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TWENTIETH CENTURY BELONGS TO SOCIALISM

Prophecies from Scientists, Literary Men, Teachers and Others as to the Possibilities of 1901 in Social Development.

SOCIALISM IS THE THEME

Yale Professor Declares it is the Next Great Political Creed to Occupy Attention of the World.

From The Chicago American

M. MILLERAND, French Socialist

The Socialistic movement is co-extensive with the civilized world. It knows no national limits. Where civilization is high there collectivism is the strongest. The twentieth century will see it in full swing. It will not retrograde. The hands of the economic clock can never be moved back to feudalism. Socialism cannot remain stationary, for it is a vital force. The only possible evolution for it is in an onward and upward course.

Socialism works for concord and peace. It makes generous hearts and it gives us men of good will. The solidarity of the human race should be the aim of noble minds. Such solidarity enforces the sovereignty of right. Might is not right and never will be with the people. Solidarity of the race breaks the back of mere brute force. Men should not bend the knee to blind power. Solidarity promotes peace. What can be more noble than a festival of work and peace? Honorable peace is more glorious than the most brilliant war.

The grave and delicate questions of social economy are now all tempered by Socialism. Mechanism and invention are of use only in so far as they improve the position of mankind. We measure the degree of a people's civilization not by mechanical improvements, but by the welfare of the men of toil. This is the highest and noblest standard of measurement.

It is generally laid down that man is the architect of his own fortune. But society must let him have the leisure to work it out. He must not be brutalized by a task beyond his strength.

This applies to all nations and races. For sons of different races and citizens of different nationalities belong to the same family. The duty of all is to increase the common patrimony. The legion of unknown toilers must not be forgotten.

In the coming century the organisms of iron and steel will continue more and more to replace flesh and bone, epidemics will be unknown, distance will still further disappear. Science will keep on multiplying the means she puts at man's disposal. The greatest service it can render to man is to teach him the material and moral grandeur of union—of solidarity. Where Socialism holds sway the hatred born of uncultured brains disappears. It vanquishes misery to a large extent.

PROF. HENRY DAVIES, Yale University

Following this harmony [establishment of universal peace] and conditioned upon it will come the co-operative state. As applied to economic reform this implies, of course, the removal of all restriction of individual freedom and the equality of opportunity in all the means of production and of the distribution of wealth. This will be a necessity as far as the United States is concerned. For the population of this country will, at the present rate of increase, be 500,000,000 in 1999. If the wealth increases at the same ratio (which is not likely on account of the depletion of raw materials), there would soon be anarchy under the competitive system. The universality of education will make the competitive principle in any department of human affairs an insult to enlightened intelligence. Socialism is the next great political creed to occupy our attention, and the central problem in this creed is the question of the distribution of wealth. Hopeful signs are abroad that the problem will be solved peaceably, in the slow evolution of things.

ALFRED R. WALLACE, Scientist

I hope and believe that the twentieth century will be a century devoted to social advance and regeneration; but in order to succeed in this great work it must deal with causes and principles, not merely with symptoms. The crowning disgrace of the nineteenth century—that with a hundred-fold increase in our powers of wealth—production adequate to supply every rational want of

our whole population many times over, we have only succeeded in adding enormously to individual wealth and luxury while the workers are on the average as deeply sunk in poverty and misery as before—must be abolished forever.

In order to do this we must adopt as our beacon light and guide the fundamental principle of social justice—equality of opportunity—not as a mere phrase or catch-word, but with a stern determination to carry it out to its logical consequences.

I am myself convinced that the society of the future will be some form of Socialism, which may be briefly defined as the organization of labor for the good of all. Just as the postoffice is organized labor in one department for the benefit of all alike; just as the railways might be organized as a whole for the equal benefit of the whole community; just as extensive industries over a whole country are now organized for the exclusive benefit of combinations of capitalists; so all necessary and useful labor might be organized for the equal benefit of all.

RICHARD LE GALLIENNE, Author

I am assuming that in this struggle the workers will come out triumphant. Indeed, dark as the prospect at the moment seems, embattled as are the strongholds of capital, and closed as are all the doors of joy and leisure to the poor workers whose unwilling hands have been forced to build these citadels of oppression, yet the time is surely fixed when these strongholds shall come down as the walls of the Bastille went down before them, and the whole of humanity force its way through those closed doors, into those fair gardens of the world which were made for all men, not merely for a few.

MAX O'RELL, French Critic

The social system of this century is wrong and the twentieth will remedy this. I hope I shall not be taken for a dangerous character if I say that a society in which the workers live in poverty, often in a state of starvation, while idlers live in unbridled luxury, is wrongly organized. Pardon me, if all my sympathies in this world are for those who work and suffer.

NIKOLA TESLA, Electrical Expert

If we want to reduce poverty and misery, if we want to give to every dejected individual a chance to succeed, if we want to provide more machinery, more power. Power is our mainstay, the primary source of our many-sided energies. With sufficient power at our disposal we can satisfy most of our wants and offer a guaranty for safe and comfortable existence, except perhaps to those who are the greatest criminals of all—the voluntarily idle.

F. MARION CRAWFORD, Author

A modus vivendi which shall assure a just and permanent distribution of wealth and division of labor. He who solves this problem will be the earth's greatest man.

The New York Journal of Commerce, a paper free from fads and hobbies, discourses in a common-sense way about national thanksgiving, and then indorses the contention of Socialists in the matter of government by saying that "in the 125th year of American independence we cannot refer to our city governments without a blush, and there is only too much in our state governments and in our national government to which we would be glad to shut our eyes. The barbarism bred of slavery survives a generation after its cause, and is not confined to the section where slavery prevailed." Socialists point out lucidly why we are called upon to blush for municipal, state and national government. It is because of barbarism bred by chattel slavery which now exists in wage slavery, bred by capitalism, which has spread throughout the land. The Journal of Commerce has correct views of the situation, which unequivocally indorse the policy of Socialists.

When the constitution was submitted to the thirteen original states for ratification slavery existed in all of them, except Vermont, which declared its extinction in 1777, before she had joined the union, and eighty-six years thereafter, 1863, the fetters fell from off the limbs of every chattel slave in the land. And in twenty years, if Socialists are true to their mission, wage slavery will disappear from the United States.

The earth revolves on its axis, Socialism hews with its axes, and it has got a thousand of them, keen-edged, hewing pathways through the jungle of ignorance and bigotry to highlands of liberty and independence.

The telegraphers on the Santa Fe and other railroads have created an electric storm because they are not getting their share of Mark Hanna's "prosperity."

LABOR AND POLITICS IN OLD ENGLAND

An Interesting Batch of News from Beyond the Seas Prepared for the Herald

By John Penny

The General Federation Trade Unions makes comparatively slow progress as up to the present it only embraces sixty-three societies and 378,879 members. It has, however, a fairly handsome cash balance in the bank. Evidently some kind of a stimulus is needed to make the individual unions see the necessity of federation. Perhaps we shall have that when one of the threatened attacks on trades unionism comes to a head.

That the federation, in spite of its relative slow growth, has come to stay there can be little doubt. Month by month its membership is increasing, and when a union has once joined and paid its fees there is every inducement for it to continue in the fold and reap any advantage the federation may have to give. Withdrawal would mean the loss of the funds paid in, which will probably be a strong factor in the eyes of any society that may be temporarily dissatisfied. Hence defections will be few and far between.

