



MUNICIPAL PROGRAMME

OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Driven out of their respective fields of money-making by that concentration of capital which is the inevitable outcome of the present competitive system...

Last year a large body of indebted farmers and land speculators raised the silver banner and captured the Democratic machine, which had long been, like the Republican party, a political instrument of the plutocratic power.

Instinctively, as it were, by giving full sway to the plutocrats, these wage workers did more, in fact, than deal a death blow to the retrogressive farmocracy...

Aye, without knowing it, they hastened the day of the Social Revolution. By their action free play has been given to those economic forces, both the destructive and the constructive...

Last year, of about 1,150,000 firms doing business in the United States and Canada, 224,534 (or very nearly one-fifth) either failed or wound up their affairs in disgust after losing their last dollar.

In France, for instance, and in Europe generally, the taxes on real estate are very high, and even the number of windows is considered in the tax bill; yet rents are much lower there than here.

It goes without saying that so long as they can dream of wealth or most struggle with fate, people of the sort here referred to are among the most intensely selfish and stubbornly individualistic.

It is among these two kinds of city gentry that a political movement is now on foot, looking to municipal ownership and operation of such city franchises as it has heretofore been customary to grant to private corporations...

But it requires no great effort of the intellect to perceive the deception. The object of the scheme and the manner in which it would be carried out by the schemers are both, indeed, sufficiently obvious.

In advocating the nationalization of the railroads the Populists contem-

plated a great reduction in the cost of transportation; but they did not by any means propose to correspondingly lower the price of their own merchandise.

Likewise the proposed municipalization of city franchises UNDER MIDDLE CLASS MANAGEMENT AND ON THE MIDDLE CLASS PLAN might be highly profitable to the middle class and its political agents...

First—A large portion of the income derived by cities from the operation of their franchises would unquestionably serve to decrease the taxation on real estate...

Rent and wages do not, indeed, depend in the least on the rate of taxation, or on the amount of public indebtedness, national, State or municipal...

What has impelled the introduction of the bill principally is that those so-called vandals who happen along the shores to the consequent detriment of the residents of those counties is the fact that they by the lack of proper attire compel the residents to ask for the suppression of their performances...

The unanimity with which the Assembly last evening indorsed the proposition carries with it the conviction that the Senate may treat it in the same manner.

Second—As repeatedly shown by previous experience, any improvement in transportation, communication or public service of any kind, is promptly turned by the landlord brotherhood into an opportunity for increased exaction...

Washington, April 9th.—Rumor has it that Cornelius Vanderbilt is so pleased with Washington, its climate, its quiet streets and parks, where he can take his daily walks undisturbed and without fear of being in any way molested...

His wishes and desires are not alone responsible for the proposed change, for his little daughter Gladys is, as she puts it, "perfectly in love with the city."

The police has every where been turned into an agency of public demoralization and plutocratic despotism.

(Continued on Page 2.)

SOCIAL CONTRASTS

Which We Are Striving to Wipe Out.

LOOK AT THIS PICTURE, AND THEN AT THIS!

Bulletin of Luxury! Bulletin of Misery!

Owners of Mansions on Shore Front. OBJECT TO HAVE BARELEGGED MEN DIG FOR SAND AND OTHER WORMS.

ALBANY, April 16th.—One of the most curious bills of the season was that passed by the Assembly last night, introduced by Assemblyman W. H. Leonard.

"The suppression of the invasion of a horde of invaders, who, by their mannerism in the search for sand and other worms, enact such scenes as compel the residents and owners of said property to seek legislation to suppress the same."

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(Continued on Page 2.)

Found Crying on Church Steps. A WILLIMANTIC GIRL WHO HAD COME IN SEARCH OF WORK.

ANSONIA, Conn.—While the wives of two of the most prominent men in this city were walking up Elizabeth street toward the home of a friend, last Friday afternoon, an unusual and pathetic scene came to their notice.

The girl on the steps came here from Willimantic in search of work and being unsuccessful in her application, wandered about the streets, a few hours, disconsolate and with a heavy heart.

Nettle had read in the papers of a strike in the weaving room of the cotton mill in Shelton, and having been out of work a long time, she concluded to come here in search of employment.

Nettle is a very good looking girl, 18 years of age, and is willing to work for her living if she can get a chance.

Hanged Himself in a Cellar. TOLD HIS DAUGHTER HE HAD ROPE AND NAIL BEFORE COMMITTING SUICIDE.

John Larson, janitor of the tenement at 626 East Ninth street, bumped yesterday against the dead body of Andreas Schwertel, who had hanged himself with a rope to one of the cellar beams.

"I just told my daughter," he said, "that I had the rope and the nail ready to hang myself."

Mrs. Larson did her best to comfort him, and the old man apparently went away from the house. He was not seen again until Janitor Larson found his dead body in the wood cellar yesterday morning.

Vanderbilt's Coachman. DRIVEN TO SUICIDE BY HUNGER AND WANT OF WORK.

Penniless and despondent at his inability to obtain work, William Dooley, a coachman, living at No. 1612 Broadway, fired two shots into his head, at Coney Island, last night.

The last 13 cents that he possessed was used for carfare to the Island. The gayety of the crowd made Dooley even more disheartened than he had been before, and he felt that it was time to try to leave a world where there was no pleasure for him.

William Gault, of West-Second street, Coney Island, was walking along the beach at 10 p. m. Near the new iron pier he stumbled over a body lying on the sand.

The druggist found that two shots had been fired into the man's head over the right eye. To Campbell, the man said that he was William Dooley and had been out of work for two months.

When he went to Coney Island, he said, the merriment that he witnessed, and his own keen want, caused him to make up his mind that the world did not need him. So he shot himself.

Dooley's last position was with George W. Vanderbilt, at Asheville, N. C.

Driven From Business AND PURSUED BY THE LAW HE TAKES HIMSELF OFF.

Frederick Pfeffer formerly kept a saloon at the corner of Montauk avenue and Vienna street, East New York. When the first Raines bill was enacted he was arrested for violating it, and was soon thereafter driven out of business because of his inability to comply with its provisions and still make a profit.

This was a violation of another law—the Bottle Act. Pfeffer was summoned by the brewery, but his misfortunes had rendered him sullen and reckless, and he did not appear in court.

His wife, who was nursing her baby girl, saw them coming and warned Pfeffer, who ran into a closet. The policemen were searching the house for him when they heard a muffled report, broke open the closet and found him lying there with a revolver in his hand and one side of his face shot away.

SHOE WORKERS' CONVENTION.

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL PRESIDENT Wm. C. BROWER.

On the 16th instant the General Council of Shoeworkers of North America, District Alliance No. 7, of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, held its seventh annual convention in Newark, N. J., at which occasion the General President, William L. Brower, submitted the following report:

Comrades—In the report which I addressed to the convention held a year ago I pointed out that there had been in the past no lack of organizations of the shoeworkers possessing the advantage of mere numbers, which is considered all sufficient by conservative trade unionists.

The old organizations would not perceive the winning aim and the winning policy, because they failed to comprehend the capitalist system, from which sprang all the wrongs that drove them to combine and struggle.

The capitalist system has taken from the workers the tools and the means of labor and given to the capitalists absolute control of the machinery of production. Hence arises the dependence of the workers upon the capitalists for their means of living.

Such a condition of things makes it impossible for the workers to cope with the capitalists by economic action alone. Even if they should by an exceptionally effective contest compel the capitalists to offer concessions, the workers cannot be said to have won a decisive victory when they continue to be in the power of capital.

And since it is the capitalist control of the instruments of production that places the workers in the power of capital and that tends to render futile all their struggles against that power, the only winning aim can be the overthrow of that capitalist power by placing the whole machinery and process of production under the co-operative control of the working people.

Those who recognize the winning aim are logically led to the winning policy. If the workers, in order to win a substantial victory, must aim at the overthrow of capitalism, it becomes self-evident that they must take political action to secure control of the government, through the power of which alone that overthrow can be effected.

Political action is the winning policy, because the same development that makes ever more overwhelming the economic power of capital makes more overwhelming the numerical superiority of the working class, that is, its potentiality in the political field.

Workers who do not see their true economic situation and, consequently, do not understand their political necessity, give their support to the parties controlled by the capitalists, and thus the capitalists are enabled, by the blindness of the workers themselves, to use against them, in addition to the advantages of their economic power, the weapons of political power—the courts, the military and the police.

It is plain that the shoeworkers, no matter how strongly they were organized, were doomed to defeat upon defeat, as long as they blindly acted for the benefit of capital at the ballot box; that is the only place where they were strong.

It is also plain that such defeats resulted in demoralization, because the workers, placing their sole hope on the economic struggle, thought that when that was lost, everything was lost.

Such were the causes that have made the history of organization in the shoe trade a series of blind rushes into economic warfare, followed by defeat, demoralization and disorganization.

Our fellow craftsmen, who still follow the old tactics, have seen their organization—the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union, of which they expected

so much—meet as disastrous defeats as its predecessors. These defeats were due, as always, to the accumulated wealth of the capitalists, to the army of unemployed that the capitalists had created by their machines, to the political power which the workers had themselves placed at the disposal of their oppressors.

But these new lessons of experience have not been lost entirely. The teachings of Socialism, which the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance has applied to the trade union movement, and to which it has effectively called the attention of the trade unionists, have opened the eyes of many members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union to the true policy.

Comrade Frederick S. Carter, who was the incumbent of the office, stood for re-election on an outspoken Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance platform.

"How many more of our fellow men must commit slow suicide by facing the inhuman conditions caused by the competitive wage system before you will get brave enough to lay aside your prejudice against collective ownership by the people of the opportunity to produce bread for yourselves and families; and put into the obligation of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union a clause which says: 'We do solemnly swear that we will not vote for any of the old capitalist parties, and we pledge ourselves by all we hold sacred in life and by our hope of happiness hereafter, that we will vote for the Socialist Labor party and its platform, and do all in our power to expel from our ranks any member who, after fighting our enemies all the year, turns round and helps them into power and control on election day.'"

Comrade Carter, having taken so strong a position, was fiercely opposed by all who still believe in the old tactics or are interested in seeing them continued. Besides the old party heeled and fakirs, the manufacturers did their utmost to prejudice the members of the union against Carter.

"It will be for the welfare of the city of Lynn if this official (Comrade Carter) is succeeded by a new man March 30, on which date it is expected that the Lasters' Union will elect a secretary for another year. No walking delegate ever in Lynn has created the same amount of trouble as Carter. He is very extreme in his opinions and is a pronounced Socialist."

A week later the "Reporter," with undisguised disgust at so undesirable a turn of affairs, announced the re-election of Carter.

In this connection a resolution deserves mention, which was recently adopted by Shoemakers' Union No. 135, of Philadelphia, and which concludes with the following resolves:

"RESOLVED, That we request the National Boot and Shoe Makers' Union, in convention assembled, to withdraw from the aforesaid American Federation of Labor, and that we renounce its foolish and antiquated method of depending solely upon the strike as the only weapon whereby our emancipation is to be effected; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the National Boot and Shoe Makers' Union make application for a charter to the General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and that in future we be known as the National Alliance of the Boot and Shoe Workers of the United States and Canada."

The importance of these signs of a change of opinion among our fellow craftsmen lies in this, that it shows how the logic of facts and the lessons of experience point so strongly to the correctness of our position as to lead to it even those who are not within the direct influence of our organization.

