



SWEAT SHOPS.

Bogus Labor Legislation Fomented by Politicians and Fakirs.

LIGHT CAST BY THE PAST.

Answer Made by D. A. No. 1 of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance to an Affiliated Body Concerning a Proposed "Anti-Sweat Shop Bill"...

Comrades:—The answer to the inquiry of the Furriers' Union concerning the propriety of endorsing a certain bill introduced in the House of Representatives...

1. As regards the bill itself—That its practical effect would be the very reverse of its declared object. Its provisions are, indeed, in flagrant contradiction with its professed intent.

2. As regards all labor legislation of the kind, the bill in question should therefore be denounced as a capitalistic fraud wrapped in political mockery.

We entreat you, brothers, to learn from the past, so that the dearly bought experience of many generations of proletaires may not be lost upon the toilers of the present day.

Look at the labor legislation of England. It took fifty years from the dawn of this present Nineteenth Century to pass a ten hours' bill limited in its operation to children and women employed in cotton mills.

Now turn to this country. There was practically no labor legislation as late as 1883. But a new spirit, owing chiefly to the activity of Socialists, then seemed to pervade organized labor.

labor legislation whatever, even for the further oppression of the wage-slave, was assumed by the judiciary, and "government by injunction," supported by bayonets, was substituted for government by law.

Last year a great dispute arose between the middle class and the plutocracy over the spoils of labor. The middle class was beaten, but will not deem itself conquered so long as it may hope for aid from the working class, which it has so long befooled and sucked dry with as much gusto as the plutocracy ever displayed in the same process of capitalistic absorption.

In view of all these facts, and of many more of equal import that ought to be ever present to your minds, we may well ask you, brothers, whether it is not high time for every class-conscious union to sternly reprove any backward tendency to "pure and simple" war tendency to "pure and simple" tomfoolery, such as would be shown by the endorsement or even by the fraudulent discussion of any "labor bill" fraudulently presented as a Democratic or Republican gift to the working people.

In joining the S. T. & L. A. you have broken away from "fakirdom." You have entered the great international army of emancipation which in a few years will victoriously carry the flag of the proletariat from the Seine to the Vistula. Stand by your colors.

ROWDYISM

Winked at by the Police of California. SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., May 21.—For the first time in many years in this city a public meeting was broken up by a shower of eggs. This disgraceful incident happened last evening at a street meeting of speakers of the Socialist Labor party...

Those who threw the hen-fruity last evening were as much of a mystery to the besmeared crowd as the identity of the man who struck William Patterson. Had the egg-throwers been caught, their gore would have been mixed with the broken shells and yolks that clung to the victims' coats and bespattered the sidewalks.

Several weeks ago the Socialists renewed their street meetings, and their favorite places for gathering have been on Sixth and Market, Pine and Kearny and Grant avenue and O'Farrell street. Twice a week they have held forth in these places discussing the Social Question. On every occasion they have gathered large crowds.

Last evening fully 400 people assembled around the Socialist speakers, W. Costley, W. Edlin, E. Appel, and matters went on swimmingly until a patent medicine vendor drove up in an open hack. He took up his position on the opposite side of the thoroughfare and began his usual harangue.

It happened that the crowd was more interested in Socialism than in the wares the other had to sell, so he pulled his team in near to the crowd. This, of course, caused some feeling on the part of the Socialist speakers, who at last took personal notice of their rival's presence, and a lively exchange of verbal shots took place from both sides.

This amused the crowd hugely and others joined the gathering, until the street was blocked with people. A policeman strolled up, but passed on along his beat, as there was no disturbance. A few minutes after he was out of sight a white object whizzed through the air. It was the first egg, and the speaker was besmeared from head to foot.

Some of the crowd laughed and others hooted and hissed as Costley gave place to another speaker, while he went away to clean off the debris. A little later another egg went into the crowd, striking a spectator on the shoulder and spattering over half a dozen others near by. Curses became loud and long.

The fusillade of eggs was kept up at intervals until over two dozen had found targets in the crowd, which began to thin out rapidly. Women as well as men were the victims and the meeting was obliged to adjourn without the formality of a motion.

Messengers were sent for the police, but none could be found. Efforts were made by the Socialists to locate the offenders, but to no purpose. This much was known, that all of the eggs were thrown from the west side of the street, and not a few were hurled out of the windows of the tall buildings over the saloon and cigar-stand.

Strange to say, the patent medicine seller and those immediately surrounding his vehicle escaped without being in the least bespattered, and after the Socialists and their crowd dispersed he continued his address unmolested. The Socialists attach much importance to this feature. They are not discouraged, but will resume their open-air propaganda without considering last evening's egg-throwing experience.

New York Socialist Literary Society.

The regular meeting of the N. Y. Socialist Literary Society was held on Saturday, May 29th, with Comrade James Cullen in the chair. The reports of the Secretaries and House Committee were accepted. Four new candidates were initiated.

We have taken the large New Irving Hall, No. 214—220 Broome street, for a concert and lecture, which will take place on Saturday eve, June 19th. Other internal business was transacted the remainder of the session, which continued to a very late hour.

PHILIP L. HOCH, Corr. Sec'y.

FAKIRS' MANŒUVRE.

Riff-Raff Labor Leaders Seeking to Dupe Trolley-men.

The Deadwood Element, that is all that is left of the K. of L. in Brooklyn, seek to Gather the Trolley-men Under False Pretences, so as to Get Dues from them, and Gain Some Notoriety for the Purpose of Getting Political Bones to Gnaw at.

A meeting of the trolley men of the Brooklyn Heights Railroad will be held on Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., at the Athenæum, Atlantic avenue.

This meeting is called by Patrick Collins, M. W., D. A. 75. The object of the meeting is to discuss the condition of the trolley men, and to formulate demands for their better condition, said demands to be presented to President Rossiter, of the Brooklyn Heights Railroad.

The above notice appeared in all the capitalist papers, of the 29th of last month.

A meeting of Pioneer Alliance, S. T. & L. A., was held that night. As we have a number of trolley men organized in our local, it was decided to send a committee to the Athenæum to present the Socialist side of the trades union movement, and to confer with the men as to the best steps to take in the event of a strike.

When the committee arrived at the hall we found 75 or 80 trolley slaves standing around, waiting for the meeting to open. But in the language of "Chuck" Connors, "There were others."

There was the voluble single-taxer, H. A. Bolton, a stereotyped "The Citizen"; there was the down-at-the-heels would-be political fakir, and of course there were the labor fakirs—Giblin, who, after he helped run the last strike into the ground, got a job at the Post Office; Collins, T. J. O'Reilly, who is a cooper, and other such nondescripts; in short, the same collection of bunco steers who have been misleading the working class for the past twenty years in Brooklyn.

Our committee presented their credentials to Mr. Collins, whereupon the following conversation took place:

Socialist—"These are credentials from Pioneer Alliance, S. T. & L. A. We are instructed to come here and ask for the platform to present the Socialist position to the trolley men present."

Mr. Collins—"I will see about it." Mr. C. thereupon consults some of the "labor leaders," returns as angry as he could stick, and says: "You cannot have the platform. We will not allow you to speak. We have hired this hall, you can hire another if you want to, but you shall not speak here."

Socialist—"Well, sir, we have an organization of trolley men; you have another. If there will be a strike there will be a clash if we do not come to some agreement."

Collins—"I don't care for those trolley men; you cannot speak here; that settles it."

Socialist—"All right. You will hear from us again."

The committee then started to go into the hall, but the fakirs, fearing the presence of the Socialists even as spectators, placed pickets on the doors and denied us admission, for which they had good reasons of their own, as the issue showed, for they practically made no sensible demands. The whole proceeding was farcical, and their meeting was a fizzle. Their demands were as follows:

First—Two-thirds of the men to receive \$2.

Second—One-third of the men to receive \$1.50.

Third—All trips lost by fire or other reasons to be paid for.

Fourth—That the company recognize the union.

The committee then recommended that if the President of the Brooklyn Heights Railroad accedes to these demands, that we "recommend the Brooklyn Heights Railroad to the workmen of the Greater New York."

A committee was then appointed to call on President Rossiter the following day.

Mr. Rossiter was notified that the committee would call the following morning, 9 a. m. He was there, but there was no committee. Two hours later a reporter from "The Citizen" interviewed him. He said: "Those fellows said they would be here at 9 a. m. It is now 11; nobody has shown up yet. As to their demands, the men have all these fellows claim. As to their recommendation—Bosh."

I do not wonder the President says "Bosh." He can have nothing but contempt for men representing a trades Union who are so contemptibly mean and weak-kneed as to ask that one-third of the men shall receive \$1.50 per day, and whose antecedents have nothing to inspire respect. Their purpose is plain—it is dues from their dupes they are after, and some cheap advertising for fake political purposes. But they have not succeeded; they have failed miserably; they have lost all the influence they ever possessed. The politician has no further use for them. Their day has passed; their sun has set. The new trades unionism is here.

People who claim to be Socialists and believe they can make propaganda inside the old "pure and simple" union can now see how useless their efforts must be, in this trade for one. It is another proof that the best way to fight the fakir is to come into the Socialist unions, and from there turn our battery on all the fakir brigade.

Next week we will describe the results of the meeting and the action taken by Pioneer Alliance, S. T. & L. A. Our local will hold a meeting next Saturday night, June 12th, at Turn Hall, 16th street and 5th avenue, to hear the committee's report, and to take whatever action is necessary for a thorough organization of the trolley men on the lines of new trades unionism. Brooklyn. T. A. HICKEY.

"CAPITAL vs. CAPITAL"

The Complete Loss of the Flint Glass Workers' Strike.

After A Struggle of Nearly Four Years, an Expenditure of Nearly \$1,500,000 and the Complete Control of the Trade in the Union, the Flint Glass Workers are Forced to Surrender and to Learn by Experience the Folly of the "Pure and Simple" Form of Organization.

On the long roll of capitalist victories, won over labor on the economic battle field, one more signal victory was entered on the 24th of last month. The strike of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union was declared off. The strike lasted nearly four years; since October 11, 1893. Taking the leading facts from the Pittsburgh, Pa., "Commoner and Glass Worker," the union controlled the trade, 1,900 men; it expended during the strike nearly \$1,500,000; during this long struggle the members displayed remarkable discipline; in the language of the "Commoner and Glass Worker" itself, "only twelve members deserted, even though great pressure was brought to bear. Some who had frequently been requested to go to work by officials of the company refused to do so, and allowed their homes to be sacrificed, a number of men's homes having been sold since the contest began. Other members, though heavily in debt, and with a very uncertain future staring them in the face, persisted in standing by the principles of their association even though it meant untold sacrifices. There could be many instances of hardships and inconveniences narrated that would highly commend the members for the efforts they have made to win the contest." All this wealth of effort and of money notwithstanding, the Union was finally compelled to surrender to the boss's terms. Does this prove the futility of all conflict between Capital and Labor? or does it prove specifically the futility of unionism? No doubt, and therein lies the danger of "pure and simple" unionism, the inevitable disasters its false policy meets are apt to be credited to unionism in general, and are apt to spread discouragement in the ranks of labor. But both conclusions are false. This lost strike, this battle "was beautiful, but was not war."

"It was beautiful, but it is not war!"—this was the criticism uttered by a veteran general upon the Light Brigade that, under the walls of Sebastopol, foolishly charged the artillery of Russia. The Russian artillery was not invincible, and its position was not impregnable; both could be attacked and taken with adequate means; a light brigade was preposterously inadequate for the purpose. The charge of the Light Brigade, brilliantly, valiantly executed, left no impression on the foe other than the exhilaration of successful resistance, while the ground before him was strewn with the headlong cavalry that had foolishly sacrificed itself. War is conducted upon more rational lines; brilliancy that results in hopeless failure is useless; the valor that begins and ends in beauty is sterile. The only lesson its failures teach is a warning against the neglect of scientific methods. So with the late brilliant, but inevitably unsuccessful strike of the A. F. G. W. U. The facts are these:

The union had a rule that restricted the number of pieces any member was allowed to make during a given time. This rule was intended to prevent overwork and unemployment among the men. The rule was enforced and the companies submitted. But presently the rule came in conflict with the development of capitalism. Capitalist development tends to increase the volume of wealth and correspondingly decrease the cost of goods. This is done by the machine. Machines, enabling the flint glass workers to produce more plentifully during equal hours of work, were introduced in the shop. This brought on the conflict. If the company were willing to continue to submit to the rule restricting the number of pieces that a worker was allowed to turn out, its new machinery was useless. The company, accordingly, refused submission; whereupon the union decided upon a step that is the exact counterpart of the celebrated "Charge of the Light Brigade," and it was guided in its folly by ignorance of mechanism of capital.