As the federation grows, however, another body, the Trade Union Congress, will probably diminish. The Trade Union Congress has been all along an expensive and more or less ineffective gathering. It has elected year by year a showy, but not very useful, parliamentary committee, whose arduous labors have not brought forth an abundance of good things. The parliamentary committee has not possessed any real power in the trade union world; all it could do was to advise, whereas the executive council of the general federation will sooner or later become practically supreme and will lay down the law as to whether or not there are to be strikes, of this or that section. Such a body with real executive power in its hands is bound to exercise more influence over the rank and file than the somewhat casual parliamentary committee. The various affiliated unions will find it imperative to attend the federation congress, while the Trade Union Congress will gradually come to be looked upon as a speakers' carnival and will be superseded.

November 1st saw the inauguration of the eight-hour day in the works of Messrs. Brunner, Mond & Co., at Middlesbich. One can congratulate employers and employed alike on this step, for there is no doubt that it will be advantageous to both. Masters find that high wages, short hours and good results go together as a rule, and that a policy of generosity toward work people produces its reward, while the employees find that the increased leisure gives opportunities for self-improvement involving ultimately a wider horizon and a demand for still further facilities for culture. Nothing could be wider from the truth than the current idea that increased leisure for the working classes naturally implies drunkenness and debauchery on their part. It is often the case, unfortunately, that people who have been tied up in the mill or shop for the greater part of a year seem to run wild when they get a half holiday, but the excesses committed are due to the reaction from the continuous overwork. As people get more leisure and more accustomed to holidays, more rational methods of spending the time will become common than those we sometimes see at the seaside places patronized by the working classes. To spend our leisure well is an art requiring cultivation, quite as much as to make the best of our working hours. Hence a reasonable amount of leisure must always be a necessary factor in building up and developing a nobler humanity.

The coal question is one that looms very largely in people's minds just now, and the resolution passed a short time ago by the Yeaton Urban District council will be read with much interest. The resolution is as follows: "That, having regard to the need for a cheap and abundant supply of coal, the exorbitant demands of the coal mine owners, and the large amount of coal exported annually to other countries, this council is of opinion that the only effectual means of economizing the supply and reducing the price, is for the mines to become the property of the nation, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the prime minister, the member for parliament, and all the district councils in the Otley division, with a request that they will give their support to the same."

It is almost astonishing to see the way in which the elected authorities

throughout the country are taking up the question of municipal housing. It is not generally known what extensive powers our local authorities have in this direction, and they can best be described as practically unlimited, save that they must get the consent of the local government board to any scheme they devise. I note with interest that the Merthyr Urban District council has applied to the L. G. B. for permission to borrow £15,000 which it proposes to spend in the erection of workmen's dwellings. If the proposal may be taken as an indication of the movement in the direction of the better housing for the Welsh people, it is heartily worthy of commendation for the working classes in South Wales at any rate are notoriously housed in an infamous manner.

A Revolutionary Party

The Social Democratic party is an uncompromising Socialist organization. It stands today where it did when first organized in June, 1898, that is, as a political opponent of all capitalistic or quasi-capitalistic parties, and the declared adversary of the capitalist system of production.

On its positive side it is uncompromisingly committed to the program of international Socialism; that is, the substitution in place of capitalist industry of a system of society in which all the affairs of men, national and international, will be systematically managed by the social organism for the benefit of all, and no longer by individuals for individual profit and emolument, as, under capitalism, these affairs are managed now.

Any political party with this program is necessarily a revolutionary party. Revolutionary in this respect, that it proposes the negation of private property rights in the indispensable resources of nature and of social productive capital.

No party is worthy of or entitled to use the name Socialist that does not accept without reservation or recourse to base political trickery to deceive the unwary and uninformed, the program of revolutionary international Socialism in its entirety.

No individual, however unctuous his professions of fidelity to "the cause" or yearnings for the "co-operative commonwealth," can trim or compromise the program of Socialism to suit his individual and personal interests without in effect to enjoy an unchallenged right to the name Socialist.

No man is a Socialist who does not recognize that Socialism is not a reform, but a revolution; that it is not a scheme but a system of society; a reorganization of the affairs of men from which private individual means and opportunities of appropriating the wealth produced by labor are eliminated.

Socialism, then, is a revolutionary movement, based upon the class struggle, awaiting the action and interaction of social and evolutionary forces for its final and complete supremacy. Of this movement the Social Democratic party in the United States is an organized expression. It has no reason for existence save as a critic of capitalism and an advocate of national and international co-operation.

As proof that the church is run on a straight capitalistic basis, let us consider the Archbishop of Manila's visit to the Pope. He was recently told by a Cardinal that he could secure certain concessions from the Pope if he could guarantee a yearly income to the Vatican of \$200,000 from the Philippines. That is odd—but hear the rest of the story. A Filipino commission was also sent to Rome to get control of church properties and another worthy Cardinal "thought the dispute would go in their favor if they could promise the Vatican \$200,000 a year." But the latter commission evidently has not sufficient quantities of the "long green," for their money is all gone, after paying fees to Vatican dependents. They were taxed \$100 to see a Cardinal and \$3,000 to see the Pope. This is business, and business is business. It is a year's subscription to the Herald against a worn out summer hat that the Archbishop of Manila arrives home next month from a very successful business trip to Rome—although the price was rather high.

The Vicereine of India, Lady Curzon, whose former home was the city in which the Herald is printed, entertains her friends with elephant parties. Each lady is provided with an elephant and attendants. The Vicereine's own elephant is equipped with a gorgeous mount embroidered in silk and gold, with huge festoons of pearls hung around the elephant's ears. The "howdah" is of silver protected from the sun by a white silk umbrella, bordered with pearls, while the "mahout" carries a silver goad and fly fan. A "famine in India" is the news that reaches us with due regularity of late years—but perhaps this has nothing to do with the Vicereine and her elephant parties.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND THE REFORMERS

The Democratization of Commerce, Trade and Industry the Only Reliable and Safe Guaranty of Social Equality

MODERN SUCCESS WORSHIP

Social Democracy Must Work for Gradual Measures of Relief, but Without Losing its Revolutionary Character

By Isador Ladoff

Social Democracy is a distinctly revolutionary movement. It demands a radical reconstruction of the present mercantile and capitalistic system of society on entirely different planes. It demands that all economic and industrial functions of society should be managed by society in the interest of society as a whole. It considers the democratization of commerce, trade and industry as the only reliable foundation of political democracy and safe guaranty of true social equality.

The co-operative commonwealth advocated by Social Democracy is thoroughly in accord with the results of modern philosophy—science and ethics. Social justice and the light of reason shall regulate the civic, economic and other interrelations of the members of this commonwealth of the future. Blind chance and chaotic play of unrestricted and uncontrolled individual endeavor and action, characterizing present anarchic state of society are favorable for the most brutal struggle for existence between man and man, man and woman, man and child in the field of industrial slavery, a struggle resulting in the survival of the most cunning, unscrupulous and heartless, in a boundless sea of human suffering and degradation, in crime, carnal and moral prostitution.

In our present society the individual or class are allowed to exploit, nay, encouraged to prevent, the mass of human banner of the downtrodden, exploited and demoralized toiling and moiling masses of humanity, the so-called lower classes. It champions the cause of the emancipation of these lower classes from the unbearable yoke of irrational and unjust social conditions. It proclaimed the identity of the interest of the individual with the interest of the race in general, and is, therefore, an international, world-wide movement as far as general principles are involved. Social Democracy stands for the brotherly co-operation of all the members of the human race for the purpose of exploiting the inexhaustible treasures of our common, benevolent mother—nature—for emulation instead of competition, for the survival of the best instead of the fittest, for the elevation instead of the degradation of the human type, for the entire abolition instead of fostering and artificially creating class distinctions, for the propaganda of race instead of class consciousness.

