

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT'S LETTER TO THE CAPITALIST CLASS

The Position of the Uninventive and Useless Owners of Capital in Society Clearly Defined.—Story of the Ungrateful Donkey

By Ben. Atterbury

I would like to have a straight talk with, or at you, Mr. Capitalist. The business of life and the struggle to live is very serious business to most men. To you living consists chiefly of a round of pleasures. No wish the gratification of which money can buy, provided your health is good, is denied you. I do not, of course, mean to be understood as saying that all very rich men enjoy life. Far from that. There are those among you who think too much of a dollar to enjoy the beauties of anything of anything but compound interest. They have little bits of weazny souls that sometimes cast very serious reflections upon many Biblical statements I might quote, were it not for the misery of being misunderstood. I might, with equal chances of making an impression, go and talk to a state legislature, filled with pot-house politicians, about the rights of man—as a man—and not as a party man. And you can readily imagine how hopeless an undertaking that would be. This is an assumption on my part; it may be, however, that many of you never thought of it. It is, then, to those of your number who really enjoy life and have the power, under the law and over the law, to add to your present vast accumulations of wealth by monopolizing land and capital—the resources of nature, and the means of transforming these resources into things necessary to the sustenance and the comfort of human beings.

And the first thing I have to say to you is a word about land. You cannot successfully combat the proposition that the present distribution, use and disuse of the bounty of nature denies to millions of men, quite as worthy and intelligent as yourself, access to opportunities of gaining a livelihood. You cannot, I think, deny that in nature, independent of law, there is nowhere to be found any sanction for your class to distribute land with so little reference to justice and the absolute necessities of the human race as to make the earth for millions a living tomb, instead of a glorious habitation. You will not dare, I venture to say, to supplement your last donation to the fund for saving the heathen in foreign countries, with the contention that while the earth and all its fullness may have originally been the Lord's, some Yankee or British syndicate has, by discovering a defect in the title, come into undisputed and perpetual proprietorship. There is no defect in the title of the human race, gentlemen! That is superior to your title, superior to any individual right, though the latter has the sanction and seal of all the governments that ever existed. Your titles to the land were mostly obtained by force and are maintained by fraud. While your class holds land out of use, owns, as you say, millions of acres of the fertile lands of the world that you cannot use, your selfishness, and cruelty, and greed, is accomplishing the degradation and ruin of the human race. Like the great thieves of Rome, who gradually stole the common lands of the people, you are slowly, surely driving the people from nature's bounties and have sanctified your larcenies by forms of law.

The foregoing is fundamental in your scheme of usurpation of common human rights. Yours is a system that could not exist without the protection of governments, and that protection you have obtained by methods of force and corruption. You pride yourselves, no doubt, that you have by legality banished justice from the world, and like Cervantes, who thought he had laughed the last dying breath out of the body of civilization, you imagine the soul of democracy is extinct, and to you has forever fallen the task of writing the laws for seventy millions of people. But as in the history of social and industrial progress we find system after system decay and pass away, so you shall find one day that the people are supreme and that the political sovereignty with which you fool them will not always suffice. Make no mistake, gentlemen, the ghastly mockery and grinning farce you now call freedom will not do; it will rot last, for the fundamental principles of human welfare are planted in the human brain and your fences will go down.

But your monopoly of the land is not yet quite so complete as that of machinery and things which the brain and muscle of ingenious and industrious men have transformed from land into what your class calls its capital. You are the owner of a railroad—which you did not build; the principal work in building a railroad, I understand, is done with pick and shovel, but you

never turned a shovelful of earth on the railroad you own. You may claim that you paid the strong-limbed men who did, but you didn't; that is one of the great mistakes you capitalists make, viz., that you pay the wages of workingmen. All wages are paid by the men who do the work, workingmen pay their own wages. More than that, they pay your income. Your income and their wages came from the same original source—labor applied to natural resources. You neither created the resources nor performed the labor, but the property is yours, yours by a systematic confusion of the moral sense of mankind.

Did you ever think how much work was done for society and the building of railroads before you could own one? Is it any merit of yours that you can fly over the rails in the president's car at sixty miles an hour? How much did you have to do with building a locomotive, or an eighty-pound steel rail, or the hewing of ties, or the bridging of rivers, or the mining of iron? I can't put my finger on any work done by you. You didn't even invent so much as a screw, or a nut, or a bolt, all of which had to be discovered before a locomotive could be built to run on your railroad. All these things required thought and patience and a thousand experiments before you could enjoy the luxury of owning a railroad, and most of your class, I am inclined to believe, never had the power of thought, the patience or the skill to do any of them. If I am wrong in this send me the name of a capitalist who has ever built a railroad, or any part of a railroad, I shall be happy to acknowledge that your class is not as bad as I have believed it to be.

Why should you monopolize the thought, the patience, the experiments and the skill of thousands of men in the past? These things could not belong to you but for one fact, you have been protected in your scheme of monopolization by laws enacted as often as not by governments or legislatures which you have seized and perverted to your own selfish ends. You are a punctual man, I have heard it said. How did you learn to be punctual? By the aid of the watch you carry. But you didn't invent the watch and you couldn't make one. With you "time is money," but you would be as ignorant of the divisions of time as you appear to be of human misery, save for the ingenuity, experiments, patience and thought of the Harries and the Barlows of three centuries ago, and the skill of the Arabians a thousand years before them.

You may take an inventory of what you own and be accounted a very wealthy man; but if you will follow that with another of things you have made, your credit, I imagine, will be exceedingly small. You are much given to deluding yourself and trying to delude other folks with the idea that what you call your capital is your savings. That is a fallacy. If capital is the result of savings, one of your class, John Rockefeller, is the most deserving man in America! Now isn't such a thought preposterous? If Jay Gould was able by disposing of mouse traps made with his own hands to save one dollar a day, that was clearly saving from his own labor; but just as soon as a maker of mouse traps becomes an employer of other men engaged at turning out mouse traps, he becomes, under your system, an appropriator of other men's earnings; he is then able to live better, but he does not live on his own savings. That idea has been in an advanced stage of decay for a long time. So I am unable to see what there is to set down to your credit. You owe everything you have to men now living and working and to other men who worked and died long before you came into this world to preempt its natural wealth, get a cinch on pendants and slaves of human beings who, on the score of merit, outrank you and all your tribe. No one man invented the steam engine or the clock; neither did you, Mr. Monopolist, make your own fortune. Your self-made man is a pure humbug and your talk about thrift man's social inheritance and make demand saving sheer nonsense.

There is a little fable about a donkey and his master. It is quite suggestive in its way; and, as you may not have heard it, I will venture to recall it: The master employed the ass to carry upon his back great sacks of oats. One day the patient burden-bearer stopped suddenly in the highway. "Go on, beast," said the great Man. "I can go no further," brayed the Ass.

"Thou ungrateful beast," said the Man, "do I not give thee work by which thou dost earn thy feed?" "Alas!" said the Ass, "my burdens are so heavy and my feet so light that I am too weak to trudge farther." "If thou dost not go on I shall lose the market for my oats. Go on, or I will goad thee!"

