukee in the following passage:

"A peculiar case has cropped out at Milwaukee. A brewery contracted to have a building erected and stipulated that only union men should be employed. The contractor, with true capitalist instincts, put only cheap scabs on the job, and when the unions' business agent discovered the trick he made complaint with the result that the brewery people forced the dollar-worshipping contractor to discharge his scabs. Thereupon the latter hailed 'the unions' agent into court, and he was given the choice of paying a fine or languishing in jail for five months for intimidation, etc. An appeal has been sent out for funds to carry the case into the higher courts. You see, the building trades in Milwaukee, like the building trades everywhere, doggedly refuse to elect class-conscious men from labor's ranks to the important offices, especially the judiciary. Oh, no! They must elect capitalists or their sympathizers, and then spend a barrel of money to get justice. And yet when these little incidents are brought to the workers' attention they whine something about 'intolerant Socialists' and

get angry! Of course, if they want to 'tolerate' such outrages there is no reason why they should not be allowed to do so."

The Brooklyn, N. Y., "Bakers' Journal," official organ of the International Bakers' Union, gives to our commentary upon the reason for the troubles that befell it with Weissmann, this preliminary answer:

"Referring to our complications of the present time, THE PEOPLE had an editorial in which it was proven, to the satisfaction undoubtedly of the writer of it, that Weissmannism was inherent to the system of trades unions pure and simple, and that the conditions in our International Union were inviting for a second Weissmann to come in and do the same kind of work over again, and that the only salvation for our organization was to join the S. T. & L. A. The answer to that article is postponed till we are a little more at leisure to go into arguments."

We look forward to the answer.

Of all the quibbling, disingenuous and dishonest evasions that the Chicago, Ill., "Social Democrat" has been guilty of in its short career, the following leads the van. To an inquirer who asked for the reasons that caused the A. R. U. to be dissolved, it answers: "The A. R. U. was not dissolved at all. It was merged into the Social Democracy of America, and the organization was never more alive than to-day. The change was made, not by Comrade Debs, but by a unanimous vote of delegates representing the A. R. U., at a convention held in Chicago in June, 1897. Comrade Debs favored this change, but he had no vote in making it, as only the regular delegates had votes."

Not only is this an evasion, but disingenuous and dishonest, but it even lacks "cleverness": the lie sticks out so clearly that it can deceive nobody, least of all the inquirer and those for whom he inquired, and who were alert enough to want to know "the reason why."

Occasionally, the London, Eng., "Labour Leader" displays a coruscation of sense. We take pleasure in giving it credit for one of these. It has taken hold of one of its local labor fakirs, Mr. Pickard, of the Yorkshire miners, and it is ripping him in good style, and with commendable perseverance.

Taking up this Pickard's Income, it says among other things:

"It is difficult to obtain precise information. The balance sheet of the Yorkshire Miners' Trade Union for the twelve months ending 31st December, 1896, gives Mr. Pickard's salary at £539. Then there is £40 paid him by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, which makes £579. There is, in addition, probably a small honorarium from the International Miners' Federation, for which Mr. Pickard acts as secretary—say £21—which brings the total up to £600. Then there are the committee meetings of the Federation. Each member is paid 12s. 6d. a day for attending these, with 4s. for cab fares and THREE single third-class fares for the return journey. If the committee only sits ONE day the members are paid THREE days' allowance. Of course Mr. Pickard's salary is going on all the time he is at these committee meetings."

And then, taking up this dues-consumer from another side, the "Labour Leader" gives him the following well-aimed blow full in the face:

"It is worth noting in this connection that the speakers selected by the officials of the Y. M. A.—Mr. Pickard and his colleagues—to address the Yorkshire miners at their annual demonstration at Sheffield are: Joseph Walton, COALMASTER; Batty Langley, TIMBER MERCHANT; A. Birrell, LAWYER; McKenna, LAWYER; J. A. Jacoby, WEALTHY JEW AND TREASURER TO MR. PICKARD'S TESTIMONIAL FUND. I hope the Yorkshire miners like the selection."

Both blows—the income one and the spokesman one—fit so completely our own American labor fakirs, that we feel quite confident the cry will soon be raised among these worthies that Keir Hardy is a "Union Wrecker."

In commenting upon the attitude of the Socialists in America and in Spain during the present conflict between the two nations, the London, Eng., "Justice" observes:

"The political situation in Europe is undergoing grave and momentous changes. The appearance of America as another 'great power,' which cannot fail to be the outcome of the present war with Spain, adds to its gravity. Just as strikes to-day affect, not only the industry in which they take place, but other industries as well, so also does war affect, not only the belligerents, but almost the whole world. When once the first shot is fired no one knows when the last gun will be heard. In such times nothing is more difficult and more dangerous than to declare friendship with the workers of the opposing country. Maddened by a spurious patriotism which benefits them not one jot or tittle, the masses of the people are only too ready to denounce those who tell them the truth. But Socialists have, nevertheless, to tell them the truth; and afterwards, when the glory of war has faded, when the dead and wounded lay bare in naked hideousness, when want of work, hunger and privation follow—then will they look to us, who were not swayed by 'patriotism,' and whose heads were not turned by the smoke of the cannon and the rattle of musketry, for leadership and guidance."