The A. F. G. W. U. was built upon the principles of "pure and simple." The central point and central error that "pure and simple" unionism starts from is the belief that the owner of the merchandise labor-power, the working class, can deal with the consumer of the merchandise labor-power, the capitalist class upon the same principles that the owners of all other merchandise, the capitalist class, deals with the consumers of their goods. The capitalist who can corner a certain article can demand his own price; consequently, reasons the "pure and simple" union, if we can corner all the labor of our trade in a union, we can do likewise. The A. F. G. W. U. numbered 1,900 men; that was virtually the whole trade; the Union looked upon itself as a capitalist who has made a solid corner. Secondly, in conflicts of a capitalist with his competitors, it is a case of Capital against Capital; consequently, reasons "pure and simple" unionism, our organization being a capitalist concern, and having a good corner of our goods, all we need next is Capital; if we can raise a huge treasury

and can levy large assessments, we, too, shall have Capital, and, consequently, we too shall be able to fight Capital with Capital. The A. F. G. W. U. had a large treasury, and what its powers were on that head may be judged from the gigantic sum of \$1,500,000 expended in the strike; accordingly the Union looked upon itself as fully equipped to give battle to its employer.

The error of imagining that the working class can play the capitalist and can cope with its exploiter, the capitalist class, upon the economic field and with the capitalist's weapons, is clear to any one whose judgment is not stunted by the mischievous teachings of "pure and simple."

In the first place the merchandise labor is a perishable one; if not sold it suffers. At this point comes the question, To what extent can the "Capital" that labor controls stem or assuage the suffering? Observation teaches that, even among capitalists, the possession of capital is not enough to secure victory, the one over the other; for victory a capitalist requires, not capital simply, but more capital than his competitor. Can labor hope to be in such a position as to have on its side a capital superior to that of its employer? No! The experience of the A. F. G. W. U. proves that. It spent \$1,500,000 and exhausted its resources; the boss surely lost more and yet remained powerful enough to dictate the terms of peace.

On the economic field labor fights at a disadvantage. Capital against Capital is applicable between capitalists only. Between Labor and Capital, it is nonsense on workingman's lips. But not only is the "pure and simple" union in error in this respect, it is especially in error in that its policy deliberately goes about to accentuate its weakness on the economic field. There is one respect in which labor's power overtops the capitalist's, to wit, its voting power. The proletarian votes outnumber the capitalist votes as 10 to 1. At the hustings the working class can overwhelmingly be supreme. The ballot thus gives the worker the power of overthrowing the social system under which he is kept in industrial subjection. With the ballot, cast for the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth, cast for the overthrow of the system of wage slavery, the working class can steadily roll up the necessary majority to control every department of the Government, and thus to legislate its own programme into force. But "pure and simple" unionism is ignorant of the necessity of overthrowing the present social system; it seeks to continue it, and thus it is found regularly voting for the party and the social system of its exploiters, often spending even its funds, as the glass blowers have done, to keep on the stump one of its members for the benefit of some capitalist party. Hence "pure and simple" unionism stands stripped of the political weapon. Inferiorly armed with economic weapons and wholly unarmed with political ones, the uprisings or strikes of pure and simple unions are bound to be like disastrous Charges of Light Brigades against forces infinitely better equipped. And all the efforts, and all the martyrdom suffered in such charges are efforts misplaced and martyrdom misspent.

Differently were the case if the unions gathered their forces at the ballot box and then untiedly voted against the system of capital. If they did that, then their political power would come in aid of their economic weakness. Then the boss, seeing his fate impending—because he knows how much more numerous his employees are than himself—would not dare to inflict upon them the increasing hardships of perfected machinery accompanied with lower incomes; or if he did, if he were to act as recklessly in the face of a growing political party of the working class, as he does now when the workers have none, the union would not squander its wealth in a bootless strike, prolonged ruinously; it would spend its wealth wisely in the education of its fellow proletarians and in the drilling of them for that more decisive battle—the battle at the hustings.

Labor can not fight Capital with Capital; nor can Labor stem the progress of machinery. The union that is built upon principles that ignore these facts may deliver beautiful battles, but it will not be waging war. Its doom is sealed.

The holocaust of the A. F. G. W. U. may serve with its glare to help the trade union movement to pick its way out of the wreckage of "pure and simple."

WORTH NOTICING.

Strikers Stick to Socialist Committee-men Despite the Boss.

WEST HOBOKEN, N. J., May 30.—About five weeks ago the weavers of the John Comby and Phalanx Silk Mills, of West Hoboken and Jersey City Heights, went out on strike for one cent more a yard, and not to work overtime or legal holidays or Saturday afternoons. The boss of the Phalanx Silk Mill offered one half cent more, but the weavers would not accept this; the committee was sent again and again, but the boss would not give in, and then the boss of the Phalanx Silk Mills said he would never give in as long as a Socialist committee was at the head of the strike. We told the weavers about it and asked them if they wanted the two Socialists put off the committee, when nearly all the weavers began to yell "No" with a roar and said "we want the same committee."

This goes to show how well the Socialists are liked. Although with the bosses against us and some of our strikers also, we expect to win our strike in a week or two, at any rate we shall fight an intelligent battle.

D. COLOMBO, President. M. EICHMANN, Sec'y.

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

THE INVENTOR.

Does the Capitalist System Protects the Man of Genius?

ALL LABOR IS EXPLOITED.

A Case that has Just Reached Final Settlement in the Pennsylvania Courts Furnishes Fresh Evidence of the Rapine of the Capitalist Class and of the Valuable Assistance Rendered by the Courts in the Work of Despoiling the Inventors—Robbery, Unqualified, is the Basis of Capitalism.

When the apostles of capitalism feel beaten out of all their arguments there is one last favorite ditch into which they love to crawl: the "inventor's" ditch. Every Socialist has surely made the experience of seeing a routed upholder of capitalism in full run suddenly turn about and fire this shot: "At any rate manual labor does not do all the work; the inventor is a most valuable worker; he must be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labor; Socialism would take that away from him."

Again and again we have published the facts that prove that the inventor is robbed by the capitalist; and more recently we have added proofs of the significant fact that the Courts are giving their sanction and their positive aid in this robbery practised on the inventor. The case is complete, but such cases can never be too complete. In view of this we here take from the columns of a Philadelphia capitalist paper the following interesting clipping:

"The action of John W. Dempsey against John Dobson and James Dobson, trading as John & James Dobson, to recover \$50,000 for the loss of certain secrets and formulae used in the mixing of colors, was placed on trial yesterday in Room A, of the Common Pleas Court, No. 1, before Judge Beltler. Mr. Dempsey was employed by the Dobsons at their Falls of Schuylkill carpet mills in April, 1873, and remained with them almost twenty years or until August, 1892. His work consisted of selecting and arranging colors for dyeing the yarns used at the factory. He alleged that his capital in this business consisted of certain secret formulae. He had been engaged as a color mixer in England before coming to this country, and alleged that the secrets he knew for mixing colors had been handed down to him by his father during his lifetime or else had been discovered by himself. He claimed absolute property in those secrets, and averred that they constituted a capital which determined his value to textile manufacturers.

On August 25, 1892, Mr. Dempsey notified the Dobsons that he would leave their employ on the 10th of the following September. As he was leaving the mill on the night of August 30, he alleged that he was stopped by the watchman employed about the mills, when about to go home with his books; and informed that he could not quit the mill until he gave up his receipt books. Mr. Dempsey refused to let the books go out of his possession and prepared to stay at the mill all night. Then, he alleged, a policeman forced him to go out of the mill. Subsequently the books were returned to him all except the color book, containing the samples, which, the plaintiff alleged, the Dobsons still retain.

"The case was tried before the same court in May, 1895, when a jury rendered a verdict in Mr. Dempsey's favor for \$10,000. A motion for a new trial was granted. At the trial yesterday the Court held that the plaintiff had not shown any pecuniary loss or loss of opportunity for obtaining other employment by reason of the Dobsons retaining the color book. There was nothing upon which a jury could base a claim for damages. Judge Beltler therefore directed that they render a verdict for the defendants."

Here we have it all in full. Dempsey, the inventor or discoverer and heir of chemical secrets, is robbed highhandedly by the members of the very class that claims to be the particular protector of inventors, and that prates glibly about the "sanctity of property"; and, furthermore, after a jury had decided in favor of the robbed inventor, the Court steps in, overthrows the verdict, and instructs a new jury to give a verdict for the robbers.

Nor is the significance of this already sufficiently significant incident exhausted by these observations. The argument of the Court in favor of the robbers caps the climax. By holding that, not unless Dempsey could prove loss of employment was he entitled to damages, the Court indicated that the robbery perpetrated by the capitalist concern in this case was no wrongful act.

The Dobson Company is the lineal descendant of the gang of pre-capitalists who looted the house of Ely Whitney & burglarized it of his invention, the cotton gin. In our days the Dobsons did not need to exercise the physical energy of their predecessors against Whitney; with the aid of their prostituted Courts, their purposes can be and are accomplished with "comfort and elegance."

There is nothing that capitalism protects except the robbery of the brain and manual workers.

THE PEOPLE.

Published at 154 William Street, New York, EVERY SUNDAY.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS Invariably in advance: One year \$1.00 Six months .50 Three months .30

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

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office, on April 6th, 1891.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Table showing Socialist vote in Presidential elections: In 1888 (2,068), In 1892 (12,331), In 1896 (21,157), In 1900 (33,133), In 1896 (36,564).

Private property is a creature of society, and is subject to the calls of that society wherever its necessities shall require it, even to its last farthing; its contributions therefore, to the public exigencies are the return of an obligation previously received, or the payment of a just debt. Benjamin Franklin.

RAINBOW CHASING.

At the recent dinner in Cincinnati of leading business men in the land, the Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Gage, made a speech in which he sought to encourage the diners on the outlook. Said he:

"The revival of industry is near; the future, instead of being dark with forebodings, is illuminated with rational hope."

Let us say that Mr. Gage believes in what he says. If so, he is the champion orator in the art of rainbow chasing.

How can industry revive if the people have not the means of purchasing goods? What incentive is there to manufacturers to turn out goods if these are to remain on their hands? How can the working people, who are the large majority, buy if they are not employed? How can they be employed if improved machinery displaces them by shoals? How can those of them who are employed buy if their wages are steadily declining? How can the less big capitalist produce when he, owing to his smaller capital, cannot compete with the bigger fellow? How, in short, can industry revive, if the whole trend of the capitalist system is to concentrate wealth into ever fewer hands, and pauperize ever more people?

Those who are now living in hope will die in despair, the well-known grave into which all rainbow chasers are sure, eventually, if not sooner to drop into.

HAVEMEYER'S AND SEARLES' ACQUITTAL.

Messrs. Havemeyer and Searles, heads and fronts of the Sugar Trust, were some time ago summoned before a Senate Committee appointed to investigate that trust together with certain damaging charges that were abroad about the Trust having bribed the Senate. In the course of the interrogatory, Messrs. Havemeyer and Searles were asked what moneys they had contributed to political campaigns, etc.; they refused to answer; were indicted; and the court dismissed the case. It is timely now to inquire what exactly were the charges of political corruption upon which the investigating committee was appointed.

A director of the Sugar Trust had stated:

"We own the United States Senate body, boots and breeches; brains, morals and all."

And again:

"The authors of the sugar schedule of '94 framed it for hard cash."