But the patient Ass still refused to go; whereupon the Man began to goad him severely. The Ass resented this by kicking and shaking every sack of grain from his back to the ground, which so frightened the great Man that he called to a Passer-by for help. There was a kind look in the Stranger's eyes as he said to the great man: "Thou art rightly served; the Ass can carry the whole load if he has less on his back and more in his stomach!"

Now, Mr. Capitalist, there is a lesson for you—and another for the asses in that fable. I think the asses are learning theirs, and when they have it thoroughly you had better "look a leedle out!" As sure as you are a living glutton, the ass will suddenly stop in the road some day and "dump" you with your stolen property. Study Socialism and begin to do something useful for the human race and the rescue of men, women and children from the pit into which your beastly commercialism is plunging them.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The bitterly fought municipal election in Vienna resulted in a victory for the anti-Semites, which party is composed of the nobility, capitalists, clericals and other factions that are antagonistic to Jews. The combination, by the most bare-faced frauds and shameful gerrymandering, won 131 seats in the council, while the Progressives secured but 21. For the first time the Socialists are represented, winning two seats. The popular vote shows the infamous manner in which the capitalistic government has gerrymandered the city. The anti-Semites polled only 77,608 for their 131 seats, while the Socialists secured only two seats with 56,306 votes. Thousands of workingmen were also disfranchised, and this farcical condition will cause more fights in parliament.

The third annual meeting of the Trades Union Congress is being held at Vienna. Since 1896 there has been an increase of 40,000 members, but even now there are only 157,773 trade unionists in the whole country. That, undoubtedly, is one of the chief reasons why strikes generally fail; battles cannot be won unless the army is well organized beforehand. The chief subject for debate was the question of organization.

At Kronstadt, in Transylvania, the first congress of the Transylvanian Socialist party has been held. The inhabitants of this part of Austria are nearly all Roumanians, but the congress determined to take no part in the nationalist quarrels, but to agitate for federation and for universal suffrage. Two papers are to be started. They are to appear monthly, one being in Roumanian and one in German.

The West Ham Corporation, England, maintains an artificial-stone factory for supplying flagging stones. The department is making a profit of over £1,500 a year on what is as yet a very small turnover. The West Ham Corporation has also a stable depot and supplies horses to the health department and the highways and park committee.

Paul Iglesias is going on a lecturing tour through the south of Spain. He is to lecture at Malaga, Gibraltar, Sevilla, Cordova and several other places. It is also stated in El Socialista of Madrid that the Socialists in the Argentine Republic will hold their third congress on July 1, and that a Workmen's party is to be formed at San Domingo, in the West Indies.

Richard Croker, the New York politician, recently purchased a bulldog for which he paid the sum of \$4,000. "According to a decision of a New York judge, rendered some time ago, a baby is worth \$1, hence one bulldog is worth 4,000 babies. Do you believe?"

The English delegates to establish a labor college in this country arrived in New York, and a big mass meeting will be held July 8 to inaugurate the plan. The Britishers contribute \$20,000 toward the proposed college.

In New York state 910 persons were killed and nearly 40,000 crippled in shops, factories and industrial pursuits in the year 1899. In the war with Spain 280 Americans were killed and 1,557 wounded.

A congress is to be held at Amsterdam to try and form a united Socialist party, so as to secure the co-operation of revolutionary and parliamentary Socialists.

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COMRADE CLEMENS OF KANSAS REPELS A "BAYONET" CHARGE

If a Man Due in California Got Into a Wagon Going to New York, What Would You Think of Him?

From Western Socialist News

Although I have said nothing about it in these columns, it is a fact that I am supposed to be a candidate for governor of Kansas—the nominee of the Social Democratic party. I am not yet nominated, for a referendum is pending and some other man may be "it." For this reason, and a few others, I have not been worrying over my candidacy, and up to this date I have not promised a single job to anybody. I have not even bethought me of the selection of a private secretary. But I am beginning to feel important now, for the fusion press and the fusion fixers and bosses are going after me in a style that seems to indicate they are afraid I may, through the thoughtlessness or carelessness of the stupid masses, actually get some votes: I am going to get a silk tile if this row over me keeps on a while longer. A good fusion paper published at Wichita by a contract-labor editor imported by Jerry Simpson from Washington has just gone after me with a three-column bayonet charge. The kind-hearted, if misguided, editor pays me this handsome compliment:

"Clemens, as simply Citizen Clemens, is no more to me than I am to Clemens; but Candidate Clemens who declares he is running for governor in the interests of the people, but is in reality an assistant Republican, needs some attention."

Hear that? But that is not the only nice thing he says about me. Read: "It is more than a right, it is a duty, to take to task a man who, claiming to be a friend to the people, is giving their enemies his ablest assistance in keeping locked the gate to reform."

That is to say, I am liable to keep locked the gate through which the pure and holy office-seekers, who have fused with not only the Democratic party, Tammany and all, but the railroad companies of Kansas as well, must pass to the enjoyment of the jobs they have agreed among themselves to permit "the people" to give them in the name of "reform." Whatever I can do toward it I shall certainly do to keep "locked the gate to reform" while the "reform" is of the peculiar brand that requires the most disgraceful and most brazen trafficking for mere office ever witnessed on this politics-cursed earth since the days of Walpole. My esteemed contemporary, which, by the way, has not offered to exchange with the News, will please accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration for the unsolicited send-off it has given my humble candidacy. I am everlastingly glad

SWEET CHARITY AND CAPITAL

Sweet Charity was one day passing down the street dressed in the height of fashion, and showing in every line of her figure and in every feature of her countenance evidences of taste and refinement, when she came upon Industry lying beastly drunk in the gutter just able to drag himself up on his elbow and curse a well-dressed gentleman by the name of Capital, who was passing in a stylish carriage. Sweet Charity and Capital exchanged greetings, agreed that Industry was in a shocking state of demoralization, tossed him a dime to sober up on, and then congratulated one another that their names had been changed by act of legislature so that nobody would ever suspect them of being daughter and son of that loathsome wretch, or that everything they had in the world they received from him.

There is in New York a certain benevolent millionairess whose income is a thousand dollars a day or such a matter. She gives money away liberally and her "benevolences" are widely heralded in the newspapers.

She knows very well that there are a thousand young women in New York whose combined income is less than hers, and yet that each one of those thousand young women renders more useful service to society every day than she does in a month. They work like slaves for their pittance. She merely holds her embroidered apron, and money rains into it faster than she can get rid of it.

Her father accumulated the money from which her income is derived by methods that are little short of diabolical. Thousands of men were ruined through his financial manipulations. She probably has never taken the trouble to look up her father's record, or, if she has, she feels herself powerless to remedy it. Her share of the fortune would not go far in making restitution even to the people she knows about who are in financial straits through her father's

that the fusionists have at last conceded that as a candidate for governor I "need some attention."

But the particular thing I wish to speak of is the following Bayonet thrust:

"Suppose a man who wanted to go to China was offered a seat in the conveyance of a man who wanted to go only to California, refused the seat with scorn and abuse and started to walk, just because the man who was going to California refused to agree that he would continue on to China, what would you think of him anyway?"