This drift of sentiment in our direction is bound to become more forcible every day, because the tendencies of the capitalist system become ever more clearly marked. The constant improvement of machinery and its more general application is the most powerful factor in this direction.

Every issue of "The Shoe and Leather Reporter" makes mention of some new machine that is expected to reduce still further the amount of human labor required in the factory, and that will consequently swell the ranks of that army whose labor power has become superfluous. And while every day brings new instruments of displacement, those of yesterday are more completely unfolding their disastrous capabilities.

These new machines are increasing at the same time the economic power of

(Continued on Page 3.)

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**SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.**

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1890.....	15,231
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	35,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564

Wherever opportunity to labor is obtained with difficulty, and is so deficient that the employing class may virtually prevent their own share as they choose of the product, there is a very strong tendency to slavery.

**Horace Greeley.**

**THE LATEST USE THAT THE PROLETARIAT IS PUT TO.**

The proletariat has been turned to so many uses that one might think it were impossible to discover any further ways whereby the idle class of capitalists could derive comfort from the sufferings of the toilers and proletarians. But this seems to be an error. Besides using the proletariat to save the capitalists from labor; besides using the unemployed proletarians to press down the wages of the employed ones, and in that way afford the capitalists still greater wealth; besides using the proletariat to fight the nation's battles against nature and against foreign foes—besides these and many more uses, it has occurred to some that the proletariat may be used to draw experience from. A Society of Artificial Limbs, that has been formed to promote the beauty and effectiveness of artificial limbs, is about to hold a convention in St. Louis. It wants specimens of mutilated bodies to learn from, and in what direction did it turn to secure such specimens? It turned towards the labor unions and requested information from the maimed.

The society was guided by a right instinct. The camp of labor can furnish a large collection of maimed bodies in the most varied way imaginable. The recklessness of the capitalist class, where the lives of working people are concerned, transcends description. There is no better quarry from which to draw experience or objects to experiment on than the camp of labor. Thus the riotous capitalists, who, with the wealth they steal from labor, indulge in debauches that frequently have serious results on their limbs, will be able to minimize the inconveniences of maimages on their own persons with the aid of the mutilated limbs of their wage slaves, mutilated in the production of the very wealth on which the capitalists riot.

Great scheme! Logical development!

**A KINGDOM IN THE RECEIVER'S HANDS.**

The closing days of the century is witnessing what might be taken for extravaganzas or fin de siècle sights, but which Socialists, being able to understand what they see, realize to be simply logical, natural phenomena of capitalism. We have seen railroad lines and whole railroad systems put into the receiver's hands; we have seen metropolitan papers, these arrogant pretenders to the public ministry of enlightening and directing the public mind, put into the receiver's hands; we have seen churches, said by their wardens to be dedicated to the worship of God, but unable to pay the bills of star singers and sensational preachers, land unceremoniously into the hands of the receiver—all of them to be administered for the benefit of the private pockets that they were all alike intended to fill. All this and much more of the same sort have we seen; the war now raging between Greece and Turkey furnishes the capstone to a monument which commemorates the fact that everything under the influence of capitalism is reducible to dollars and cents; that all its institutions are capitalist undertakings for profits, whatever mask—moral, religious, patriotic—such institutions may wear; and that, at a given moment, all pretences are laid aside just so soon as the pretences interfere with the regular flow of profits.

Those who do not know the secret that a nation under capitalist rule is nothing but a huge business firm, run for the benefit of capitalists, will not understand the full meaning of the recent cable dispatches to the effect that a commission has been created to manage the Greek finances and "pay the debts" of the country. This, in other words, means that the Kingdom of Greece is ordered into the receiver's hands.

The foremen of the "business house," known under the firm name of the "Greek Government," having ceased to

run the enterprise in a way profitable to the stock-holders, these have decided to place the actual administration of the concern into the hands of a commission of stock-holders—just as is done with railroads, soap factories and woolen mills. The King, the Court and other clerks of the stock-holders may or may not continue in nominal office, the real rule will henceforth be in the hands of the capitalist bosses. What has happened in Greece may happen anywhere else—unless the Social Revolution throw overboard both bosses and lackeys—capitalists and their politicians—and place the national establishment in the nation's hands, to be run, not for idlers but for the benefit of the workers.

**SOVEREIGN'S UTILITY.**

The revelations made by the Hardy, Ark., "Morgan's Buzz-Saw" upon the conduct of Mr. James R. Sovereign accomplish infinitely more than finally to strike Mr. Sovereign's name from the list of honorable men, and giving him a lasting place on the list of labor and political crooks. All this had been done by the wide-awake before "Morgan's Buzz-Saw" had started the publication of his revelations. What the revelations now accomplish is to give forcible warning against loose forms of political organizations that mean to overthrow existing ones.

It is now made clear that Mr. Sovereign was a member of the People's party; that, as such, he had a voice in its councils; that, as such, he was put on the stump to urge the election of People's party candidates; and that, owing to all this, he was looked up to and quoted as a representative man of that party. That, all this notwithstanding, he exercised his influence against People's party candidates at the last elections, and in favor of rival Democratic ones; and that the mischief he did in that corrupt role was due wholly to the circumstance that the Democratic machine could tell the people:

"Here you have a Populist himself who is against the Populist candidate and in favor of ours; can you Populists and others now deny that our candidate is the better man for you?"

What the People's party suffered by the infamous conduct of Mr. Sovereign it has only itself to blame for. The fault lay with its own form of organization. The People's party has no organization properly speaking; what it calls its "organization" is like a heap of sand, with no more organization than that. All organization must be subject to disciplinary powers. Where there are none, such there is no organization, and all the evils imaginary will follow. This is particularly the case with a political organization. If the People's party had been properly organized, Mr. Sovereign could have been yanked off the stump as a People's party speaker in short order, and whatever he then did or said against the party's candidates would have been stripped of all force or prestige.

Mr. Sovereign will not have lived in vain if his disreputable career should contribute its share to bring home to the members of the Socialist Labor party the absolute necessity of a solid, thoroughly disciplined organization, with powers to keep order while it insures freedom. In the fierce contests that lie before us with the forces of capital, every precaution must be taken to prevent scamps from officially parading with the mask of the party, and thus deceive the unwary, confuse the incautious and assassinate the party within its own house.

There is much utility in Mr. Sovereign's career. It furnishes an object lesson to accentuate the principle upon which the last national convention of the party met and settled each of the many questions that came up before it, and upon which the decisions of the convention were ratified by overwhelming majorities, to wit, the principle of "Progress with Order, and Order with Progress."

The Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The newspaper published in New York, known as THE PEOPLE, advocates the unconditional surrender of capitalism and the overturn of the competitive wage system, therefore be it resolved that we heartily endorse this paper, and recommend all union men and women to read the same."

Mr. John Rogers, of Glendale, N. Y., who in a paper of that town criticized Socialism, and on whom the Glendale Section bestowed an answer, published a few weeks ago in these columns, now declares he will not pursue the discussion any further because the Section has "indulged in personalities," the personalities being an allusion to his employment of apprentices to do the work of full mechanics, and the argument that such practices, possible only under capitalism, disprove his claim that capitalism encourages thrift.

We are quite familiar with the Rogers dodge of "personality." Just as soon as these fellows get knocked out and their stupid arguments are triturated, they set up the howl of "personality!"

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

**Municipal Programme.**

(Continued from Page 1.)

classes of primary departments. Even the post-office, under national administration, has been a fruitful field of scandalous transactions and political manipulations.

Fourth—As to the treatment of mechanics and laborers employed by capitalist governments, the experience of all countries, from Germany and Belgium with their State railways, to Great Britain with her national telegraphs and Glasgow plans, shows that it is no better than in the service of private corporations. In one respect, at least, it is more degrading here, because of the abject servility to political bosses that is exacted as a condition of employment. Moreover, there is an obvious tendency to a reduction of wages and salaries in the lower grades of public occupation, corresponding to the fall of prices paid for similar work in private establishments. Not only the street sweepers, but the female teachers (considering the necessary expenditure of the latter for personal appearance and the petty exactions, bordering on blackmail, to which they are frequently subjected), are shamefully underpaid; and it is only a question of time when the salaries of policemen, firemen and other municipal employees, together with those of letter carriers and such like national servants of the humbler sort, will be cut down in the name of "reform" and "business principles."

We must turn to the few cities of France and Belgium, in the municipal councils of which the Socialists have recently obtained a majority, for the first examples of an administration of the public services keeping steadily in view the betterment of labor conditions. Yet, at their last national congress, the Socialist municipal councillors appended to their programme a declaration, frankly stating that all such municipal measures as they could now devise for the relief of their constituencies were of necessity palliatives under the capitalist system, and could not be relied on to curtail to any extent or for any length of time the capitalist's power; that they should therefore be viewed, not as Socialist institutions, but as mere expedients, through which the working people might be enabled to more successfully and vigorously carry on the class struggle; and that under no circumstances should the workers rest content with municipal improvements which in the nature of things must be entirely inadequate and temporary; but that they should sternly move onward to the conquest of all the public powers, with a view to the entire uprooting of capitalism and the firm planting of Socialism.

In the same spirit, and with a perfect knowledge of American conditions in all parts of this country, the National Convention of the Socialist Labor party, held at New York in July, 1896, passed a resolution instructing the National Executive Committee "to elaborate a general programme of municipal reforms for the information of the people and the guidance of Socialist officials; it being expressly understood, however, that such programme shall in no sense be considered as a part of the Socialist platform, but that it shall be presented as a mere set of demands for the relief of the working people and the redress of flagrant wrongs under the capitalist system, and that the term 'municipal Socialism,' frequently used of late by ignorant persons in reference to such demands, is hereby repudiated."

In compliance with this resolution, the following programme is therefore submitted, from which will be seen at a glance the radical difference between "municipalization" (so-called) under middle class rule and a Socialist administration of municipal affairs, contemplating at every step the abolition of capitalism in all its forms and classes.

**I.—MUNICIPAL FRANCHISES.**

1.—WHEREAS, The privilege of performing certain public services and functions, involving the use of public property and the exercise of the public right to levy taxes (in the various forms of dues, fares, rentals, etc.), upon the persons to whom such necessary services are rendered, has been unduly and corruptly granted to private corporations, who have used and abused the said privilege for their own unlimited enrichment, watered their stocks in order to conceal their scandalous profits, bribed aldermen, legislators, judges and executive officials, violated their charters and contracts, evaded taxation, starved their employees, provoked bloody conflicts between authority and hunger, assumed police powers, sacrificed human life to their greed and generally "damned the people";

RESOLVED, That every official elected by the Socialist Labor party shall, within the sphere of his functions, diligently work for the absolute and unconditional recovery, by the cities, of the municipal franchises, privileges, rights and property that have already been alienated to private corporations, and against any further such grant or alienation under any circumstances or upon any conditions whatsoever; to the end that all such franchises be operated by the cities.