REFORM AND REVOLUTION.

Three Types of the Apostles of the Same and their Methods.

Three ways of reform and three kinds of reformers come before us in a glance through history, or in contemplating ways for human betterment in present day life.

1.—THE RELIGIOUS REFORMER: HIS WAY.

Preach! Preach, preach, preach! This will awaken the conscience; brace up the will, then all will go right. The fanatic of this method never stops to ask if there may not be environing forces, which all the time may be more than nullifying all his efforts in his particular direction. Like the man swimming amidst cross currents, he strikes out, and stroke follows stroke, without his ever stopping to see if, in spite of all his efforts, he may not be drifting ever further and further away from his desired haven. Like the old lady in her hut with a great hole in the roof, and the rain pouring in, and who persevered desperately in dipping it up into a small bucket, with a small cup, without once pausing to deal with the hole above her head, so the religious reformer, good visionary soul, continues his preaching without once pausing to see if the narrow self-interests of a competitive society may not be creating devils quicker than he can fight them. Verily, the preaching method has had a fair innings. Nineteen centuries of the Christian preaching in this part of the world; and a living dignitary of the Church proclaimed a while ago, from one of their popular pulpits, that the prostitutes of our nation city, on the march, would make an amazing file, and be in number about the population of the city of Norwich, 100,000. The journalist Stead, a little while ago, pricking a blister in our modern Babylon, revealed a state of things that caused Stiggins, Grundy & Co. to hold up their hands in holy horror, and the "Malden Tribute of Modern Babylon" was speedily covered over again. Not a sin or shame that existed in old Greece or Rome that was not found to be still in full bloom in the nineteenth century Christian City. Not a vice, or form of perverted animalism in Paul's Roman catalogue, that did not come forth from underneath the pomp and show, and multifarious humbug of the nation city. Verily, the preachers who still retain their faith in the preaching method must be mole-eyed and dream-dazed indeed.

2.—THE SCIENTIFIC REFORMER: HIS WAY.

Teach facts! Educate the individual intellect. Teach Nature's laws, and the consequences that follow the breach of them. Well, there are plenty of facts. Nature has been well questioned in every direction, and has now rendered an abundant supply of answers. We know how to live. But is the knowledge organized and brought to bear upon the life of the community? If the results of scientific research are only taught as an intellectual recreation by extension lectures to the leisured classes of villadom, while the hordes of slumdom are allowed to live in filth and squalor, then the teaching is only like sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. Science is as yet divorced from life. I say we have abundance of facts as to how to make human lives clean, healthy, beautiful. But how live the people? What comes of the teaching? The professor teaches his hygiene, sanitation, the whole chemistry of life and health, to the young men and women of villadom, and the while matchbox makers, tuff-pullers, paper bag makers, are poisoned plentifully in garrets and cellars, unfit for any beast. The fruits of science are for those who can buy them; those who cannot buy them may still rot in all the filth and squalor and ignorance of the darkest ages. There is no law for the people, no rights for the people. Parliaments and Municipal Councils act only for property. They enlarge the streets, let in the light and air, where property lives; but down, down, in the alleys, courts, cellars and garrets, live the propertyless millions as in the most ancient of days. What, then, the use of the teach, teach, of the savants to the well-dressed and the well-fed? They go home, put their own house in order, and collect more rack-rents from the poor. It is seen that the teach, teach of the savants is as barren as the preach, preach of the priest. The one teaches dogma to the individual, and ignores life conditions; the other teaches facts to the individual, but does not see that before they can be practised they demand certain life conditions in the community. It is the bitter irony to teach sanitation and hygiene to people who are compelled to live seven in a room, and sleep about as many in one bed, and who have to get adulterated food, cheap and nasty, in the smallest quantities, or go without altogether. To teach people how to cook who have no food, how to ventilate their rooms when they have no windows—this way madness, or something worse, lies. First give the people a chance to get the food and a good house, then teach them how to cook their food and manage the house.

And this brings us to the third kind of reformer:

3.—THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST: HIS WAY.

Change the life conditions, and you will have nobler life. Individual character and conduct are determined by material conditions. My conscience does not determine the manner in which I have to live, but my life conditions determine my character and conscience.