My dear Bayonet, I must confess I must look upon him as a man acting very much like a fool. But suppose a man wishing to journey to California should chance to meet a wagon on its way back to New York, and the driver should say to him: "Brother, we are bound in the same direction. Get into my wagon and you will reach your destination much sooner than on foot." If the man due in California got into that wagon to ride, "What would you think of him, anyway?" As Socialism is the very antithesis of competition, and as Mr. Bryan and his crowd are determined to "restore competition," kindly enlighten me, my dear Bayonet, whether my supposition or yours more truly presents the actual situation. Mr. Bryan does not stand for a single new idea. His entire program is reactionary. His one aim is to get back to the old state of things in every direction. He is the most conservative candidate today running for the presidency. Why free silver? To restore old conditions. Why "smash the trusts"? To restore old conditions. Do everything Mr. Bryan urges and the country will not have taken a single step in advance; it will merely have returned to "the good old times."

Socialists do not wish to return to the past. They wish to preserve all the advantages civilization has gained for mankind, including the concentration of industries and all other industrial machinery. Socialism does not propose that mankind shall retreat a single inch toward the past. It wishes to carry over into the new social order everything of use or of beauty the world possesses today. In short, Socialism's aim is not to destroy anything the world has in it, but to give the enjoyment of all the world possesses to all the people instead of to a class. Socialists are progressive, not reactionary. What good would a ride in Bryan's wagon do us?

genius for money-making. Her great wish is to make herself honored and loved by the American people as her father is despised. So she is giving dollars in benevolence where her father took thousands by perfidy.—The Straight Edge.

Bryanism and Social Democracy

Social Democracy is not Bryan Democracy. Bryan Democracy is mainly political. Its chief object is to get the presidency and other places of profit and power. It does not propose to change any of the elements of our present economic system out of which have arisen our present economic difficulties. It does not intend to stop the machinery which, to manufacture millionaires, multiplies paupers. It would not crucify labor on a cross of gold, but would leave untouched the old-fashioned cross made of the wage system as a base, with rent, interest and profit as head and arms. It desires to eat the cake of imperialism and keep it at the same time. The Social Democratic party stands for radical remedies. It believes in putting a stop to concentration of the country's wealth in few hands. It believes that private ownership of the sources and instruments of wealth production is the groundwork of wealth concentration. To get rid of the evil public ownership must, through government action, be made to take the place of private ownership of those things.

This is the economic side of Social Democracy. It involves social interests, for all society is interested in an equitable distribution of wealth. It is democratic, for it puts the wealth-making and wealth-distributing power into the hands of all the people. Is this desirable? or is plutocracy better? One or the other seems inevitable. We favor the program of Social Democrats.—Civic and Social Problems.

The Kansas City convention proposes that the asses shall change riders; but a change of riders won't help the asses.

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WHAT HAS CAPITAL DONE?

Would there be any clothing without labor, or any houses, or ships, or railroads, or machines without labor? Would there be any food for anybody without labor? Can capital produce pictures, write or print books, raise wheat or corn, make machines, build houses or ships, construct railroads or cut and sew clothing? Has capital anywhere ever done any of these things? Do you know of a single mile of railroad in all the 180,000 miles, that capital has built? Ever seen a pair of socks that capital knitted or a horseshoe that capital forged? Do you think that all the capital in this world could produce this week's paper? If capital can do none of these things, and the doing of them is so essential to human comfort, why should it hog five-sixths of all that labor, joined to capital, produces? The answer is plain, and to understand the answer is to see the hopelessness of the wage slave's condition. Capital, under the present system, must appropriate the lion's share, that is, all the surplus value of labor it can, to preserve itself. Under this system of labor it cannot do otherwise. Hence, Socialists declare for the abolition of the system, because of its monstrous injustice.

FOLLY OF MONEY REFORM

If money reform should be carried to the point of utterly destroying every dollar, pound, franc, florin, shilling and penny on earth, and the whole diabolical vocabulary of money rooted out of every language, the world would be no poorer than now. It is work and not money that increases with wealth. It is the workers and not financiers who maintain progress. And Socialists want work done without reference to price or profit, but with reference to social requirements and the demands of justice. Socialists want productive capital, which includes machinery, socialized and operated, without profit, to supply the needs of society. Money reformers want profit; they want to readjust the "skinning" business, so that in place of a few big "skinners" we will have a whole nation of little ones. But as high tariff, and low tariff, and no tariff, have failed, so will currency reform also fail, for there will be more inventions, more emporiums of trade driving the small merchant to the wall and more monopoly of nature's raw materials. The only way to check the universal concentration of wealth and the consequent universal growth of Socialism, is to abolish human stomachs and deprive the human brain of the power to think, so that men can live without eating and work without inventing.

REPUBLICAN CLAIMS DISPROVED

It was announced in the Republican convention that every man who desired a situation and was willing to work could find a job. The day after, to prove that Republicans always tell the truth, David Ross, a Republican secretary of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, issued a bulletin giving the result of the three state free employment bureaus during the forty-four weeks ending June 9 that they have been in operation. The number of applications filed were, males 25,565, females 14,432. The number of positions secured, males 14,787, females 14,129. The total number of applications for help were, for males, 18,103, females 17,015. Thus it will be seen that there were 7,000 males who could not possibly be provided with a situation because the applications for help did not come within 7,000 of those applying for situations.

Now, if the statistics of Illinois show men to be out of employment with no jobs awaiting them some bright (?) reader will probably think of the prairies and wonder why those out of work do not pick up their families, with five or six children, and pay from \$100 to \$200 railroad fare and take a vestibule car to the prairies of the West, where lucrative employment awaits "the penniless." Their chances there we see from the Chicago Chronicle of June 22, which contains an article by one who had a similar dream, who went West seeking a fortune as a farmhand. Perhaps he was a bachelor and figured that some heiress would relieve him of his daily

discouragements, but, far from that this conservative Democratic paper says 10,000 applicants for work are stranded in Kansas and a few who are lucky enough to be working are getting 50 cents a day and of the 10,000 tramping the state about 3,000 went from Chicago. The glowing accounts of prosperity sent out by Kansas promoters reaped a harvest of tramps.

It further states "how penury has attacked the visitors to such an extent that thievery has been resorted to and farmers have sought police protection." "Their chicken coops have been looted and their storehouses raided." It is a daily occurrence for one to be pushed off a train while in motion by the brakeman or conductor, and in Kansas large groups are complaining of their ill fortune, and bonfires at night may be seen in many places around which the unfortunate job hunters are gathered. This gold standard sound money paper tells this freely, without suggesting a remedy, and thus we find in the country and in the cities the dismal song of the stranded and unemployed; but never mind, we are raising money to assist the starving people of India, and charity balls will soon give joy to those who have neither the manhood to protest against complete subjection nor the intellect to observe and see that which will bring the blessedness to be.