2.—WHEREAS, It has heretofore been the practice of municipal bodies to carry on their affairs on the so-called "business principles" of capitalism, namely, high wages, fees or perquisites for the idle bosses, and starvation wages for the industrious employees; so that the worker in the public service is, like the worker in private employment, robbed of three-quarters of the value produced by his manual or intellectual exertions;

RESOLVED, That Socialist officials shall vigorously urge the application of the fundamental principles of the Co-operative Commonwealth to all municipal services, as far as possible under present conditions. They shall, in particular, insist upon the following demands: 1.—The election, by the employees, of their respective foremen, superintendents and other officers not elected by a general vote of the people; 2.—A minimum salary, supplemented by an equal distribution, among the employees, of a portion of the surplus value (or profit), which, produced by their joint labor, is now appropriated by the directors and stockholders of corporations; 3.—Another portion of the said surplus shall be set aside as a pension fund for the aged and a relief fund for the sick employees of the municipality; 4.—The remaining portion shall serve to the maintenance and extension of the said public services, the price of

which shall be reduced to the people to the extent of the saving permanently effected by mechanical and other improvements.

**II.—HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE.**

WHEREAS, Every improvement in transportation, communication and public service of any kind, by raising the value of real estate, has merely enabled the landlords to exact higher rents, besides affording enlarged opportunities to the mercantile class for trading upon the necessities of the population; and

WHEREAS, This class confiscation of benefits that should be equally shared in by all citizens, will of necessity continue so long as the people remain at the mercy of landlords and traders for shelter, subsistence and fuel;

1.—RESOLVED, That the municipalities should, by a proper exercise of the right of eminent domain, acquire all the vacant lots and lands within their boundaries, for the purpose of erecting thereon comfortable houses, to be let out to working people at PERMANENT rentals, calculated on cost of building, annual repairs and administrative expenses. The expression "permanent rentals" is here used, because Socialism aims at the abolition of profits in all forms, including what is called in single tax capitalist jargon the "economic or competitive rent of land," which, if confiscated by the municipality, would still in the last resort be paid by the tenant at a constantly increasing rate.

2.—RESOLVED, That the Socialist officials shall favor the establishment of municipal coal yards, drug stores and other municipal agencies for the procurement to the people, at greatly reduced prices, of certain necessities of life, now sold to them by traders at several times their actual value.

**III.—TAXATION.**

The object of taxation, under a capitalist administration, is to supply the means of carrying on government in the interest of the capitalist class. Under an administration controlled by Socialists, so long as capitalism survives taxation remains necessary, but its object should be to retribute to the workers, in the form of public benefits such as are mentioned in the present programme, as great a portion as possible of the wealth produced by them and appropriated by their fleecers.

Again, under a capitalist administration, taxation is unequal, the greater, and therefore more influential capitalists paying less in proportion to their wealth than their weaker fellows. In nearly all the States of the Union real estate is assessed at considerably less than its actual value, yet bears nearly the whole "public burden," so-called; while personal property, consisting in all forms of wealth other than real estate, and chiefly owned by millionaire bankers, stockholders, merchants, manufacturers, railway magnates, etc., almost entirely escapes taxation through perjury and official connivance. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Socialist officials shall by all means in their power compel the assessors to do their full duty, by assessing every kind of property at its full value; and that the said property shall be taxed to the fullest extent required for the immediate carrying out of the measures of public relief and improvement herein contemplated.

**IV.—EDUCATION.**

1.—WHEREAS, In all the large cities of the United States vast numbers of children are deprived of education, partly because of a woeful lack of school accommodations and in still greater part because of the squalid poverty to which their parents have been reduced by low wages and enforced idleness;

RESOLVED, That Socialist officials shall constantly keep in view the necessity of providing most effectively for the compulsory education of all children under fifteen years of age. To this end ample provision must be made, not only for school houses and an adequate force of competent teachers, but also for the feeding, clothing and even lodging of children, according as the condition of their parents may require.

2.—WHEREAS, The present system of education is vitiated in the principles and methods by the interests and notions of the capitalist class, whose school boards, chiefly composed of ignorant traders, pettifogging lawyers and corrupt politicians, impudently presume to decide what the coming generation shall know or not know, and poison the minds of the young with the virus of mercantilism, bigotry and bogus patriotism;

RESOLVED, That the Socialists must everywhere endeavor to obtain control of the school boards for the purpose of bringing about radical changes in our educational system, in harmony with the interests, needs and aspirations of the wage working class.

**V.—LABOR EXCHANGES.**

For the purpose of developing an intelligent, class-conscious and effective organization of the proletariat, capable of conducting its affairs in the daily struggle for life with a full knowledge of surrounding conditions, every city under Socialist administration shall establish a Labor Exchange, similar in its scope and objects to the French "Bourses du Travail" and Belgian "Maisons du Peuple." The public building provided for this institution by the municipality shall contain a hall for public labor meetings, lectures, etc., and office rooms for the bona fide trade and labor organizations of the city. The Labor Exchange and the municipal appropriation for its necessary expenditure shall be under the management of a Board, exclusively composed of delegates elected by the said organizations, and subject at all times to removal by their respective constituencies. It shall be the duty of the Board to periodically issue a report on the local state of labor affairs (including statistics of wages, hours, enforced idleness and its causes, cost of living, accidents, mortality, etc.), with practical suggestions for the guidance of the Common Council in its efforts to improve the conditions of the working class.

**VI.—ATTITUDE OF MUNICIPALITIES IN CONFLICTS BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR.**

In case of a strike or lockout, the Labor Exchange shall notify the Common Council, who shall immediately investigate the matter in dispute, and if the obdurate employer persists in denying the just demands of his employees, financial and other measures will instantly be taken by the municipality to support the injured workers.

**VII.—THE UNEMPLOYED.**

WHEREAS, Enforced idleness, resulting from the constant displacement of labor by machinery without any provision for the re-employment of the displaced workers, is to a steadily growing extent the chief evil of the capitalist system; its effects being most felt in cities, whose financial resources, even if they were vastly greater than they now are, might vainly be exhausted in public charities for the relief of misery or in police and prison expenditures for the repression of immorality and crime;

RESOLVED, That in dealing with the municipal questions forced upon their consideration by all the social evils which naturally flow from enforced idleness, the Socialist officials shall never fail to remind the people of the fact that the unemployed need only free access to the means of production and distribution, socially owned and operated, in order to provide for themselves a far better living than they could obtain in the service of capitalists; and that, until such free access is provided by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, all they can do is to liberally grant funds for the immediate relief of the distressed and the employment of the idle on public works and in municipal industries.

**VIII.—IMPERATIVE MANDATE.**

1.—WHEREAS, The mere right to vote for candidates, who, when elected, may act as they please during their respective terms of office, is a travesty of popular government;

RESOLVED, That in accordance with the fundamental principles of Socialism known as the Referendum, Initiative and Imperative Mandate, every municipal officer elected as a Socialist shall, as frequently as the City Committee of the Socialist Labor party may direct, and at least once a month, render an account of his acts at a public meeting of the members of the said party residing within the city limits. He shall faithfully and diligently carry out such resolutions as they may adopt at such meeting, and shall promptly resign his office if his recall be demanded by a majority vote of the whole membership of the party in his own city.

2.—WHEREAS, It is important to secure co-operation and unity of action upon Socialist lines among the municipal officers elected as Socialists in different cities;

RESOLVED, That until such time as the said Socialist officials may be in sufficient number to justify the holding of a general conference, the Municipal Committee provided for by the National Convention of 1896 shall continue its work of investigation, suggestion and advice. Therefore in order to secure the end in view, the present Socialist officials are hereby directed to supply the said committee with any information which it may require concerning the municipal affairs of their respective cities, and to avail themselves of its experience and counsel in the performance of their functions.

**IX.—POLITICS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE.**

Class interests and class politics are inseparable. True, the interests of individual capitalists are necessarily various and conflicting. Two gold-bugs, for instance, may differ on the tariff. The same business man who professes allegiance to a certain party on national issues may quite consistently vote for the other party on municipal questions. All capitalists, however, are united—and so, therefore, are their parties—on the fundamental principle of all capitalism, namely, that "labor must be fleeced;" for if there were no fleecer there could be no contest as to its division between the fleecers.

On the other hand, the interests of the working men are alike everywhere, at all times and under all circumstances. "War to the fleecers of every economic size and political color; down with the fleecing system in its entirety," such must, of necessity, be their rallying cry.

Consequently, while individual capitalists are consistent in moving from one to the other capitalistic party, or even in forming independent factions—such, for instance, as have been known under the names of gold Democrats and Mugwumps in national politics, or of Citizens' Unions, Goo-Gooes, Garoos, etc., in municipal politics—the working class cannot be true to itself but by standing united in the whole political field—National, State and Municipal—on a platform and a ticket of its own, against all the capitalists and their respective political parties or factions.

By order of the National Executive Committee,

HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

**A TOILER'S CRY.**

(Written for THE PEOPLE by A. MACPHERSON, Hoboken, N. J.)

Wild is the way  
 And grim as hell,  
 Where the weary toil  
 And the hungry dwell.

Their only song  
 A babe's weak cry,  
 And a mother's sad  
 But half-stifled sigh.

The strong men curse  
 In fearsome mood,  
 As they mark the woes  
 Of their famished brood.

God counts not this  
 A sin above,  
 For their blasphemy  
 Is the cry of love.

The Father hears  
 A father's cry,  
 And soundeth the depths  
 Of a mother's sigh.

His mighty hand  
 Anon shall fall,  
 For His ear is quick  
 To the frail one's call.

The despot race  
 Shall pass away,  
 Nor bask in the bliss  
 Of a nobler day.

To complete a file.  
 A reader of THE PEOPLE wishes No. 3 of Volume VI, to complete a file. Will exchange for any other issue of that volume. Send it to THE PEOPLE, 184 William street.



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—The rapacity of corporate wealth is something shocking.

Uncle Sam—You may be right, and you may be wrong.

B. J.—Aren't these corporations veritable cormorants in rapacity?

U. S.—They are, and in so far you are right; but if you mean that private wealth needed for production is not rapacious so long as it is not "corporate," then you are wrong, and dangerously so.

B. J.—Why, look at these large corporations, and then look at a little straggling concern; can you say that these small fellows are "ravenous"?

U. S.—Most assuredly. And your question points out the danger of your error. See here. Did you see the cub tiger at the Zoo?

B. J.—I did.

U. S.—And did you see his dame?

B. J.—I did.

U. S.—You noticed, perhaps, that she was positively fierce.

B. J.—So she is.

U. S.—Now, what would you think of the man who came to you and said to you: "That big tiger is a ferocious brute, but the cub is a little darling."

B. J.—I would think that that man don't know that the cub is a baby tiger, that will surely, if given time, become a full grown one, and develop all the ferocity of its dame.

U. S.—And would you not perceive the danger of such an error?

B. J.—Yes; that error would be dangerous.

U. S.—In what way?

B. J.—Why, in this way. A man who labored under that error might bring up a tiger cub as he would a cat or a dog, expecting that it would become a good and pleasant domestic animal, and his blunder may turn out fatal to him; some fine day, the first thing he knows—

U. S.—He won't know anything, eh?

B. J.—Yes; his developed cub, the cub that he took care of, may eat him up.

U. S.—Just so. And just so it is with these little "straggling" concerns owned by private parties. They are like tiger cubs. If they were different from the large or "corporate" concerns, we would not now have any "corporate wealth" for you to weep about. Each of these "corporations" was once a "straggling" concern; and each grew into the precious thing it now is, obedient to the law that underlies the very existence of these innocent-looking "straggling" concerns. A tiger cub can not develop into a lap dog; it must develop into a rampant tiger; all that is essentially tigerish is in embryo in the cub; a cub is a small tiger, a tiger is a large cub. So it is with these "straggling" concerns; and these "corporations." All that is essentially destructive of freedom and rapacious in "corporate wealth" is in embryo in the "straggling concern;" a "straggling concern" is a small "corporate wealth" affair, a "corporate wealth affair" is a full grown "straggling concern." The enemy you have against one, you must have against the other, if you are intelligent.