It is not a fancy on the part of our ruling class that they always bank upon courts for protection. If the men who happen to be elected somewhere or other do not happen to think just as our capitalists do, these immediately gather courage, and frankly say so, from the hope or knowledge that the courts may declare illegal any law that may not suit them, and thus try to stave off the passing of laws that they dislike. If they fail to intimidate the legislatures they confidently prophesy, and their prophecy is speedily verified, that the law will be declared unconstitutional by the courts. Finally, it is not a fancy with these gentlemen that they seek by all means to lengthen the term of office of the judges, this is a way of nullifying popular elections. To lengthen the terms of office of other officers might be dangerous; a popular wave might set in power an objectionable man, whom to get rid of it would take long. To wholly abolish popular elections and get things in such shape that the capitalist class need not fear elections would also be dangerous; it would be showing the cloven hoof too plainly, and that might have evil sequels. In sight of these difficulties, it is a master plan to lengthen the terms of office of the judges and making these hold court for life: plausible reasons can be adduced in defence of this plan, and then our capitalist class will feel equally safe. The conduct of the court that set Messrs. Havemeyer and Searles

free was the conduct of a lackey who obeys his master's order.

Our whole Government—President, Congress, Governors, State Legislatures, municipal officers and courts, from top to bottom—is but a body of hirelings doing the bidding of the robber class of the nation; they are the fruits of the Upas trees of our capitalist parties. They must all be smitten hip and thigh at the ballot box.

Professor Graham Taylor seems to have a knack for imitating the proverbial cow that, after having yielded a pailful of milk, kicks it over.

He says quite well: "Don't tell me that in this country that a man, if he is sober and honest, and wants work, can get it. I'd like to contract with any man who makes such assertion to supply with work all the men of that description that I will send him. I'd like to test some of these fine Fourth-of-July phrases. Let the great army of the unemployed all over this country rise up and deny the sophistry. Let child labor, the little white slaves of America, disprove it." And then he kicks the pail empty by this bit of fustian:

"But I fear this estrangement of classes." As though the "estrangement of classes" were not a desirable evolution that lays bare the fact that there ARE classes, and thereby opens the eyes of the people to the existence of an evil that can and must be eradicated!

These Professors; these Professors!

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

The New York "Evening Post" laments the political situation in these strange words:

"Look at the actual situation in Washington. A tariff bill is pushing towards enactment which the Democrats say is monstrous. But what alternative do they offer? A better tariff? Stout opposition to this one? Oh, no; they offer us free silver. If you are against a corrupt tariff, they are practically saying to the voters, the only way to show it is to go for free silver."

These words are strange because it is not many months ago this identical luminary sang the songs of the victory of gold and shouted the funeral oration of silver. It is evident that it has changed its opinion about the silver issue being dead; it has found out that the facts do not tally with its theory on this head. But will it have learned the real reason of its error, and understood the secret of "silver's" continued existence? Hardly. Hence we shall give this capitalist ignoramus a tip to guide it in its future judgment.

The grave of "Silver," i. e., of middle-class uprisings cannot be dug by "Gold," i. e., by the large capitalist class.

Secondly, the grave of "Silver" will never receive the "Silver" corpse, until it has been dug deep and broad enough to receive the "Gold" corpse along with its "Silver" brother.

Thirdly, the only grave that will accommodate both is that of the Socialist Labor party's victory, and that grave can be dug only by Socialism.

Bro. Wayland's "Appeal to Reason" publishes this just criticism of itself:

"In your issue May 15, you say that the railroad managers who try to evade and circumvent the law should be outlawed, and a price set on their heads. I do not agree with you. As long as the people permit private ownership to continue I hope the railroad thieves will rob them and skin them. THESE SCOUNDRELS ARE BUT THE SPAWN OF AN UNJUST SYSTEM. AND ALL WHO ACQUIESCE IN AN UNJUST SYSTEM ARE EQUALLY GUILTY WITH THOSE WHO PROFIT BY IT.—Y., Lincoln, Neb.

The London "Nineteenth Century" has an article by Sir Algernon West in which he compares the change of morals in the upper class of England since Victoria's reign commenced. The following is a passage significant of the effect and spread of the capitalist atmosphere:

"Lady Granville once remarked that, in her younger days, nobody in polite society ever mentioned their poverty or their digestion, and now they had become the principal topics of conversation; and if society was then vigilant in ignoring all allusion to money and commerce, we have now gone far in the contrary direction. Everybody quotes the prices of stocks and shares, and I have lived to see the day when a youthful scion of a noble and distinguished house produced from his pocket at dinner a sample bundle of silks to show how cheaply they could be bought at his establishment."

Not bad for the San Francisco "Star": "Rockefeller used to earn \$50 a month; that is much more than he 'earns' now."

The Denver, Colo., "Labor Exchange Guide" should drop its Socialist aspirations and join the blatant crew of single taxers; it has not the remotest conception or even inkling of the power of capitalism. It says:

"With the land, mines, forests, tools and machinery all monopolized by a few, this would seem almost an impossibility. But many of those who have some hold on the resources of nature have become interested, and there seems to be no lack of raw material."

What good will "resources of nature" do to a man who is stripped of the "resources of society," and who would have to compete with those armed therewith.

The small farmer, forsooth, is a monument well worth studying on this head. He has all the "resources of nature" he can want, but having no "resources of society," capital, or not enough, his nose is to the grindstone and he is driven to the ragged edge.

Civilized man needs "natural" and "social" resources; both. Nor will any

scheme put them into his hands. Nothing short of the Socialist Labor party—a political movement drawn sharply and distinctly upon lines of the class interests of the proletariat. All other schemes and tactics are daily proving their unfitness; only flat failure attends them, while the S. L. P. alone marches onward the world around.

A WORKER'S

Pregnant Reflections on the Things that Vitalize Interest his Class.

POLK, Pa., May 31.—One does not have to be very bright these days, to observe that there is an almost endless amount of social discontent. It is not necessary to point out the deplorable and nearly hopeless condition of the "lower orders," or even the middle class in this country, "where no class distinctions exist" for that is so generally understood, and, if not, so generally harped as that it certainly must be understood, where it is not already felt.

Republicans have called public attention to it with all their ability (and with a long purse one can buy considerable ability), hoping to lead public belief to lay the whole blame on the Democratic administration and to the hope that their "Advance Agent" would return things to the good old days of our fathers. The Democrats threw their whole weight into the question, hoping to have the gold standard receive the stigma of being the cause, and free silver to be the deliverer, and they did this with all the desperation that imperative necessity calls forth. Labor leaders monkeyed with it at times to fill up their ranks. Prohibitionists used it as a "horrible example." Moralists called public attention to it to show what would happen when their views were ignored, etc. etc. So really I think it is unnecessary to say more, but rather to see what can be done with those who can see so far.

We can stop first to take courage at a thing or two that will show what we have done without adding to our organized strength.

First, The acknowledgment on all sides of the diseased state of society, and the general widespread idea and belief in a social revolution of some sort. Not many years ago, to speak of either, kindled a veritable fire about one, and now papers of large circulation and of importance that even last July would denounce all such "calamity howling" and "demagoguism" are to-day doing in that line that which would make the old Populist editors turn green with envy.

Second, The word Socialism. A year ago and later, every blatherskite who wanted to ride into office on a wave of discontent, would pat you on the shoulder (if you stood up for straight Socialism) and wink the other eye, telling you in a confidential undertone, that "we are all Socialists; that man Bryan is one too, only it won't do to say so; the public are afraid of the word and we can get along faster not to mention it; in the proper time I will come out for plain Socialism; but not just yet." But now! Heavens! Since that would not enlist Socialists in their chestnut raking and they must have more men, they are fighting you because you say that they are not Socialists, and everything, from a public dog pound up to a national debt has suddenly become Socialism.

Now, my dear friends, believing honestly, although second-hand, in a free breakfast table, low taxes and that the wage-worker is injured by the intricacies that one set of capitalists practices on another set through class legislation and banking laws, bear with me while I try to make it plain that such things are not YOUR fight. For instance, a man owning a horse, needful tools or implements and an opportunity to exercise them to his advantage, has, when the result has been obtained, a "legal title" to the commodities thus produced, provided all the means of production are his, excepting such needed for taxes. The horse "owns" absolutely nothing of this wealth, yet he consumes enough to keep in good order, and to reproduce other horses to take his place when he dies. If the owner did not thus "care for him," he would be of no value to the owner, and if to "care for him," required more product than that produced in the illustration, the owner would not be long in disposing of such a horse. Of course, that is only a horse, not you. Again a man has a slave, and uses him, procures him, and treats him just as was the case with a horse, in which procuring, by the way, lies an illustration of what becomes of an inferior race, or a race with an inferior system, all the same thing. When they come in contact with a superior one, which illustration can be taken with profit by those who will return to antiquated and discarded methods and systems in order to colonize, being unable (too poor and not having possession of legal machinery or otherwise) to colonize and COMPETE with actual up-to-date conditions. Like the horse, his keep has to be procured from the wealth that he creates, and there must be a surplus falling to the man who enslaves him, to furnish an "incentive to action" on the master's part. Of course, this is a slave, and slavery was abolished, mainly, moralists assure you, because he was "bought, sold and treated like a horse," "bought, sold and treated like a horse," and consequently this don't mean you. But still again, we find man possessing tools, land and the means of production in any case in question, and as in the case of the horse or slave, the product, the LEGAL PRIVATE PROPERTY, is of him, whether such wealth was created by one hired man, a thousand, a horse or an engine or what not, here or nowhere must the hired man work, and this is a condition. The more horses and engines, the less hired men. But, as with the horse and slave, and even the engine, all must come to work to-morrow "in condition" and must be able to replace themselves with one of their kind in event of their absence, hence SOME of the product will have to be used by them to that end. And here is the "glory for which we fought" since the supply of man has become abundant enough, since the means of production have evolved past that point where ALL can own, or if own, PROFITABLY OPERATE such; men need not be bought and sold in this land again, standing on the auction block to be sold to the highest bidder regardless of human feelings, of family ties, etc., etc. No! he is FREE, FREE to mount the block HIMSELF and auc-

tion HIMSELF off to the LOWEST BIDDER, regardless of human feelings, of family ties, and yet to add, regardless of moral and physical conditions, for since man's LABOR can be bought without buying his bones, hide, etc., as formerly, no risk need be run by the buyer of physical danger, as long as the fresh supply holds out. That was why Frick asked as the first thing when apprised of the Summer Hill mine disaster, "did they get out the mules?" Now, my friend; this is not the slave, nor the horse, this time it's YOU.

I suppose you are still looking to see where the taxation, etc., comes in. It is here. To enable you to live, in order to work, it is necessary for the capitalist to furnish you wages enough to buy your food, clothing and shelter, rent, poll tax, or if a house owner, state, school, county, road, borough and dog taxes, etc., etc., which must of a necessity include all manner of tariffs, revenues, squabble bills, large and small, all business wastes and foolishness and all the evils of a crazy, competitive system which I, with all reformers, co-operators of all shades, will gladly admit.

But, should any or all of the foolish or wicked charges be lessened, and the capitalist still retain the LAW and the MEANS OF PRODUCTION, would YOU gain any thereby? No! Would the horse be given a less drudging life, and even more oats, if free trade or anything else made oats fall even one half in price? Would the slave have a pleasanter life or a higher standard of living if his owner did not have to pay interest or taxes or rent even? Not as long as he was a slave, and as long as his master made the laws and owned the means of production, so long he would remain a slave. So what then do you expect when you help the under capitalist dog in the fight, to relieve him of taxation, all or part; profits all or part; or any other burden if he still has you as his voluntary, anxious slave? What can you gain by cheapening commodities, when you are on the auction block hunting a lower bidder with thousands around you seeking him too? Plainly nothing! You are to be compared with the horse and the slave in that matter with certain disadvantages against you; and the fact that you may have a home in no way alters matters.

First, your work as a rule is not so steady in continuance or in locality as the home is, unless it has wheels, but few lots have wheels.

Second, taxes, interest and repairs are, to a man of small means, who cannot obtain houses by foreclosures and other "hooks," as costly about as rent.