It is proper here to observe that if there were no unemployed the capitalist system would immediately fall. If every man had a situation he would demand the full product of his labor, which would leave no surplus value for the capitalist. The reason that they do not today receive the full product of their labor is because the reserve army of the unemployed stand ready to take their positions at a far lower salary or wage than that which the full product of labor amounts to. If there were none out of employment to step in and take the positions and compete with the wage worker they would take nothing else than the full product created by them, because when they ceased to work, industry would stop; but the unemployed today step in and take their places and continue production; therefore the unemployed are necessary and the salvation of the capitalist system.

LOOKING FOR JOBS AND NOT RIGHTS

Everything that ever was essential to be done for the perpetuation of the human species and the comfort of human life on the planet has been done by labor. The achievements of labor almost exceed the comprehension of man—they surpass the understanding of the average laborer to-day. The toilers of the world have been so busy doing the world's work that they have had no time to think about rights, and with only the dull and monotonous round of labor, multitudes of them are to-day totally ignorant of all questions touching human rights. Even where the masses have political liberty, they fear to exercise it in a manly and independent way, and life to them has become a condition of leaning on and cringing to the private capitalist who sometimes has the power to give them a job, and at all times has the power to deny them a job. The workers have been too much engrossed with looking for jobs then, to look for their rights and security. So that to-day, while they are "political freemen," they are economic slaves. And they have been made slaves by work—blind, unintelligent, almost hopeless work; work that has bound all the nations of the earth together in a net-work of related interests; work that has mined and molded the resources of nature into forms of beauty and utility and created wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, but work that is without meaning to the workers.

His Eyes Opened At Last

S. Christensen of Berwick, a hard-working, honest Dane, and formerly an employe of the Monmouth potteries, gave me this account of his experience there: "After wheeling those heavy trucks and performing other heavy labor for ten hours I would feel more dead than alive. I would sometimes be too tired to eat my supper, so like a jaded ox I would drop asleep. I was in no condition for thinking or reading; as Markham has said, I was in fact a partner of the ox—and all for a dollar and a quarter a day. I found after a few weeks that the work was undermining my health, and at best I was simply working for a poor living with no margin. So I quit. Had I worked there ten years I would have been no better off, and doubtless broken in health. My experience is only that of thousands of workmen over the country, and this we call 'prosperity.' At last I have my eyes open, and I intend to vote for Debs this fall if I live."—Galesburg Labor News.

Farmers' Review: The present commercial system makes poverty for the many and riches for the few. Therefore, the man who defends the present system stands on the side of the capitalist class, and when you vote the Democratic or Republican ticket you vote for poverty for the many and wealth for the few. This is a class-conscious struggle, and you must either vote for the wealthy few or the poverty masses. Bryan and McKinley stand for the capitalist class and Debs for the working class. Which side are you on?

**SOCIALIST FLASHLIGHT
TURNED ON CURRENT
IDEAS AND EVENTS**

From blowing hot on the subject of union and making its columns the vehicle for all the misrepresentation, slander and vilification that the unionists could pour into them, the Coming Nation (which was "for union, too") has again found its normal level, and in its last issue says that Socialists can "vote for the Democratic party if it gives us a good, sound, direct legislation plank" and be "perfectly consistent, honest and patriotic." It also sees that the "way has been left open" by the Republicans "for the Democrats to win the greatest victory that ever graced the laurels of any party" and hopes the Kansas City convention will "rise to the hour"! At the same time its sapient editor is opposed to Socialist parties (although he meddled in a quite ineffectual way in their affairs) and avers that while the paper hopes "to get direct legislation this year from the Democratic party," its interest in the cause of Socialism "has not declined"! Only a little vague and wobbly, perhaps?

The common people of the world who do useful work, love freedom and despise conventional patriotism with its attendant shams and hypocrisy, may take heart and courage from the fact that modern capitalist England had to employ 250,000 men, exclusive of camp followers, doctors and nurses, to thrash less than 40,000 farmers. And, although the job was begun more than eight months ago, it is not yet completed. The English have their hospitals everywhere filled, and the total loss—dead, wounded and sick—numbers at least 50,000 men, or fully 10,000 more than the entire Boer army. The war still drags and there is no gala spirit in England.

The economic power in the State of the Standard Oil Company is measured by two hundred million dollars, and only the working people of the nation, united at the polls to gain control of the government, will ever be able to destroy that power. It will never be done by a "licensing board" administered by democratic politicians from the prairies of Nebraska and the political jungles of New York.

The difference between a "new democracy"—of the Bryan order—and Social Democracy, is the difference between wealth makers with no wealth and wealth makers with all the wealth. A Social Democracy is of necessity a state of economic freedom. Bryanism wants you to be satisfied with "individual liberty"—to steal or commit suicide.

Socialism would, by abolishing production for individual profit, create those social conditions that would contribute to the improvement of the race. It believes in the regeneration of mankind through right generation. It seeks to correct heredity by improving environment. Therefore, it encompasses the welfare of man in all its aspects.

The people might just as well vote for McKinley, imperialism and the Philadelphia splutter of words, as to be hoodwinked by Bryan and the retrogressive democracy which proposes to preserve the present capitalist system of industry—if they can't get sense enough to vote for Debs and a national advance in the direction of freedom.

Socialism would abolish the private ownership of capital (the control of machines which have developed from individual tools by the skill and ingenuity of workmen) and make its use and control in production a social function. All the means of production (which are a social growth) should be socially administered.

Ever thought of the difference between the capitalist and his slave, the workingman? The workingman gives all he can make and takes as little as the capitalist will allow him. The capitalist takes all he can get and gives as little as he must to maintain the slave market.

Stupidity at the bottom has always been as much of a hindrance to progress as selfishness at the "top"—perhaps more. The people will this year have an opportunity to show whether experience with hypocritical political parties controlled by the capitalist class has taught them anything.

The Republican platform declares against foreign immigration. So it does. But Gage, a Republican secretary of the treasury, is arranging to admit thousands of foreign contract laborers over the protest of the immigration commissioners—for the convenience of railroad corporations.

The rich, like the politicians who serve in a servile way the present system because it gives them jobs, thrive on the people's superstitions, and the hoary superstition that the rich must have all the wealth so that they can have all the power has surfeited one man and stripped a million.

The poor are not "blessed," and lack of employment is not a "means of grace."

Unity among the workers, not for domination in a political organization, but for the common ownership of the tools of production (which is a human right), means the triumph of Social Democracy, and that is the goal of the labor movement.

Three sorts of men in every community are commonly opposed to Socialism: Men who skin for a living, men who preach for a living and men who work for a living. The skinners prey, the preachers pray and the workers pay.

The possibility and the necessity of Socialism are demonstrated by the concentration of wealth and the means of production in the hands of a class. It is a condition that is not final and can not endure.

There is nothing under the stars that is not amenable to change, except perhaps the poor, ignorant, deluded Republican workingman who thinks that a Republican platform which is half buncomb and half lies is to be taken seriously.

The Republican platform says "the American government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril." Just as it did, for example, in the Idaho outrage.

In a society where capitalist and workman merged in the same individual and no single individual had economic power or control over another, Social Democracy would prevail.