B. J.—But what is that "essential" thing that the small concern has in common with the large one, and that makes them as such one as cubs and tigers are one?

U. S.—That essential thing is the private ownership of the means of production. Just as soon as one man owns a tool that another cannot produce, and that can produce more cheaply, that man can begin to dominate the other; when a third gets a still better tool, he in turn can dominate and oppress the former two. The present "straggling" concerns were as ferocious as any so long as nobody had better tools than they; now they suffer because others can do what they themselves once did. Drop the nonsensical talk against CORPORATE ownership of the tools of production. It is as silly to talk about "corporate wealth" as to talk about "natural monopolies"; the private ownership of the machinery of production is the root of monopoly. All privately owned concerns can develop into a huge monopoly. If you allow yourself to be led against "corporate wealth" or "natural monopolies" you will be led astray. Guard against the danger.

The Pittsburgh, Pa., "National Labor Tribune," is forced to make this admission:

"From personal knowledge of the feeling among American workmen, we would say that the Socialists are gaining ground here also, and such energetic and indomitable propagandists are they that their influence is beginning to make itself felt in no small measure. The Socialist in this country meets a great deal of opposition from trade unionists, who do not believe that the labor organizations are able to handle anything more than scale questions and conditions of employment, at least at present. Yet the Socialists seem to be making headway."

Hence the howlings of the fakirs.

To Jewish Sections and Branches.

Wilshire's leaflet, "Why American Workmen Should Be Socialists," has been translated into Jewish, and can now be had at \$1.25 per 1,000 or \$1.50, if sent by mail or express. Address all orders to

LABOR NEWS CO., 84 East 4th Street, New York.

# MASSACHUSETTS.

State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party.  
 For Governor:  
**THOMAS C. BROPHY**, of Boston.  
 Lieutenant-Governor:  
**EDWARD AUGUSTUS BUCKLAND**, of South Hadley.  
 Treasurer:  
**GEORGE A. BROWN**, of Lynn.  
 Attorney-General:  
**WILLIAM HARRISON**, of Lawrence.  
 Auditor:  
**JOSEPH BALLAM**, of Boston.  
 Secretary of State:  
**A. W. BARR**, of Worcester.

LAWRENCE, Mass., May 17.—The annual convention of the Socialist Labor party convened in this city Sunday morning at 9 o'clock, with 25 delegates present, representing Sections in Boston, Holyoke, Somerville, Lynn, New Bedford, Adams, Northampton, Clinton, Lawrence, Worcester, Haverhill, Westfield, Newburyport, Pittsfield, Lowell, South Boston, South Hadley Falls and Springfield.

John H. Cloney, of Lynn, was elected permanent chairman and Goldstein permanent secretary. The convention remained in session two days. At the close of the session the above ticket was nominated. The other important acts of the session were:

First—Adoption of the following platform: "We, citizens of Massachusetts, members of the Socialist Labor party of America in convention assembled, again make solemn declaration that this and every succeeding generation are joint heirs to the accumulation of capital and to the knowledge evolved by science and art."

"So declaring, we demand complete possession, by all the people of modern industry, natural resources, machinery and its auxiliaries in wealth, production, distribution and exchange."

"The abolition of the wage system—our fathers declared for political freedom. We declare for economic freedom. They gained a partial political victory. We are pledged to extend political liberty, and to win equality in economic opportunity."

"The contradictions and antagonisms inseparable from private ownership of the means of modern industry in a political democracy are self-evident. Machinery considered alone shortens the hours of labor, but in the service of capitalists lengthens them. Machinery in itself lightens labor, but when employed by capitalists heightens the intensity of labor. Machinery is a victory over the forces of nature, but in the hands of capitalists makes man the slave of these forces. Machinery in itself increases the wealth of the producers, but in the control of private persons makes them paupers."

"The nation is rich. The people are poor. Our right is life; our portion is a slowly dying existence in factory and mine. Our heritage is liberty; our fate is servility to shameless greed. Our pursuit is happiness; our state is misery. Our determination, however, is to emancipate mankind from wage slavery, to elevate him to his rightful possession of social economic power, by the establishment of co-operation of the commonwealth; therefore we call upon the freedom-loving of this, our commonwealth, to unite with us in proclaiming the knowledge of Socialism through the vital organism of the political state, and in all other possible manner, so to give hope to the despairing and added courage to the courageous."

"Especially do we call upon organized labor to cast by the board its traitor leaders to the class struggle and with us present at the ballot box a solid front that shall make conquest irresistible."

Second—The adoption of the following resolutions:

**ON THE HYPOCRISY OF THE OLD PARTIES.**  
 RESOLVED, That we call attention to the false pretences upon which the Republican party attained to power and its failure to fulfil the false hopes held out to the people; its failure to lift the nightmare of want and misery that has hung over the country so long, and usher in the much heralded era of prosperity.

RESOLVED, That the conduct of the Democratic members of the Massachusetts Legislature in voting to a man, for the Republican caucus nominees for speaker of the House and President of the Senate, and their withdrawal from even a perfunctory opposition, illustrates the identity of interests between the goldbug Republicans and silverbug Democrats.

**ON THE IRISH SOCIALIST PARTY.**  
 RESOLVED, That we rejoice in the formation in Ireland of the Socialist Republican party, and send fraternal greetings to our Irish Comrades.

**DOWN WITH THE POLL TAX.**  
 RESOLVE, That we declare for the abolition of the odious poll tax.

**RE-ENDORSEMENT OF THE S. T. & L. A.**  
 WHEREAS, The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is an organization for the emancipation of laboring classes, with no exception as to creed or color, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in the convention do all in their power to affiliate with the above named body and become a part thereof.

Third—The rejection of a resolution from the Boston Jewish Section against the S. T. & L. A. This resolution made the allegation that the S. T. & L. A. had issued a label to a fake printers' union in Boston. This and other allegations made in support of the resolution were shown to be false.

The convention at 5 o'clock p. m. Monday adjourned sine die. The next convention will be held in Lynn. Saturday night, the eve of the convention, Daniel De Leon addressed a mass meeting held in the City Hall.

**Notice.**  
 If you are a resident of the 14th Assembly District and receive a sample copy of THE PEOPLE, will you read it carefully and subscribe? You are invited to attend the business meeting every second and fourth Friday at 238 East 10th street. We want you to join the S. L. P.

# Shoe Worker's Convention.

(Continued from Page 1.)

capital by forcing it to greater concentration and the economic helplessness of labor by adding to the surplus that overstocks the labor market. Thus the tactics of old trade unionism are rendered more futile and the necessity of adopting the policy of the S. T. & L. A. becomes more imperative.

Having reviewed the facts that prove our position to be the one which the workers of our trade, as indeed the whole working class, should and inevitably must adopt, the question as to whether our organization did well in placing itself upon that position, needs no further answer. Yet it may be well to state that even within the limited field to which we could apply it, our policy has proven decidedly beneficial.

Economically we are subject to the same disadvantages that all our fellow craftsmen labor under. But since we know the difficulties of our situation we prepare ourselves for them. While we meet them firmly and defend our interests to the utmost, we are not demoralized by it. During the past year we have held our own better than our fellow craftsmen could do anywhere else. And even the repulse which we sustained in the Lane strike has added to our prestige. That struggle was carried on with a determination and a readiness of sacrifice which have done honor to the men who fought it and won respect for the organization that could imbue its members with such a spirit. The high aim with which our policy inspires the members and the true solidarity which it teaches contributed greatly towards sustaining our brothers in that severe contest.

In respect to the enlightenment of our members upon their duties in the political field, we have made as much progress as could be expected in view of the shortness of the period and the fact that Socialist political action was entirely new to the greater number of our members. This much has certainly been accomplished, that through our influence a considerable number of shoemakers, who were in the habit of supporting the capitalist parties, at the last election gave their votes to our own working class party—the Socialist Labor party.

But even those who did not do so as yet have come to recognize that the working class can gain no improvement in its condition unless it flock around the standard of Socialism. These brothers had, however, the idea that for the sake of the immediate influence of the outcome of the campaign upon present conditions, it might be desirable to influence that outcome in favor of one or the other of the old parties. Thus they voted, one the Republican, the other the Democratic ticket. Many of them have since become conscious of the fact that their votes were thrown away, not only because they nullified each other by being divided between opposing parties, but because they were given to politicians whose promises and professions are now more generally recognized as mere vote-catching devices. Those who were allured by the glittering vision of prosperity know now that in helping to make sound money and protection victorious they helped no one—but some office-seeking politicians, some manufacturers and trust magnates desiring higher profits and some speculators using any change in public policy for gambling operations. As to the great mass of the people, the wage workers, their condition remains as hopeless as it was before, because the same system that is the cause of their misery continues full sway.

Those who were deceived by the sham radicalism of the free silver Democracy have since had occasion to learn that it was courting the discontent among the people, partly to prevent the spoils of office from going to their rivals, and partly to use the power of government for the benefit of the silver mine owners and of other capitalist interests. The leadership of what styles itself the new Democracy, being made up of silver kings, Southern Bourbons and politicians of the Tammany stripe, is no longer bothering itself about the sufferings of labor, but is busy, each to look after his own interests. The silver kings are engaged in smashing the organization of their miners, a task of which they have made a promising beginning by terrorizing the Leadville men into submission after the fashion of Frick, Carnegie and Hanna. The Bourbons are busy bringing capital to the South by assuring to it immunity from factory laws, strikes and other hindrances in the exploitation of labor. The machine Democrats of New York, Chicago and other industrial centres are opening their doors for the re-entry of the wealthy goldbugs and the return of their campaign contributions. What wonder that the new Democracy should forget those foolhardy workers who thought they were dealing a blow to the money power by joining the camp of the silver kings, the Bourbons and the machine politicians!

The light that has been thrown upon the fraudulent issues of the last campaign and upon the sham professions of the leading parties has already convinced thousands that strict adherence to the uncompromising tactics of the Socialist Labor party is the only safe and successful course for wage workers to take. Where the spring elections offered an opportunity, they availed themselves of it to join that class-conscious phalanx that stood so solidly by its colors when the high waves of political excitement carried away almost all independent political formations. In Michigan the Socialist vote rose since last fall from 297 to 2,900, in Rhode Island from 558 to 1,442, in three cities in Ohio from 717 to 1,435, while in Chicago, Davenport and other cities the vote doubled or even trebled. In Wausau, Wis., the S. L. P. elected a councillor and in Sheboygan an alderman.

Besides these encouraging signs of the growth of the movement at home, the phenomenal growth in Austria and Italy, as evidenced by the recent elections, is of direct importance to us. In Austria this election was the first after the extension of the suffrage, which for the first time enabled the Austrian working class to show its power at the ballot box. The result was a poll of 750,000 Socialist votes. In Italy the Socialist vote increased since 1895 from 76,000 to 134,000. In connection with the powerful showing made by the wage workers of Austria, it is worth noting that it has immediately resulted in se-

uring greater freedom of action to the trade unions, so that the latter were at once rewarded for solidly opposing all capitalist parties and giving their full support to the Socialist Labor party.