Social Democracy does not expect to change human nature by elevating the morality of single individuals born, reared, educated and compelled to live in a grossly immoral environment and a state of society inviting immorality by its very construction and putting a premium on immorality by heathenish success worship, as the conservative and revolutionary utopian individualists do expect or pretend to expect. Social Democracy proposes only to direct the instinct of self-preservation, so deeply rooted in human nature, into channels where these most potent social powers will, by the law of social mechanics, turn constructive instead of destructive, organizing instead of disorganizing, humanizing instead of bestializing.

The most rational way to abolish an evil is to remove the incentive for committing it. This is exactly what Social Democracy proposes to do. Where there is no motive for exploitation of one man by another there can be no exploitation. Social Democracy fortunately passed the utopian stage in which the individualists still linger. It builds its magnificent edifice for the future of humanity not on the sand of personal morality, but on the solid rock of knowledge of human nature and the laws of social and economic life. It does not believe in creating social conditions by legislative fiat. It maintains that only such laws are operative which sanctify existing social and economic conditions, laws expressing deep-rooted convictions of the broad masses of the people.

Social Democracy is consequently fully aware that, as Rome could not be

(Continued on Fourth page)

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National Vote for Socialism

The canvass of the votes cast for McKinley and Bryan has been completed in all the states. Incomplete returns of the Social Democratic vote gives Debs 85,344, but these figures do not include the vote in California, Maine, Alabama and Georgia; these states increase the vote to 94,604.

Maloney, S. L. P. candidate for president, received 34,007, or 2,557 less than the vote of that party in 1896.

The total vote of the country for socialism in 1900 is, therefore, according to the returns, 128,610, against 36,564 in 1896. It is, however, unquestionably true that in many states the votes of Social Democrats were not counted; they were destroyed or tampered with on the slightest pretext.

The grand total of votes cast for all candidates was 13,969,966. The following table gives the Social Democratic party votes by states:

Table with 2 columns: State and Votes. Includes Alabama (500), California (7,572), Colorado (687), Connecticut (1,029), Delaware (56), Florida (601), Georgia (300), Illinois (9,687), Indiana (2,374), Iowa (2,742), Kansas (1,605), Kentucky (760), Maine (887), Maryland (876), Massachusetts (9,617), Michigan (2,826), Minnesota (3,065), Montana (708), Nebraska (820), New Hampshire (790), New Jersey (4,609), New York (12,869), North Dakota (518), Ohio (4,335), Oregon (1,470), Pennsylvania (4,831), South Dakota (169), Tennessee (415), Texas (846), Utah (720), Vermont (371), Washington (2,006), West Virginia (219), Wisconsin (7,095), Total (94,604).

The Social Democratic party will be fourth on the ballot in the next election.

Christmas

In writing of Christmas, the anniversary of the birth of Jesus, in the town of Bethlehem, Judea, a bit of history will not be out of place.

It is recorded that on the occasion of the birth of Jesus an angel appeared to shepherds watching their flocks by night and said: "I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be unto all people, for unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord. . . . And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly hosts praising God and saying, GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, AND ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN."

Is this a true history of the event? It is so accepted by all Christendom. But neither "on earth peace" nor "good will toward men" has blessed mankind. Nevertheless, the "heavenly hosts" made the announcement. It voiced faith in the redeeming power of human nature, and of a good time coming. Socialism grasps the idea and values it for all it is worth. It believes in a civilization of peace and of good will. Socialism would eliminate from our civilization the savagery of war and introduce "good will toward men." If this cannot be done, then the sooner the earth is transformed into a tomb the better. If peace is never to come, if all the baser elements of human nature are forever to prevail and hold the world in subjection, then what we call "Christian civilization" should haul down its flag and capitulate and permit the devil to have full sway. Socialists do not propose to surrender. They do not treat the announcement of "peace on earth" as a vagary; nor "good will toward men" as a huge delusion.

It will be borne in mind that the "heavenly host" did not say "peace in heaven," nor "good will toward angels,"

but "toward men." The problem is to be solved on earth, not in some other state of existence. Socialists alone take the "heavenly host" at its word. It is their creed, their ritual, their shibboleth.

We do not say that Christmas should not be celebrated with feast and song and rapturous joy. Socialists do not undervalue the Christmas custom of banquets, reunions and the exchange of gifts and momentos of friendship and good will, but prize the day chiefly because it keeps in perpetual remembrance their mission to establish, as the "heavenly host" announced, "On earth peace, good will toward men." Milton sang— "Peace hath her victories, No less renowned than war." And Socialists, grasping the full significance of the declaration, propose that the victories of peace shall be not only no less renowned than war, but a thousandfold more resplendent.

Confusion Among Unionists

The committee on platform filed in and submitted a draft of a municipal platform. The draft prepared was discussed at length by the convention, and an attempt was made to insert a municipal ownership plank. However, after more than an hour's discussion, the platform was adopted precisely as the committee had reported it.

The foregoing is taken from the Workers' Call report of a meeting held by some of the Socialists of Chicago, Saturday evening, Dec. 15. This was the meeting that nominated a ticket for the spring election and called itself the "Socialist party." The platform contains no demand whatever for public ownership of street railways, electric or gas lighting or power plants, or any other public or social utilities—the means of production and distribution.

The same meeting adopted the following resolution as a part of its record and to emphasize its "revolutionary Socialism":

"That the Socialists of Chicago stand for a co-operative commonwealth; we recognize, nevertheless, THE NECESSITY OF OBTAINING FOR THE WORKING CLASS ALL THAT IS POSSIBLE UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM AS LONG AS IT SHALL LAST."

The "revolutionary" Socialists seem to have slipped a cog somewhere in their deliberations. It did not occur to them that a Socialistic demand for municipal ownership of any public utility is an entirely different proposition from a capitalist demand for the same thing. The meeting turned down a plank for municipal ownership of the means of transportation, gas, etc., on the ground, class "favors that reform." Since when the capitalist class has done anything of the kind is not stated. Yerkes, Louderbach & Co. certainly do not favor public ownership of their properties in Chicago; neither does the People's Gas company. What we are contending for is not that municipalization of anything is Socialism, but that, since the Socialization of "public utilities" cannot be achieved for the general public interest by capitalist parties, it necessarily devolves upon Socialists to pursue a clear-cut policy to accomplish the end sought for—viz., the co-operative commonwealth; in such pursuit and also "to obtain for the working class all that is possible under the present system as long as it lasts," the thing to be done is to educate the working class up to a thorough understanding of the meaning and final significance of every step taken.

A party that refuses to adopt in its program of immediate political demands one declaring for the Socialization of that large class of public utilities operated for private profit in cities, although some of the direct results of public ownership, "while the present system lasts," might be unsatisfactory, and at the same time recognizes the "necessity," mark that, the "necessity of obtaining for the working class all that is possible under the present system," is neither a Socialist nor a revolutionary party. Its utterances are confused and confusing: In its attempt to be heroic it has generated wind in the stomach. It disembowels its own resolutions and platform with the statement that neither are of any account. It favors "the employment of all unemployed citizens by the municipality," but they must be employed in competition with workers privately employed—there is no other way—and may not be given employment on a municipal street railway or in a Socialized electric power plant.

