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VOL. VIII.—NO. 50.

# CHICAGO

## Class-Conscious Municipal Political Fight.

### NO "REFORM" CLAP-TRAP.

The Unemployed—Municipal Service—Public Education—Sanitation—A Comprehensive Platform that Allows no Pretence for Bait of Bourgeois Reform, Whereby the Very Things to be "Secured Now" Are Made all the Less Obtainable.

- For Mayor, AUG. KLENT.
- For City Treasurer, J. WANHOPE.
- For City Clerk, JAS. SMITH.
- For City Attorney, E. PEMENT.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of Chicago, by its delegates in convention assembled, declares its adherence to the principles set forth in the national party platform.

We hold that the present miserable condition of the working class of Chicago, as well of the rest of the capitalist world, with compulsory idleness, uncertainty of employment, and small portion of his product received by the laborer when permitted, by the capitalists to work, is caused by the private ownership of the means of production and distribution by the capitalist class.

We therefore pledge our nominees, if elected, to immediately comply with the following demands:

(On Unemployment.)—The worker cannot produce unless he can get the tools—the machines, mines, land and factories. He cannot live unless he does so produce. But all such instruments are owned by the capitalist class who buy labor power to operate them. Labor-saving machinery, constantly throwing men out of work, makes a body of unemployed who will work for just enough to keep them alive. But the capitalist will pay no laborer more than he is obliged to. Therefore, the tendency is to pay just enough to support life, the remainder going to the capitalist as profit.

Plank 1.—The city shall furnish employment to all unemployed citizens by the establishment of public works to be operated co-operatively under the control of the municipality.

(On First Demand.)—The unemployed are created by capitalism and are necessary to its life. So long as the laborer is paid but a small part of what he produces he cannot buy back the whole product, so there is always an over-production. The continual progress of invention forces an army of men to seek work which cannot be supplied them by capitalism. But this army is absolutely necessary to the existence of our present society. If there were no unemployed to take their places, the laborer could not obtain the means to strike the whole produce of their labor. The "army of the unemployed" is far more effective than the State militia or United States troops in keeping the capitalist in subjection. No capitalist party dares to advocate its abolition. Therefore, we may rest assured that however much of our platform may be copied by so-called "reform" parties to catch votes, they will let this portion severely alone. That we are making no Utopian demand, or holding out impossible hopes to the laborer, is shown by the fact that in over one hundred cities in France where the Socialists are in power, one prominent feature of their work is the operation of municipal undertakings for the benefit of the unemployed.

Plank 2.—We demand the municipalization of all public means of transportation, lighting and communication, the same to be operated co-operatively under the control of the municipality, the services to be furnished at cost to all, with wages of all employees as high as are paid for similar services by any private employers, and eight hours to constitute a day's work, save in the most laborious and disagreeable forms, where the hours shall be still further proportionally shortened.

(Second Demand—Municipalization.)—The Socialist sees in all middle class reform movements toward municipalization only a shifting of exploiting ownership from the corporation to the capitalist municipality. He sees in such action only an attempt on the part of capitalism to hide its nefarious operations under the cloak of the State. So long as the government directs the operation of the industries and owning the instruments of production is composed of a different class from those who must use them, the capitalist ownership will be used to exploit the workers. Could this movement be carried on "step by step," as some so-called "State Socialists" would wish, until all industry was merged in our present class government, it would simply mean that all political and all economic power would be united in one class and completely unified for action, and would, therefore, be the mightiest engine for exploitation of the workers ever devised. Municipalization under the Socialist Labor party means that the workers have first through their election gained control of the powers of government and that reform owners and users of tools are the

may be prepared for their duties as citizens. As Socialists, we would especially call the attention of the workers to the fact that only through their ignorance can their exploitation be maintained and only through education can their freedom be secured.

Plank 4.—We demand that the medical and sanitary service of the city shall be so organized as to secure to all good medical care free of cost.

(Fourth Demand—Free Medical Care.)—Modern medical science has shown that the public health is no longer to be considered a matter for individual concern, and we hold that it is time for this fact to be recognized by society and action taken in accordance therewith.

Plank 5.—We demand that the city provide free and commodious public baths and gymnasia; small parks to be located in the densely populated workingmen's quarters of the city, and free public drinking fountains for both man and beast in each ward.