The Socialist successes in Austria and Italy will have a direct influence on the Polish, Bohemian and Italian workmen in the United States, an influence which has already begun to show itself by the formation of branches of the Socialist Labor party composed of immigrants from those countries and by the largely increased circulation of Socialist papers printed in their respective languages. As the Comrades who are conducting the agitation among those elements are thoroughly alive to the necessity of combining economic organization with political action we will soon be able to welcome a larger number of Polish, Bohemian and Italian workers in the ranks of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance than the old style trade unionists have ever been able to bring into the fold of organized labor. The value of the Socialist agitation among the Italian workmen has already been brought home to us during the Lane strike, when the "Proletario," the organ of the Italian Socialists published in Pittsburgh, was circulated among our Italian fellow craftsmen with good effect.

In this connection I wish to impress upon our members the importance of reading our own organ, THE PEOPLE, so that they may acquaint themselves with what is going on in the labor movement here and abroad, and, what is still more important, that they may thoroughly instruct themselves on the aims and tactics of our organization. If our members would more carefully read THE PEOPLE, we would no longer find brothers who proudly call themselves Socialists and yet oppose the new trade union policy of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. A well-informed Socialist could not be in doubt as to the strength of our position and the weakness of that trade unionism which is represented by the American Federation. He would not wish to contribute to the support of the leaders of that trade unionism who misrepresent such irrelevant measures as finance reform and immigration laws as being the demands of labor; leaders who disgrace the labor movement by using its prestige for the securing of sinecures as are to be provided by the Phillips bill; leaders who retard the movement by leading the workers to expect a betterment of their condition from the capitalist parties, and thus inducing them to go on supporting those parties, as they did last year when they advocated free silver, as they do now when they beg empty concessions from a Republican President and the Republican leaders of Congress.

Can the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union avoid responsibility for such injurious and scandalous leadership? Is it doing anything to check the misconduct of the leaders or to prevent the workers from being influenced by their bad example and advice? Nothing of the kind. Judging from the conduct of its organizers, it does everything to bolster up the American Federation. These organizers lay great stress on the strong backing, moral and financial, that the American Federation is alleged to give to its affiliated unions. This backing is a myth, as the miners, the railroad workers, the tailors and many other trades have had occasion to find out. For all practical purposes of the economic movement, the American Federation of Labor is quite powerless and it is largely for the purpose of covering up its impotence that its leaders resort to their political maneuvers. In allying up the strength of the A. F. of L. the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union is becoming the accomplice of the fakirs in their game of bluff and deception.

But the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union is following the lines of pure and simplemindedness in other respects when its organizers try to make an important issue of the prison labor question. They deceive the shoe workers in several ways. It is a deception in the first place to make the shoe workers believe that the condition of the craft as a whole would be improved in any noticeable degree if prison labor competition should be entirely done away with. The shoe workers are deceived, in the second place, by being told that the begging and lobbying politics of the A. F. of L. are capable of securing efficient laws for the suppression of prison labor competition. As long as this style of politics prevails among the workers, the capitalist parties will continue in power, and their appointees or nominees will administer any laws that may be passed. It is, therefore, a further deception to make the shoe workers believe that the passage of laws against prison labor would mean, also, that they will be strictly enforced, or, if enforced, that they will be enforced in the interest of labor. The experience in the State of New York has been that for fourteen years the prison labor laws have been dead letters, and now, when they are finally carried out, they are under direction of capitalist politicians so administered as to make the prisons more dangerous competitors than ever. If it is true that the prison labor system needs to be considerably changed, changes in the interest of labor can certainly not be secured in any other way but by the pressure of a strong labor party.

Another issue chiefly agitated by the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union is the reduction of the hours of labor. We entirely agree with it as to the importance, yea the necessity of such reduction. But we deny that shorter hours can be secured and maintained by the methods of pure and simple trade unionism. In this, as in other respects, economic action, without the backing of a strong political movement, can no longer accomplish material results. Not only are the chances of successful strikes extremely slim, but even successful strikes could not secure shorter hours for the whole trade nor could a reduction of hours so gained be permanently maintained. It needs a law to establish and maintain a shorter workday, and to secure the law and its enforcement we need a political movement.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union also lays a great stress upon the label. While I think that the value of the label is much exaggerated by trade unionists, I am sure that it cannot be made effective at all unless the working class becomes imbued with the true spirit of solidarity. Like the boycott, the label solely depends for its efficiency

on the spirit of solidarity. And the very trade unionism that relies so much on the label fosters selfishness, exclusiveness and narrow distinction of one trade from the other, that is the very things that are opposed to solidarity. The basis of true solidarity is the consciousness of the workers that they have a common interest. And since there is only one interest common to the whole working class, namely, that in the overthrow of the capitalist system, the workers cannot be permeated with the true spirit of solidarity unless they become class-conscious Socialists. If the boycott and the label are to be made effective, they can be made so only on the lines of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

How little the Boot & Shoe Workers' National Union acts in a spirit of solidarity was illustrated by a recent occurrence. One of our members having found employment in the city of Rochester, he was called upon by Secretary Sleverman, of the Rochester Union of the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union, and told that he would have to join that union, and that his card of membership in our organization would not be recognized. When this action was taken, the General Secretary of the S. T. & L. A., brought to the notice of President Tobin, he pointed out the following clause in the constitution of the B. & S. W. N. U.: "No local shall recognize the card of any organization embracing shoe workers that is not attached to this union." It is bad enough to put such a narrow rule into a constitution, but what makes the attitude of the B. & S. W. N. U. indefensible is its enforcement of such a rule against an organization by which they expect to be, and indeed always are, treated in a liberal and fraternal spirit.

When members of the B. & S. W. N. U. come into our jurisdiction, they meet with a very different treatment. Our constitution treats them in a spirit of fraternity, Article X, Section 4, providing: "Any shoe worker presenting a clear card of another organization of the craft shall be admitted to membership without initiation fee, providing the ballot is favorable."

The contrast between the attitude of the B. & S. W. N. U. and that of our organization may be brought out still more strongly by recalling some very valuable services rendered by us to the B. & S. W. N. U. in times of trouble. These services were acknowledged in letters, one of which reads as follows:

[Seal.]

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Office of Lynn Lasters, Local Union No. 32, Lynn, Mass, 23d Oct., 1895.

Mr. William L. Brower:

Dear Sir and Bro.—The strike of the lasters employed by the Thomas G. Plant Co. has been settled our way. We got a substantial increase of pay, and are well satisfied with the result. You were sent some of our red circulars requesting lasters to keep away. We hear you made good use of them, and that through the press and other ways rendered us valuable assistance.

Our union in meeting assembled has become acquainted with the facts, and hereby tenders you a vote of thanks for the valuable assistance rendered as mentioned above.

Hoping this will meet with your approval, we are, respectfully yours,

FRED S. CARTER, Secretary.

In the beginning of the present year there was again a contest of the Lynn shoeworkers with the Plant firm. Plant's foreman sent letters to New York shoeworkers to induce them, by false representations, to take the places of the strikers. We procured one of these letters and immediately sent it to President Tobin. Our assistance, which thwarted the scheme of the Plant firm, was recognized in the following letter:

[Seal.]

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Local Union No. 99, Lynn, Mass., Feb. 4, 1897.

Mr. William L. Brower:

Dear Sir—I received a letter from you, through our General President, Mr. Tobin, that came from the foreman of T. G. Plant's.

I will say in regard to cutters making from \$16 to \$22 per week, that I get it straight from men that have worked there this winter that the wages are from \$9 to \$12 per week. They can't get any good cutters to stay.

Thanking you for the interest you have shown and also your trouble, I remain, yours fraternally,

A. D. MINER.

I do not mention these matters to advise that, since the B. & S. W. N. U. has rewarded us with pure and simple narrowness, we should now retaliate and slide back to the same reactionary attitude. No. We must be true to our position, which is the only true, honorable and progressive one.

Let us go on bravely and steadfastly along the road laid out by the international labor movement and by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of America—a road on which millions of our fellow workers are now marching to victory in all parts of the globe.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM L. BROWER, Gen. Pres.

Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publications.

ENGLISH.

THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

The New Charter, 35 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal. \$1 per year.

The Syracuse Socialist, —

The Rochester Socialist (Monthly), 25 cents per year.

The Beacon, Johnston, R. I. (Fortnightly), 50 cents per year.

GERMAN.

Vorwärts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year.

Cleveland Volksfreund, 237 Clair street, Cleveland, Ohio. \$2 per year.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN.

Arbejdere, 6835 Marshfield avenue, Chicago, Ill. \$1 per year.

SWEDISH.

Arbetaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

ITALIAN.

Il Proletario, 1221 Penn avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. \$1 per year.

POLISH.

Sila, 1146 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. \$1 per year.

JEWISH.

Arbeiterzeitung, 9 Rutgers street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

HUNGARIAN.

Nepszava, 236 East 4th street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

The Truth, 514 West 3d street, Davenport, Iowa. \$1 per year.

# PARTY NEWS.

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

### National Executive.

At the session held May 18th, Comrade Furman was elected to the chair. Comrades Moore and Stahl were absent, the latter excused. The financial report shows for the week ending May 15th receipts to the amount of \$49.15; expenditures, \$121.15; deficit, \$72.

Comrade Burrow's song, "The Hand with the Hammer," set to music by Platon Brounoff, is ordered copyrighted and printed. The municipal programme is to be printed in THE PEOPLE, and the type kept standing for future use. Charters are granted to new Sections in Davenport, Ia.; Wausau, Wis., and Reading, Pa. Section Fredericksburg, Va., reports the expulsion of Jerome Jenkins for having at the last election voted for the candidates of the Demo-Republican parties.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

### Canada.

TORONTO, May 9.—Toronto Section at its last weekly meeting instructed me to send you a report of our work during the past winter. They know, as was explained to them at the time, that THE PEOPLE cannot find room for many communications from its own Sections, and so they will not feel offended if their report is not printed in THE PEOPLE, though they would be pleased if that were done.

The Comrades of Toronto wish it to be known that they are trying to do their duty in advancing the common cause of the workers. During the last seven months we have held a public meeting every Sunday afternoon, where from 50 to 150 assembled to hear Socialism advocated. Our May Day celebration formed a fitting close to the series of winter meetings. It took the form of a concert and social. Though the night was wet the hall was filled. A splendid programme of two hours' length was given, of which not one selection fell flat. Half an hour, besides, was devoted to discussion over cake and coffee. There is a warmer feeling on the part of many towards Socialism and Socialists because of the pleasant evening they spent with us.

Toronto has for some months boasted of possessing two Sections, a new Section having been organized which is composed purely of railway men. They have a splendid field for agitation before them, and will no doubt worthily clear and cultivate it, for they feel what an honor it is to be pioneers of freedom.

### Missouri.

## FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P. RECEIPTS.

Carried forward from February..	\$1 22
March 25—Sec. Bevier, 37 due stamps .....	3 70
March 25—Sec. St. Louis, due stamps .....	1 00
	\$5 92
	5 30
On hand .....	62
In hands of Ball Committee.....	6 30
Total resource .....	\$6 92
EXPENDED.	
March 25—P. O. cards.....	10
March 26—To Henry Kuhn for due stamps .....	\$5 00
March 26—Brass rule.....	10
Total .....	\$5 30

## East New York Workingmen Attention!!

An English speaking Branch has been formed in the 26th Ward, Borough of Kings, which will meet every second and fourth Thursday in the month, at Lohman's Park, corner Liberty avenue and Wyona street. We are making encouraging progress, four new members were admitted at last meeting. Meetings of Branch will open at 8 o'clock P. M. with a lecture upon Socialist principles. Subject for next meeting: "Free Silver and Socialism." Come to see us and bring your friends.