Wealth was never produced except by the association of labor with the resources of nature. No combination of mere capitalists has ever produced wealth anywhere.

Capital controlled by society at large would be a means of supplying every human need; in the hands of private owners it is a means of increasing human misery.

What will become of the trusts under Bryan—suppose he were elected? Well, what became of them under Cleveland? Went right on multiplying and expanding, didn't they?

The capitalist ideal is the dominance in the state of those who possess property; the Social Democratic ideal is the dominance of those who create property.

Social Democracy would be an order of the affairs of men administered not by state's men, but by mine's men, farm's men, shop's men—and women.

A commodity is worth the labor cost of producing it. Labor should form the basis of the measure of value, because it is the source of value.

What is the difference between John D. Rockefeller buying you a meal and paying for your education? It's up to you, John Smith.

When you tell us of the humble beginning of the rich, tell the means of their ascension.

A workingman ought to live on a dollar a week—provided he don't care to live long.

The best laws are those that have been outgrown, that society has learned to ignore.

WHAT EDITORS ARE SAYING

The Farmers' Review: The labor unions are discussing the economic question, and the more they discuss the question the faster they travel toward Socialism. The unions of this country must ultimately sustain the same relation to the Socialist movement that they do in Europe. In Germany a large part of the 2,000,000 Socialist votes comes from the trades unions. There is no place the union workers can consistently go politically but to the Socialists.

Galesburg Labor News: Thomas I. Kidd, one of the brightest workers in the trade union movement, said to me a few weeks ago: "I wouldn't remain in this movement twenty-four hours if it were not for its educational work. Trade unionism is at best only a means to an end. The wage system must be abolished. Under any president of any capitalist party so long as the wage system remains labor will receive practically but a subsistence wage; it should and must have all it produces."

Lancaster (Pa.) Tribune: On every hand, when we pick up a leading party paper, we are informed that the great campaign issue is to be the trust. Down with the trust. Our Republican friends tell us that their party is down on the trust. That it has had introduced into congress an amendment to the constitution as the means of dealing with the evil. Yes, and we remember when that same party a few years ago introduced a bill which was passed and is now known as the Sherman anti-trust law. But it did not do any suppressing, and the same party that introduced that, now, by the introduction of the present constitutional amendment, admits that it was a fraud.

THE POOR MAN A SLAVE

A Man in Want or the Dread of Want is Not Free

What chance has the poor man today? Has his condition improved? These are questions not hard to answer.

No man has a chance who hasn't got a job. The circumstances surrounding the poor man have improved, but the conditions are the same.

The conditions are no different today from what they were in the ancient days of white slavery in Greece and Rome. This is indeed a beautiful, a grand country in many ways. It is rich with the spirit of progress and invention, rich by nature, but the poor man's condition is no better than if he were a slave.

All this country has done for him has been to give him a little more elbow room. He has a great, beautiful country to roam over, but he is no better off than—in fact, not as well off as—the slaves of old.

We used fondly to figure the American who earned his bread in the sweat of his brow and voted with his party as a sovereign, and we invited him to regard himself in that light.

Really, however, without the means of livelihood in his own hands, but in the hands of another, he is scarcely the regal shape we figured him. The workingman out of a job can have little joy of his vote, and if he is very poor, if he is not making both ends meet, he can hardly will good to others, the sovereign act of the freeman, because he has none to will.

It is true that he may rebel, that he may renounce his employment when he has one and does not think himself justly paid, but without the means of livelihood he has no chance except to seek some other employment, and this choice is scarcely freedom. He may, of course, become a tramp, and in the loose play of our circumstances he may not suffer more than many others who remain patiently at work.

But, then, it is our circumstances that befriended him and not our conditions; these are the same for him as the workingman's conditions everywhere.

The only moment of sensible political sovereignty for him is that of voting, but in that moment he parts with his sovereignty for a term of months or years, without respect to the men who shall make his laws, judge them and execute them.

He chooses, he elects, he gives, and "the gods themselves cannot resume their gifts," much less a poor devil who has voted with his party and has nothing to eat.

For such a citizen of the freer state liberty can scarcely be said to exist in the sense that it exists for the more fortunate. He cannot choose, he cannot sacrifice himself for others, for he is already sacrificed. He can impart no advantages, for he has none, and he can have none until he has bettered his fortunes. He remains in the savage necessity of self assertion, in the warfare which manifests itself in strikes, riots, mutinies, murders. The poor man knows, if the rich man does not know, that the poorer man has always less liberty than the richer man, just as certainly as that he has less money. If he has not the means of livelihood in his own hands, he cannot come and go when he will, he cannot command his time, he cannot choose the kind of work he will do, as the richer man measurably can. He is often enslaved to hateful and loathsome services for others, such as each should do for himself. Until a man is independent he is not free: As long as he must look to the pleasure or the profit of another man for his living he is not independent. His employer may not mean to oppress him. He may be his oppressor unwillingly, as when his own adversity obliges him to cut down his hireling's wages, but he oppresses him then, however unwillingly, and he oppresses him when he casts him off to seek some other support, not knowing whether he can find it or not. This fact often comes home to the humane employer, especially in the case of hirelings who have served him long and well, and more than any other it tells with the conscience against the whole relation of "hireling and him that hires." The hireling may have all those rights which we vainly suppose are the proofs of liberty. He may have the right to speak freely, print freely, pray freely, vote freely; but he cannot manfully use his right, though warranted in it by the constitutions and the statutes of all states, if he is afraid another man may take away his means of livelihood.

It is needless to say that the personal equation will have much to do with the character of the event. Many—perhaps most—employers are of a make so noble and of a self respect so fine that they would abhor to interfere with the constitutional rights of their hirelings, and there are hirelings so brave that they would starve and see their wives and little ones starve before they yielded their rights. But slavery was none the less an evil because most slaveholders were kind and good people or because there was now and then a heroic slave. The man who is in danger of want or even in dread of want is not a free man, and the country which does not guard him against this danger and this dread, or does not assure him the means of livelihood is not a free country, though it may be the freest of all the freer countries.—William Dean Howells.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Although a new branch, Dedham has gone to work, as all new branches should. An open-air meeting was held there in Stone Park on the 24th. Comrade MacCartney gave an interesting address, literature was distributed and the meeting was a complete success.

Representative MacCartney addressed the Roslindale branch on the 26th. Five new members joined the branch at the close of the meeting.

The Social Democratic party of Calhoun County and State of Michigan will hold a mass convention at Battle Creek July 9, 1900, at International Congress Hall for the purpose of organizing the County and electing a county committee.

A good list of new subscribers has been received on the special offer of twenty-six weeks for 20 cents. The offer is still good and as the period will cover the campaign, the comrades are urged to do their level best to increase The Herald's circulation during the next thirty days.

Officers of branches when communicating with headquarters are requested not to omit their street address and branch number. This is necessary owing to the increased correspondence due to new branches and to insure prompt reply from the national secretary.