But at this point our religious reformer objects. Life conditions cannot so determine character and conduct, says he, for you find that the rich do not live better lives than the poor. No! But no Socialist ever contended that the life conditions of the rich were better than the conditions of the poor. Socialists never weary in saying that the grab and grind, worry and anxiety of the middle class to keep above the submerged, and the idleness and luxury of the rich, who neither toil nor spin, are conditions quite as fatal to noble life as the poverty and hardship of the poor. The failure of the other reformers to grasp the position of the Socialist comes from their inability to conceive any other conditions than these

which obtain under capitalism. They think that what the Socialist means by his "change the conditions" is the making of capitalist slumdom into capitalist villadom. Facts compel them to admit that the conditions of villadom produce no better types of life than the conditions of slumdom. The rich give no better results than the poor, cry they. Therefore great improvements cannot come from conditions. True, says the Socialist, is it that the conditions of the rich yield no better types than the conditions of the poor, because all the conditions of capitalist society are alike bad. The bottom of society is wrecked by drudgery and poverty; the middle by greed and anxiety, the top by luxury and idleness. First, our opponents must try to understand what we mean by good life conditions. It will now be admitted that the bad life conditions of capitalist society do produce bad people. A little reflection will cause it also to be admitted that the different classes of society to-day reflect faithfully their conditions. The conditions are shoddy, and so indeed are the creatures that live under them, thus proving that their conscience does not determine their mode of living, i. e., the way in which society compels them to gain their living, this determines their character and conscience.

What, then, does the Socialist define as good life conditions? What must be the first condition necessary for the development of true human life. The answer is that the human being shall be sure of the necessities of his physical life. These he must have first. If he cannot get them else he will fight for them. If he can get them better by co-operating with his fellows, then he will not fight for them. But have them he must. Have them he must, before all else. Before these are secured no use to teach him science, art, literature or religion. No use to open libraries, museums, art galleries for unemployed men. First, work secured, the necessities of life secured.

Now, then, the Socialist affirms that these can be better secured by co-operation than by fight or competition that if science, and machinery and labor were State organized, there would be abundance for all, and fight or competition for the essentials of man's physical life would be out of the question. This basic position of the Socialist is never contested. This is our central fact, where we stand invulnerable.

Now, then, at present only a privileged few have this first condition of true life. Present society shows itself divided into two armies. One small army—a mere handful compared to the other—own the means of life. The other vast army of workers own nothing but their labor of brain or body. They have to go to the other handful, and say, "Please, will you let me mind your machines, produce you wealth, in return for just enough of it to keep me and my family alive?" Millions of this army go to work every day, with their hearts and minds corroded with the fear that on the morrow they may not be wanted. On the morrow they may be among the millions of the unemployed. What of these? Every morning they waken, roam the streets, with the prospect before them that in a few more years, at the best, they will be in the capitalist bastille—the workhouse. This will be their end! Can you get any true manhood out of this condition of things? A society of bullies and slaves; men holding starvation, drudgery, and the whip before their fellows; their fellows crouching before them in fear—this is the first life condition that the Socialist mentions. Before this is remedied no need to go further. Let the State produce the bread of life for all her children; let no man hold the powers of life and death over his fellow. This is the first life condition required by the Socialist—State production of the necessities of life.

To the science teacher, this third reformer first says: Bring your science to bear on life. Let not your knowledge be a cold, barren thing of the closet, or a thing to be sold out to Dives for his money. Help us to move the State, to translate your blessings into law, so that every child that breathes may share the benefits. Be practical! That which you have proved true help us to let the community practice. You may get far away into the thirtieth century, if you do not mind, while your brethren of the harsh work-a-day world may be still in the mine of the dark ages. This may be clever, absorbing, even fascinating to the ego, but there is not much humanity in it. A man in the middle of a street group was describing what he had got from an astronomical lecture—the distance of Jupiter from the sun, of Saturn and Uranus. A man with dry yellow skin, lanky, cadaverous, holding a short clay in his fingers, was listening on the outside of the group. At last he approached, and emphasizing with his pipe stem, thus spoke: "I say, gw'nner, if you'd been out o' graft three months, and a bloke gave you a bob—say, which would you rather know: the distance to them stars, or the distance to the first cook shop?"

London "Justice." JOHN TAMLYN.

THE MORAL WARFARE.

When Freedom, on her natal day, Within her war-rocked cradle lay, An iron race around her stood, Baptized her infant brow in blood; And, through the storm which round her swept, Their constant ward and watching kept.

Then, where our quiet herds repose, The roar of baleful battle rose, And brethren of a common tongue To mortal strife as tigers sprung, And every gift on Freedom's shrine Was man for beast, and blood for wine!

Our fathers, to their graves have gone; Their strife is past,—their triumph won; But sterner trials wait the race Which rises in their honored place,— A moral warfare with the crime And folly of an evil time.

So let it be. In God's own might We grid us for the coming fight, And, strong in Him whose cause is ours In conflict with unholy powers, We grasp the weapons He has given.

—WHITTIER.

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



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—I don't object to Socialism; what I object to is to the style of its propaganda.

Uncle Sam—For instance?

B. J.—For instance, the moment a Socialist opens his mouth, he must tell you you are a slave, a "wage-slave" he calls it.

U. S.—Would you prefer him to keep the information for the end?

B. J.—Not at all; I don't want to hear that I am a slave, whether at the beginning or the end.

U. S.—But suppose you are a slave? B. J.—But I am not.

U. S.—Do you employ yourself? B. J.—No; but that don't make me a slave.

U. S.—Do you imagine that the capitalist who employs you would employ you and pay you wages if you produced less than he pays you? B. J.—Well—no—not exactly.