(Fifth Demand—Public Parks, etc.)—Capitalist production has made the worker a slave to a machine during his working hours, and deprived him of enjoyment in his leisure. Therefore we hold that during his free hours he should have all possible means of enjoyment and recreation convenient to his home, as his meager wages and limited leisure preclude the use of those at a distance.

Plank 6.—We demand the abolition of the veto power of the Mayor and the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

(Sixth Demand—Mayor's Veto, Initiative and Referendum.)—In this we enter our protest against the concentration of power as being check on popular will and a surrender to one man of the people's rights and duties and demand that the voice of the people be given an opportunity to be heard. We recognize that this voice will be of small efficiency so long as the powers of government are all in capitalist hands, but we advocate it as a means to making the government more active than they than to secure them. We recognize that without proper education the referendum and initiative, like the present ballot, may but prove a means to further deception and enslavement.

Plank 7.—We demand that in all cases where workers are obliged to resort to strike the city government shall furnish every possible assistance to the strikers.

(Seventh Demand—Assistance to Strikers.)—Here again, as in our first demand, is an essentially working class demand and one which no reform party will dare to borrow. We hold that at present the power that makes the strike useless is the government of the whole capitalist class, which stands behind each individual capitalist whenever he is engaged in a struggle with the workers. We propose to place the power of the government behind the producers, not the idlers; the exploited, not the exploiters. That this is no impossible dream is seen by the recent action of the Socialists in the Paris municipal election, who voted the striking building-trade 20,000 francs for the strike of their families and then actively gave their sympathy and encouragement at all points. Workmen, if you believe that the powers of government ought to be on your side when you are fighting for your right to live and to enjoy the fruits of your labor, vote the Socialist Labor party ticket. It is the only party that believes in that position. Vote the Socialist Labor party ticket by putting a cross (X) in the circle opposite the head of the ticket, thus

(X) SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

In presenting these demands we again call the attention of the working class to the fact that no permanent improvement can take place in their condition so long as capitalism exists, and we emphasize the fact that the Socialist Labor party stands for the complete overthrow of the competitive system and the substitution therefor of the Co-operative Commonwealth.



# THE PEOPLE'S MAY-DAY-ISSUE,

to be published Sunday, April 30, will be especially interesting.

Its special feature will be articles illustrating the standing and development of the Labor Movement in general, and of Socialism in particular, in the several States where the S. L. P. is organized.

The articles will be written by comrades familiar with, and prominent in the local movement. Also articles bearing upon the internationality of Socialism, and all the regular and striking features of THE PEOPLE.

Last but not least, the front page will be illuminated by an allegoric picture, especially designed for that issue, by THE PEOPLE'S able artist, whose work has won so much and deserved appreciation.

The size of this issue will be **Eight Pages,** but the price the same as usual.

It will be an excellent issue for agitation. Sections and comrades should hasten to make use of this rare opportunity to spread our ideas by acquainting friends and co-workers with THE PEOPLE.

We expect to receive sufficient orders to be able to print not less than 75,000 copies.

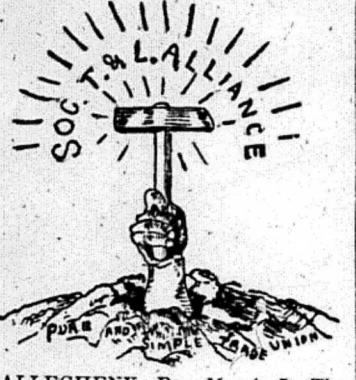
Orders will be taken till Tuesday, April 25th, inclusive. But the earlier the better.

Spread the May-Day People from ocean to ocean! A good Harvest is bound to follow.

**"The People,"** 184 William St. Box 1512 - - - N. Y. City.



NEW YORK, MARCH 12, 1899.



ALLEGHENY, Pa., March 5.—The sunlight of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is commencing to shine in Pennsylvania. We have just organized into that body representatives of every department of the Schoen Pressed Steel Company, a concern employing in their Allegheny works alone about 4,000 men, and are now leading the first intelligent economic fight of the working class on a large scale in this country.

A department of this concern went out on strike and was organized under the banner of New Trade Unionism on the afternoon of March 2; at the next two mass meetings, which were held, one on the evening of March 3 and one on the evening of March 4, all the other departments followed suit, and joined us. At the last meeting a general strike was ordered, and thus the fray begins.