The Social Democratic party is not waiting for a revolution; it is in a revolution already here. Toward the culminating era, the climax of the revolutionary forces operating in society, steps are taken each day and advances are continuously and inevitably made. The security of the future depends largely upon whether these steps are in the right direction, that is to say, whether in the final readjustment from capitalist industry they make for democratic Socialism and the co-operative commonwealth. Therefore the Social Democratic party seeks to build up a powerful organization in community and nation to take possession of the public powers and direct every step made in the reorganization of industry and all the indispensable services of social well-

being and enjoyment. Among the latter are municipal transportation and communication services, and these vitally concern the interests of the working class. Nothing can be accomplished for the working class in cities so long as cities are controlled by the enemies of that class.

NOTES AND COMMENT

"Jolly 'em along!" is the idea of plenty of well-known labor leaders who are doing more to perpetuate the fleeing games of the capitalist class than they are to promote the interests of the working class which pays their salaries. At the conference of "labor and capital" in Chicago last week one of these said it would cost the employing class nothing to say to the workman, "How are you, Bill?" or "How are you, Tom?" and, shaking him by the hand, make him feel that he was a good fellow. Neither would it. And that is all that some wage slaves want. Just "jolly 'em along!" Do nothing that human justice demands, but "jolly 'em along!" Do anything that will cost the capitalist class nothing, but don't get off their backs. "Jolly 'em along!"

A speaker, addressing a meeting of the Methodist Social union of Chicago on the subject of crime, said "it has always been true that where a great many different classes and conditions of people were brought together in a struggle for existence it means crime." True enough; an environment that is essentially brutal and criminal will produce criminals. The capitalist system, forcing upon all classes the struggle for existence, is necessarily a crime-producing system, and the only escape from it is in Socialism, when the mere struggle to live, imposing on every one the necessity of being a social pirate, under the law or despite the law, will give place to social production for use only. Capitalism is crime, and crime is an inevitable consequence of capitalism.

A new industry was started out at Omaha last week. Of all recent ventures in the money-making line few impose less labor or offer inducements for larger pay. All that is required is a good nerve and ability to discriminate between the children of a dollar-a-day wage slave and a millionaire. The originators of the industry kidnaped a young son of Cudahy, millionaire pork packer, hid him away until his wealthy papa was ready with a ransom and, according to report, the promoters' Christmas was merry, even hilarious. The secret of success in this line is to pick out the right kid.

After a hundred years of experimenting with election laws to secure honest elections, each one proving a failure, the machine is to be introduced. It appears plausible that machine politics should culminate in a voting machine. The ballot gives place to the button, and introduces the juvenile game of "Who's got the button?" in a vastly expanded form.

There is no chance under heaven for a workman to secure wealth until he owns himself. The philosophy of the old dinky 'fo' de wa' fairly illustrates the idea. During a pelting storm he was seen with his hat under his arm, while his head was exposed. Being asked why he did not wear his hat, he replied: "Dis hat is dis nigger's; dis head is Marse Bob's."

As an item showing the progressive character of our prosperity, statistics show that the United States has 250,000 habitual criminals. The number does not include apprentices in crime, nor the various types of well-dressed and educated embezzlers, who are trying to enter upper crust circles to which the passport is money.

If you would be truly wise, be a Socialist. If you would be truly good, be a Socialist. If you would be truly great, be a Socialist. Socialism vitalizes every faculty of the soul, enlarges the domain of effort and creates a never ending series of mind and heart felicities.

The Filipinos are beginning to arrive in the United States. One of them touched Milwaukee, but was denied admittance at several hotels because he looks like a "nigger." When a man looks so much like a "nigger" that an average hotel clerk can't see the difference, his case is rather dark.

Why is food poisoned and adulterated? There is only one reply: It is done for profit. Under Socialism food will be produced for people to eat, and not to sell for a profit. Therefore, under Socialism, people will eat without being poisoned.

There is only one way to be honest, as there is only one way to tell the truth; but dishonesty is as prolific of ways and methods to deceive as capitalism is to steal the earnings of labor.

Chicago has developed a new type of capitalism. It was recently discovered that a footpad had organized a combine in which a number of footpads had their districts and robbed on commission.

THE CAPITAL BURGLARIZED WITH AID OF CONGRESSMEN

Legislation by Which the People are Robbed and a Railroad is Benefitted Passed Quietly Without Protest

The following account of a "good bit of burglary," enacted in the city of Washington, was written by the special correspondent of the Chicago Journal. As an example of modern business methods, endorsed and approved by so-called representatives of the people, it is, as Mr. Gardner says, "unique, one might almost say captivating"—in its impudence: "Washington, Dec. 15.—While it is not a matter which concerns Chicago or the country at large, there is a piece of legislation now nearing its passage in the house of representatives which has some unique, and one might almost say captivating, features. It is unique in the high degree of impudence which inspires it, and is captivating in that it takes from the treasury of the United States and the District of Columbia a cool million and a half dollars and hands it over to a railroad company—the Baltimore & Ohio.

Even to the disinterested spectator there is a fascination in watching the operations of a burglar or a highwayman; one marvels at the daring of the actors, and there is always an uncertainty, and a corresponding interest involved in the question whether they will get away with the swag. This is the only excuse for troubling the outside world with any mention of the pending bill for the elevation of the tracks of the above-mentioned company at their terminal near the Capitol building.

"Perhaps some soft-hearted reader will drop a tear for the sad fate of a number of Washington's permanent citizens who do not like it—or some features of it—and who are quite powerless to help themselves; but they can be consoled with the knowledge that the majority of the residents are appeased by the thought that three-quarters of a million is taken from the general treasury, and only half of the grab is saddled on them. There are no aldermen here, and while an alderman is a qualified blessing, it is at least possible to get up a lynching sentiment among his neighbors, and thus appeal to his reason.

"But the committee on the District of Columbia, which has corresponding functions, is made up of non-residents, and the dweller in Eckington or on North Capitol street finds that Chairman Babcock's neighbors are all out in Necedah, Wis., and that their interest in Washington track elevation is extremely remote. What do the people of Nebraska or Maryland or Tennessee care whether the Baltimore & Ohio locates its roundhouse on B street or in Pennsylvania avenue? They never saw either site, and are quite willing to leave it to Mr. Mercer, Mr. Mudd, or Mr. Simms.

"And that's how it happened that a delegation of incensed Washingtonians stood outside the locked door of the district committee-room last Friday and the air blue with futile and wicked oaths. They came to lodge a protest, they objected to the location of a roundhouse in their front yards; in response to their appeal the committee sent out the attorney of the railroad to listen to their troubles. It was an "executive session" between the committee and the general counsel of the railroad.

"There is no need to elaborate on the provisions of the bill. Its scope and general character may be judged from the fact that the road is given power to condemn any land it may want for its right of way in the tract bounded on the south by the capitol grounds, on the west by North Capitol street, on the east by Second street, and on the north by the boundaries of the District of Columbia. It may bring its trains, its freight cars, and its passenger station right up to the nation's capitol. Further, it is given the right of way to connect with the tracks of the Pennsylvania railroad—a privilege for which it offered \$1,250,000 in 1887. It proposed at that time to tunnel Capitol hill. The bill permits the road to close permanently seven of the principal streets in the vicinity of the capitol. It gives them nearly two whole squares on which to erect a terminal station. It gives them several acres of streets for right of way, and it saddles the damage suits on the District of Columbia.