U. S.—Nor otherwise. He employs you because you produce more than he pays you. You produce, we shall say, \$4 worth of wealth a day and he gives you back \$1 worth in wages.

B. J.—I have an idea he makes out of me more than that.

U. S.—So much the worse. Out of the \$4 worth that you produce he deprives you of \$3.

B. J.—He surely does that.

U. S.—And that is why you are a slave, and that proves it.

B. J.—Not much, it don't; I'm not a slave; I am a free-born American.

U. S.—Do you know what is a slave? Just define the word.

B. J.—Well—a slave is; hem! Yes; a slave—let me see. A slave—well.

U. S.—You evidently find a good deal of difficulty to hit upon a definition. That always is a sign of man's being confused in his thoughts if he can't define his words. I'll tell you what a slave is: A slave is a human being who is forced to yield to another a part of the wealth he produces. The negro was a slave, not because his master could wallop him and brand him with hot irons, but because he was forced to yield part of the wealth he produced to that master. It was upon what he produced that the master lived; and he had to put up with the dry crust that his master left him.

B. J.—Well, that's so.

U. S.—I should smile "so." That that negro, besides being deprived of the bulk of his product and kept in dire poverty, was also walloped, and otherwise maltreated, was only an intensification of slavery. His slavery was complete by his having to work for another. And that is your case and that of all workmen. The wealth that you produce you are not allowed to keep. You must yield a part of, and a pretty big chunk of it, to somebody else. If you don't like it, you must starve; you can't earn your living without you submit to the condition of a slave, without you sell yourself in wage slavery. And that's all there is about it.

B. J.—That's not all there is about it.

U. S.—What else is there about it? B. J.—A good deal.

U. S.—Let's hear it.

B. J.—I'll tell you. I would be a slave indeed, being a workman, but for one thing—

U. S.—And that is?

B. J.—But for one thing that I can do and the negro couldn't.

U. S.—And what's that?

B. J.—The negro had to stay where he was; but if one employer don't suit me I can shake him and hunt up another, see?

U. S. (breaks out in a horse-laugh)—No, I don't see, and you either. See here, you innocence: Was the negro a slave because of a certain master or because he had to yield the sweat of his brow to a master?

B. J.—Because he had to sweat for his master—

U. S.—For a master.

B. J.—Well, yes; for a master.

U. S.—It mattered not who was the master, the negro was SLAVE.

B. J.—Just so.

U. S.—And that's just your case. You may shake off a master; but unless you are willing to starve, you must forthwith look for another,—and there you are in slavery.

B. J.—The deuce!

U. S.—How do you like it? B. J. (in a collapsed condition)—I'm done for!

U. S.—No; you are not. A slave you are, a wage-slave; all workmen, all employees, whether they work intellectually or manually, are wage-slaves. But they are not done for unless they want to. All of us wage-slaves have a ballot in our hands. With that ballot we can free ourselves if we plump it for that political platform that demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class. That's the only difference between us and the negro of old. And rightly do the Socialists proceed when they emphasize the fact that we ARE SLAVES. It may shock us; but we need a shock to awaken us from our stupor.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 W 4th street, N. Y. City. Price 25 cents.

Milwaukee, Wis. Comrade J. Rummel, 310 15th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE.

The proletariat modeled its original organizations for defence upon the pattern of those of the guild journeymen—the UNION; so, likewise, did it fashion its original offensive weapons, whenever it faced Capital in organized bodies, after those of the journeymen—the BOYCOTT and the STRIKE.

For reasons peculiar to the historic days when the guild journeymen waged their battles against their masters, their weapons remained the same until their class became extinct. The modern proletariat, however, cannot abide by those original and primitive weapons. The more completely the several portions of which it is composed merge into a single working class, the more must its battles assume a political character. All class struggle is a political struggle.

ECONOMIC MOVEMENT ALONE INSUFFICIENT.

The theoretical freedom of combination is, accordingly, insufficient if the proletariat is to build up its organizations with such fullness and completeness as to render them adequate for their purposes. Hence, whenever in the United States, the working class has stirred itself to improve its economic conditions, it has placed side by side with purely economic, a series of political demands calculated to free it from the class outrages perpetrated against it by Government, and to prevent the effectiveness of its economic organization from being thwarted.

There are those who endeavor to contrast the political with the economic movement, and to draw hard and fast lines between them, and who declare that the workingman should not "mix" the two. The fact is that the two—the political and the economic struggle—cannot be separated from each other. The economic struggle needs political rights and powers to be carried on successfully, and these political rights and powers will not drop into the lap of the proletariat from the moon; they will not be graciously conceded by the capitalist politicians in office; they have to be wrung from their hands; they have to be conquered; and their conquest requires the most energetic political activity possible—the independent political action of the working class, as independent from the favors, the aids, the promises of the bosses and capitalist class generally, as the economic action is, and necessarily must be, of the favors, aids and promises of that class. On the other hand, in the last analysis, the political struggle is also an economic one. If there is any difference between the two, it is that the political struggle is a more far-reaching and deeper cutting manifestation of the economic struggle.