These shops, I believe, are about the best example to be had in this neighborhood of the extent of capitalist oppression and misrule. The place is known as the "slaughter house," on account of the numerous workmen who are killed, maimed and injured there entirely on account of the company's neglect to adopt safer methods, and on account of the amount of work which the company (which, by the way, constitutes the Steel Car Trust) compels its men to perform.

We have made a demand for a general increase in wages.

We have made a demand to shut down a department until the body of a dead workman, who happens to be butchered in that department, shall have been carried out.

We have made a demand that the mill is to be shut down during the 24 hours constituting the Sabbath Day.

We have demanded that the checks are to be delivered to the men before leaving work, in place of the 4,000 men being compelled to trample over each other after the whistle blows in order to prove that they have slaved one more day to enrich their capitalist employers. These demands will partially enlighten our comrades on some of the conditions that exist in mills.

Comrades Schulberg and Eberle organized the men Thursday, March 2. By the time the organization was completed on the 4th, the men had explained to them that this is only a skirmish; and the necessity of political action—all in such plain manner by Comrade Schulberg that the "Hunkeys" (other foreigners) and Americans, who had been fighting each other all along, now stand shoulder to shoulder and cheer each other to the echo.

The chances of winning are good, as is shown by the fact that the firm (which monopolizes the steel car business) is pressed for work and has already offered a raise of 10 cents a day to all men who get less than \$2 a day.

The men are full of pluck and energy and under our Socialist leadership. We shall be able to hold out for quite a while. We do not yet know whether all the men will come out or not. We have very few comrades among them; but as several of our comrades are out of work, we will guide them day and night until this affair is finished.

The men we have so far organized and many others are hard after the S. L. P. buttons; they cleaned us out. We are even going without our buttons ourselves, and have telegraphed to New York to express 1,000 at once. The men are proud to wear them, and through the combined efforts of Comrades Remmel, Root, Schulberg, Eberle, Peter and Stamper we have made excellent progress in clarifying them.

To illustrate, Col. Wyatt and our venerable ex-"friend" Thomas Grundy got wind of the second meeting, and when at their own request, we allowed each the floor for twenty minutes, they did their best to side-track us. Schulberg's reply knocked them flat, captured the audience and had we said the word, those two "pure and simple" would either have gone through the windows or been kicked down the stairs. As it was, when the hat was passed around, they tried to sneak out, but the crowd closed the door and made them contribute. White with rage and disappointed at our success they then disappeared.

We have cleaned ourselves out of literature of every kind, and will need S. T. & L. A. dues-cards and manifestos at once. We have used up so far 2,000 manifestos and have enrolled nearly 200 signers. Must have more supplies at once, so that we can complete the organization without delay. The S. L. P. Section ordered 1,000 copies of THE PEOPLE containing this report.

# THOROUGH WORK.

## What Oakland, Cal., Socialists Want.

Their Municipal Platform in the Present Municipal Elections—No Public Ownership a la Glasgow—This Bait, now Used by all the Capitalist Local Parties, to be Thoroughly Exposed—Surprise of Old Party Hacks at the Voluntary Activity of the Socialists.

OAKLAND, Cal., Feb. 27.—The below is a copy of the campaign paper issued by Section Oakland for distribution in the present municipal campaign. This is the first issue of 15,000; the second issue, also of 15,000, will contain a showing up of the other parties' platforms and principles.

The Democratic, Republican, Independent, Municipal League, and Pops, each and every one of them has the "public ownership" of water works scheme in. It will be our purpose to show them up, and tell the working class how they will get fooled if they "gain" "public ownership" under the capitalist class.

We divided our city into 20 districts, and on Sunday-morning, at 8 a. m., started out to enlighten the wage slaves by leaving a copy in each house. We worked hard, and by now had our task finished without one cent of cost. Every comrade felt that he was working for principle and not money, and having an interest in the advancement of Socialism, took pleasure in seeing that no paper was wasted but put into each home.

The old parties cannot understand how we do so much work, with so little money; they were surprised to see our candidates peddling papers from house to house.

Sunday, March 5, we will repeat the dose, and then rest until election day, March 13. If we don't increase our vote 100 per cent, it will not be our fault. W. H. CHAPMAN.

This is our platform: The Socialist Labor party of Oakland, in convention assembled, declares its unfaltering allegiance to the principles set forth in the national platform of the party.