Third, a very few workmen actually own houses at all, and a long "Building and Loan" experience enables me to know this without looking further, and many who do now own homes, cannot keep them, and still fewer will ever be able, owing to low wages and irregular employment to attain one.

To restate briefly, I say flatly that you are robbed through the wage system of all that you can at the present time be robbed of, and that the owner of the means of production, the capitalist, has the swag; and that taxation does not tax you, that any public expense that benefits you, you should be in favor of; that concentrated wealth is no real enemy of yours; that you must obtain the POLITICAL POWER—whereby all is held together at present for capitalism—and use it to obtain the means of production for public use and benefit and to MAINTAIN IT SO.

O. N. E. LACKALL.

MY LADY DISDAIN.

Dear little Lady Disdain! Dear little Lady Disdain! Sweeping me by, your nose in the sky, Your hand upholding your train— With a glance of ineffable scorn At him, the base plebeian born, So rude to say he wished you good day, This sweet merry May morn!

But a fig for your pride, and a fig for your Pa! A fig for your money, a fig for your Ma! I'm as bad as the Pope, I'm as good as the Shah, And a match for my Lady Disdain!

Yes, you have money and land— I know you have money and land; You've a lineage high, and I cannot deny You've a free and gracious hand; While I'm but a Son of the Soil, Earning with trouble and toil, And a deal of sweat, what little I get, Of this world's honey and oil!

But a fig for your pride, a fig for your Pa! A fig for your money, a fig for your Ma! Just as good as the Pope, just as good as the Shah, I'm matched for my Lady Disdain! G. W. S.

S. L. P. Sections take Notice.

The well-known and inspiring song, written by comrade Peter E. Burrows, of Brooklyn, under the title "The Hand with the Hammer," has been set to new and beautiful music by the Russian composer Platon Brounoff, and can now be had at the Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, New York.

The price for single copies is 10 cents, but a liberal discount will be given to dealers, encouraging them to push the sale of the song.

No section of the party should fail to form a chorus and sing this song at their public meetings and other public demonstrations.

THE LABOR NEWS CO., 64 East 4th street, N. Y.

Notic.

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.

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., 64 East 4th Street, New York.

THE VICE OF THRIFT.

Extract from an Article by Grant Allen in the London "Humanitarian."

The point on which I desire to say a few words is the squalid, sordid, unsocialistic character of the petty private thrift so often inculcated as a peculiar virtue upon what are called "the lower classes"—that is to say, the least privileged and propertied strata of the population. I select this theme because it is one very typical of a kind of misapprehension common among those who do not understand socialistic aims and ideals. I have always found, indeed, that complete lack of imagination is the chief barrier against the comprehension of socialistic schemes. Most outsiders believe that Socialists aim at reducing the community to a dull dead level of poverty and squalor—at abolishing science, art, literature, and leisure—by reducing all citizens alike to hewers of wood and drawers of water. The mere fact that most Socialists at the present day are either poets, painters, men of science, men of letters, or else the cream and pick of the intelligent artisans, might give people cause in forming this crude judgment, were it the way of the world to reflect at all before leaping at conclusions; but it is not. I can only say that all the Socialists I have ever met—and I know a good many—desire on the contrary to raise enormously the general level of intellectual, artistic and spiritual feeling; aim at the increase of leisure and opportunities for culture in all classes alike, including those now commonly ranked as the highest. We want to give both dukes and coalheavers a better chance of developing their natures freely in every direction. But it is to remove a misapprehension of a minor sort that I write this paper. People imagine that Socialism will be sordid and squalid; that we will all be compelled to save scraps of string and tear off half-sheets of note paper. I retort that that mean candle-end type of saving is, on the contrary a direct result of the capitalist regime; accomplished Socialism will supply us in the end with everything in such abundance that we will never need to think whether we are wasting or not. We shall have all we want of all commodities in any quantity that we can reasonably desire.

Under our existing conditions, there are a few men who play boldly with millions, and who rise to the top; there are thousands who pick up pins or save bits of candle-end and who remain at the bottom. Now, picking up pins and saving candle-ends is a direct result of the capitalist system and the inequality of distribution which it brings about. Whenever I see a man unte a string that binds a parcel, and ravel out all the knots, I say to myself: "That man will never be rich." He has the slavish habit. He gives up an excessive quantity of time for an inadequate result. Only in a world where some men have juggled everything into their own hands would it be worth any man's while to unite a string instead of pulling out his good sharp knife—best Sheffield steel—and cutting it. And how do I know his knife would be of best Sheffield steel? Why, because no one, if he can help it, will buy an inferior one. And in a world where every body wanted the best, and demand and supply were correlative, nobody would ever make any but the best of everything. Things are made bad now because they are cheap; and cheapness, which means in this sense practically low quality, is a direct result of unequal distribution. A free world would demand for every citizen a serviceable article. I choose on purpose these petty and homely illustrations, because I always find it is exactly such simple things that the non-socialists or the non-thinker has never dreamt of considering.

There is a certain arithmetical rule-of-thumb school of economists which is always making dispiriting calculations of what the average income of the community would be if all were equally divided. I venture to say that all such calculations equally display total lack of constructive imagination. They are based too much on a state of things encumbered by land monopoly and monopoly of the means of production; they overlook the restrictions on raw material, and the vast number of hands at present deliberately employed in making things cheap and bad, in order to meet a poverty-stricken demand; above all, they overlook the number of idle and useless people, capitalists and rentiers, the pensioned and the privileged, as well as the enormous number unproductively employed either in useless and anti-social callings, such as the army and navy, or in professions subsidiary to the capitalist class, such as lawyers and their clerks, stockbrokers and their assistants, with the vast legion of middlemen, agents, commercial travelers, and so forth, none of whom is performing any useful service to the community nor producing anything. If middlemen and the agents or employees of capitalists were all diverted to honest production (by which I do not mean necessarily material manufacture), the total of wealth would be immensely increased, especially in England, where the productive class is new so relatively small, and the various forms of leech or sub-leech so numerous and all-pervading. I will take a simple example, that of the advertising element. Just consider the solid phalanx of people engaged in designing, drawing, printing, and coloring advertisements, which add nothing to wealth, but have merely the object of inducing you to buy So-and-so's cocoa rather than So-and-so's, to use What-you-may-call-it soap rather than Thingum-bob detergent. Just consider the vast cohort of people employed as commercial travellers, all bent upon selling Jones' long-cloth rather than Smith's; in recommending Wilkinson's tea as against Jenkinson's or Simpkinson's. Turn all this useless body to productive work (such as the manufacture of buttons, poetry, cucumbers, or designs for simple brooches), and see how enormously you increase the real output of the country. Why, everybody might go to the play, with an orchid in his buttonhole! If you doubt this statement, that is because you do not know what is meant by an orchid.

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.—Is this America or is it not? Uncle Sam.—According to my latest information "hit his, me modder, hit his."

B. J.—And are you and I not citizens? U. S.—Methinks we is.

B. J.—Can you explain to me why you and the rest of the Socialists are all the time blabbing about us being slaves? A citizen is not a slave!

U. S.—We babble about us being "wage slaves."

B. J.—What's the difference? A slave is a slave.

U. S.—I wish you would tell me what you call a slave.

B. J.—A slave? Why, a slave? Don't you know what a slave is—well a slave—don't you know?

U. S.—I do; and that's why I maintain that you and I are wage slaves.

B. J.—But a slave must be owned by somebody else, and we are not.

U. S.—Is that your definition of slavery, a system of ownership of the body of others?

B. J.—Yes; that's it.

U. S.—Well, that is not of the essence of slavery. The ownership is only an incident that sometimes accompanies slavery, but not always. When it does, it is called chattel slavery.

B. J.—And what is the essence of slavery?

U. S.—The essence of slavery is that condition of a man under which he is compelled to yield to another a part of his product. If you produce 100 cents and are compelled to give up 1 cent of your product to some one else, you are a slave to the extent of 1 cent.

B. J.—I admit that.

U. S.—If you are compelled to yield to some one else 75 cents of the fruits of your labor, you are still more enslaved.

B. J.—Granted.

U. S.—Now, then, you and I can't get bread and butter unless we have money—

B. J.—True.

U. S.—And we can't get any money unless we hire ourselves to a boss, to a man who has got possession of the machinery of production.

B. J.—That's true, too, but—

U. S.—Just wait. No boss will employ us unless he can get more of us than what he gives us in pay—

B. J.—(surprised)—Is that so?

U. S.—We workmen, people who do not own the necessary capital to work with, are treated by a boss in the matter of pay somewhat as he treats his horse. Do you imagine a man will keep a horse on the field if the animal eats more than he produces?

B. J.—Why, no!

U. S.—He would get rid of that horse, if he can get some one to buy it off his hands; and, if he can't, he will turn the horse into Bologna sausage.

B. J.—Guess so.

U. S.—So so with us workmen. The boss hires us when he can get out of us more than he gives in wages. In other words, he hires us when he can keep a part of the fruit of our toil, allowing us to keep the other part ourselves. As we are compelled by hunger to hire ourselves out to him, we are compelled to become his slaves, his wage slaves, to the amount of the product of our labor that he withholds from us. Now this amount is not at the rate of 1 cent out of 100; it is at the rate of 75 cents out of 100. We are not only slaves theoretically, but we are very much enslaved, having to let the boss class take the bulk of what we produce.

B. J.—But a slave can't change his master unless the master is willing.

U. S.—And you think you can?

B. J.—Of course, I can.

U. S.—You think so, because you imagine now that you are a wage slave of your individual boss. The fact is you are a slave of the boss class. You may change your individual master, sometimes; not always. In the industries that are trustified, the trust is the master and wherever you work in that industry, you work for the same boss. In the other industries, you may actually change your individual master, but that is all; you do not change your condition of slavery. And that's why we Socialists, who have no gas in our heads, "blab" about being wage slaves. It would do you no harm to "blab" some of that "blabbing." It is much more solid stuff than your notions about being a free citizen.

B. J.—According to that I am not a free citizen, eh?

U. S.—You are a free citizen only in so far as you are free to use your bullet so as to overthrow this system of slavery. But, so long as this system lasts, your "free citizenship" is a very lopsided affair. Imagine a "citizen" whom a boss can kick out of work, and thus out of bread any time that boss likes. What sort of a citizen do you call that?

B. J. ponders.

U. S.—Let me tell you—a wage slave citizen. Start to "blab" a little, and try with the Socialists to become truly a free citizen.

Professor Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy of the University of Wisconsin, has sent out a request to all organizations of wage-workers in the United States, no matter of what character, to send him copies of all the literature published by them, such as official organs, labor day journals, statutes, leaflets, agitation material, handbills, posters, etc. All such packages will be received free by express companies. Such matter should be addressed to Reuben G. Thwaites, Librarian, State Historical Library, Madison, Wis., and marked "Ely Collection." Professor Ely is the author of "Socialism and Social Reform," "French and German Socialism," also many treatises bearing on economic subjects.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

Economic Elements Whose Mutual Interests Conflict.

Modern society cannot escape shipwreck unless it re-organizes itself into a Co-operative Commonwealth. The establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth implies a social revolution; it implies the overthrow of the capitalist system of production, that has become a drag to all further development and an incubus upon the common weal; it means the placing of the machinery of production, now held and owned by landlords and capitalists, into the hands of the people; in other words, it implies the downfall of the system of private ownership in the implements of labor—land and capital, i. e., machines, tools, etc.—and its substitution with public, common, collective ownership, to be operated for use and not for private profit.

The substitution of the capitalist with the co-operative or socialist system of production is in the interest, not of the propertiless classes alone, but of all classes. The same as slavery was an injury to the slave-holders, and its abolition tended to promote their highest interests, so is the present system of labor injurious, in the highest sense, even to the landlords and capitalists' private ownership in the implements themselves, and its abolition would redound to the benefit of these as well. They also suffer severely under the contradictions that typify the modern system of production; one set of them rots in idleness, another wears itself out in a neck-breaking hunt after profits, and over the head of all hangs the Damocles sword of bankruptcy, of shipwreck, and of final downfall into the class of the proletariat, i. e., the class that has been stripped of all the things necessary for production, except its labor power, which, lest it perish outright, it is compelled to sell for starvation wages—happy if it succeed in doing that.