J. KREIDER, Rec. Sec.

### Ohio.

CANTON, Ohio, May 17th.—Sections of S. L. P. and delegates to State convention of Ohio take notice:

As the State convention convenes on May 30th, 10 a. m., at 115 N. Piedmont street, Canton, the Canton comrades will have committees at depots, and try to meet every delegate.

Committees may be recognized by party button. Each Section sending delegates will please inform the undersigned as to arrival here and on what railroad.

By order of Section Canton,  
 JOHN H. T. JUERGENS,  
 Organizer,  
 1106 High street, Canton, Ohio.

## PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

### D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate M. Southeimer, of the German Waiters' Union No. 1, was chairman of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation (D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A.) and delegate G. Miehus, of the Eccentric Engineers No. 3, was vice-chairman.

A letter from the Progressive Democratic League was received which invited the body to a conference of labor (?) organizations. Among the names signed as committees was T. B. McGuire, of the Gen. Ex. B. K. of L. The letter was filed and all affiliated unions instructed not to send delegates.

The report of the arbitration committee in the case of Lighty, 63 Second avenue, was referred back to the committee.

A committee from the International Bohemian Bakers' Union and one from the Bohemian Branch No. 8, S. L. P., was granted the floor. They complained against the Independent Bohemian Bakers' Union and stated that they were scabs. Both committees were told that the German Butchers' Union was organized by scab bosses and was receiving the support of the Int. Bakers' Union of the C. L. U. The committees were furthermore informed that if after a searching investigation it was proven that the allegations as presented were true, then this body would suspend the offending union, but that the protestors should see to it that unions out-

side of the C. L. F. show their spirit of boasted solidarity by adopting a like policy. The whole matter was then referred to an investigation committee. During the debate it was shown that the butcher union recently organized by the bosses was organized under the old A. F. of L. charter of lapsed Local No. 15, dated from 1887. A letter was also read from this union (?) which was laughable, for it threatened "that if the Bohemian Butchers' Union continued to boycott the two bosses or published their names in the newspapers, then they would appeal to the Executive of the American Federation of Labor."

A committee, consisting of two lads, representing the Wendell Phillips Literary Society was granted the floor. They requested aid in disposing of tickets for a portrait of Ferdinand Lassalle in aid of THE PEOPLE fund. One hundred tickets were accepted.

A committee of the Celluloid and Plushbox Makers' Union was admitted and its requests granted.

Ale and Porter Union No. 1 reported having elected a committee of 8 members which is to canvass the members in the breweries to join their respective assembly district organizations of the S. L. P. It was also decided to attend an agitation meeting of the West Side Assembly District and then organize a meeting under the auspices of the union and invite Max Forker to attend as lecturer with his stereotypical views. John Lehr was elected a delegate to the S. T. & L. A. convention, Monday, July 5th, at Boston, Mass. Twenty-five tickets for the White Sunday festival of the West Side Assembly Districts were referred to Henry Stickel to dispose of.

Ind. Bakers' Union Branch 1 reported that the Ind. Bohemian Bakers' Union had not as yet joined D. A. No. 8. Hereafter they will meet Saturday evenings, and this Saturday will elect a delegate to the S. T. & L. A. convention. Thirteen new members were admitted.

Eccentric Engineers' Union No. 3 gained 2 members and will elect its delegate to the S. T. & L. A. convention on Saturday, June 6th.

Bohemian Butchers' Union also elected a delegate to the S. T. & L. A. convention.

Empire City Lodge Machinists voted for one agitation meeting to be held jointly by D. A.'s 1, 2, and 49. This Wednesday the special meeting will discuss the late convention of the Int. Machinists' Union, which recently spent 4 days on the Empire City Lodge case.

Silver Workers' P. A. discussed the economic and political phases of the labor movement at its last meeting before a crowded house. There is no trouble in the trade at present. Lawrence Timothy was elected a delegate to the S. T. & L. A. convention.

Ind. Bohemian Bakers' Union dedicated the charter received from the S. T. & L. A.

The debate relative to the instructions of the delegates to the S. T. & L. A. convention was then continued. During the same many delegates opposed the granting of charters to National or International Unions, on the ground of being a hindrance to progress. It was shown that the president of the Int. Machinists Union had travelled through the country, expended \$18,000, and organized a few locals averaging 10 members each. The hard-working and ill-paid members had to foot the bills of these junketing tours. Similarly the recent convention of the National Union of Textile Workers was befuddled by that well-known labor fakir John Morrison, who appeared there as a delegate with credentials from an alleged Union No. 72 which had been a carpet weavers' local years ago and lapsed since then. He in conjunction with P. J. McGuire attacked the S. L. P. and defeated the proposition made in the convention to affiliate with the S. T. & L. A. Numerous other illustrations were adduced against National or International Unions and instructions to vote against granting them charters were adopted.

Bartenders' Union No. 1 will be requested to have its delegates attend this Sunday or they will be suspended, as their delegates failed to attend within the constitutional limit.

### D. A. No. 7.

The Seventh annual convention of the General Council of Shoe Workers of North America, D. A. 7 of the S. T. & L. A., convened in the rooms of the Essex County Socialist Club, 76 Springfield avenue, Newark, on Sunday Morning, May 16th, at 11 o'clock.

Committee on credentials reported 33 delegates entitled to seats.

General President Brower then submitted his annual address, which will be found on page 1.

In the session Comrade H. Carless addressed the convention on the progress of the New Trades Unionist movement.

Following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

A THING WORTH STRIVING FOR IS THE BEAUTIFUL
DIAMOND POINT COLD FOUNTAIN PEN

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

1896, and May 15th, 1896, showing the cause of the formation of the Prog. Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers' Union; Brothers Samuels, Ehrenpreis, Frankel, Lewis and others followed successively. At the close of the meeting which lasted till 6 P. M., the following resolution was read and unanimously adopted: "Whereas, The leaders of the U. G. W. of A. deprive us, the members of the Prog. Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers' Union of attending their mass meetings so as not to be able to hear, or criticize, their prostituted speakers, and fearing we may enlighten our fellow craftsmen at such meetings which may hurt their personal interest and

sociation has, after the bolt of the oppositionists, unanimously adopted the following amendment to its constitution: "The N. E. C. of the S. L. P. has the right to TAKE AWAY THE PROPERTY of the Arbeiter-Zeitung Publishing Association in case the latter should go astray from the principles of the S. L. P." 4.—When the Board of Arbitration gave its decision (1896) which amounted to take the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" in the control of the party, again the Publishing Association was perfectly satisfied. These are facts that cannot be contradicted, and prove that Mrs. Konikow's statement is false. The position of the Publishing Association has been, and is to-day, that it is ready to hand the paper over to the S. L. P., but it refuses to hand over its valuable property and weapon of agitation to irresponsible people, although they may imagine they are the "people," and that they are writers. Mrs. Konikow says also that "as soon as the old members of the A. Z. P. A. found out that the dissatisfied Comrades have a majority in the organization and are able to make a change, they began to use different tricks (!!) to make that majority powerless." I'm! I cannot help smiling at the idea of a "majority" bolting when "they are ABLE to make a change in the organization." The fact is that after the "oppositionists" had sought to pack the association with their creatures, there was still a hopeless majority against them. It was then, and because of that, that they bolted. Their list of bolters contains 52 names, three of whom were no members at all, others who were no members on constitutional grounds (by not paying their contribution and many not even their admission fees), but were allowed to enjoy all the privileges of membership for the sake of harmony. She doubts "that the German Comrades would like the Jewish Sections to vote on a German editor, and with right. The Jewish Comrade, who mostly does not know even the name of the German organs, could not vote intelligently on German press questions." The first part of the statement shows a mere ignorance of the party's constitution which gives the "old-fashioned Jew," "who does not even know the name of the German organ," the same voice in the selection of German and English editors as the German and Americans, and here is what the National Executive Committee says in its call: "The editors shall be elected jointly by the National Executive Committee and the Publishing Association; or, in case they cannot agree, by a general vote of the members of the party. THE SAME AS THE EDITORS OF 'THE PEOPLE' AND 'VORWAERTS.'" The latter part of Mrs. Konikow's statement comes in direct conflict with the statement of the oppositionist Goldberg in a previous issue of THE PEOPLE, to the effect that the great majority of the Jewish Comrades DO READ the German and English organs. One of our Comrades must consequently be totally ignorant of the real character of either the "old-fashioned" or of the "modern" Jew. The distinctions of nationality, race, creed, etc., shall not be tolerated in our party; we are international, and we want to have a centralized organization and not Hebrew, Catholic, Protestant and Baptist congregations. The call of the National Executive Committee contains the following paragraph, which means very much for some Jewish "Socialists": "Any editor who may prove incompetent or will violate the platform or constitution of the party shall be forthwith suspended by the National Executive Committee." That would do away with some who play the role of "editors." Mr. Wintchewsky, who is now an "editor," and who once said he is not "charlatan enough" to edit or write for an official organ of the party, did not find any objection to accept the editorship of the "Emeth" (may it rest in peace), which was published by the Jewish Section of Boston, because that was a sheet continually attacking the party. (By the way, that may serve as an example of a Jewish paper being controlled by a Jewish Section only). Mr. Cahon, who is now editor of a paper antagonistic to the party, was editor of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung," and resigned from the editorship as soon as the National Executive Committee made it its official organ. They are afraid of the party's control, and they want to keep themselves in the dark. We do not at all have to possess any imaginary abilities to draw a picture in our mind of the press when it will be controlled by the Jewish Sections only. We have a living example of it, and that is "our scientific" monthly, the "Zukunft," edited by Ab. Cahon, and published and "controlled" by "all the Jewish-speaking Sections of the Socialist Labor party of the United States of America." Of the contents of that "magazine" I shall make a few extracts as a sample, and our Comrades, the "Goyim" (Gentiles) will have an idea of the stock. I shall then leave it to them to judge whether we shall allow the circulation of any more of that stuff to be palmed upon the Jewish workmen as the opinion of the "Socialist Labor party organizations." The September number ('96) contains an article on the campaign by Miller. After analyzing the situation, the article ends thus: "Now is the time when we can find a strong Socialist Labor party." In December we find another article, exclusively against the party, by the same "writer," "Where lies the fault?" which, if translated in English and sent to Kurtzenkaube, Gompers, etc., would joyfully give it the widest circulation. He says: "At every new social movement we have not sought such sides, which we cou. utilize for our object, but how, and under what pretext and under what form we shall annihilate it; so have we treated the Populist movement; so have we treated the Nationalist movement; and now we stand