Its nominees for the several offices to be filled at the municipal election of March 13, 1899, are pledged to the support of the following principles:

First—We demand the formation of a charter that shall secure real democratic self-government to the city, embodying the principles of the initiative, referendum and direct responsibility of all officers to their constituents.

Second—We demand the repeal of all ordinances interfering with or abrogating the rights of free speech, and of peaceful assemblage, guaranteed to every citizen by the State and National constitutions. We draw the attention of the citizens of Oakland to the fact that such an ordinance is at present upon the statute book, and that by its authority citizens have been arrested, thrown into prison, and denied the right of depositing cash bail.

Third—We demand that the city obtain possession of the water plants, gas and electric light plants, the street car lines, and all the industries requiring municipal franchises; that such industries shall be carried on co-operatively by the employees under control of the city government, the employees electing their superior officers, and that no employe be discharged for political reasons.

Fourth—We demand that the city shall establish free dispensaries where medicines and attendance may be obtained by those in need.

Fifth—We demand that the full power of the city shall be exercised in providing employment for those unemployed persons who have resided in Oakland for one year.

Sixth—Since the working class needs all possible knowledge and training, we therefore imperatively demand that no pains be spared in giving thorough, free, universal and democratic education in the public schools; that the laws against child labor be strictly enforced; that provision be made for feeding and clothing school children, when necessary, and that school books be furnished free to all.

Seventh—We demand that political economy be taught in all public schools.

Eighth—We demand that the contract system in public works be entirely abolished; that all work done for the city be paid for at full or union wages, in no case less than \$2 per day; that eight hours constitute a day's work; that men and women receive equal pay for equal work, and that all materials used be bought from firms employing union labor.

Ninth—We demand that the city provide free public baths and gymnasia, and that toilet retreats be created in parks and such other public places as are required for the public good.

Tenth—We condemn the present system of vagrancy laws which treat poverty as a crime, and the so-called organized charities, which are used to supply cheap labor to unfair employers.

an enemy. In firm assurance of final victory it pursues its course unswerving by desire for temporary advantage. It is very outspoken and straightforward, believing that in fearless independence the integrity of purpose by which it is inspired will, in the end, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious, aggressive body. Its propaganda is not alone to educate; it is to organize the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. Until that mission is accomplished, it will stand firm as a rock, yet alert and watchful, yielding nothing.

## Class-Conscious Workers.

WHEREAS, The question of the annexation of the Philippines is under discussion by the United States Senate and by the people in general, and WHEREAS, Those favoring annexation claim that this country will be greatly benefited thereby by expansion of trade and so forth, and also that the inhabitants of said Islands will be benefited by the influence of our civilization and system of Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Cigarmakers' International Union No. 39, of New Haven, Conn., protest against the annexation of the Philippines for the following reasons: The working class of this country will be obliged to compete with the working class of the Philippines, thereby bringing wages down still lower than they are at present, laying bare the false claims of those favoring annexation, that it will be of great benefit to the people of this country. That it is not the finding of foreign markets which will benefit the wage workers of this country, who are the majority of the people and who will not receive one cent more in wages, but will be obliged to suffer still further reductions in wages which reduces proportionally their already limited purchasing power. But the opening up of our home markets which is necessary, i. e., letting the working class consume that which they produce but cannot buy back on account of our capitalist system of production which allows them in wages about one-fourth of the value which they produce, thus causing markets to be overstocked with everything which we are in need of; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Cigarmakers' International Union of New Haven, Conn., recognizing our class interests economically and politically, and recognizing the fact that the interests of the capitalist class, and only the interests of that class, are considered by our Congressmen and Senators in this question of annexation or any other question which affects us, and also recognizing the rights of the Philippines to govern themselves in their own way the same as we insisted upon and fought for when we tired of England's oppression and set up our own Government.