Not those laws only that concern the working class directly, also the great majority of all the others affect it more or less. It is an inevitable conclusion that, just as in all others, the working class must strive for political influence and political power, must endeavor to make the government subservient to its own interests.

POLITICAL ACTION.

The means to this end are universal, at least in manhood, suffrage. In many a country the working class is deprived of this powerful means, and there it strives with might and main to acquire it. Here in the United States, the ballot is in the hands of the citizen workingman. The attempts to strike it out of his hands, the direct and indirect schemes under all specious pretexts to disfranchise the American proletariat, are numerous, but hitherto have had a contrary effect to the desired one. The American proletariat starts equipped with the most powerful political weapon with the aid of which it can conquer all others. The task of the proletariat when it first starts its political struggles is generally made easy through the political conflicts that rage among the property-holding classes themselves. The industrial capitalists, the merchants, the landlords, are generally at war with one another, and special interests always divide each of these classes into hostile political camps. During these political struggles, each side looks for allies, and seeks to gain them through slight concessions. Sometimes after a victory the capitalist would break faith with his ally; but generally, during the first beginnings of the labor movement the victorious capitalist fulfilled his promises. It thus happened that the capitalist often appealed through their political parties to the proletariat for aid, and thus, themselves drew the workingmen into political action. So long as the capitalist uses the proletariat in this way, so long as the working class does not conceive the idea of standing out independently in the political field, the capitalist looks upon it as their voting cattle, intended to strengthen the hand of its own exploiters. In this way matters continue for a considerable time.

A CERTAIN EVOLUTION.

But the interests of the proletariat and those of the capitalist class are so hostile to each other that the political alliance between the two cannot be lasting. The capitalist system of production is bound, sooner or later, to cause the participation of the working class in politics to take such shape that it splits off from the capitalist parties, and that the workingman sets up his own, the Labor party.

This process lies in the very nature of things. There is no class interest but expresses itself in a political party; just as soon as the working class realizes its class interests it is bound to do what the other classes do, i. e., express itself politically.

At what time the proletariat of a country will be so far matured as to take this decisive step, to cut, so to speak, the naval string that binds it, politically, to the capitalist system out of whose lap it has sprung, depends, above all, upon the economic stage of development that such a country has reached, in other words, upon the degree of exploitation to which the proletariat is subjected, and upon the compactness of its ranks. There are a number of other circumstances that affect considerably the time when the working class assumes political independence. Of these, two are the most important: First, the degree of enlightenment that the respective working class enjoys upon its political and economic situation; second, the attitude that the capitalist parties assume towards it.

REVOLUTION.

At the same time every political party must strive to obtain the political upper hand. It is bound to endeavor to turn the power of the State to its own advantage, i. e., to use it in the interests of its class; in other words it is bound to endeavor to become the ruling party in the State. By the very fact of its organizing itself into an independent political party, the working class turns its face towards this ultimate goal—the conquest of the political powers of the State, a goal which the economic development itself aids the working class to reach. In this respect also, the same as in respect to the time when the workingmen separate themselves from the capitalist parties, the time of their ultimate victory does not depend simply upon the degree of industrial development which the respective country may have reached, but upon a number of other circumstances both of national and of international character. Furthermore, the manner in which this triumph may be achieved may vary greatly in different countries. That, however, upon which there can be no doubt in the mind of any one who has followed the economic and political development of modern society, especially in the course of the last hundred years, is the CERTAINTY AND INEVITABLENESS OF THE FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE PROLETARIAT.

While the proletariat is steadily extending itself, while it is growing ever stronger in moral and political power, while it is becoming ever more an economic necessity, while the class struggle is training it more and more into habits of solidarity and discipline, while its horizon is ever broadening, while its organizations become ever larger and more compact, while it becomes from day to day the most important and finally the only working class upon whose industry the whole social body depends, while it undergoes all these important changes and thus progresses steadily, the classes that are hostile to it melt away with equal steadiness and rapidity; they steadily lose in moral and political strength; they become not only superfluous, but a block to the progress of production, which, under their superintendence, falls into greater and greater confusion, conjuring up more and more unbearable conditions.

PROLETARIAN VICTORY.

In view of this, it cannot be doubtful to which side victory will finally lean. The property-holding classes have already been seized with fear at their approaching end. They hate to admit to themselves the precariousness of their situation; they try to deceive themselves with false pretences, and to drown their apprehensions in hilarity and trivial jokes; they close their eyes to the abyss towards which they are rushing, and they do not seem to realize that by such a conduct they not only hasten their own downfall, but render it all the more disastrous to themselves.