amazed and disgusted and look for reasons: Why we are welcomed nowhere, and why we are avoided. We don't mean the capitalists, but the same workers, who fought against capital." Then comes the following: "Slowly but inevitably begins the development of a 'machine,' which characterized the political parties, and this machine prepares the ground for small and bigger bosses, who carry in a new demoralizing element in the movement all symptoms, which could, without much difficulty, be noticed at our last (national) convention." Another article of the same sort we find in February, 1897, number. But the best one of his stock Mr. Miller displays to us in the March number under the caption: "Our attitude towards the trade unions," and there we find the following gems: "The phrase that the Socialist Labor party has the same interests as the entire working class, as all-militant working-men, may sound nice, BUT IT IS NOT TRUE. To make such a statement means to fool yourself and to fool others." "The Socialist Labor party has no right to interfere in union affairs. Absolute neutrality, that is the only policy which the party must pursue. Any other one is a misfortune to her." "The party must take its hands off of the unions." "Laissez faire, laissez passer! Hands off!" "Do you think there are any comments necessary on that? I don't." In the January number the editor gave space for an article by Mr. Wintchewsky, in which the party is called "The Empty Temple," and the following is a part of it: "There it is dark because an evil spirit has scared the men out, and they fear the shining sun. The truth, moved out, and now it is dark." "There's cold because a practical devil chased out the enthusiasm, the brotherly love and the equality." "All these extracts I have translated literally, so that no one can accuse me of any juggling. The 'Vorwaerts' I shall let alone, as that paper was started with the only purpose of fighting the party. There, Comrades, you have a few samples before you. Some branches of the party, who are the 'controllers' of the 'Zukunft,' have raised a strong protest against such articles, but the editor has defiantly answered them that THEY HAVE NOTHING TO SAY OVER HIM, AS HE WAS ELECTED BY A CONVENTION, AND NOT BY THEM, AND IF THEY WANT TO GIVE HIM ANY INSTRUCTIONS OR REMOVE HIM, THEY HAVE TO CALL A CONVENTION FIRST." From that you can see that unless agitation is made in Jewish by a paper officially recognized as a party paper, and is under the party's control, there is a danger that the less informed among the Jewish masses take some irresponsible Jewish papers' utterances as the utterances of the party. Mrs. Konikow thinks that "the mistake which the Executive Committee makes is a result of the GENERAL UNWISE TACTICS OF OUR PARTY." This is the key to the whole "opposition," and all their other arguments are feints. Mrs. Konikow lets the cat out of the bag by saying that. This idea that the party's tactics are "unwise" creeps out in the action of Miller by voting against the party, by the action of Cahon by not voting at all, and of all the opposition writers and speakers by assailing every principle of policy and of tactics that the party has adopted both in convention and overwhelmingly by referendum. Their first attempt was to set up batteries of their own against us, for instance, when they set up and rallied around Wintchewsky's "Emeth." But notwithstanding that the "Emeth" had the "overwhelming majority" of the Jewish Comrades" with them, and notwithstanding that Wintchewsky is one of the "best Jewish writers," the "Emeth" died ingloriously. Unable to set up their own batteries against the party principles, their next step was to try and capture this battery of the Publishing Association, which was set up by so much sacrifice on the part of the loyal Jewish Socialists. In this also they failed. Now they have started their "Vorwaerts," (disgracing the name of our German organs of this and the old country), and anybody that is opposed to the party tactics, if he favors fakirs, if he favors Populists, if he favors Anarchists, he can write in that sheet to his heart's content. But if there is at the same time a Jewish Socialist paper, controlled by the whole party, which strictly expresses the party's principles, such opposition then could not sail under the false pretences of voicing the sentiments of the Jewish Socialists. It is false that the general outcry is: "Let us regulate our (?) press ourselves." The oppositionists are not many; they only make much noise, and their paper, which is silly and weak, will soon, despite all the braggings of the oppositionists, be dead, buried and forgotten. In conclusion, I wish to make the following point clear. A Socialist paper, if it is only earnest and loyal, MUST CONSIDER itself an organ of the party, although it may officially not be recognized as such. One of the main reasons why the oppositionists do not want to have the Jewish papers become official organs of the party is because their leaders make them believe that if a paper is NOT under the party's control it may write AGAINST the party. The rest of Mrs. Konikow's "story" has been partly covered by previous letters. I can only shrug my shoulders as to their "truthfulness," but must let them go, as my letter has become too long already. I hope that the Comrades will vote for a concentration of our powers and means of agitation. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG.

Expressions of Opinion Upon the Proposal From the National Executive Committee.

Comrades—The expressions of opinion on the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" proposition have thus far come mostly from the East. A word from the Northwest may not be unwelcome. Let me say that among the Minneapolis Comrades sentiment is absolutely unanimous in favor of the proposition of the National Executive. We believe that the control of the party press should be vested in the party itself. The formation of cliques, the fostering of discontent, and the aggravation of private quarrels are the natural results of private management. Capitalist parties can afford to have their papers used for the benefit of individuals or rings. Not so the party of the proletariat. Socialist politics is not a field for private adventure. We are in the heat of battle, and insubordination is treason. The time has come when the question of tactics is of supreme importance. It is not sufficient to understand and teach economic theory. We must translate that theory into practice. If the proletariat is to win in the fight, it will do so by enforcing in its own ranks the strictest discipline. Minneapolis has recognized this principle. Six hundred votes at our first campaign attest its wisdom. In accordance with this principle we believe that the party must control its press.

The objection that the National Executive has no right to submit a question to general vote is a mere quibble; the last resource of those who dare not meet a general vote. It was such formalism and legal technicalities as this that helped to wreck the Commune, and that has weakened all revolutionary movements. The National Executive is the tool of the party. It is fully under the control of the party as a whole. Nothing can be more absurd than to destroy the efficiency of that tool, on whatever pretext. Suppose I have an agent representing me in business. I reserve the right to direct his actions, to veto any unwise transaction, to discharge him on occasion. But would I not be a fool, if, out of regard for my own dignity, I should forbid him to offer me any information or to submit for my consideration any plans of action? Surely the S. L. P. will not show itself such a fool. ALGERNON LEE. Minneapolis, May 10.

Comrades—Permit me to express my opinion on the proposition of the National Executive Committee in regard to our Jewish papers. I want to contradict Mrs. Konikow's "story," which is false from A to Z. I shall take up the more important points first. She says: "When the A. (Z.) P. A. saw that the play was finished, and they have to stand the competition of another paper, which is not only edited by the best (?) Jewish Socialist (?) writers, but is supported by the enthusiasm (!!!) of the Jewish Comrades (and Anarchists), then, to save (!) themselves they proposed the National Executive Committee to accept the 'Arbeiter-Zeitung' and 'Abendblatt' as official organs of the party." Against this pretty fiction I shall refer to the actual facts: 1.—The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of October 18th, 1896, contains an answer of the A. Z. P. A. on an attack made by the late Socialist-Anarchistic Boston "Emeth," (which was at that time repudiated by nearly all the Jewish Socialists), on the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" Publishing Association, and the entire Jewish Socialist movement (because a call for financial aid had not met with satisfactory response). From that I take the following passage: "In conclusion, leaving aside our proved abilities to publish a TRUE Socialist paper in plain Yiddish, we (the A. Z. P. A.) frankly declare that WE ARE ALWAYS READY TO GIVE OVER NOT ONLY THE CONTROL BUT ALSO THE ENTIRE MANAGEMENT OVER THE 'ARBEITER-ZEITUNG' AND 'ABENDBLATT' TO THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY WHENEVER IT SHALL DEMAND IT."

2.—In the minutes of the P. A. of January 7th, 1897, when the "oppositionists" bolted, we find the following paragraph: "Our papers must advocate and defend the principles and tactics of the Socialist Labor party; only as such they shall exist, and if their existence cannot be maintained unless by coming out against the party, they shall not exist at all."

3.—Besides that, the Publishing Association has, after the bolt of the oppositionists, unanimously adopted the following amendment to its constitution: "The N. E. C. of the S. L. P. has the right to TAKE AWAY THE PROPERTY of the Arbeiter-Zeitung Publishing Association in case the latter should go astray from the principles of the S. L. P." 4.—When the Board of Arbitration gave its decision (1896) which amounted to take the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" in the control of the party, again the Publishing Association was perfectly satisfied. These are facts that cannot be contradicted, and prove that Mrs. Konikow's statement is false. The position of the Publishing Association has been, and is to-day, that it is ready to hand the paper over to the S. L. P., but it refuses to hand over its valuable property and weapon of agitation to irresponsible people, although they may imagine they are the "people," and that they are writers. Mrs. Konikow says also that "as soon as the old members of the A. Z. P. 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To make such a statement means to fool yourself and to fool others." "The Socialist Labor party has no right to interfere in union affairs. Absolute neutrality, that is the only policy which the party must pursue. Any other one is a misfortune to her." "The party must take its hands off of the unions." "Laissez faire, laissez passer! Hands off!" "Do you think there are any comments necessary on that? I don't." In the January number the editor gave space for an article by Mr. Wintchewsky, in which the party is called "The Empty Temple," and the following is a part of it: "There it is dark because an evil spirit has scared the men out, and they fear the shining sun. The truth, moved out, and now it is dark." "There's cold because a practical devil chased out the enthusiasm, the brotherly love and the equality." "All these extracts I have translated literally, so that no one can accuse me of any juggling. The 'Vorwaerts' I shall let alone, as that paper was started with the only purpose of fighting the party. There, Comrades, you have a few samples before you. Some branches of the party, who are the 'controllers' of the 'Zukunft,' have raised a strong protest against such articles, but the editor has defiantly answered them that THEY HAVE NOTHING TO SAY OVER HIM, AS HE WAS ELECTED BY A CONVENTION, AND NOT BY THEM, AND IF THEY WANT TO GIVE HIM ANY INSTRUCTIONS OR REMOVE HIM, THEY HAVE TO CALL A CONVENTION FIRST." From that you can see that unless agitation is made in Jewish by a paper officially recognized as a party paper, and is under the party's control, there is a danger that the less informed among the Jewish masses take some irresponsible Jewish papers' utterances as the utterances of the party. Mrs. Konikow thinks that "the mistake which the Executive Committee makes is a result of the GENERAL UNWISE TACTICS OF OUR PARTY." This is the key to the whole "opposition," and all their other arguments are feints. Mrs. Konikow lets the cat out of the bag by saying that. This idea that the party's tactics are "unwise" creeps out in the action of Miller by voting against the party, by the action of Cahon by not voting at all, and of all the opposition writers and speakers by assailing every principle of policy and of tactics that the party has adopted both in convention and overwhelmingly by referendum. Their first attempt was to set up batteries of their own against us, for instance, when they set up and rallied around Wintchewsky's "Emeth." But notwithstanding that the "Emeth" had the "overwhelming majority" of the Jewish Comrades" with them, and notwithstanding that Wintchewsky is one of the "best Jewish writers," the "Emeth" died ingloriously. Unable to set up their own batteries against the party principles, their next step was to try and capture this battery of the Publishing Association, which was set up by so much sacrifice on the part of the loyal Jewish Socialists. In this also they failed. Now they have started their "Vorwaerts," (disgracing the name of our German organs of this and the old country), and anybody that is opposed to the party tactics, if he favors fakirs, if he favors Populists, if he favors Anarchists, he can write in that sheet to his heart's content. But if there is at the same time a Jewish Socialist paper, controlled by the whole party, which strictly expresses the party's principles, such opposition then could not sail under the false pretences of voicing the sentiments of the Jewish Socialists. It is false that the general outcry is: "Let us regulate our (?) press ourselves." The oppositionists are not many; they only make much noise, and their paper, which is silly and weak, will soon, despite all the braggings of the oppositionists, be dead, buried and forgotten. In conclusion, I wish to make the following point clear. A Socialist paper, if it is only earnest and loyal, MUST CONSIDER itself an organ of the party, although it may officially not be recognized as such. One of the main reasons why the oppositionists do not want to have the Jewish papers become official organs of the party is because their leaders make them believe that if a paper is NOT under the party's control it may write AGAINST the party. The rest of Mrs. Konikow's "story" has been partly covered by previous letters. I can only shrug my shoulders as to their "truthfulness," but must let them go, as my letter has become too long already. I hope that the Comrades will vote for a concentration of our powers and means of agitation. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG.