We therefore call upon the working class to unite at the ballot box and elect only class-conscious Socialists who stand for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishing of the Co-operative Commonwealth. The Cigarmakers' International Union No. 39. MEYER STODEL, Secretary. New Haven, Conn. Jan. 24, 1899.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

## A QUERY.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., March 6.—The below communication from a capitalist of hereabout was published in the "Age-Herald," of this city, on the subject of our cotton mills:

In an editorial in your issue of the 21st instant you refer to the location in Huntsville of the great Merimac cotton mill, and also to the New York company's mill near Rome, Ga. You draw the conclusion that other except one of the Commercial Club that we have not been asleep in this matter. The club has had extended correspondence with New England cotton mill men. The New York mill men mention a case in point. Last summer I saw a notice in one of the trade journals that Mr. Wolcott of the New York mills had decided to build a branch in the South. I wrote to him and requested him to investigate the advantages of Birmingham. He replied that he had already visited this city and looked over the field. He found everything favorable except one, viz.: High-priced labor. Mr. Butler, nephew of General Butler, also visited Birmingham with the view of locating a cotton mill here. He made the same objection that Mr. Wolcott offered. He said that the workmen in the Birmingham District received good wages and could support their families without the necessity of having their wives and daughters work in a cotton mill. Now, Mr. Editor, if you can answer this objection satisfactorily to the New England cotton manufacturers we can get a very favorable report from Birmingham. You know that labor is about 60 per cent of the cost of manufacturing cotton goods. High-priced labor over-balances the advantages we offer in the way of cotton, cheap coal, railroads, proximity to tide-water, etc. You have no doubt observed that nearly all the New Englanders have located their Southern mills at a distance from manufacturing centers, and in the midst of country people, who can afford to work for small wages in the mill because they RAISE ALL THEY EAT ON THEIR FARMS.

People who work in the mills from dark to dark, and "who raise all they eat"—when do they do the raising, by moon-light? And is this sort of thing in store for us Alabamians when "the State is developed"?

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

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

# SHADOWS AHEAD.

## The Latest Plan is the Trustification of Charity.

An Address Delivered in Boston by a "Philosopher and Statesman" Forecasting a New Development—The Unemployed, Becoming Paupers, to be Organized into State Institutions and Pitted Against Private Syndicates—The Maryland Penitentiary.

BOSTON, Mass., March 4.—The Boston "Herald" of Feb. 20, 1899, gives nearly a column to an epitome of an address by G. W. R. Harriman before the citizenship class at the South Congregational Church in Boston. The speaker boldly advocated "Capitalization of Charity." He showed that this is an era of capitalization and concentration, and cited figures to prove that Massachusetts is outside of private efforts, requires space equal to seven times the area of Hyde Park, a manufacturing town outside Boston, and requires a poor-house plant worth in dollars full three times as much as all the buildings, machinery, motive power, implements and tools are used in that town in its manufactures. "We have the same number of able-bodied laborers in our poor-house plant as there are laborers in that town's manufactures; now," he continued, "if a plant, equal only to one-third in value, can pay over \$1,051,000 for labor alone in one year, beside operating expenses and dividends on its capital stock, don't you suppose that a good businessman could take the other plant with a more valuable earning power, and make it at least pay its operating expenses? When the people get ready to humanize the poor, they will adopt the corporation form of consolidation, and not the crude methods of isolating."

The Governor of this State, in his last message, stated that steps will soon have to be taken to concentrate public institutions, charitable and criminal. All those shadows of coming events tend to the final climax pointed out by Frederick Engels in his recapitulation of that very excellent little pamphlet, "Socialism Reduced from Utopia to Science."

The United Boot and Shoe Machinery Company, capital \$25,000,000, is organized. The Boston "Herald" editorially says this combination, acting with the leather trust, will place the shoe manufacturers in a tight place.

Thus we see on every hand an accelerated speed in the concentration of capital filling, eye crowding, the labor market with idle hands, who crawl into individual poor-houses and barely exist by leaning on some one or other of their relatives or friends who are fortunate enough to be able to afford them a slight relief. "Pure and simple" trades unions are powerless to fight this transition of capital. I said to a representative of the A. F. of L.: "If you had every worker in the United States organized and holding a paid-up dues card in his hand, you cannot in the present form and ownership of capital find four hours' work each day for fifty per cent. of the entire trades, your organization is as powerless as a street mob in face of Gatling guns, or unarmed strikers in conflict with Federal troops."

If Mr. G. W. R. Harriman's suggestion is carried out, and charities become trustified, it will bring the idle masses into organized form, and in short time their productive powers will be pitted by the State (National Charity Organization) against the private syndicates, and pure and simple trades unions. The objection to honest-made goods in competition with dishonest labor products will not hold good against the products of Trustified or Capitalized Charity.