As the last of the exploited classes, the working proletariat cannot put the power which it will conquer to the uses to which it was put by the previous classes, i. e., to roll the burden of exploitation from its own upon the shoulders of some other exploited class. It is bound to use its power to put an end to its own, and, along with that, to all forms of exploitation. The source of the exploitation to which it is now subjected is the private ownership of the machinery of production. The proletariat can abolish its own exploitation only by abolishing private ownership in the machinery of production. The circumstance of the proletariat being stripped of all property in the means of production renders it disposed to abolish private property in that; the exploitation to which the private ownership of the means of production subjects the proletariat, compels it to abolish the capitalist system of production and to substitute it with the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the instruments of production cease to be private and become social property.

WHAT THE TRIUMPH OF THE PROLETARIAT MEANS.

Under the rule of the capitalist system, i. e., of production for sale, co-operative production for use cannot be general. It is impossible to introduce the co-operative for the purpose of supplanting the capitalist system of production while at the same time keeping the latter in force. This self-evident proposition establishes the fact that the Socialist system of production must be the inevitable result of the triumph of the proletariat. Even if it were not consciously to use its supremacy in the State to recover possession of the machinery of production and to replace the capitalist with the Socialist system, it would be compelled to do so by the logic of events, although in that case, not without committing many mistakes, incurring much sacrifice and

squandering much time and energy. The end of it all will, under all circumstances, be the Socialist system of production. Its triumph is unavoidable just so soon as that of the proletariat itself has become unavoidable. The proletariat is bound to use its triumph for the abolition of its own exploitation, and that it can never accomplish without establishing the Socialist order. The economic and political development itself, noticeable to-day in the large capitalist undertakings—the combinations, syndicates and trusts—point the proletariat the path to Socialism and push it in that direction. This stage of economic development which we have reached is certain to render abortive all attempts to move in a different direction which the proletariat of any country may make, in case it should be disinclined to adopt the Socialist system.

It is, however, by no means to be expected that the proletariat of any country, once it has come to power, will reveal any disinclination to adopt the Socialist system. To imagine that would be to imagine that the proletariat would be in its infancy at the same time that it had ripened politically, economically and morally into manhood, equipped with the power and ability to overcome its enemies and impose its will upon them. Such a disparity of growth is least imaginable with the proletariat. Thanks to machinery, so soon as the proletariat had risen above its original, degraded condition it revealed a thirst for the acquisition of knowledge and a taste for grappling with problems of social import. Side by side with this intellectual development on the part of some, the economic development of modern society moves on with such rapid strides that even those ranks of the proletariat that are least favored cannot fail to learn the lesson so strikingly taught by the large combinations of capital.

Everything combines to render the militant proletariat most accessible to the teachings of Socialism. To the proletariat, Socialism is no tidings of bad news, it is a veritable evangel. The ruling classes cannot accept Socialism without committing suicide; the proletariat, on the contrary, derives new life from Socialism, new vigor, new inspiration and renewed hope. As time passes, Socialism can only become more and more acceptable to the proletariat.

SHORT AND SWEET.

A Bona Fide Party of Labor Will Not Rise to Dispute the Field With One in Existence.

The below is the answer, sent by Massachusetts State Convention of the Socialist Labor party, to an invitation to fuse issued to it by a so-called convention of the "Social Democracy" of that State:

"Gentlemen: Your communication of May 26th received asking that the Socialist Labor party of this Commonwealth make political alliance with the Social Democracy.

In reply, we would say that it is on the part of Socialists an unwarrantable intrusion to enter the political field as a new party, as that field is now occupied by the S. L. P. "While appreciating the honest aspirations of the rank and file, the sometime Republican, Democratic, Populist leaders, with that small contingent of dishonest and expelled members of the Socialist Labor party, who now form your governing body, make alliance of any sort impossible on our part. The chaos of the mental state of your organization falls far below a recognition of the class struggle, while your tactics are as low in form as your consciousness; consequently alliance with your organization would be a betrayal of the knowledge which we possess, by long and severe experience gained in our own and other countries, which compel our tactics to stand squarely for the class struggle. Therefore we unqualifiedly decline your request."

S. L. P. Convention of Massachusetts.

OFFICIAL.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kahn, 125 William Street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF EQUALS—Secretary Robert Bandlow, 125 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

NOTICE—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of June 7th, with Comrade Brown in the chair. The financial report for the week ending June 4th showed receipts \$130.20; expenditures, \$51.75; balance, \$78.45. A communication was received from the County Committee of Queens County, N. Y., claiming jurisdiction in the matter of grievances concerning members of affiliated sections. The secretary was instructed to inform the committee that under the constitution they can make no such claim and all sections in Queens County, while they remain sections, i. e. do not become branches of one section, must themselves refer the matter to the National Executive Committee, Sec. 13 not being applicable to them. A committee appeared from Cigarmakers' Union No. 80, requesting the publication of a communication intended as an answer to one that appeared in THE PEOPLE some time ago referring to the Seidenberg strike. Inasmuch as the communication did not attempt to refute any answer to the by-laws but only previously, confining itself merely to an attempt to discredit the character of the signers of the other, it was deemed inadvisable to publish same, but publication was offered if a statement of facts was given. A complaint was read from the secretary of the Missouri State Committee, Comrade Fry, stating that while organized by Section No. 15, in 1897, he had sent to the National Executive Committee by laws of said section for approval; that a member of a ward club had written to the National Secretary in regard to this matter and requested that the by-laws be amended so that word to this effect was sent to the section in February, 1897. Eight persons, at Milford, Conn., made application for a charter. It was resolved to inform them that under the constitution of the party a charter can only be granted to ten. Resolved to issue an appeal to the party for a subscription in aid of the comrades of Italy who are subjected to an intense persecution.