It would be thought from these premises that all classes of society, capitalists and landlords, no less than proletarians, would join in the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Yet the reverse is the case. Experience teaches, the fact glares us in the face, that, the same as the slave-holders of old, the property-holders of to-day, landlords and capitalists, are blind to their higher interests. The bulk of the property-holding and exploiting classes not only looks upon Socialism with suspicion, but stands up against it in an attitude of a most bitter antagonism.

Can this be due to ignorance simply? The spokesmen among the adversaries of Socialism are, however, the very people whose position in the Government, in society, and not infrequently in science itself should, presumably, fit them out best of all to understand the social mechanism, and to perceive the law of social evolution. Indeed, so shocking are the conditions in modern society that no one, who wishes to be taken seriously in politics or in science, dares any longer to deny the justice of the charges preferred by Socialism against the present social order; on the contrary, the clearest heads in all the various political parties of Capital admit that there is "some truth" in those charges; some even declare that the final triumph of Socialism is inevitable. UNLESS, however, society suddenly turn about and improves matters—a thing that these gentlemen imagine can be done offhand, provided this or that demand of this or that party be promptly granted and enforced; others, again, admit unconditionally the ultimate triumph of Socialism, BUT—having the "one thing at a time" notion in their heads, and that thing always the wrong one—they ride a hobby, and fly off at a tangent. In this way, even those members of the non-socialist political parties who have obtained the clearest insight into the teachings of Socialism, elude, by a somersault back or sideways, the most important consequences and conclusions of their own admissions.

Nor is the reason for this odd phenomenon hard to discover. Although certain important and not to be underrated interests of the property-holding classes plead against the system of private ownership in the means of production, other interests, that lie nearer to the surface and are more quickly felt by property-holders, pull in an opposite direction. This is especially the case with the RICH. They have nothing to gain forthwith by the abolition of private property in the means of production; the beneficent results that would flow therefrom would be ultimately felt by them as well, but such results are comparatively too far off to carry much immediate weight. On the other hand, however, the disadvantages that they would suffer are self-evident and would be felt on the spot; the power and distinction they enjoy to-day would be gone at once, and not a few might be deprived also of their present ease and comfort in idleness.

Matters stand otherwise with the lower ranks of the property-holding and yet exploited classes—the small producers, traders and farmers. These have nothing whatever to lose in point of power and distinction, and they can only gain in point of ease and comfort by the introduction and development of the socialist system of production. But, in order to be able to realize this fact, they must first rise above and look beyond the horizon of their own class. From the narrow field of observation occupied by the small producers, traders and farmers, the capitalist system of production cannot be understood, however much they may and do feel its harrowing effects; and, consequently, modern Socialism can be understood by them still less. The one thing of which they have a clear understanding is the absolute necessity of private ownership in their own implements of labor in order to preserve their system of production. It is a forced conclusion that, so long as the small industrialist stands up as small industrialist, the small farmer as small farmer, the small trader as small trader; so long as they are still possessed of a strong sense of their own class—so long will they be bound to hold fast to the idea of private ownership in the means of production, and to resist Socialism, however ill they may fare under the existing order.

Private ownership in the implements of labor fetters the small producers, farmers and traders to the sinking ship of their respective pursuits, long after these have ceased to afford them a competence, and even when they might improve their condition by becoming

wage-workers outright. Thus it happens that private ownership in the instruments of production is the secret force that binds all the property-holding classes to the present system of production, notwithstanding the ill effects of the system upon the large capitalists, and notwithstanding its subjection of the small holders themselves to exploitation, and the caricature into which it has turned "property" in the hands of the latter.

Only those individuals among the small producing classes who have despaired of the preservation of their class, who are no longer blind to the fact that the industrial or agricultural form of production, upon which they depend for a living, is doomed—only they are in a condition to understand the teachings of Socialism. But lack of information and a narrow horizon, both of which are the natural results of their condition, make it difficult for them to realize the utter hopelessness of their class. Their misery and their hysterical search for a means of salvation have hitherto only had the effect of making them the easy prey of any demagogue who was sufficiently self-assured, and who did not stick at making promises.

Among the upper ranks of the property-holding class a higher degree of culture is found, commanding a broader horizon, and among them not a few are still affected by ideologic reminiscences from the days of the revolutionary struggles carried on by the then oncoming capitalist class against the feudal regime. But woe to that member of those upper ranks of the property-holding class who would be foolishly enough to show an interest in Socialism, or to engage in its propaganda! The alternative promptly confronts him either to give up his ideas or to snap all social bonds that hitherto held and supported him. Few of these are equipped with the requisite vigor and independence of character to approach the spot where the roads fork; very few among these few are brave enough to break with their own class when they have reached that spot; and finally, of these few among the few, the larger portion have hitherto soon grown tired, recognized the "indiscretions of their youth," and became "sensible."

The ideologists are the only ones, among the upper ranks of the property-holding classes, whose support it is at all possible to enlist in favor of Socialism. But even with these, the large majority of those among them who have gained a deeper insight into social conditions and into the problems that spring therefrom, the information they have acquired moves them mainly to wear themselves out in fruitless searches after what they style a "peaceful" solution of the "Social Question," i. e., in searching after a solution that should reconcile their more or less developed knowledge of Socialism, and their conscience, with the class interests of the capitalist class. But this task is as impossible as to produce a wet fire or burning water.

Only those ideologists who have not only gained the requisite theoretical knowledge, but who are brave and strong enough to break with their class, are able to develop into genuine socialists. Accordingly, the cause of Socialism has little to hope for from the property-holding classes. A few of its members may be won over to Socialism, but these will be only such as no longer belong by their convictions and conduct to the class to which their economic position assigns them. These will ever be a small minority, except during revolutionary periods, when the scales will seem to be inclining to the side of Socialism. Only at such times may socialists look forward to a stampede from the ranks of the property-holding classes.

So far, the only favorable recruiting ground for the socialist army has been, not the classes of those who still have something to lose, however little that may be, but the classes of those who have nothing to lose but their chains, and a whole world to gain—the proletariat, the working class.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

T. C., Providence, R. I.—As far as we know, he is straight in his practice.

T. H., Plymouth, Mich.—You will have to patiently sweep out the cobwebs from your friend's head. The flag of Anarchy is black; it is not ours. But Anarchists in all places have masked themselves with the colors of Socialism to do their dirty work. The observer will have to use his intelligence to detect the fraud. Nor is this difficult. As birds of a feather flock together; the Anarchists can be easily detected by the company they keep on the platforms from which they speak.

I. T. A., View, Utah.—Have received none such.

Mr. Turetz, Organizer Jewish Section, Boston.—First—Unfortunately for the quotation you make in your letter purporting to be from the resolution sent to the Massachusetts Convention by your Section, we have the resolution itself before us; a comparison of the two shows that your quotation is seriously at variance with the resolution.

Your quotation reads: "A label was given by the S. T. & L. A. to a printer in Boston, tho' no union of that trade in that city was affiliated with the S. T. & L. A."

The resolution reads: "Whereas, The Ex. Board of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance have granted a printers' label to a Boston printers' union." The resolution was an assault by false statement upon the Ex. Board of the S. T. & L. A., and being unfounded, was rejected by the Convention.

Second—All other quotations and statements in your letter are of the same nature. Your Section will have to exercise judgment in the statements it makes or else it will be reduced to nothing but a telephone for the reckless utterances of heels-over-head people, and for the perversions of truth that Anarchists, "pure and simpler," and ill-intentioned people in general may choose to tout through it.

D. H., Rummel, Canton, O.—You will find the two points covered in the article "President Boyce," of last May 30th, and in the article "Capital vs. Capital" in this issue.

J. H. Steerman, Philadelphia.—The article has not been received.

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

CAPITAL.

The Third Volume of Karl Marx' Great Work.

[From the London "Social Democrat."]

In "L'Avenir Sociale," for March, our Comrade, E. Vandervelde, has an article on the above, in which he says:

Although the third volume of "The Capital," corrected by Frederick Engels, appeared in 1894, and gave rise to numerous discussions in Germany, it has not, up till the present time, been put into either the French or the English language. Our friend Bernstein, stated recently ("Neue Zeit," 1896-97, B. 2) that Mr. Hyndman, perhaps the most "Marxist" of the English Socialists, has hardly mentioned it in his latest book ("The Economics of Socialism"), although that book is largely consecrated to the popularization of the Socialist theories on value.

As regards French Socialists, we can say that until now the good work to which Engels consecrated the last years of his life—he was correcting the proofs when we saw him for the last time—remains a sealed letter.

Under these conditions we think it will be useful to give a detailed analysis of the third book of "The Capital." We presume, naturally, that the theory of value, which has its roots in classical political economy, is understood by our readers. Marx has given it its most complete expression in the following manner in the first book of "The Capital": "It is the 'quantum' of labor or the labor time necessary in a given society for the production of an article, which determines the quantity of the value of that article. Each commodity acts in general as an average example of its kind. Commodities in which are contained equal quantities of labor or which can be produced in the same time have, consequently, an equal value. The value of one commodity is to the value of any other commodity in the same comparison as the labor-time necessary to the production of the one is to the labor-time necessary for the production of the other."

Those who—holding exclusively to the first book of "The Capital"—have pronounced against this theory, a condemnation which they believe to be without appeal, have pretended to refute it by showing that it seems to contradict many facts of every-day life; such, for example, as those that Emile de Laveleye signalizes, in the following passage, in his book on "Contemporary Socialism":

"Here are facts which prove that value is not in proportion to labor. In a day's hunting I catch a deer and you a hare. They are the products of equal efforts put forth during an equal period of time; will they have equal values? No. The deer will nourish me for five days; the hare only for one. The value of the one will be five times greater than that of the other. The wine of Chateau Lafitte is worth 12s. a bottle, whilst that of the neighboring vineyard is only worth 9d., notwithstanding that not twice the amount of labor has been spent upon the former as upon the latter. The wheat obtained from fertile ground has more value than that which is yielded by unfruitful soil, although it has cost 'socially,' that is to say, regularly and continuously, less labor. Butter is sold at 1s. 4d. the pound, and, moreover, is almost spontaneously produced from the pastures on which the cow nourishes itself. Thus, we sometimes obtain for equal efforts very unequal values, and sometimes equal values for unequal quantities of labor. Value is then not in proportion to labor."

It will be granted that if statements of such elementary fact suffice to refute the Marxist theory, it is difficult to understand how it is that there are still non-Socialist partisans and theorists—Professor Sombart, of Breslau, for example—who declare that whilst it is perhaps refutable it has not yet been refuted. Only in order to understand the thought of Marx, it is indispensable to know the whole of it. It is especially necessary to seek in the two last volumes of his great work the explanation of the apparent contradictions which exist between the facts of every-day life and the abstract theoretical deductions of Book I.

As a matter of fact, the first volume of "The Capital" is occupied exclusively with "The Development of Capitalist Production" with the process of production considered in itself, an abstraction being made of factors foreign to production properly so-called, the action of competition, for example.

But in the actual world this process of production does not exhaust all the course of the existence of capital. It is completed by the process of circulation—whose phenomena are studied in Book II.

Lastly, in Book III, the development of capitalist production is considered in its entirety. Instead of studying in an abstract manner the process of circulation and of production (in the restricted sense of the term) we see them in their real unity and gradually approach the forms of capitalist production as they appear on the surface of society, in competition, the action of capitals upon each other, and in the competition of the agents of production. Whilst in Book I, Marx reveals the hidden springs of the capitalist system, in the third, on the contrary, he shows how these "bases" are covered and dissimulated by phenomena more apparent and more superficial which strike more directly on the sense, but which do not go to the bottom of things.

It is thus, for example, that having to explain the formation of price, he does not refuse to take into consideration the individual motives of buyers and sellers, and admits, with all economists, that prices are determined by competition, and by supply and demand. Only—as we shall see further on—competition is regulated by the rate of profits, the rate of profits by the rate of surplus-value; and surplus-value by the value of the product, which is itself the expression of a socially conditioned act, the productive force of social labor.