Maryland has completed a million dollar penitentiary, where the living wages and labor, etc., are for the penitent transgressor on the whole superior to the conditions generally imposed on the shoemakers in this State working in private factories and holding membership in trades unions of the Samuel Gompers and John A. Tobin stripe.

Mr. Harriman bases his figures on ten thousand able-bodied poor; there are at least ten times that number now living in holes called homes in this State, waiting for prosperity. ERIN.

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "What Means this Strike?" is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.



The noble aspirations of Socialism could not have existed before there existed the present machinery of production...



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan—I can't explain how it is that Socialism is not adopted more rapidly than it is. There must be some defect in the way in which it is presented...

Socialism—that undertakes the renovation of human judgment according to the data of positive science—will prove to the world also this truth that criminals should not be tortured or made the objects of vengeance...

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

Says the Minneapolis, Minn., "Tocsin" with Socialist accuracy and directness: It is not to be claimed that we are more intelligent than our opponents. Socialists do not pretend to be made of superior clay...

In its advertising columns, the Chicago "Tribune" of the 19th of last month has this item: SITUATION WANTED—Good carpenters will work for old clothes. X725 Tribune office.

Quoting and commenting upon, similar evidences of prosperity, the San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" has this: "Good man, 35, will work for 50c. day. board self. No. 325, 13th street, young man; experienced electrician; educated. D-410. Post."—Denver Post.

A new Socialist publication—"The Wage Worker," published in Kansas City, Mo., from 1208 Walnut street under direction of the S. L. P. Section of that city, has made its appearance and is hereby welcomed on the field of class-conscious propaganda.

Whether on life's peaceful plane or in the battle's van, The only fight that's not in vain Is when we fight for man.

The "Wage Worker" carries from the telling message a cry of justice that demands attention. The cry itself is inarticulate, a groan of anguish, a sigh of sorrow, a wail of children shut out from the joys of life...

The Milwaukee, Wis., correspondent of the New York "Vorwarts," German organ of the S. L. P., throws some interesting light upon the "victories" that are periodically bragged about as having been won by the "pure and simple" labor fakirs.

There is hardly an exception to the rule: "Look closely into a pure and simple victory, and it will be found a fraud." The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SOCIALISM AND CRIMINALS.

By Prof. ENRICO FERRI.

[Translated from the Italian Socialist Almanac for 1899 by Theodore Ritter, Rome, Italy.]

Socialism consists, in part, of doctrines exclusively economic and these have had their complete fundamental development, especially as regards criticism and history.

But from Socialism flows an entirely new current of scientific ideas, not only through the economic domain, but also through the moral, intellectual, legislative, artistic and political.

However, as no science is formed complete and perfect as the work of its originator, so Socialism scientifically and positively established by Karl Marx must renovate thoroughly all common opinions and mental habits.

One of these, and it is very important, regards the method of judging criminals. That the perpetrators of a political crime, whether committed only by voice or pen or accompanied by some common form of crime such as homicide, should not be punished and treated as common criminals, is an opinion that the Italians have by tradition.

But regarding ordinary crimes, such as assassination for revenge, the torturing of children by their mother, crimes of violence and cruelty, also Socialists continue in the old way of thinking and invoke upon them the severe penalties of justice, the torments of the prison cell or even the infamous death penalty.

Modern science, however, has demonstrated that crime is also a disease whether hereditary, infectious, incurable or curable. As a person born with a morbid tendency to insanity or suicide—but living in favorable social conditions may die without becoming insane or committing suicide—and as a person becomes insane or commits suicide on account of disease or sudden misfortune—so a person born with a morbid tendency to murder, theft, violence or incendiarism—if he has the fortune to live in favorable social conditions may die without having committed crime—and so a person becomes a murderer, violator, incendiary or thief in an attack of sudden passion or on account of degeneration of the social sense: the sense of the lawful and unlawful.

This no one is a criminal by his own free will. Caserio, for example, although he was an assassin actuated by political fanaticism, in letters written two years before he assassinated President Carnot, confessed that although he held the theory that private property is wrong, although he suffered hunger, he felt an insuperable repugnance to theft and did not steal.