"In consideration of which, and of the million and a half bonus, or subsidy, or grab, or graft, or whatever sounds most euphonious, it agrees to elevate its tracks. And this in the face of the fact that in less than nine years the road will lose by expiration the franchise which permits it to use steam on the right of way by which it enters from New York. One of the road's lawyers admitted to the committee that the bill for damages resulting from grade crossing accidents was \$96,000 a year. He admitted that this was a partial incentive to the road for desiring to elevate the tracks. That much would be saved. The cost of the proposed work is estimated by the railroad engineers at \$5,000,000. They say this should not be

reckoned as an asset of the road, because their earnings would not be increased.

"The bill has passed the senate—so quietly that there was scarcely a ripple. It went through last session, when nobody cared. Nobody cares if it passes the house—except the railroad, and, possibly, the committee, and a few helpless citizens whose toes happen to be trod upon. The ways are smoothed—it would be unkind to say greased—for this kind of legislation. The gentlemen who vote for it—who vote "to beautify and adorn our magnificent Capitol city"—and to pay a railroad for running its dirty tracks and engines up to the very front door of our legislative halls—will go home and hold up their heads before an admiring constituency.

"But looking at it from the standpoint of the disinterested spectator, isn't it a good bit of burglary?"

"When this bill is put upon its passage—as it is likely to be very soon—there will be a roll-call, which, if anybody were interested, would make thrilling reading for constituents. But who cares?" H. Gilson Gardner.

The "Grand old oak," with its "fifty arms so strong," or a small specimen of the sturdy tribe, would make an appropriate Christmas tree for a branch of the Social Democratic party. It would typify strength and endurance "when a hundred years are gone." But the orange tree, perhaps, with its perennial foliage and in ceaseless bloom, with fruit in every stage of development, from green to golden yellow, would possibly more fittingly symbolize Socialism in its beautiful philanthropic work.

With an imperial flourish the announcement is made and telegraphed around the world that the crown prince of Germany is "one of the finest shots in Europe." All Germany is taxed to keep his royal dinner pail full of luxuries.

Speaking of holiday gifts, why not give the Social Democratic party a hundred new branches and The Social Democratic Herald a thousand new subscribers? The giving would be scarcely less enjoyable than the receiving.

As an illustration of the opportunities our civilization affords aspiring young men to grow up with the country, it is authoritatively stated that Terry McGovern, prince of the prize ring, has made in a short time \$112,000 by the masterful use of his fists. Besides, his reputation as a pugilist has enabled him to rake in several more thousands, until he is now worth about \$150,000, and contemplates retiring on his money and laurels to spend the remainder of his days in seeking pleasure. Prize fighting in the United States and bull fighting in Spain civilize downward.

"Fo' de Lord," said an Afro-American wage slave, "I voted for Boss 'Kinley—now jes' look at my dinner pail; hit done hold more'n a quart, and I's gwine to strike for a bigger bucket—I is, suh!"

ROCKEFELLER'S CHRISTMAS DAY

John D. Rockefeller's Christmas song in the morning before going to his downtown office, to advance the price of oil and count his cash, is about as follows: My life is ever flowing, now, 'ng, flowing— My life is ever flowing, like rivers to the sea, And still, O Lord, I'm boring, boring, boring; And still, O Lord, I'm boring, as busy as a bee.

I am forever piping, piping, piping; Yes, Lord, I'm always piping the illuminating stuff. And, O Lord, I'll keep on piping, piping, piping— Yes, Lord, I'll keep on piping till the world has got enough.

My pumps are always pumping, pumping. My pumps are ever pumping my life into my tanks; And, O Lord, I'll keep on pumping, pumping, pumping— Yes, Lord, I'll keep on pumping and giving thee my thanks. New York, Dec. 5, 1900. X R R.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

W. E. A., Washington.—If you find in this paper no reference or reply to the slanders of such people as are mentioned in your letter, it is because we are indifferent to their ravings and have no space to waste on them. They have all about run out of yarn. As to the petty humbug, C. R. M., whom you think should be singled out by us for a special berating, we will say that his personal and vituperative attacks on the "Washington street bosses" grew out of personal pique because the Herald refused to publish attacks on De Leon from his pen. The "official organ" would have been indispensable and all right had he been allowed to use it as a medium for his brilliant, self-edifying effusions. No; the figures he gives on the manifesto referendum are not correct.

M. H., Illinois.—The communication from Springfield addressed to the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic party, like all documents on "union" emanating from that source, is full of untruths and misstatements. (1) The convention was not called without consulting members of the party. (2) It was not decided upon at a meeting of "one" Chicago local. (3) It is not true that the Socialist forces were split by the "Washington street leaders." (4) Neither the Social Democratic party, its "leaders," nor its paper has ever inaugurated an era of personal abuse. (5) The only "union" which the rank and file in Chicago "forced" was political co-operation for the campaign of 1900. The conduct of that campaign by the "unionists" (in Chicago and elsewhere) nullified any prospect there may have been for organic union. From first to last, discord, distrust and the failure of unity are directly and entirely attributable to those who have been most active for "union."

GROUND WORK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Various Distinct Eras in the March of Human Progress Noted—The Development of Capitalist System of Production

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Evolution of Capitalism and the Goal to Which it Inevitably Tends—Unerring Forecasts of Marx and Engels

By James Oneal

That the next stage in human history will be of a communal or social character none can doubt who investigate the industrial forces and social phenomena that are struggling for expression. They certainly do not indicate a reversal back to individual and isolated methods. Whether it will come through a violent catastrophe rests with those who oppose a peaceful solution. The only danger lies in trying to thwart it at the opportune moment when peaceful methods would suffice in accomplishing the change. In this case violence is inevitable. To those who object to the transformation by repeating the Darwinian formula we can say that Socialism does not imply the cessation of the struggle for existence. On the contrary, Socialists rely on this very struggle for the dynamic force to usher in the era of collectivism. The struggle will continue, but its fangs will be drawn. The struggle will be carried to a higher plane with more human weapons and the success of one will not be conditioned on the crushing of another. Your successful advance will leave in the hands of your competitor those advantages he has acquired, instead of appropriating them entirely as is the case now. While equality of wealth will not prevail, the opportunities for acquiring it will be held in common and guaranteed to all. Private property in one's personal products or their equivalent will be held sacred, but the means by which they are produced will be held as the joint heritage of all, thus rendering impossible class rulership and the exploitation which necessarily accompanies it.

The assertion that given equality of opportunity with the full social value of one's toil would only tend to increase population to such an extent that these advantages would be neutralized, is not borne out by the facts of everyday experience. The facts are that population increases more rapidly in those centers where the debasing, instead of the uplifting, influences are at work—namely, the slums. Here where the exploitation, degradation and misery are the keenest will be found the largest families and population increasing faster than elsewhere. The same seems to hold true of animals. Rabbits and field mice that are constantly being preyed upon and hunted down breed faster than those less harassed by these circumstances. The history of the struggle for existence has been characterized by the progressive modification of its severity. Each advance made by man has been followed by the elimination of some of its brutal features. In the ancient world it was a struggle for civic equality, in the middle ages it becomes a struggle for religious equality, and the eighteenth century witnessed the struggle for political equality. All these advantages have been gained and retrogression has not yet set in. Had the Darwinian lived during the days of Plato and Aristotle he would have opposed all these and would have predicted the destruction of civilization on the attainment of each of these advantages by all men.