Thirty loyal branches are now in line in Massachusetts—thirty that take a definite stand against organic unity and are resolved to stand by the result of the referendum. The old Bay State is all right, comrades. She stands pat!

The National Christian Citizenship League has severed relations with the Social Reform Union and is now located in room 64, Metropolitan building, 163 Randolph street, Chicago.

Comrade Eugene Dietzgen, who is now at Falkenstein, Germany, writes us that his health is much improved and is slowly regaining strength.

Mrs. Dietzgen has several relations with the S. L. P. and joined the S. D. P.

Nominating petitions for the state and national candidates of the Social Democratic party of Illinois were filed at Springfield last Wednesday, June 27.

W. H. Mills is conducting an interesting and instructive department of Social Democracy in Common Sense, published at Dallas, Texas.

A WORD FROM GERMANY

Editor S. D. Herald: As in November last, I am still against the union proposed by our S. L. P. friends, and now, of course, more than ever.

In the interest of desirable and true union I am opposed to a union that stands for continued discord and disruption. For fear of hurting the successful development of our party, we cannot unite with the members of the S. L. P., whether of the De Leonite or of the anti-De Leonite faction, as long as they give us not the best assurance of having discarded their mischievous tactics, inspired by personal animosity, fanaticism and ignorance of American conditions.

The entire history of the S. L. P., dating back about 25 years, is a continued round of discord and disruption of the pettiest kind, a veritable storm in a teapot, ridiculous and shameful at the same time. But still both factions of the S. L. P. adhere to the same tactics and to the identical spirit of old, of which De Leon is an exceptionally loud representative at present.

I do not question the honesty and sincerity of our S. L. P. comrades, as far as Socialism is concerned, but I condemn their methods as apt rather to delay than to hasten our cause.

Endorsing the action of our N. E. B., I beg to inform you that my wife, Mrs. Anna Dietzgen, has this day severed her connection with the S. L. P. and become a member of the S. D. P.

Yours truly, Eugene Dietzgen. Falkenstein i Taunus, June 18, 1900.

PROGRESS IN MONTANA

Comrade P. J. Cooney of Butte, Mont., was among the visitors at headquarters during the week. He is enthusiastic in his predictions for the future of the party and as to the outlook in his own state, he said:

"The movement in Montana is meeting with gratifying success. The Anaconda or Amalgamated Company is in full control of the Republican machine, while the Democratic party is torn asunder. There are now two Democratic state conventions, one owned by Clark, the other by Daly, manager of the Anaconda Company. The shrewd politicians claim that Daly's fight in the Democratic party is only a bluff and that he intends to win through the Republican party. The Populist party is looking forward to what they call a union of the reform forces. They are praying and hoping for the financial support of Hinze, to whom they will give the judicial candidates. Amid all this, the Social Democrats are pursuing the even tenor of their way. As far as they are concerned there will be no 'union of reform forces,' and the labor men who are Social Democrats will not be used as a tail to the Populist kite. This week the branch at Butte is sending out a state organizer who will remain in the field until the close of the campaign. A state convention will be called, presidential electors and a full state ticket nominated. We hope by that time to have an organization in every county in the state. To the comrades outside of Butte we would say that no effort will be spared in pushing the work. Let each branch do all it can towards assisting the organizer in every possible way, and this fall we will poll a vote that will be a paralyzer."

NEW BRANCHES

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main in the field until the close of the campaign. A state convention will be called, presidential electors and a full state ticket nominated. We hope by that time to have an organization in every county in the state. To the comrades outside of Butte we would say that no effort will be spared in pushing the work. Let each branch do all it can towards assisting the organizer in every possible way, and this fall we will poll a vote that will be a paralyzer."

OREGON STATE CONVENTION

The election just held in Oregon has shown the Socialists of the state the hopelessness of political reforms emanating from either the Republican, Democratic or fusion parties. Our only hope is in ourselves and an earnest effort to bring about the necessary reforms through the ballot box. For this purpose the Social Democratic party of Oregon will hold a convention in Portland, Ore., on Thursday, July 12, at 7:30 p. m., at the Washington Hotel, Third and Flanders streets, to nominate four presidential electors to be voted for on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900. Every branch in the state should send its representative or proxy, and we would respectfully recommend that the four representatives be taken from the four different parts of the state, so that equal representation in area and population be accorded. We urge the immediate formation of branches, so that as large a Socialist representation as possible shall be had.

It is also essential that a state union of the Social Democrats of America be formed and a state executive committee be elected to more effectively advance the cause of Socialism and to transact any business that may properly come before the convention. An early answer is requested. By order of Branch No. 1, S. D. P. A., Portland, Ore.

T. C. Wendland, Chairman. J. D. Stevens, Organizer.

SOCIALISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The recent elections in British Columbia were prolific in many surprises, none, however, created so much consternation in the minds of the old party politicians as the enormous Socialist vote as evidenced by the poll in Vancouver.

For the four seats in Vancouver three labor candidates were nominated, two by the Trades Council and one by the United Socialist Labor Party of British Columbia.

The vote of our comrades was as follows: Joseph Dixon (ind. lab.), 856; E. Williams (ind. lab.), 728; Will McClain (Socialist), 684, as against an average of 1,600 votes polled for the successful candidates. Roughly we polled twenty per cent of the vote cast. If we could have contested all four seats our vote would have been easily twenty-five per cent of total. This is the first time that candidates have been run on a Socialist platform in British Columbia, and if such a showing can be made on the first attempt success is surely near at hand.

Vancouver. Ernest Burns.

In the City Streets

A Chicago daily gives the following account of the eviction of an old woman who has grandsons in the Philippines fighting to maintain the honor of the "land of the free and the home of the brave":

"Mrs. Sarah Elliott, a woman who has lived for more than a century, was found by the police shivering under a tattered blanket in an alley back of Princeton avenue, near Thirty-Seventh street. Born in a peasant hut in Northern Ireland in 1799, the old woman finds herself, after more than 100 years of hardship, a charge of the county at Dunning. Over forty years ago she came to America to escape the fate which overtook her a few days ago at the hands of a Chicago landlord.

"For some time she had lived in a bare room near where she was picked up by the night patrolman. Her daughter, now an old woman, is sick in the county hospital. Her grandsons are soldiers in the regular army fighting in the Philippines. She could not pay her rent and was evicted.

"Despite her age and the recent exposure she has passed through, Mrs. Elliott is surprisingly active and possesses all her faculties. She had been without food or shelter for twenty-four hours when the officer stumbled over her in the alley at the rear of 3722 Princeton avenue. Unable to write to her grandsons of their mother's illness, Mrs. Elliott found her little fund exhausted. She was too proud to beg, and in her helplessness lay down in the alley to suffer. She says her grandsons would send her money to keep her and their mother comfortably if they but knew of their needs. She was taken to the poorhouse yesterday morning."

CONVENTION CALL

Of the Social Democratic Party of Cook County, Illinois, July 15.