Thus naturally, does not mean that murderers, violators and incendiaries are to be left at liberty. No; as the insane and violent are placed in confinement, so criminals should be segregated for a long or short time according to the gravity of the disease. But they should be treated like the sick and not like "wild beasts." Prison cells—hypocritical and stupid institutions of vengeance of society—should be superseded by agricultural colonies where criminals are segregated, as the insane are now, but in endurable and healthful conditions of life.

Thus penal law will be purified of that spirit of hatred and of public vengeance which now debases it by hereditary tradition from the most barbarous ages.

And when penal law shall no longer have the spirit of "public revenge" in treating common criminals, so much the more will it lose that spirit in the case of political offenders. Because scientific truths always have the effect of advancing true civilization and raising the standard of public and individual morality.

THE PEOPLE.

Published at 154 William Street, New York EVERY SUNDAY.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS. Invariably in advance:

Table with 2 columns: Duration (one year, six months, single copies) and Price (\$0.50, \$0.25, \$0.05).

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 6, 1891.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table with 2 columns: Year (1888, 1890, 1892, 1894, 1896, 1898) and Vote count (2068, 13331, 21157, 33133, 36564, 82204).

All effort, from whatever source it may proceed, looking to the loosening or sundering of the bonds between the trade-union movement and the Social-Democratic Party (Socialist Labor Party of Germany), is to be looked upon as hostile to the interests of the working class.

NICARAGUA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

It is not in biology only that distant things appear closely connected. The same is true in sociology. An earthquake in Java may produce a tidal-wave along the coasts of Portugal; and the one and the other may both be simultaneous products of one central cause.

In the Philippines, Filipinos are being slaughtered right and left; and with the casualties on both sides, the diseases that break out in our camp around Manila, the consequent suffering of the whole population now in hand to hand conflict there, the Philippines are in terrific commotion; one sees there reproduced, on the social field, all the furies that, on the material field, is seen in cases of earthquakes.

While that is going on in the antipodes, a social tidal-wave strikes the shores of Nicaragua. Men are seen to rise in arms; they array themselves in hostile camps, pursue and draw themselves up against each other; blood flows; lives are lost; conflagrations consume homes and devastate fields. To all external appearances, at least, the spectacle in the Philippines and the spectacle in Nicaragua are alike.

The bloodshed and desolation in Nicaragua is connected, closely connected, with the bloodshed and desolation in the Philippines, as closely connected as was the Java earthquake with the tidal-wave that knocked Lisbon into heap of ruins.

Several times have we taken occasion to point the moral taught by similar facts and tersely expressed by P. J. Dunning:

Capital is said to be disturbance and strife and to be timid, which is very true; but this is very incompletely stating the question. Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit, just as Nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit, capital is very bold.

From the socio-economic center of United States capitalism, congested, smothering in the mammoth hugeness of its plunder from the working class, and driven, like explosive gases, by the very law of its existence, to expand and absorb—, from that center is proceeding now the simultaneous turbulence and strife that, like earthquakes and tidal-waves, are now shaking Nicaragua and the antipodal Philippines, bringing death and desolation to their peoples—and mourning into many an American home.

STORMS OVERHEAD.

The clash of capitalist interests between the Manhattan Elevated and the Tammany Hall Companies seems to have somewhat subsided. Nevertheless, there is yet a third socio-economic grape worth the while to cull from the bunch.

While the Tammany-Manhattan storm raged, much was said about drip-pans, compressed air, electric motor power; also a good deal upon im-

provements that might, could, would or should or should not be made. But in the midst of all that din, did anyone hear a note, even the vaguest of vague sounds, on the subject of the wages, the hours of work and the like of the employed, i. e., of the men who really operate the road? Nary a note or sound.

The engineers on the road, many of whom have reached an age that entitles them to rest and the dignified enjoyment of their years; the conductors, the gate and ticket men, and a host of other underpaid, pinched wage slaves of the Manhattan Road,—these did not come in a moment for consideration. They were as if they were not. Issues, that, under any decent and rational social system, would be the paramount subject for consideration—the welfare of the body of men who collectively enter to the bulk of the traffic of this city—, such issues were not even suppressed: they were thought of so little that they never entered the minds of the disputants; the only issues considered were those that would affect the plunder of the capitalists engaged in the quarrel.

A class-conscious working class is no more an active participant in a nation's affairs than horses or cattle. Both cattle and horses "participate," but only in so far as their "participation" is controlled by and profitable to their masters: the cattle will "participate" by furnishing food, via the slaughter-house, to their masters; the horses will "participate" by carrying their masters on their backs; outside of that, there is no participation by them; nor are they at all taken into consideration. Ditto, ditto with a class-unconscious working class.