The threshold of the twentieth century witnesses the struggle of the advantage, equality of opportunity, and to their shame be it said, the majority of scientific men link their energy and talents to the juggernaut of capitalism, and offer their services to the employing class. And the old objections are advanced as an excuse for their action. Such Darwinians to be consistent should cease to tend their flower gardens and let the flowers fight it out with the weeds. In this case there would be no doubt which would be the "fittest to survive," but they would also be conscious that they had the power to fit the flowers to survive had they chosen to do so. The moral is apparent. The trouble with the average follower of Darwin, who is not a Socialist, is his persistency in borrowing a few dogmas from the biological formula and carrying them over into the field of sociology without any qualification whatever and without asking himself whether these dogmas are adequate to express or explain the complex phenomena of social evolution. While this formula is valuable in sociological research, yet it is practically valueless when investigating such phenomena as wages, interest, rent, profits, ethics, morals, etc. These do not appear in the field of biology. They are new factors that appear in the life of civilized man and distinguish

him from the brute creation. They of necessity imply laws of their own and these laws cannot be grasped otherwise than by a thorough investigation of the sphere within which they act, that is economics and sociology, and not biology.

The Darwinian who confines himself within the limits of biology has yet to learn with Shakespeare that "there are more things in heaven and earth than is dreamt of in his philosophy."

In conclusion, there are not wanting signs indicating a world change in the capitalist nations of the earth. The present cry of "expansion" is the death gasp of the old order of things struggling against the inevitable. The marvelous advance made in the wealth productive forces, due to the centralization of capital and the perfection of machinery, has been accomplished at the expense of reducing the home market by displacing labor and cutting the wages of those still employed, thus leaving in the hands of the capitalist owners \$2,000,000,000 of surplus products on hand and no "effective" demand for them at home. Chauncey Depew admitted this in his speech at the national convention held at Philadelphia a few short months ago. If no demand exists at home then it must be found abroad. Hence the expansion policy is decided upon and every capitalist nation of the earth is scouring the globe for markets to dump their surplus products wrung from those who produced them. But this cannot last long. When foreign peoples are brought in contact with the so-called civilized nations they learn the arts of their conquerors and in time introduce the new methods of production and they soon have a surplus on hand which qualifies them to take their stand with the others in seeking foreign markets instead of providing one. Thus Japan, in the short space of fifty years, has undergone a complete change from feudalism to capitalism, a change which required as much as two and three hundred years in some of the nations of Europe. Japan is now one of the most successful competitors for the markets of the world. The entrance of the allies into China will produce the same result in time, so that when there are no more markets to be secured an industrial world deadlock is inevitable. When no more markets are at hand the surplus productions will flow back to their owners and the capitalist system will reach the climax of its absurdity by presenting the remarkable spectacle of a people starving amidst a deluge of wealth. These are logical deductions from facts and forces at work in capitalist society. Happy be he whose privilege it is to contribute his mite, little as it may be, to the solution of the sphinx riddle that is puzzling millions whose hearts are seared and whose souls are wrenched because of the picture of that one of whom the poet hath said:

"Down all the stretch of hell to its last gulf there is no shape more terrible than this!"

To conclude in the words of a great writer: "It is true our present society carries an appearance of vigor and vitality which seems to defy assault, but if we put our ear to this exuberant life, we can hear the slow rumblings of death destroying it from within. A splendid mantle covers our civilization, but on looking more closely we see that it has already lost its sheen; its brilliant colors are beginning to fade, and ere long this splendid cloak will become the funeral shroud in which capitalistic society will sleep its last. Under the apparent signs of health, science must look for the symptoms of disease, and watch for the premonitions of death. It should not, however, attempt to avert an inevitable destiny, but rather endeavor to moderate the convulsions which must inevitably accompany the birth of a new and more vigorous society."

The Children's Aid society of New York deplors the fact that children are pouring into the country from Italy, Austria, Hungary, Russia and other European states, who are to be "educated to lives of usefulness and right living." No mention is made of American children who need education. In the anthracite coal region there are not less than 3,000 "breaker boys" who never went to school a day nor an hour in their lives. They are the young wage slaves of capitalism, and no church nor children's aid society pays any more attention to their education than if they were so many mule colts. Christmas would be a good day to petition the Pennsylvania legislature to enact a law by which these boys, rescued from lives of ignorance, vice and degradation, might become valued citizens of the state and country, and in this effort Socialists might, with eminent propriety, take the lead. Possibly John Wanamaker might be induced to abandon his bargain counter long enough to help such a cause.

A poet wrote: "Earth hath no sorrow heaven cannot heal." Possibly, but there are a vast number of sorrows it does not heal—left, perhaps, for Socialism to find and apply the needed remedy. The work could not have been committed to better hands.

In the march of Christian civilization the standing army of the United States is to be increased to 100,000 officers and men. Capitalism hails this increase of the standing army with special delight.

WOMAN CONSIDERED AS A HUMAN BEING

While I work for Socialism as promising something better than present-day conditions, I cannot bring to the cause that enthusiasm which it would inspire if I felt that Socialists as a class were sincere in their professed advocacy of equal rights to women. I was not surprised to find that woman is just as much of an afterthought with the average Socialist as she was with the Hebrew god. (As all gods look alike to me, I write them all with a little g.) The Socialist papers, conscious that the peculiar injustice which the laboring man suffers has tended to crush his self-respect, spare no opportunity to inspire him with a sense of his dignity and of his importance as a social factor. On the contrary, the Socialist papers not only have next to nothing toward cultivating women to a similar respect, but often give space to matter openly or impliedly contemptuous of womanhood. Perhaps it is well that they do not make a specialty of "woman's cause," unless they could prove themselves better qualified for the task than is the average reformer—man or woman—who essays to defend womanhood, which is usually viewed in a light so intensely sexual that the reader, unless already beyond the need of education on such lines, is sure to confound animalism with motherhood.

The fact is simply that the average man has but so slightly risen above the animal plane—woman, ditto—that he cannot think of a woman first as a human being with human needs, cravings, aspirations; he can think of her first only in a sex relation, and secondly as a being endowed with human needs, cravings, aspirations. History—ancient, mediaeval and modern—science, philosophy and journalism, past and current, are so exoterically exclusive, so comically masculine, that, but for the Sunday press, "woman's page"—unwitting monument of woman's insignificance—some later race of manlier men might well infer this to have been, in our times and hitherto, a womanless planet whereon every son was born a la Minerva.

When a man sets out to free men he views them in their broadly industrial, political and social relations, remembering them as possible husbands or fathers only incidentally. The "rights of man" are recognized as inherent simply in manhood, regardless of celibacy or matrimony, paternity or childlessness. On the contrary every institution, old or new, must first pry into a woman's personal relations, ascertain whether she be mother, wife, widowed, divorced or celibate, and then determine on those grounds just how few rights she may be allowed, and how many wrongs may with impunity be inflicted upon her. She has absolutely no inherent rights as a human being, no, not the right even to human necessities, which man-ruled society allows her rather by reason of her being some other man's daughter, his wife, "his widow"—one never hears of any man's being her widower.

The average man can abstract another man as kinless, and yet regard him as clothed with all the rights and consequence of a patriarch; he can think of a kinless woman only as a subject for wrongs or for charity.

However far any individual man may be from wronging her actively or passively, what a commentary upon manhood is its own view of womanhood! If a man set out to right the wrongs of some race or class of oppressed men, and the burden of his song were those men's husbandhood and fatherhood, he would be accounted a simpleton. However glowingly a man may extol womanhood, until he proves practically that he accords to a woman solely by reason of her humanhood the same rights which he accords to a man solely by reason of his humanhood, his vaunted reverence for womanhood will be known by the gaudy tatters with which he thinly veils his own animalism.