In accordance with the action of the City Central Committee of the Social Democratic party, at its regular meeting, Wednesday, June 27, and the instructions given the undersigned, a county convention of the Social Democratic party of Cook County, Illinois, is hereby called to assemble at Bohemian Turner Hall, 825 So. Ashland, near Eighteenth street, Chicago, at 10 o'clock a. m., on Sunday, July 15, 1900, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the various county offices and the transaction of all other business that may properly come before it.

The representation at said convention will be by delegates chosen as follows: First. Each branch shall be entitled

ILLINOIS STATE TICKET SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

- For Governor: HERMAN C. PERRY Spring Valley
For Lieutenant Governor: AZEL PIERSON Jacksonville
For Secretary of State: THOMAS G. KERWIN Chicago
For State Treasurer: JACOB WINNEN Chicago
For Auditor of Public Works: JAMES WRIGHT Chicago
For Attorney General: CHARLES H. SOELKE Chicago
For Trustees of State University: MRS. IRENE STEDMAN MISS ELLEN EDWARDS F. J. HLAVACEK Chicago

Vote on Constitution.

The following is the vote received on the New Constitution. Those voting "yes" favor its adoption, and the Constitution is adopted.

Table with columns: Branch, Yes, No. Lists votes for various states including Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Wisconsin.

Totals. 801 50
Branches No. 1, California, and 5, Pennsylvania, voted on Sections and are therefore not included in above report.

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LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

- CALIFORNIA: Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
CONNECTICUT: The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville.
ILLINOIS: Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly, second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.
INDIANA: Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.
IOWA: Branch No. 2, Hiteama, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house.
KENTUCKY: Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at Fairfield ave.
MARYLAND: Branch No. 7, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 600 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.
MASSACHUSETTS: The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 194 W. Springfield St., Boston.

to as many representatives as there are individual members in good standing, and each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose name is signed to his credential; and provided, further, that no member shall sign his name to more than one credential.

Second. Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches in the county to represent them; provided that in each case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature of members attached as herein provided.

Third. No member shall be qualified to serve as representative who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth. All signatures of members attached to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

M. Holsinger, Charles Tyl, Jacob Winnen, June 30, 1900. Committee.

S. D. P. of Terre Haute, Ind., will hold county convention Monday evening, July 9th, at 8 o'clock p. m., at Central Labor Union Hall, for purpose of nominating candidates for county offices.

Anent the question of organic union, it will interest Social Democrats throughout the country to know that at the present time thirty Massachusetts branches are absolutely opposed to it and stand by the referendum, while only four of twenty New York branches favored it. Significant, isn't it?

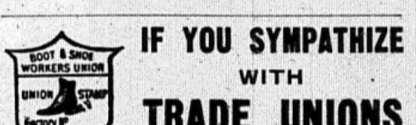
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- MICHIGAN: Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall.
MINNESOTA: Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein on Main St. A. Kingsburg, Secretary.
MISSOURI: St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary.
MONTANA: Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block.
NEW JERSEY: Branch No. 1, Secaucus, N. J., meets every 3rd Sunday of the month.
NEW YORK: The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall.
OHIO: Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m.
PENNSYLVANIA: Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St.
WASHINGTON: Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., at 413 1/2 1st Street.

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KARL MARX ON THE SINGLE TAX
MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR: Compiled from government reports by Leonard Laddoff.
SHORTER PIECES: Labor Conflicts in 1899. Grandfather. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule" Mayor. Prof. Herron's Case. Social Democratic Platforms, Etc.
BIOGRAPHIES OF WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS: Twenty in all.
ELECTION STATISTICS: Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.
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LABOR IN THE AFRICAN MINES

A pamphlet just published in England gives the following account of Cecil Rhodes' relations to the workmen in the diamond mines:

"There is one thing that an employe of De Beers learns very soon—that is, if he wishes to remain in his employment. It is that the interests and wishes of the company are everything and his own individual interests absolutely nothing. There is, he finds, an organization running through the concern from top to bottom, commencing in the personality of Cecil Rhodes and descending to the most casual drudge who, in utter want of a job of any kind, undertakes the thankless office of a convict guard. The colonial government hires out its native convicts to De Beers; the usual work of a convict guard is to sit for twelve hours a day—from six in the morning till six at night—on an empty paraffin tin, in sun or storm, prohibited from the relaxation of a book or a newspaper, and watch a gang of native convicts as they turn over the diamondiferous soil deposited on the 'floors'—the wide level spaces where this soil is left to dry and disintegrate in the sun. As in all probability the convict guard has his lodging a couple of miles or more from his 'work,' the twelve hours comes out at very much more like fourteen."

"If the servant of De Beers is employed in one of the mines, it is the same arrangement of twelve-hour shifts, lengthened out by the time occupied in getting to or from the mine, accompanied by the underground risks—no light ones—and the risk of pulmonary disorder resulting from the sudden changes from the close and heated atmosphere of the mine to the cold piercing air of the winter evening at 4,000 feet elevation above the sea level. If he is in the shops or in the electrical department, there are the same hours. And, be it observed, in every department the same atmosphere of repression, suspicion and espionage prevails. No man can safely trust another. An insubordinate or complaining word carelessly spoken, and in all probability the next time the utterer goes for his wages he is met with the fatal yellow envelope, the symbol of dismissal. There is no appeal; there is no reason given; still less is there any prospect of a recommendation to another employer. He has sinned against De Beers, and that is enough."

How much like a description of labor conditions in the United States it all reads.

THE CHINESE BOXER CASE

The New York Tribune tells of the abuses practiced by the German and Belgian railroad builders in China, which, it says, are in part accountable for the present Boxer uprising. That paper says:

The portion through which the tracks were being laid was one of the most densely populated in all China, and on the earth, for that matter. The people have a desperate struggle for existence.

Every foot of the land not occupied for sleeping is cultivated. It is a battle for life from one end of the year to the other. Everything is utilized in the fight against starvation. Twigs and particles of vegetation are converted into edibles. The country is divided into little farms, and these are cultivated until one cannot find a bare piece of ground. The subsistence of the families depends upon these efforts. The very life blood of the children and their parents awaits daily the portion which the earth will yield.

In some parts cultivation of foodstuffs is impossible. There are gravel hills and barren places where even a hardy burdock could not live. And there the dead are buried, for the people cannot spare the fresh ground—the good earth—for even the remains of those who have carried on the fight and have died in the midst of their struggling compatriots. But the natives labored on, and each year brought its toil and its crying children, until finally the railway magnates sent their engineers and workmen. It was through this crowded country where an inch of ground is worth a life that the companies began to lay their tracks.

Indifference was shown to the rights of the people. Across the farms the tracks were placed. Where houses interfered with the work the houses had to come down. Even villages were burned, it is said; even crops were destroyed, and the natives stood mute and watched the depredations with their souls slowly swelling to an indignant protest. Supplies were seized that the workmen might be fed and the natives starved; labor was sometimes impressed.

But there came a time when the cord of silent contemplation broke. There were meetings—resentful sessions—and then came the mysterious "Boxers," organized, many say, to resist and revenge the outrages which had been heaped upon them.