In going thus from the external to the internal, from the surface to the bottom of things, we obtain the following series—Price, competition, profit, surplus-value, value, social labor.

In the analysis of Marx, on the contrary, this same series is presented, but in an inverse sense—Social labor, value,

surplus-value, profit, competition, price.

To recapitulate, we learn from Book I:

(1) That the value of a commodity is determined by the quantum of labor crystallized in it, by the social time necessary to its production, or, more exactly, to its reproduction.

(2) That the capital employed in production is composed of two parts, constant capital and variable capital.

In the course of production the part of capital which is transformed into means of production, that is to say, into raw materials, auxiliary materials, and instruments of labor, does not modify its value. Therefore, this portion of capital is called "constant capital."

"That portion of capital transformed into labor-force, on the contrary, changes its value in the course of production. The capitalist buys the labor force of n workers, whom he exploits, at its exchange-value, and makes use of it as use-value. It reproduces its own equivalent, and a surplus, a surplus-value which is variable. This part of capital is transformed then constantly from a constant amount to a variable amount. Thus we call this portion of capital variable capital.

We have thus the two first terms of our series—value, surplus-value, which are treated in chapters i., ii., vi. and vii. of Book I.

After this preliminary explanation, Vandervelde goes on to deal with Book III, to show how surplus-value is transformed into profit, and how, under the action of competition, profit is transformed into average profit. (Durchschnitts-Profit).

In the capitalist regime the value of each commodity is expressed by the formula: $C=c+v+s$, that is to say, that the value of each commodity equals the capital—constant capital (c) and variable capital (v)—consumed in order to produce it, + the surplus-value (s), resulting from the unpaid labor which is incorporated in the commodity.

If we cut off this surplus-value, from the value produced, we obtain a value which replaces, purely and simply, the value of the capital ($c+v$) expended in the production. This value expresses what the commodity has cost to the capitalist, and constitutes, consequently, for him, the cost of production (Kostpreis) of that commodity.

There is then an essential difference between the value of a commodity and its cost of production.

The cost of production represents what this commodity costs to the capitalist, that is to say, the capital expended for its production; the value, on the contrary, expresses what it really costs—that is to say, the labor expended in its production.

Such is the reality, the bottom of things; but it is not otherwise in what Marx calls Die Erscheinungswelt, the world of appearances.

In the capitalist regime, he who holds the capital appears as the real producer of the commodity, and, from that point of view, it matters little what expenditure of labor the production of that commodity costs; he considers only the expenditure of capital that it requires; and this cost in capital (Kostpreis) constitutes in his eyes the real cost of the commodity, its natural price and its intrinsic value. He sees, then, when he makes a profit, to sell his commodity above its value, and, thanks to this operation, creates himself the surplus-value in the course of the process of circulation.

Only let us not forget there is here an illusion, a pure appearance, which hides the reality and serves to dissimulate the exploitation of labor. The surplus-value is not derived from the difference between the value and the sale price, but from the difference between the value and the cost of production. It is realized, under the form of profit, in the course of the process of circulation; but it is born out of the labor taken for nothing by the capitalist in the course of the process of production.

To give a resumé, the cost of production does not represent the value of the commodity, but only the value of the capital ($c+v$) expended in order to produce it, and if we designate by K this cost of production (Kostpreis), the formula $C=c+v+s$ is changed into $C=K+s$.

In this new formula constant capital and variable capital are confounded under the same title, and this confusion perfectly corresponds to that which takes place in the mind of the capitalist.

The capitalist, who translates all his expenses into money, makes no distinction between the part of his capital which he pays in wages (variable capital) and that with which he buys raw material, auxiliary materials and the other means of production (constant capital).

In his eyes the only distinction which has any importance is that which exists between constant capital—of which a part only is devoted to the process of production—and variable capital, whose value passes entirely into the product.

We have already seen that surplus-value, although arising exclusively from a change in value of variable capital (v) forms, however, during the passage of the process of production—if we look at it from the capitalist point of view—an increase in the value of the whole of the capital spent in the production ($c+v$). The formula $c+(v+s)$, which indicates that s is derived exclusively from v , is replaced then by $(c+v)+s$.

It is necessary to remark that—again, from the point of view of the capitalist—this surplus-value (s) constitutes an increase, not only in the capital actually spent, but in the whole of the capital engaged in the production, even if this capital is not entirely consumed in the course of this production. Surplus-value springs then not only

from variable capital, transformed into labor-force, and from fixed capital actually consumed, but indifferently from all the portions of the capital engaged in production. It becomes, under these conditions, the profit which the capitalist draws from the whole of his capital.

The formula $C=c+v+s$ is changed into $C=K+p$ or value of the commodity+cost of production+profit.

In consequence profit, as it appears at the present moment of our analysis, is nothing else but surplus-value in a mystified form, which develops and must necessarily develop in the regime of capitalist production. It is surplus-value, put into relation with the whole of the capital engaged in production, instead of being put into relation only with the variable portion of this capital.

In these conditions, if the commodity realized by the process of circulation is sold at its value ($K+s$) the profit is equal to the surplus-value. Only we shall see soon that, according to Marx, one of the characteristics of the capitalist regime is precisely that, as a general rule, commodities are sold not at their value, but at a price higher or lower than this value. Under the action of competition between capitals, which tends to carry itself toward those branches of production where the profits are most considerable, these profits tend to equalize themselves and to be transformed into average profit. It goes, then, without saying, that profit is distinguished from surplus-value, as price is distinguished from value.

THE RATE OF PROFIT.

We have just seen that, if the commodity is sold at its value, the profit is only surplus-value expressed in a different manner.

The rate of surplus-value, determined by the relation between surplus-value and variable capital, becomes the rate of profit when it is put in relation with the whole of capital.

Instead of $\frac{v}{c+v}$ rate of surplus-value, we obtain the rate of profit $\frac{p}{C} = \frac{p}{K+s}$.

This rate of profit is determined by two factors: The rate of surplus-value and the composition (Werthzusammensetzung) of capital; that is to say, the more or less relative importance of constant and variable capital. It is evident that, all other things being equal, the rate of profit will be high in proportion as that portion of capital, not productive of surplus-value, is low.

Let us suppose, for example, a capital of 100 ($80 c + 20 v$), producing a surplus-value of 20. The rate of surplus-value, in relation with the variable capital ($20 v$) will be 100 per cent.; the rate of profit resulting from the relation of this surplus-value with Cap. 100, will be 20 per cent. If later the surplus-value and the variable capital remain the same, and the constant portion of capital is reduced by one half, the profit, which was only a fifth of the capital considered in its entirety, would be raised to a third of it.

Consequently, the rise in the rate of profit could result either from the augmentation of surplus-value or from the reduction of constant capital.

This is the result in either case, as we shall enumerate briefly below:

(1) The rate of profit rises—all other things being equal—when surplus-value increases—on account of reductions in the time of exchange (Umschlagzeit).

We learn from Book II that the reduction in the time devoted either to the process of circulation, or to the process of production, raises the amount of surplus-value produced, by the same capital, during a given period. All that has been said in Book II ought to be repeated for the rate of profit, because this depends on the relation between P , equals s , and the whole of the capital engaged. The two great influences which act in this manner in the sense of the increase of the rate of profit are, on the one hand, the development of the means of transport—which reduces the time of circulation—and, on the other hand, the augmentation of the productivity of labor, which is designated under the name of the progress of industry, and which reduces the time of production.

(2) The rate of profit increases—the composition of capital, the number of workers, and the nominal wage remaining the same—when surplus-value is increased by the lengthening of the labor day.

It is otherwise when the number of workers or the greater intensity of labor necessitates the employment of larger works, of more costly machines, and, consequently, necessitating a considerable augmentation of fixed capital. The rate of profit then tends to augment on one hand and to diminish on the other; whilst the lengthening of the labor day does not necessitate an augmentation of constant capital and only leads to a relatively small increase in circulating capital (cost of lighting, raw materials, etc.).

(3) Supposing surplus value to be invariable, the rate of profit increases, if the cost of constant capital diminishes, supposing that its mass remains the same.

The diminution of fixed cost results principally from the progress of technique, from the division and organization of labor, in the branches of industry which furnish the capitalist with raw materials, auxiliary materials, and the means of production which he needs. What benefits the capitalist in this case are the improvements produced by others, in every branch of social labor which affects the industry in which he has invested his capital.

(4) Profit can increase—even when the different elements of constant capital remain invariable—by a decrease in its bulk resulting from economies realized in its employment.

These economies can be of a very different nature:

(a) Economies in the conditions of labor, affected generally to the detriment of the health and security of the workers, e.g., insufficient ventilation of the workshops, insufficient precautions against accidents, defective conditions of workshops as regards cubic space, lighting, aeration, etc.

(c) Economies realized by the use of the waste resulting from production (clippings, residue, etc.), and from consumption (rags, etc.)

(d) Economies resulting from new inventions, conditioned by the progressive Socialism of labor which alone renders them realizable.

It may be noted in this respect that the introduction of these inventions in practice is often very onerous for those who take the initiative. It sometimes happens, when important inventions

are concerned, that those first introducing them are thereby bankrupted, and that only those who are skillful in the acquisition of their material manage to obtain a profit.

To resume, then, it is labor, which, under all different forms, really supports all the charges of the increase of profit; the labor of the workers, whose labor day is prolonged and whose health and security is compromised by sordid economies; the labor of inventors and of the agents of production in other branches of industry, who increase the productivity of labor develop the means of transport, and reduce the cost of production, or the sum of fixed capital; the labor, simple or complex, manual or intellectual, including that of the capitalists themselves when they are acting as captains of industry receiving the wages of superintendence.

But here still, and more and more profoundly as the method of capitalist production develops, reality is dissimulated under appearance, and the workers seem to remain foreign to the different factors which tend to increase profit.

(1) The means of production which serve to form constant capital only represent the money spent by the capitalist in order to acquire them, while the workers serve only as use-value—means of labor or material of labor. It is then natural that the increase or decrease of the exchange-value of fixed capital, appears absolutely indifferent to them, and they do not trouble to occupy themselves with it.

(2) In the same way the worker considers the social character of his labor, and his combination with the labor of others in order to realize a common end, as a power quite foreign to him. The conditions which permit him to realize this combination, and to draw from collective labor all its advantages are the property of others, and he will not scruple to waste them if they are not guarded by a constant supervision. It is quite otherwise in the workshops belonging to the workers themselves, as at Rochdale, for example.

(3) In the mind of the capitalists: it is the sale of the commodity which produces surplus-value; the realization of this in the process of circulation makes him forget, or permits him to dissimulate, the fact that it is created, in the process of production, by the unpaid labor, the excess labor of the wage-worker whom he exploits. Moreover, this surplus-value remaining the same, the rate of his profit depends on the skill, the experience, and the economy with which he buys and uses the means of production engaged in his business. He resorts, in fact, to the statement that we have just made—namely, that profit is so much greater in proportion as the raw materials are bought cheap, as the waste of the means of production is better prevented by supervision, and as the direction of the whole of the different stages of the business is better understood.

So it is natural that these circumstances induce the capitalist to believe—may even to arrive at the conviction—that his profit is caused, not by the exploitation of labor, but more or less by other factors independent of this, and especially by his own individual acts.

We shall see in Section II, how this appearance is consolidated by the transformation of profit into average profit.

NOODLEVILLE.

Is this Town Unknown, or is it Exceptional, or do All Recognize it?

NOODLEVILLE, May 31.—You people who live in the city would perhaps like to hear how we get along out here in the country. I am at present located at a village called Noodleville, and being like others, dependent on capitalists for employment, I have to submit to being led around by the nose—I don't like it a bit. The people here are all full-fledged citizens. The great men of the village are elected to office. It is no unusual thing to see an alderman going around with a patch on the seat of his pants. Although Noodleville is a village it is called a city, and has a mayor. The mayor, aldermen and town councilors are all political experts on questions of good statesmanship. These dependents nearly all go to the big church provided by the employers of labor. It is as good as a physis of sala labor. It is as good as a physis of sala labor to some of the Noodleites to have a shake of the hand from the head man of the mill where they are allowed to work. The pastor, dear fellow, receives \$3,000 a year for his services, with a free house. Men with families to support on a salary of \$500 are expected to subscribe to the support of the dear minister, his wife and family. If I had one-half his income I would be willing to give \$10 a year to the good cause; but, as it is, I have to walk to the depot twice the distance he has, while he engages a hack.