Certainly such Socialist papers as I have read do not have that tone which one has a right to expect from the press of a class of reformers professedly advocating equal rights. It would seem that Socialists, just as strongly as non-Socialists, are imbued with the absurd idea that man is the race, woman his appendage. His own rights can never be secure until he is sufficiently developed mentally and morally to grasp the axiom that he is but one-half of that humanity of which woman is the other half. His kinship to her, however he may wish it to be otherwise and endeavor so to make it, is not a thing which he can put on and off at will; his destiny is inextricably bound up with hers, and until all womanhood is free some men will necessarily be under some phase of bondage to other men.

Even many advanced reformers do not seem yet to have realized that paper constitutions can never be a guaranty even of masculine liberties; that the only bulwark of free institutions is the spirit of those institutions in the hearts of the people themselves; and the hearts even of the masculine half of the people can never be imbued with the spirit of such free institutions as they ordain so long as manhood is freer, either in theory or in fact, than womanhood; for no statesmanship can keep a son from inheriting the servile nature consequent upon his mother's subordination, let it weigh ever so lightly upon

her individually, or even only insensibly by transmission from the feminine sex collectivity.

No theory of government, however perfect in itself, can work out the ends it is designed to work unless the spirit of such government lives in the hearts of the people. If Socialists can realize this, let them prove that they really desire liberty and equality for all by seriously setting about educating Socialist men and working women to a sense of human rights for woman, which shall mean identically what is meant by human rights for man; for Socialist editors cannot be unaware that many men Socialists are far from the idea of sex equality, and that women themselves sadly need to be educated to a sense of their own rights. Nor should the stupidity or pusillanimity of the particular woman be allowed to discourage such effort; for it cannot be successfully disputed that woman, more helplessly, helplessly and completely enslaved than any race or class of men have ever been or could ever be, has dared and sacrificed more to secure her own freedom than has any enslaved class of men known to history.

H. Augusta Howard.

THE BOGUS UNIONISTS

Editor the Herald: As you probably know, the Socialists of the country are just now being deluged with copies of a paper called the Nebraska Socialist, the reason for such liberality being that this paper has entered the ranks of that motley aggregation known as the "unificationists." It is a psychological phenomena that when there is a row on, or when some people imagine there is, certain types of humanity are attracted to the scene and are willing to contribute any amount of energy in contribution to it, just for the love of rows. And so we have the spectacle at this time, when all socialist pockets are supposed to have been drained by the demands of the recent campaign, of money and activity used practically for a thing that is at best the mere echo of a shadow. It is a pity this energy could not be used for propagating socialism, instead of being used to stir up dissension in the ranks of the organized socialists. These "unity" fellows are loud in their cry that the Social Democratic party (the real and original one—not the counterfeit article) is preventing harmony in the

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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.
Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 5 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 3, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Franco, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
Branch 12, San Francisco (German). Holds business meetings first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1409 Polk street.
COLORADO
Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.
CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 2839 Mt. St. Hartford. Louis Schlat, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rocky Hill, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.
ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 83 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Westworth Ave.
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave.
Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.
Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at Piarik's Hall, cor. Centre Ave. and 19th St. Jos. Carny, Sec'y, 530 W. 18th St.
Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at Adolph Jankowski's place, 984 West 21st street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Giesler, Sec., 726 W. 20th street.
Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday, at 9 a. m., at 1022 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 484 Wood Street.
Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 2 p. m. Gus. Larson, Secretary, 6266 Center avenue.
INDIANA
Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Rechner's Hall, corner Market and Noble sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Cutton, 506 Warren av.
IOWA
Branch No. 2, Hiteman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.
KENTUCKY
Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 185 Fools ave.
MASSACHUSETTS
Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.
Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 11 Prospect St.
Branch No. 26, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 2nd and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited

ranks in this country, but these bawlers for harmony show their insincerity when you put some point blank question to them. All you have to do is to ask them some of the following questions:

"If you want a united movement, why don't you join the party as an individual?"

"Why didn't the kangaroos do this in the first place?"

"What interest did they have that prevented such a course?"

"Was harmony secured by ignoring a plain referendum and setting up a rival party, and stealing our party name?"

"If the kangaroos wanted a harmonious movement why did they, and do they seek by all possible means to disorganize and disrupt the party already in existence?"

"As all that is necessary to secure unity is for the bawlers for unity to join the party, are they not the ones who stand in the way?"

"If a unity, so-called, were to be secured according to the program of the unity—or—bust fellows, what kind of socialism would they want us to have, the fusion—Silver Republican—middle class socialism of the Ricker—Kharas hypnotists, or the anti-public ownership socialism of the Chicago kangaroos?"

Other equally pointed questions suggest themselves. But the fact is that the "unity" cry is a bogus one, that the "unity" people are not themselves united as to their motives for working together in this crusade, against the harmony of the Social Democratic party, some having a desire to capture the movement for the sake of certain interests, others from the desire to use the movement for political trading with capitalistic parties, others because they dream of great good to socialism by deluging the movement with the stranded radical politicians of the Democratic party, and others still because they like to keep up a row. Heretofore, most of these discordant elements have been held together by the "hot-air reports" of great success in downing our party sent out from Springfield. Now that Springfield is bankrupt and an admitted failure, they are trying to cover up their defeat as well as to provide themselves a crafty retreat, by renewing the cry for "unity."

Loyalty to the Social Democratic party is the short cut to unity. Iowa. Harmony.

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A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazlet. One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election. PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50. Address, Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Indiana.

- MICHIGAN
Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 2 p. m., at 19 W. Main Street in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.
MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geiswein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.
MONTANA
Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:00 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.
Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.
NEW JERSEY
Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.
Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3rd Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1204 Kaigh's Avenue.
Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.
Branch No. 8 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Hevelia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 546 Edmund St.
NEW YORK
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 418 Grand street, Windsor Hall.
East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 120 Rock St.
Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 192 Boerum St.
Branch No. 8, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join this branch will call or communicate with Tom Fitton, 119 Congress street.
Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 2 p. m., at 20 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.
OHIO
Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Pinn Sts., every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.
OREGON
Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flavel Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.
PENNSYLVANIA
Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.
Branch No. 4, Coudersport, Meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in E. of L. hall, Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Codrington, Treasurer.
Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Third Street. Meets every Sunday morning—at S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.
Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor Hall, No. 26 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; J. no. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.
WISCONSIN
Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kallers' Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.
Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Gaetke's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Ave. Frank Liebisch, secretary.
Branch No. 3, Milwaukee, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 1011 Michigan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 1701 N. 11th street.
Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meiler's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Meerbach, Secretary, 861 2d St.
Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Siegel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild Secretary.
Branch No. 12, Milwaukee meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, and Center st., 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loomis, man, 1128 3rd St.
Branch No. 25, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month at 154 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

NATIONAL 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 generation, 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.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Mar. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., on or before Jan. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

SPECIAL CONVENTION

OFFICIAL CALL

To Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party, Comrades:

RESPONDING to suggestions from all parts of the country and a demand from many branches, a special National Convention of the Social Democratic party is hereby called, to take place at the national headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Tuesday, January 15, 1901, and continuing in session until the work of the convention shall have been completed.

The purpose of this convention will be to make such changes in the laws of the party and to make such other provisions as may be deemed necessary to meet the growing demands of the organization. It is our purpose to enter at once upon a vigorous campaign of agitation, education and organization, so that the party shall be fully equipped to meet the capitalist enemy on the political battle-fields of the future. Now that the presidential campaign is over, our work is fairly begun and must be carried forward with all possible energy without the loss of a single hour.