THE SITUATION IN ITALY

No elections have ever been more exciting, more important both politically, economically and socially, than those which have just taken place in Italy. Monarchy has received a serious check there. The good and honest citizens have had to struggle with very unequal arms against the sanguinary and wicked band of bankrupts who have not only weakened the nation, and enslaved a

whole people, but have also dishonored and debased them abroad. Socialists, Republicans, Radicals and even some Monarchists who are still honest, have all combined to fight against the stupid brutalities of Pelloux. For the last two years Pelloux has dragooned the Italian people, which will one day reawaken. Tears have never given bread to a nation, and much less liberty. Nations—the whole of history proves it—have only got prosperity and liberty by fighting, even though at first defeated. The oppressor will not give way to speeches, but he will to force. Force keeps him in power, and by force he must be expelled. Pelloux sought to enslave the Italian people because force alone keeps the monarchy in power. The Revolutionary party and the Extreme Left must act together and then they will triumph, and this is why D'Annunzio joined the Extreme Left. We must be ready sooner or later to fight. Pelloux had 300 deputies on his side out of 500, but he wanted a larger majority, and so he dissolved parliament. He was reckless in breaking the law, in dissolving municipalities and in doing other revolutionary acts. The country answered him by returning Socialists and Republicans in Lombardy, in Piedmont, in Romagna, in Tuscany, in Venetia, in Umbria and at Palermo; at Messina and at Naples opposition candidates were returned. It is the beginning of the end, and Pelloux will have either to submit or to resign, as Gambetta said to Mr. Mahon, "Va fuori d'Italia," or, in English, "Get away." That is the answer of Italy. Who is to succeed him? Is it Crispi, the murderer of the Sicilians? Is it Rudini, the murderer of the Milanese? Is it Sonnino? Is it Zanardelli? Is it Giolitti? It does not matter, for Italy is moving towards a new birth, and this is seen by all, even by our opponents. As she has gained this great victory let her go on valiantly towards the social republic.—Amilcare Cipriani, in La Petite Republique.

JOHN MORLEY AND SOCIALISM

The following interesting item is taken from the I. L. P. News of London:

"The fury which Mr. Morley's attitude towards the South African war has excited in the bulk of the Liberal Capitalist as well as the Tory press, has been perceptibly inflamed by the few words that fell from him concerning Socialism and Socialists in the peroration of his recent address at Oxford. As Mr. Morley is usually very careful in the phrasing of his statements, and as reference to his opinions on Socialism have been frequent in the past and will probably be no less frequent in the future, it may be well to put on record his exact words. After strongly arraigning the Imperialist policy he went on to say:

"The day when the Liberal party forsakes its old principles—don't call them catchwords or shibboleths—of peace, economy and reform, the Liberal party will have to disband and to disappear. And who will take its place? The Socialists will take its place. My friend here on the left, Dr. Spence Watson, knows that I stood year after year with my back to the wall against the Socialists, not because I did not respect the fervor of the men, but because I did not sympathize to my very heart's core with their pity for the toilers' lot, or with their resolution to make the toiler more intelligent and his home more secure, but because I thought, and think, their means were ill chosen, would do mischief to the character of the individual and would handicap us in the struggle, the vital struggle, for an industrial position, upon which the lot of the toiler depended as much as the lot of the capitalist. [Hear, hear.] But really, if I were unfortunately called upon to choose between the Socialist and the Militarist, with all his random aims, his profusion of the national resources, his disregard for the rights and the feelings of other people, I declare to you that I consider the Socialist's standards are higher and his aims are not any more wild. [Cheers.] The Liberal party will not disband. [Cheers.] I for one am enormously encouraged by what I perceive to be the temper of this very important gathering."

"Referring to this part of Mr. Morley's speech the special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, who was present during its delivery, remarks, 'In a series of very careful phrases Mr. Morley made a curious and rather puzzling offer of reconciliation to the Socialists. . . . It was certainly not very cordial or gracious, especially as he passed rapidly from it and almost instantly ended his speech. But the offer is there, and the rapprochement has a curious analogy across the channel in the alliance between M. Waldeck-Rousseau and M. Millerand. Will it go further here?'"

"We confess we do not discern in Mr. Morley's statement that suggestion of an alliance or rapprochement which so strikingly impressed the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian. The declaration by Mr. Morley is, we believe, a perfectly sincere expression of an intellectual issue in his mind. He would preferably, we have no doubt, as a matter-alike of conviction and inclination, were the choice compelled upon him, range himself on the side of the Socialists rather than on the side of the Commercial and Military Imperialists."

"But either eventually would, it is evi-

dent, be a Hobson's choice to him. Towards neither Socialism nor the new Imperialism would he willingly be drawn, but of the two evils he would prefer Socialism as the lesser one. Even as a matter of compulsory opportunism we doubt if Mr. Morley contemplated for a moment any probable rapprochement with the Socialists.

"Mr. Morley, we regret to think neither looks upon the plight of the Liberal party as sufficiently hopeless, or upon the position of the Socialist party as sufficiently hopeful to feel persuaded that an alliance between the extreme Radicals and the Socialists is either a possible or desirable contingency."

William Morris, Craftsman and Socialist

William Morris, "poet, artist, manufacturer and Socialist," author of "The Earthly Paradise," was proudest, it is said, of the title, "craftsman." His life-work was directed toward the realization of Ruskin's idea that "art is man's expression of his joy in labor." Francis Tiffany writes in The New World:

"Through and through he deplored and hated that fatal divorce between the mechanic and the artist, the toiling hand and the creative brain, to which he traced back the source of all our modern woes—a divorce, he insisted, ruinous alike to master and to man, to designer and to his human tool, to art and to all native common joy in it.

"Here, then, lay the root characteristic of the man, and out of it instinctively grew all his theories, esthetic and social, all the herculean toil of his life. A roundly fashioned man all through, his muscles craved their stint of work as consumingly as his brain, and palpable sense of the reaction bred of the wrestle with rough-and-ready matter was as needful to his fullest joy as lying off dreaming on any heights of Parnassus. Nothing short of this divine unity of soul and sense meant to him the earthly paradise, the kingdom of heaven on earth, and never till it was restored once again to the modern world would society cease to be a chaos of ugliness, brutality, discord, and hate. Blunt, brutish human tools on the one side, supersensitive esthetic weaklings on the other, this summed up to him the outcome of the modern caste-divisions, of the hideous divorce between brain and hand, of the limitation of art to an emasculating luxury for the idle and too often vicious."

ORGANIZATION WANTED IN EVERY STATE OF THE UNION

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

Iowa Socialists

All reformers living in Iowa who are interested in the Social Democracy are requested to communicate with the undersigned. By unanimous vote of the S. D. P. branches of the state I have been made the party organizer for the state. I desire the name of every Socialist in Iowa. A. W. Ricker, Lone Tree, Iowa.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eldsness, Towner, N. D.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. Van Rensselaer, 1618 Toberman street, Los Angeles, Cal.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

Montana Socialists

All unattached Socialists in Montana please communicate with J. F. Fox, 71 E. Park street, Butte, for the purpose of furthering Social Democratic propaganda.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of state organization, the Bonham Social Democratic branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

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THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements, for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

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