The temperance lecturer, too, cannot walk a distance of two rods; he engages a hack also, and the boys who indulge in nothing stronger than coffee help to pay for it.

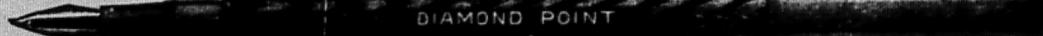
Noodleville is famous for its sons of temperance, and the old lad with the long beard likes to have it so. I say these things about Noodleville with due deference to sobriety. At a great Republican parade, previous to the election of McKinley, I thought it best that I should attend, like the others. Of course I am a Noodle, and so is every workman outside the ranks of Socialism. It was a bad evening for any kind of a parade, let alone a Republican one. Every body got wet outside—except the big bosses, who rode in hacks at the head of the procession. Enthusiastic workmen, up to the knees in mud—a dollar-and-a-quarter-a-day men—brought up the rear. Quite a number of the managers here got as much as \$10 a day—one man got \$30—these fellows could afford to ride. But why? why, in the name of heaven couldn't we all ride?

O'NOODLES.

Buffalo Socialists, Attention!

The next meeting of the American Branch, S. L. P., will take place this Sunday, June 6th, at 8 P. M., in Schweitzer Hall, 483 Broadway, near Mortimer street. Besides the usual free discussion some important business will be transacted. Every member and friend of labor is heartily invited to attend and take part in the discussion.

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. Address all letters and money orders to **THE PEOPLE, 184 William Street, New York City.**

PARTY NEWS.

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

General Vote on the Delegate to the S. T. & L. A. National Convention, to be held in Boston, July 5.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party—

Greeting:—The nominations for delegate to the National Convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance having been closed, the names of the candidates who have accepted the nomination tendered them, are herewith submitted for a general vote, such vote to close on **THURSDAY, JULY 1st**, on which day the result of the vote must be in the hands of the undersigned.

Since there are only three candidates to be voted for, the sending out of special voting blanks is unnecessary and will be dispensed with.

In making their reports, the organizers of Sections should state in figures the number of votes cast for each candidate. A report that the Section voted "unanimously" is without value and cannot be recorded, because we vote by members, not by Sections.

The candidates are: Thomas C. Brophy, of Boston, Mass. Robert Bandlow, of Cleveland, Ohio. Arthur Keep, of Washington, D. C. The following comrades were also named, but have declined the nomination: Daniel De Leon, Max Forker, Ferdinand Ufer, Mathew Maguire and Hugo Vogt.

Organizers will please see to it that this matter is placed before the next meeting of their respective Sections, and that reports are made promptly. The convention takes place on July 5th, in Boston, Mass., and reports arriving after July 1st cannot be considered.

By order of the National Executive Committee.
HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

Decision of Committee on Charter and Awards.

To the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party:

Comrades—On Sunday, May 2d, 3 p. m., your committee on charter and awards met at 396 Butler street, Brooklyn, to make the awards as per your resolution of some time ago. Those present were Gustave Rosenblath, S. Berlin, Justus Elert, Louis Bauer and Alfred C. Kilm.

The designs received were signed as follows:
 1.—"Proletariat."
 2.—"Slair."
 3.—"Karl Marx."
 4.—"The Golden West."
 5.—"Through the Temple of Political Power to Socialism."
 6.—"Fellowship."
 7.—"Carlo St. Elmo."
 8.—"Wage-slave."
 9.—"Social Revolution."
 10.—"Commonwealth."
 11.—"Libertus," by Jos. Palme.
 12.—"Charter Competition," by Max Fullner.
 13.—A design by F. Immler.
 14.—A design by F. Dahme.

Nos. 11, 12, 13 and 14 were rejected because they had violated the conditions of the competition in placing their names on designs or wrappers. A design by Louis Woltulover referred to in a letter sent by him was not received up to date of meeting. All four designs were bad.

The remaining designs, numbering from No. 1 to 10 inclusive, were regularly admitted to the competition. After duly considering these your committee have to report that all of the designs are far below the requisites of artistic excellence, composition and symbolism requisite for a charter of the party. The drawing is not alone defective, but the composition poor and the symbolism crude. We therefore consider all the designs submitted as unworthy the distinction of adaptation as our National Charter and recommend that you declare the competition off, reopening it on broader lines.

Should we, however, be kept strictly to the rules of the competition, we would consider design No. 1, by "Proletariat," by far the best of those submitted, and would recommend that, should you see fit to adopt it, that the competitor be requested to redraw it; for in its present condition defects in drawing can be pointed out; it is not suitable for photo-mechanical reproduction such as the rules call for, and is not worth the sum offered as an award offered by you.

The club is now in a very prosperous condition, having a membership of 41, with new members coming in at nearly every meeting.

The meetings, which are well attended, are of an educational nature, and it is to be hoped by this means we will be able some day in the near future to produce champions who will be worthy of the cause they advocate.

The members intend to make another effort this fall, and with the co-operation and support of the adult members, expect to eclipse all previous efforts put forth in Connecticut towards securing the greatest means of enlightening the public—a daily paper.

YOUNG MEN'S SOCIALIST CLUB, NEW HAVEN.

Should Boston be the Seat of the Massachusetts State Central Committee.

HOLYOKE, May 29.—Replying to the statements of Comrades Wentworth, of Lynn, and Steig, of Boston, regarding objections to move the seat of the Massachusetts State Committee to Holyoke, permit me to say that their objections are hardly fair, because what happened in Holyoke has happened in Lynn and in Boston, and in the whole party. In Lynn the vote dropped from 228 in 1894 to 165 in 1896, and in Boston from 837 in 1894 to 634 in 1895. In Boston one vote has never equalled one per cent. of the total vote, a result long ago overreached by nearly every other Section in the State.

Regarding the other objections, they are of such trifling nature as to be unworthy of a reply.

Holyoke has 40 members in good standing. How many has Boston? with twelve times the population of Holyoke, and all the learned people of the State centered there, too, according to the statement. Holyoke polled 1,405 votes for its candidates in the last city election; that does not show any signs of inactivity or lack of intelligent agitation.

Regarding capitalist papers as a means of Socialist propaganda, we certainly hold that to be of inferior significance. We do hold, however, that it will be better in the end if we built up a good and strong Socialist press.

We do not care to cater to capitalist papers for favors.

Holyoke possesses all the necessary timber for a good and active State Committee, and the Comrades will make no mistake in choosing Holyoke as the seat for the committee.

GUSTAV GEISLER, Delegate to the Convention.

Comrades, Organizers of Boston and Lynn.—It seems to me as it must to many other members of the party throughout the State, and especially to those who have listened to the reports of their respective representatives to the late State Convention of the proceedings of that body that your communication in the last issue of THE PEOPLE does not fully present the case in question and shed such light upon the situation as admits of intelligent action by the rank and file. For it is plainly evident and without doubt that the majority of the members of the convention must have had some reason other than mere gratification of a whim in the choice of locality for voting to remove the seat of the State Committee from Boston. Then, what is the reason? It can't be possible that you are pleading ignorance and wished to be informed thereon, as you imply, then, therefore, if we must discuss the subject at all, it would seem all important and only in order to confine ourselves to the real point at issue. Now, nobody, I think, will attempt to deny that Boston has certain advantages over Holyoke and other points in the State as a seat for the State Committee, but, on the other hand, if these advantages are overbalanced by some peculiar and extraordinary local influences or difficulties hindering the committee in the performance of its duties, a brief change, at least to some new locality, may have a wholesome effect productive of much good for the future, for, you know, it is one of the foundation principles of Socialism that environment is an important factor in shaping ends. But these advantages in Boston's favor after all are not so great but what most of them can be met by Holyoke or other localities in the State without any great loss of time or money, thanks to our semi-socialized postal system.

So far as the members of the Holyoke Sections are directly concerned, I think, that it truly can be said that they have no interest in the matter other than the welfare of the party throughout the State, and that if a majority do not wish Holyoke to be entrusted with the management of the affairs of the party for the present season, then they also do not wish the responsibility, and it is on this point more than any other to disabuse any minds perhaps that may be under the impression that Holyoke has a "pull." The only pull we have is a wish to see a pull altogether for united and harmonious effort, for therein only lies the path to healthy growth and final success.

So, Comrades, if we must discuss, let us be candid with each other and consider the real question or cause at issue or forever hold our peace, as there is nothing to be gained in dealing with that which is generally admitted. Personally I have no axe to grind and am willing to abide by the wisdom and wish of the majority as is consistent to our principles and professions.

E. A. BUCKLAND, Organizer, Holyoke, American Section.

New Jersey.

REPORT OF THE STATE COMMITTEE TO THE STATE CONVENTION.

Comrades—At the event of the ninth convention of the State organization of the S. L. P. of New Jersey it may be of interest to make known the growth of our party in this State, comparing the number of Sections and the membership of the first State Convention with the present standing. Six Sections were represented at the first State Convention, held in Newark, N. J., Feb. 2, 1889, representing a membership of about 60. According to the report made by the National Secretary to the National Convention on July last, 29 Sections are now existing, with a membership (we estimate) of about 600. The recent general vote taken showed a total of 365; so our estimate is not too high. These Comrades have in the past year, and especially during the last national campaign, developed the highest aggressiveness ever shown in this State. In all larger cities and towns agitation meetings have been held, largely attended and literature distributed. The Comrades of Newark and Hudson County followed the footsteps of the Paterson Comrades, and arranged for the first time a large number of open air meetings, the example being followed by a number of other Sections.

Agitation.—Since the last State Convention much has been done to extend the agitation and organization; to carry it into the rural districts of the State where no organizations exist. Such were among others, Little Ferry, South River and Dover. About 50,000 leaflets have been sent in proportional division to Camden, Perth Amboy, Washington, New Brunswick, Egg Harbor City, Carmel, Rockaway, Little Ferry, Bound Brook, Trenton, Asbury Park, Newton, Somerville, Franklin, Norwood, Closter and others, for distribution. The Counties Passaic, Hudson, Essex, and Union also distributed thousands of leaflets, and meetings were held in most every town or village of those counties. Comrades De Leon, Carliss, Maguire and Matchett spoke in nearly all the large cities of the State during the last campaign, and Comrade B. Verro (Italian) spoke in Elizabeth, Paterson, Hoboken and Newark this spring. All those meetings, as reported, were largely attended and showed much enthusiasm. A number of other Comrades from Essex, Passaic, Hudson and so forth also addressed large meetings.

Organization.—Sections in rural districts, where no compact organization exists, show very little activity after the campaign is over; the result is that when the next campaign arrives neither the necessary funds nor the organizations required to carry on an aggressive agitation are at hand. Thus, whenever we are confronted with a campaign, much work and means are required to arouse those Comrades and enable them to nominate a ticket in their county and do some campaign agitation thereby decreasing the means to extend the agitation to districts where such has not been inaugurated up to this time. Comrades Richter and Weigel have been sent to Mercer County to organize new Sections and a county committee, being there and then successful, but when the campaign was over little was heard from there. The same we can state from Middle Essex County; Bergen County seems to have reorganized as a county committee, and a new Section at Little Ferry was organized; another Section will be organized at Ridgedale Park.

According to the various reports from other organized counties, the party shows a numerical increase. We endeavored to organize Sections at South River, Rahway and other places, but without success. There is a tendency in all organizations and among all Comrades toward centralization of forces, which will undoubtedly prove fruitful.

Correspondence.—The increase of correspondence, during a national campaign is a natural one, the demand for speakers, literature, general inquiries, etc., is greater than ever and at any other time. Therefore the amount of communications and calls sent out in the past year were about 700 and we required about 400 applications on various matters pertaining to agitation. The communications of rural districts are of much benefit to the party organization and agitation; such may be utilized whenever an opportunity arrives.