The basis and other conditions of representation will be the same as at the Indianapolis Convention, and are here incorporated as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

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

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation 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 shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

Unaffiliated Socialist clubs or societies whose members may desire to connect themselves with the Social Democratic party, are cordially invited to communicate through their proper officials with the Secretary of the National Executive Board, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

This call is issued to all branches of the Social Democratic party in good standing, as shown by the records at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and organized prior to December 15, 1900. The time and place of meeting and other details will be given in the Herald as soon as arrangements are completed.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

FREDERIC HEATH, Chairman.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Ed. Evinger of Terre Haute gave an unmistakable proof of his unimpaired hustling qualities in the Christmas edition of The Toiler. It is a hummer, a recognition of Ed's stalwart service to labor by the business men of the Hut, and a deserved lift for a hard worker in the cause.

The comrades of Liberty branch, San Francisco, cherish the kindly and appreciative words of one of their number, Comrade Gordenker, now living at Glen Ellen, who says: "I want to die a member of Liberty branch, of which I feel proud. In the late trouble they were loyal and honest, and I am very happy at the turn the movement took."

Comrade Peter Curran, delegate from the British Trades Unions to the American Federation of Labor, passed the Christmas season in Chicago. During his stay we had the pleasure of a visit with this sturdy representative trades unionist and Socialist. On Monday he took luncheon with Comrades Theodore Debs, Seymour Stedman, Isadore Ladoff and A. S. Edwards. A more genial or manlier man than Curran would be hard to find. He made friends everywhere.

The "example of the worthy comrades" who have followed the tortuous and deplorable leadership of Ricker of Iowa has led to the formation by that individual of a new reform party in Nebraska made up of Ricker and Kharas, the populists, direct legislationists and silver republicans—all "Socialists." This last move of "unionists" is in line with Ricker's plan of "salvation," a "national convention of all Socialistically-inclined persons, to be held in Chicago." 'Rah for "union!"

On the night of Dec. 15 the Social Democratic party gave its first love feast at Odd Fellows' temple. Three hundred Socialists and their friends enjoyed the supper, which was served in style, after which they were entertained by foreign and local speakers. Rev. Father McGrady, the eloquent speaker for our cause, held the audience spellbound for an hour, leaving them, without a doubt, much wiser and well stored with food for thought. His reverence was followed by Comrade Max Hayes of Cleveland, Ohio. The next speaker was Comrade Pete Curren of London, England, international delegate to the A. F. L. convention in Louisville, Ky. His remarks were very interesting and well received by all present. He also addressed Branch No. 4 at its meeting Sunday afternoon. Dr. J. W. Dennis also read a very interesting paper which, it is hoped, he will repeat at one of the branch meetings soon. In behalf of the local comrades the writer extends thanks to the visiting comrades of Dayton, Ohio; Lawrenceburg, Ind.; Aurora, Ind., and other places, who were present at our love feast. Come again, comrades, and bring others with you. A cordial welcome awaits visiting comrades.

R. J. W.

At a called meeting of Branch 4, Chicago, held at 1772 West Chicago avenue Sunday afternoon, Dec. 23, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a certain resolution 'offered' somewhere (time and place unknown) by J. Wright, and purporting to have been adopted by over two-thirds of the members of this branch, was circulated in a surreptitious and underhanded manner, which no true Socialist would resort to; less than half the members saw it; no meeting of the branch was called to consider it; no opportunity was given for an exchange of opinion; had this been done, we have excellent reasons for believing that not more than half a dozen would have signed it; we, therefore, denounce this action as dishonorable and un-Socialistic and quite worthy of the methods resorted to by those advocating 'unionism' in Chicago."

NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, two.
Kansas, one.

Brockton Sends Thanks

The city committee, Brockton S. D. P., desire to thank all those that so liberally contributed to the Brockton campaign fund. Without their aid we would have had a hard struggle to meet the opposition that was put up against us. But right won and it is a victory for every Socialist in America. There will never be as hard a fight in Brockton again, for the two old parties did everything in their power to beat Comrade Coulter. Their efforts were in vain.

Any comrade not having receipt for funds sent will please send me their address. I will forward one at once. Thanking all again for their aid,

F. J. Burke,
Sec. City Com.

REVOLUTION AND REFORMERS

(Continued from First Page)

built in one day and dawn must precede day, the herculean task of emancipating the human race from its own irrationality and injustice to itself cannot be accomplished by a single stroke of the sword or pen. The masses of humanity have to learn a great deal in order to understand their own interests and how to consciously and rationally modify economic and social conditions in accordance with these interests. The masses have to learn a great deal and forget a great deal more, which latter may be a great deal harder than the first. The masses are born, reared and trained by the dominating and domineering classes in a slavish attitude of mind, in slavish virtues, which are the free man's vices.

There are three ways to learn: By original thinking, by imitation and by personal experience. The most noble of these three ways of learning—the original thinking—is done only by very few (O how few!) geniuses, while the masses of humanity live by the thoughts of other people, mostly of the past generations. The second method of learning is the easiest. Even apes and parrots can imitate. Unfortunately, however, the higher classes represent a very poor paragon for imitation by their high living and low thinking, by their arrogance, ignorance and false pretense. (The morals of the slaveholder were never much higher than that of his

slaves and vice versa.) The third way of learning is the hardest and most certain of all three. Personal experience, however, does not enlighten everybody. A slave may know how hard his lot is and yet bear his chains complacently as long as he is a slave in thought and feeling, that means as long as he recognizes the institution of slavery as something legitimate, as long as he objects to slavery only on personal grounds and aspires to a slave driver or slave owner himself and not a free man among equals.

It is obvious that Social Democracy will have to do a great deal of uphill educational work, and for quite a while limit its political activity to gradual measures, to so-called reforms, without, however, leaving out of mind for a single moment the final goal in view. This way Social Democracy, being a worldwide revolutionary movement, may at certain periods in certain countries be engaged in reformatory activity, without being inconsistent, without losing its revolutionary character.

If, however, Social Democracy may at times engage in reformatory work, the question arises, What should be the attitude of Social Democracy toward reforms inaugurated or advocated by middle class parties? Middle class reforms may be divided in the following categories: 1. Reforms in the exclusive interest of the middle class, but pretending to benefit the people at large, as, for instance, the protective tariff in the United States. 2. Reforms having the appearance of radical measures, but destined only as a blind for the voting cattle in the hands of demagogues, as, for instance, the free silver movement. 3. Reforms having in view to discredit directly real radical reforms in the eyes of the unthinking multitude, as were the measures taken by the rulers of Rome during the agrarian agitation by the Cracchi brothers, in France by granting some demands of Blungui, in Germany during the state-Socialism period of Bismarckian policy, and (4) bona fide reformatory movements of shallow, symptomatic, short-sighted ephemeral kind, as, for instance, single tax, prohibition and such like. We do not need to waste words on the first three kinds of middle class reforms. These reforms have to be fought by Social Democrats with all the weapons within their reach and power as strictly inimical to the interests of the toiling masses.

But what shall be our attitude toward the honest, sincere, fanatical blind leaders of the blind—like the single taxers, prohibitionists, anarchists and all the would-be reformers? All these people are utopians to a larger or smaller degree. They do not realize the complexity and lawfulness of social life, they do not care to study human society as a result of historical evolution and social statics and mechanics; they blindly believe in the miracle-working power of paper legislation. The worst of all is, however, that the middle class reformers never arrive at the conclusion that it is futile to attempt to introduce a measure, however salutary to the oppressor, which is out of joint with the whole system of the social fabric that such a measure, even if introduced, would be either entirely inoperative or misused by the classes in power in their exclusive interests and to the detriment of the masses of the people. It appears,

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