The issues that are raised by capitalists against one another concern only themselves; nor do they raise any others. Violent though the clash of such elements may be; wild though the fur may fly in the tussle;—these are but storms over the heads of the proletariat; they rage and bill and go down without reaching down. Only when a nation's proletariat becomes conscious of its own class interests will the social issues and storms concern it; nay, more, then all the social issues will proceed from ITS own camp to the exclusion of all others.

"WHY SHOULD HE?" OR "FOOLED ONCE MORE?"

The latest act in the tragic-comic play that may be entitled: "The Federal 8-hour law," recalls to mind an interesting incident, and solves what some might consider a mystery connected therewith.

Some little time ago, the odd collection of labor fakirs, that used to meet regularly once a week in this city in order to advertise themselves to the politicians as the Central Labor Union, and that more recently went through the farce of "uniting" with an other body that did not exist, issued its "orders," "requests" or whatever one may call it, to the New York Senators and Representatives in Congress that they support the "8-hour bill" that was again struggling in and out of the Congressional pigeon-holes.

This somewhat Delphic-oracle way of mystifying a questioner was a puzzler to many. Could Platt, the employer of convict labor in Tennessee, possibly favor an 8-hour law? If he did, why did he not come out fully and give the "unpractical" Socialists another black eye by proving the brotherhood of Capital and Labor; if he did not, what could his object be in seeming friendly when the time would surely come that he would have to show his hands in the matter? The mystery is now solved.

Among the many bills that congested the last hours of the Senate, was this "8-hour bill." A motion was then made and CARRIED that "the bill be taken up." And what happened then? Then the unsophisticated discovered that a vote to "take up" a bill may not amount to anything. Just as soon as the motion to "take up" was carried in good and great style, the Senate dropped the whole affair by proceeding with the consideration of appropriation and other, to capitalists, more interesting bills, and—the "8-hour bill" was never again thought of!

Does not this proceeding explain the Platt riddle? Was there, could there be any reason why he should vote "No" on the "8-hour bill" when he knew that there was no chance of the bill being voted on at all?

"Why Should He?" or "Fooled Once More" will make a good play that the working class may derive both pleasure and instruction from.

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Throw off the Workman's Burden!

[Written for THE PEOPLE by Arthur Keep, New York, with Apology to Mr. Kipling.]

Throw off the workman's burden—O men of every breed, freedom go sell your souls to freedom To serve your own dear need: Wait not in heavy harness, On bourgeois folk agape Your long-time appetites Half devil and half ape.

Throw off the workman's burden—The iron rules of kings, The tale of monstrous things, All ports ye then shall enter, All roads ye then shall tread, In the glory of the living, Long hoped for by your dead.

LECTURES.

A. S. Brown, "Labor Movement in America," March 12, 8 p. m., at 118 East 120th Street, New York. J. Altman, "Philosophy of Warfare," March 14, 8 p. m., 65 Columbia Street, New York. Mary E. McPherson, of Yonkers, "Are We Ready for Socialism?" March 12, 8 p. m., at 14th Street and Third Avenue, 3rd and 4th A. D. Headquarters, New York. J. Altman, "Karl Marx on International Political Action," March 10, 8 p. m., at Avenue C, New York. H. Blumson, "Republic Value," March 8, 8 p. m., at 98 Avenue C, New York. B. F. Keinar, "The Class Struggle," a stereopticon illustrated lecture, March 8, 8 p. m., at West Side Union Hall, 342 52nd Street, New York. The same lecture, March 15, 8 p. m., Hudson Building, Northwest corner 9th Street and Eighth Avenue; and March 17, West Side Education Club Rooms, 93 West 53rd Street, New York. H. Weiling, "Clarity," March 12, 8 p. m., at 528 East 11th Street, New York. ROBERTSON, Martha M. Avery, "Socialism a Science," March 12, 4 p. m., at Public Forum, Berkerly, corner Appleton Street, YONKERS.—Lucien Sanial, "Territorial Expansion and How it Will Affect the Working Class of the United States," March 17, 8 p. m., at Devitt's Hall, 9 West Burton Avenue, Admission 10 cents.

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