National and Spring Campaign.—Along with a full national ticket, nominations were made in the first, second, third, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth Congressional districts; in the fourth district we could not obtain the required amount of signatures. The following counties nominated a full ticket: Bergen, Camden, Essex, Hudson, Mercer, Passaic, Middle, Essex and Union. The increase of the Socialist vote may not have reached expectations, though the fact may be impressed upon all Comrades that the Socialist voters of this State proved to be consistent, which is demonstrated by comparing the number of votes cast for President and Vice-President and those of the local ticket. In this State municipal elections are largely held in the spring. This gives the Comrades another opportunity to call upon the workers to unite at the ballot box in favor of the Socialist principles against the capitalist parties. This opportunity the Comrades of the cities of Newark, Elizabeth, Paterson, Jersey City, Hoboken, Union Hill and Guttenberg have utilized, the result being a satisfactory percentage of Socialist votes of the total vote cast in cities mentioned. One must consider that very little interest is shown at the spring elections by the workers. Our aim must therefore be to arouse them so that they may exercise their right of franchise at all elections and in their own interest against the common enemy, the capitalist class, protesting against economic oppression and political corruption.

General Matters.—A general vote has been taken on the place and date of this convention. The result has been submitted to the Sections and branches. The State Committee met regularly on the third Sunday of each month; all delegates attended regularly. The "Daily People" Committee may give a report of its doings. This matter being of great importance, the convention

may take further steps. Only county nominations are to be made at the coming campaign.

Financial Assistance.—We voted a nominal sum as a loan to Sections Paterson and Elizabeth.

Comrades—This is our report of all important actions in the past year. So far as our information goes, this is a complete picture of the agitation, organization and general progress of the movement of this State. This convention may devise ways and means in order to conduct with renewed vigor the enlightenment of our fellow workers, to free them from the thralldom of wage slavery. The result of the late elections in Italy, France and Austria clearly demonstrate that the class-conscious proletariat of Europe is marching; the proletariat of America will follow. Until our aims are accomplished let us Socialists of New Jersey do our duty.

Fraternally yours, **S. L. P., State Com. of New Jersey, JOHN P. WEIGEL, Secy.**

Ohio.

THE FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE STATE COMMITTEE.

RECEIPTS.	
Jan. 1—Balance on hand.....	\$29.68
Jan. 3—Sec. Cleveland, Hun., 20 stamps.....	2.00
Jan. 6—Sec. Gloucester, 30 stamps.....	3.00
Jan. 8—Sec. Canton, 12 stamps.....	1.20
Jan. 11—Sec. Fremont, 20 stamps.....	2.00
Jan. 17—Sec. Cleveland, 100 stamps.....	10.00
Jan. 17—Sec. Akron, 8 stamps.....	80
Feb. 1—Sec. Cincinnati, Am., 40 stamps.....	4.00
Feb. 7—Sec. Cleveland, Pol., 20 stamps.....	2.00
Feb. 7—Sec. Cleveland, 100 stamps.....	10.00
Feb. 7—Sec. Cleveland, 50 due cards.....	20
Feb. 9—Sec. Cleveland, Hung., 20 stamps.....	2.00
Feb. 9—Sec. Canal Dover, Am., 25 stamps.....	2.50
Feb. 13—Sec. Akron, 9 stamps.....	90
Feb. 13—Joe Mueller, Garrettsville, agitation.....	50
Feb. 20—Sec. Sandusky, 36 stamps.....	3.60
Feb. 20—Sec. Cincinnati, Germ., 20 stamps.....	2.00
Feb. 20—Sec. Cincinnati, Germ., 25 due cards.....	15
Feb. 21—Sec. Cleveland, 100 stamps.....	10.00
Feb. 25—Sec. Canton, 10 stamps.....	1.00
March 9—Sec. Cleveland, Hung., 20 stamps.....	2.00
March 20—Fred Schuler, Kelley's Island, agitation.....	50
March 21—Sec. Cleveland, 100 stamps.....	10.00
March 29—Sec. Cleveland, Polish, 30 stamps.....	3.00
Total.....	\$103.03
EXPENDITURES.	
Jan. 1—To Dinger, trip to Youngstown.....	\$8.50
Jan. 13—Nat. Exec. Com., 200 stamps.....	10.00
Feb. 3—Dinger, trip to Canton.....	5.00
Feb. 3—Postage stamps.....	1.00
Feb. 8—Nat. Exec. Com., 200 stamps.....	10.00
Feb. 8—Nat. Exec. Com., 200 due cards.....	80
Feb. 21—Nat. Exec. Com., 200 stamps.....	10.00
March 20—Postage stamps.....	50
Total.....	\$45.80
Balance on hand April 1, 1897.....	57.23
Total.....	\$103.03
STAMP ACCOUNT.	
On hand Jan. 1, 1897.....	191
Received from Nat. Exec. Com.....	600
Total.....	791
Distributed.....	750
Total.....	41

GRAND PIC-NIC
 —OF THE—
Westside Assembly Districts, S. L. P.,
on Pfingst Sunday, June 6th, at
HUGO KROEBEL'S BOULEVARD PARK (formerly Floral Park).

Boulevard and Angelique Street, West Hoboken, N. J.
 DANCING.—Also various Games for Ladies and Children.—Strict Union arrangements.
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ELECTION FUND.

TICKETS..... 10 Cents a person.
 Boulevard Park can be reached from 42d St., Christopher and Barclay St. Ferries with Electric Cars. Also with Rutherford Electric Cars. Cars stop within 5 minutes walk from the park.

22d, 24th, 26th, 27th, 30th Assembly Districts and Branch 8th, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

GRAND SUMMERNIGHTS FESTIVAL SATURDAY, June 12th, 1897.

OLD HOMESTEAD GARDEN, 3d Avenue, 90th and 91st Streets.
 Brilliant Programme.—Dancing.—Gymnastic Performances.—LIVING PICTURES.—Games, etc.
 To commence at 6 P. M. Admission Tickets 10 cents. 25c

THE DAILY PEOPLE
\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to June 2d, 1897.
\$4,515.

The following amounts have been paid down to June 1st, incl.:
 Previously acknowledged..... \$1073 90
 Otto Steidl, Providence, R. I., \$5; 18th Assembly District, City, \$10; A. V. Herman, Lincoln, Neb., \$5; Geo. Luck, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$2; C. P. Brooklyn, N. Y., \$3; Christ Kolden, berg, Marion, Ind., \$10; F. Thiebault, South Boston, Mass., \$2..... 37 00
Total..... \$1110 90

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.

Virginia.

RICHMOND, Va., May 28.—At the regular meeting of Section Richmond, Socialist Labor party, the following resolution was adopted:
 WHEREAS, It has come to the knowledge of our party that the City Council are considering the advisability of selling the City Gas Works; and
 WHEREAS, Our platform demands that the city shall own the gas and water works, railroads, etc.; and
 WHEREAS, The Board of Health has under consideration to give the street cleaning out by contract; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we enter a protest against both actions, as it would be an outrage upon the citizens, especially upon those who have hitherto made an honest living by working for a fair scale of wages under the present system of management;

RESOLVED, That above resolution be published, and a copy of it sent to each Section in Virginia.

SECTION RICHMOND, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.
(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

B. Korn, delegate of the German Waiters' Union No. 1, was chairman at the last meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation (D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A.) and A. Reinfeld, delegate of the Waiters' Alliance Liberty, was vice-chairman.

Credentials for the Greater New York Section S. L. P. for delegates Lucien Sanial, D. S. Cooper and G. Sieburg were received and the delegates seated. A circular from the "N. Y. Volks-Zeitung" requesting that the advertising columns of the paper be patronized by the affiliated unions was read and endorsed and the unions so requested.

The committee which had investigated a complaint of the Celluloid and Plushbox Makers' Union reported having adjusted the matter in favor of the union.

The Arbitration Committee reported having settled the trouble at Café Light in the interest of Waiters' Alliance Liberty.

The Committee which visited the different unions reported that Bartenders' Union No. 1 held different meetings. It was resolved to instruct the secretary of said Union, C. Winter, to call a special meeting for this Friday, 4 P. M., at 296 Allen street, and from thence on to hold regular weekly meetings. The delegates of this union declared that they were greatly injured by the Raines law.

The committee which was instructed to draft a reply to the Furriers' Union's request for an endorsement of the Sulzer anti-sweating bill made a report which will be found on page 1 of this issue.

International Pianomakers' Union requested an English speaker for a meeting on Tuesday, 6 P. M., at 446 W. 46th street. Delegate G. Sieburg was elected. The union tabled a letter from D. Harris which accompanied a circular from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

A visiting member of D. A. 11, S. T. & L. A., Chicago, Ill., gave a review of the strides made in the progressive movement and stated that he would go to California after attending the Convention at Boston.

A debate then ensued on the proposition, "that in future only a member of the S. L. P. could be admitted as a delegate to the C. L. F. from an affiliated union." It was held by the majority of delegates that such a restriction at the present time would not be in the interest of either this body or the S. L. P. The constitution of the C. L. F. was full of Socialism, and the debates held on the floor tended to enlighten delegates on Socialism and convert them to becoming members of the S. L. P. The motion was lost.

It was resolved to elect a committee of three delegates which shall hold a conference with like committees from D. As. 2 and 49. This committee consists of Waldinger, Bohm and Zink.

All organizations were requested to report the names and addresses of the elected delegates to the July Convention and to remit the fare of \$10.00 for the purpose of securing the necessary accommodations on the Fall River line in time. The money is to be delivered to A. Waldinger, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

The Latest Musical Masterpieces
 By PLATON BROUNOFF.

THE HAND WITH THE HAMMER
 Words by PETER BURROWS.
 Price..... 10 cents a copy.
 The proceeds to go to the **DAILY PEOPLE FUND.**

ON THE FIRST OF MAY.
 Words by ELIZABETH GERBER.
 Price..... 10 cents a copy.
THE PEOPLE
 184 William St.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Carl Salm Club (Musicians Union.)
 Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred..... 23

Central Labor Federation of New York
 (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1) Meets at 2:30 P. M. every Sunday at 64 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 Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City..... 29

Cigar-makers' Progressive International Union No. 60. Office and Employment Bureau, 64 East 4th street, District 1 (Bohemian), 294 East 71st street, every Saturday at 10 a. m.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 127 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 212 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 122 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m..... 26

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street..... 22
 Secretary: HENRY ZINKE.

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office, 38 Broadway, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall..... 24

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1008. 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. Sec'y, Residence, 175 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," 7c Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J..... 189

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P., Meets 2nd and 3rd Sundays of every month at 8 o'clock a. m., at Seider's Hall, 251-253 East 34th St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scandinavian Socialist Weekly, SCAND. ARBEITAREN.

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

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

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organized 1872. Membership 10,000.
Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

OFFICE: 64 E. 4th St. OFFICE HOURS, daily, except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 4 o'clock P. M.
 BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, N. Y., Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River, Passaic, N. J., Boston, Holyoke, Mass., New Haven, Conn., Luzerne, Pa..... 239

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1886 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 139 local branches with more than 13,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$2.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.00 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$6.00 and \$3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$200.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 17 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit for \$1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a member's name can be added to workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above named principles are invited to do so. Address all communications to **HENRY ZINKE, Financial Secretary, 25-27 3rd Ave., Room 64, New York City.**

BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM,

949-955 Willoughby Av.
 (Formerly 61-63 Myrtle Street.)
 Meeting Rooms. Large Hall for Mass Meetings. Books open for Balls and Pic Nics.

Workmen! Patronize Your Own Home!

HILLKOWITZ & HILLQUIT, Attorneys at Law,

220 Broadway. Rooms 1314-1316.
DR. C. L. FURMAN,
 DENTIST,
 121 SCHERMERHORN ST., BROOKLYN, N. Y.

JOHN OEHLER'S Steam Printing.

87 Frankfort Street 87
 Cor. Pearl St., Franklin Square E. R. R. Station
 Orders will be taken at 115 E. 9th street, betw Avenue A and First Ave., New York City, 141