L. A. MALKIEL, Sec. Secy.

General Vote.

The Sections of the Socialist Labor party are hereby called upon to forthwith proceed to elect members of the National Executive Committee to the National Convention of the party to be held in Buffalo, N. Y., on July 4, 1898. The candidates who have accepted the nomination are: AVRYL W. MITCHELL, Moore, of Boston, Mass.; KIP W. BROWN, of New York, D. C.; and MORGAN, THOMAS G., of Chicago, Ill. The following comrades were also nominated but declined: Lucien Sanial, Fred. Long, J.

THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND. Amount Pledged down to June 8th, 1898. \$4,575.

The following amounts have been paid down to June 8th, 1898, incl. Previously acknowledged. John Robins, City, \$2; J. Wittum, Providence, R. I., \$5. Total \$3543.76. Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness. THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE, 124 William St., N. Y.

Grand Picnic and Summernights Festival OF SECTION

* Greater * New York, S. L. P., on MONDAY, July 4th, 1898. Sulzer's Westchester Park, West Farms. Combined with Gymnastic Exercises by the Social Democratic Turn Verein, New York. The Socialist Band of Greater New York will also entertain the guests. Prize Bowling and Shooting for Gentlemen, also various Games for Prizes for Ladies and Children. MUSIC BY THE CARL SAHM CLUB. To commence at 2 P. M. TICKET for Gentleman and Lady 25 Cents.

THE COMMITTEE. Take 2nd and 3rd Ave. L. Road to 17th St. Station, or West Farms Trolley Car at 29th Street and 3rd Avenue.

Mablou Barnes, Thomas A. Hickey, Hugo Vogt, Daniel De Leon, Joseph Manning and Matthew Maguire. Organizers will please note that the vote will be reported in figures, and in figures only, and that statements to the effect that the section has voted "unanimously" for this or that candidate, without stating the vote cast, will not be accepted. The vote closes on TUESDAY, JUNE 28th, the day of the last meeting of the National Executive Committee. All reports not at hand on that date cannot be counted. Only votes delegated to the members vote for only one candidate of the three. Organizers will please submit this matter at the next meeting of their respective sections, so that the vote is taken and report the result without delay. By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., HENRY KUHN, Sec'y.

California.

The State Convention that met in San Francisco on May 23rd, re-elected San Francisco as the seat of the State Committee.

Connecticut.

Tenth annual Convention, Socialist Labor Party of Connecticut. The Convention called to order by F. Serres, State Organizer. The following delegates were present: A. McRayn, M. Berlan, New Britain; S. Crescio, D. Sella, Italian Branch, Danbury; George Rose, American Branch, Stamford; Joe Girometta, S. Passaro, Italian, Stamford; E. A. Babin, American, Waterbury; Chas. Kleinman, German, Waterbury; Chas. Wagner, Milford; J. Marek, E. Ostley, Am. Branch, New Haven; J. Coart, J. Van Roussel, Flemish Branch, New Haven; Joe Girometta, E. Zimmermann, Ger. Br., New Haven; V. Petrovismo, A. Caffro, Italian Branch, New Haven; Wm. Lechner, H. Flentze, Ger. Br., Hartford; F. Fellermann, M. Jaffra, Am. Branch, Hartford; Chas. Gaus, Am. Branch, Rockville; G. Reichenbach, Ger. Branch, Rockville; The Seigerwald, A. Mercer, Am. Branch, Bridgeport; H. Koch, Ger. Branch, Bridgeport; John Kane, Am. Branch, Meriden; P. Gaertner, Ger. Branch, Meriden.

Rhode Island.

The S. L. P. of Rhode Island will have their fourth annual excursion to Newport on June 19, 1898. Steamer Bay Queen will leave wharf foot of Power street, at 3.30 A. M., allowing two hours' stay in Newport. Tickets, 40 cents; children (under 15 years), 20 cents. Tickets for sale by all members.

Socialist Literature.