To the Secretary of the National Executive of the S. L. P.: Allow me to express my opinion concerning the question "What is to be done with the 'Abendblatt' and 'Ar-

THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND.

Amount Plodged down to May 19th, 1897.

\$4,515.

The following amounts have been paid down to May 19th, incl.: Previously acknowledged \$988.40 Chas. Eder, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$10; Aug. Gillham, City, \$2; D. Kauber, City, \$2; Geo. Bauer, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$2; Peter Larsen, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$1; Neal Gregory, Fruitport, Ala., \$2; Roman Schweimmer, Johnstown, N. Y., \$2; P. Fleibiger, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$5; Michael McManus, Jersey, Arizona, \$15; Adolph Orange, New Haven, Conn., \$5. Total \$1029.40

The arrearsages up to date amount to \$41,750 of the amount due. In view of this we earnestly request comrades, who are in arrears, to comply with their pledges, or if unable to do so at the time being, to make a statement so that effect to the committee.

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, 184 William St., N. Y.

beiter-Zeitung?" The National Executive of the hope that with the adoption of the "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiter-Zeitung" by the party, there will be established peace and goodwill among the Jewish Comrades. To me, however, this hope seems to be utterly groundless. The feuds now prevalent among the Jewish Socialists are exclusively due to the "oppositionists," those Jewish Socialists that are against the ownership and management of the aforesaid papers by the "Publishing Association." Now, those very same oppositionists equally oppose the adoption of these papers by the party, and their management by the National Executive, together with the Publishing Association. The people are convinced that the Publishing Association has not fulfilled its duty as guardian of the Jewish Socialist press, and, consequently, can have no confidence in the association. How, then, can these people respect a motion that is so strenuously backed by the Association, and how will they be pacified so long as the Publishing Association still continues to manage the "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiter-Zeitung"? The English and German Socialists believe, perhaps, in what the members of the Association declare that the "oppositionists" are but a "handful," and so the English and German Socialists think that there is no harm even though that "handful" of men remains dissatisfied. But if some of these Comrades would but take the trouble to visit one of the concerts given by the "oppositionists," or to notice how the people in the East Side take to the opposition paper, "The Forward," they should have learned that thousands and thousands are on the side of the "opposition." Not a "handful" will remain dissatisfied, but a large host!

What, then, should be done? Why, this: Let the National Executive call a convention of ALL the Jewish-speaking Socialist organizations and give that convention the power to decide about the Jewish press. Both hostile sides can not disobey that decision. The "opposition" more than once declared its readiness to do so. The Publishing Association, too, ought to obey the orders of such a tribunal, as the papers which it now owns were entrusted to it by a convention of Jewish-speaking Socialist organizations, and as the wish of such a convention can by no means be called the "wish of a handful." J. MANSTER.

Comrades—I wish to answer two points made by Mr. Wintchewsky. He says: "The National Executive Committee desire to bring about harmony in our ranks. Common sense would have suggested as a preliminary step that they collect in as unbiased a manner as possible all the evidence available in order to get at the truth with regard to the obstacles in the way of that very harmony which it is their intention to re-establish." What Mr. Wintchewsky suggests should be done by the National Executive Committee was done in 1895. The National Executive Committee, at the request of these very oppositionists, appointed a board of arbitration, consisting of five members, four of whom were nominated by the oppositionists themselves—Sanial, Vogt, De Leon and Jonas. This committee sat nineteen sessions till late at night, and after a full investigation gave a decision, which is virtually the same as the one that now comes from the National Executive Committee. The representatives of the oppositionists appeared before the National Executive Committee saying that the Jewish Comrades among themselves could not settle their troubles, and they pledged their word of honor to submit to their decision. The oppositionists broke their word, and started to riot anew, with Mr. Wintchewsky as one of the leaders.

A person is not to blame if he is cheated once, but if he allows himself to be cheated the second time by the same person, then he is to blame. The oppositionists cheated the National Executive Committee once, but the National Executive Committee was not then to blame; they did not yet know the Anarchistic spirit that they had to deal with. If the National Executive Committee were now to yield to a second request from the same source it would be cheated again. The National Executive Committee has too much common sense for that. The common sense of Mr. Wintchewsky is nothing but tomfoolery. The second part is: "In conclusion, let me tell you, Comrades, that if we, the so-called leaders of the opposition, can by a vote of the party members of our race, who know us best, be shown to have deserved any of the insults heaped upon us by all that has in a veiled manner appeared in THE PEOPLE, we are ready to retire into private life without a murmur." This passage is valuable in that it lets another oppositionist cat out of the bag. The oppositionist Jewish Comrades hold that the Jews may have their say over the whole party, but that the whole party shall not have its say over them; that is what their claim amounts to when they demand that they alone shall control the Jewish paper, notwithstanding they have equal rights with others over all other party papers. Now comes Mr. Wintchewsky and says he is willing to submit to a trial and verdict of the party members of his own race.

When a non-Jew is tried by the party, Jews and non-Jews have a say; here we

deny the oppositionist Mr. Wintchewsky denying the right to the non-Jewish members to judge of this loyalty, while he himself is among the most loud-mouthed defamers of party members who are NOT of his race. What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander—among sensible people, of course, not among Anarchists. Oppositionism means that a tip of the tail should wag both dog and tail. The other points in Mr. Wintchewsky's letter don't deserve notice. When he talks about 23 organizations and 80 per cent. majorities (?) he is simply indulging in the familiar bluffs of pure and simple, which deceives nobody, but does seem to deceive himself. In conclusion, Comrades, I would appeal to you as loyal party members not to be deceived by those who have been trying, and are trying still, to undermine the Socialist Labor party, but vote for the proposition sent out by the National Executive Committee to control the Jewish "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiter-Zeitung"; these papers, one of which has been in existence for the last seven years, and has always upheld the principles of Socialism and the tactics of the Socialist Labor party. GEORGE ABELSON.

New York. Comrades—According to Bostonian logic, no one who can't read Jewish is able to say as to who is qualified to be the editor of a Jewish paper, yet Comrade Konikow, in the last issue of THE PEOPLE, undertakes to tell us that the "Verwaerts" is edited by the "best Jewish Socialist writers." Has Mrs. Konikow been converted to Judaism or has she been taking lessons in "Yiddish" lately? The claim of the opposition that they have a majority of Jewish Comrades on their side is not proven by facts. The insignificant vote cast in Greater New York for Cahon and Miller as delegates to N. E. C. shows how much these high priests of dissension and strife have lost in the estimation of bona fide members of our party. The United Hebrew Trades, composed of a large Jewish membership, have, in unmistakable language condemned the wild and suicidal tactics of the oppositionists. Here in Little Rhody our Jewish Comrades are all for the integrity of our party and against Anarchy. I honestly believe that if a vote of party members of our race (leaving out the Baronessists, the Millerists and the Pike street Anarchists), could be obtained, these leaders of the opposition would be given a chance to retire into private life, murmur or no murmur. It is the "unwise tactics" of our party that seems to worry our Bostonians and the opposition leaders so much, and it is to get a chance to fight the party and its UNWISE TACTICS that they are clamoring for a free press, a press that is to be free to denounce everything and everybody that displeases the cranks and dyspeptics in and outside of our ranks. And yet these very tactics that they would fight have been endorsed by an overwhelming vote of our party members. What is it that distinguishes the Socialist from the Anarchist? Is it not the former's willingness to unite with his fellowmen and to submit to the decision of the majority of his Comrades? How could we otherwise maintain our organizations? Are we to split up to revolt and form branches and Sections of our own every time that we find ourselves in the minority? Of course I do not doubt that there are some honest Jewish comrades in the ranks of the opposition, but the break-neck tactics of their leaders are bound to open their eyes very soon. Comrades of all nationalities, vote for the proposition of the National Executive Committee. A. P. WORKMAN. Providence, R. I.

With this issue the discussion closes. The next issue of THE PEOPLE will be only a few days ahead of the date when the vote must be in, thus rendering further publications superfluous. The issue has been extensively debated by both sides, numerous official party reports that have been accumulating await publication, and should no longer be delayed.

Daily People Minor Fund. Previously acknowledged \$1,595.56 May 6—On list No. 372, per C. Croasdel, Boston, Mass., 11.62 May 18—On list No. 18, per 12th Assembly District, N. Y., 10 May 18—On list No. 42, per 13th Assembly District, N. Y., 90 May 18—On list No. 43, per 13th Assembly District, N. Y., 80 May 18—Branch 6, Newark, N. J., 35 May 19—Henry Swendsen, Clinton, Iowa, 60 May 19—Branch 1, Syracuse, N. Y., 11.35 May 19—James Hilling, Somerville, Mass., 10 May 19—C. G. Teche, New York city, 5.50 May 19—Werner, New York city, 50 Total \$1,627.38 HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

HILLKOWITZ & HILLQUIT, Attorneys at Law, 220 Broadway, Rooms 1214-1216.

Comrade Lucien Sanial

will deliver two lectures at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949-955 Willoughby Av.

First Lecture Saturday, May 22d, subject: ECONOMICS OF SOCIALISM.

Second Lecture, Tuesday, May 25, subject: POLITICS OF SOCIALISM.

Both to commence at 8 P. M. sharp. Admission free. Attendance cordially invited. THE COMMITTEE OF THE S. L. P., Kings County.

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In Amory Grove, Roxbury, Decoration Day, Monday, May 31, From 10 A. M. to 12 P. M. Speeches in English and Swedish, Singing, Dancing, Gymnastic Exhibition, Sports, Games, Prizes. Tickets for Gentlemen 50 Cts. For Ladies 25 Cts. Children under 12 years Free. Take Old Heath St. or Jamaica Plain Cars to Amory Street.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$3.00 per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Branch 1 (American) S. L. P. Discussion meeting every first Friday. Business meeting every 3rd Friday at 14 East 4th St. Lectures every Sunday 8 P. M. at Stuyvesant Hall, 17th St., and Hudson Building, 27th St. and 4th Ave. 322

Carl Sahn Club (Musicians Union.) Meetings every Tuesday at 10 A. M., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: FRENK. 328

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 11.) Meets at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 14 East 4th street, New York City. All bona fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Holm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 329

Cigar-makers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau, 121 East 4th street, 1st floor (Bohannan), 24 East 7th street, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District II (German), at 234 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District III, meets at 127 West 4th St., every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District IV, meets at 232 West 4th street, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1122 2nd avenue, at 8 P. M. 325

Empire City Lodge (Machinists.) Meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. 323 Secretary: HENRY ZINCK.

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 P. M. Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 P. M. at the same hall. 324

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028. D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Wolf, corr. Secy.; Residence, 134 E. 4th St. 341

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 P. M. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 56 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 189

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock A. M., at Schuler's Hall, 234-235 East 3rd St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the "Scand. Socialist Weekly," SCAND. AM. ARBEITERS. 326

Socialist Science Club. Meets at Webster Hall, 140th street and 3rd avenue, every 1st and 3rd Friday of the month at 8 P. M. Meetings every Sunday night, 7:30 P. M., preceded by entertainment at same hall.

Upholsterers' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th St. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street.

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