- 1.—"What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to Workingmen, by Henry Kahn. 2.—"Socialism," by William Watkins. 3.—"Why American Workingmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire. 4.—"Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton. 5.—"Socialism," Extracts culled from Robert Blair's "Merrie England." 6.—"A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt. 7.—"An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll Themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party." 8.—"The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages, English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish). 9.—"Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trade Unions." 10.—"The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price, 5 cents. 11.—"Women in the Past, Present and Future," by August Bebel. 12.—"The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," by Frederick Engels. 13.—"The Proletariat," "The Class Struggle," "The Capitalist Class," "The Co-operative Commonwealth," by Carl Kautsky, adapted by Daniel De Leon. Each 5c. 14.—"Capital," by Carl Marx. Each 20c. 15.—"The Eighteenth Brumaire," by Carl Marx. 16.—"What Means This Strike?" Address delivered by Daniel De Leon in New Bedford, Mass. 17.—"Reform or Revolution," by Daniel De Leon. 18.—"Eris's Hope, The End and the Means," by James Connolly. 19.—"Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the S. L. P.," 10 cents. 20.—"Manifesto of the Communist Party," by Carl Marx and Frederick Engels. 10 cents. 21.—"History of the Paris Commune," by Lissagaray. 22.—"History of the Paris Commune," by G. B. Bonham. 25 cents. Send your order to NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., 64 East 4th Street, New York, N. Y.

Philadelphia, Pa. Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers. Boston, Mass. THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following stores: Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St. Cohen's Book Store, Washington St., at the Bridge. Crockett's Store, Harris' avenue, near Court St. We also recommend that the State Committee be empowered to form tours of outside speakers, and when such tours are arranged they will be adhered to by the parties making arrangements, not as in the past the speaker or the Section at the last hour wanting to change dates, etc., thereby making agitation null and causing the State Committee expenses and trouble. We also recommend that announcement of meetings, etc., should be carried on as in the past by cards, as in our opinion they will be read more so than leaflets. The subject being short and when distributed to advantage have done good work. We also recommend that all Sections in the State do their utmost to secure subscribers for THE PEOPLE, it being the best conductor in the English language that we have, also having been reduced in price more than any other paper of its class, and to endeavor to make it a daily paper which is our greatest need.

JOHN OEHLER'S Steam Printing Office.

67 Frankfort Street 67 1898. Frankfort Street E. R. Station. Orders will be taken at 115 E. 11th Street, between Avenue A and First Ave., New York City. MA

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the Executive Committee is: Reinhard L. Schuer, 18 Bible Avenue, Room 43, Astor Place, N. Y. City. Office hours: Monday and Friday, 10 A. M. to 12 M.; Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday, 8-12 A. M. and 1-3 P. M. The Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Barton Mfg. Co. Election of directors for the ensuing year will be held at the office of the company, 202 Broadway, Manhattan, New York City, on the 21st day of June, 1898, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. E. E. HARTON, Secretary. Dated, May 20th, 1898.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading for the rate of \$5.00 per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their place of meeting. Carl Schum Club (Musicians Union) Meetings every Tuesday at 10 A. M., 30 East 4th Street, New York Labor Lyceum, Business Secretary: Frel. Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A.) Meetings at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 85 East 1st Street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th Street, New York City. Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90, Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th Street—District 1 (Manhattan), 234 East 71st Street, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District 2 (Brooklyn), 212 Broadway, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District 3 (Queens), 1371 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District 4, meets at 242 West 42nd Street, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District 5, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District 6, every Tuesday at 1422 2nd Avenue at 8 P. M. Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday evening at Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th Street. Secretary: PETER STEARNS. German Waiters' Union of New York, Office: 235 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 P. M. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 P. M. at the same hall. Musical Protective Alliance No. 1009, 75 E. 4th Street, Meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Paul Woll, corr. Sec'y, 75 E. 4th St. J. S. King, Business agent. Metal Spinners Union of New York and Vicinity meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8 o'clock at 231-233 E. 33d Street. Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 8 P. M. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 49 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. Scandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meetings on 4th and 6th Sunday of every month at 8 o'clock A. M. Meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock A. M. at 160 S. 4th Ave., New York City. Subscriptions orders taken for the Scandinavian Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBEITAREN. Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 84th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday. Progressive Clothing Outlets & Trimmers Union, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A.—Headquarters at 137 Broadway, Labor Lyceum—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 P. M. The Socialist Educational Society of New York meets every Monday at 306 E. 86th St. This society aims to educate its members to a thorough knowledge of Socialism by means of discussions and debates. Come and join! Workingmen's Children's Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America. The Executive Board meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8 o'clock P. M. in the Trade Hall, bet. 81st and 82d St., Second Ave. Business Secretary: Reinhard Lachner, 218 East 84th Street. Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America. The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 155 local branches with more than 16,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 60 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$2.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$3.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$2.00 and \$2.50 respectively. A burial benefit of \$250.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership upon payment of a deposit of \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures in cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch is organized, or where workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so. Unless all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3rd Avenue, Room 63, New York City. WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance. Organized 1873. Membership 15,000. Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity. OFFICE: 64 East Fourth Street, office hours: daily, except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 9 o'clock P. M. BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, Albany, Oneida, N. Y., Patterson, Elizabethtown, South River, Passaic and Trenton, N. J., Manchester, N. H., Boston, Holyoke, Springfield, Mass., New Haven, Waterbury, Meriden and Hartford, Conn., Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Allegheny, Luzern, Altona, Pa., Chicago, Ill. For addresses of the Branch-keepers, see "Vorwärts."