

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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## TWO PHILOSOPHIES OF LIFE SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM

The Instinct of Self-Preservation a  
Corollary of the Fundamental  
Laws of Nature—Without it  
No Life Would be Possible

### UNPHILOSOPHIC PHILOSOPHERS

Socialism a Philosophy of Life Based on  
Recognition of Solidarity of the Interests  
of All Members of the Human Race  
—Socialism and Science

By Isador Ladoff

Science has not supplied us so far with a satisfactory definition of matter, and for obvious reasons. A definition is the result of comparing two or many similar subjects, eliminating the identical and fixing our attention exclusively on the peculiar and characteristic properties of these subjects. As all the world, including that mysterious something that we call our ego or soul, consists only of matter in various kinds and degrees of motion, a comparison of matter with something else which is not matter is excluded. The cause of various kinds and degrees of motion of matter, making up the apparently endless variety of the visible world is called energy. The two fundamental laws of nature are the indestructibility of matter and conservation of energy. These two laws may be stated more comprehensively as follows: Not a particle of matter can be destroyed or created anew; matter is eternal. It may, however, undergo an endless chain of variations, owing to the kind and degree of motion of its smallest parts in space, caused by different manifestations of energy. Energy may be considered as a condition of matter more consistently from the monistic point of view than a cause of this condition. Whatever our view of energy may be, the fact is established beyond any shadow of doubt, that energy is just as indestructible as matter itself. As one condition of matter may make place for another, one kind of energy may be transformed into another, but never lost to the world at large. The instinct of self-preservation in the living world is one of the corollaries of the fundamental laws of nature just stated. If matter and energy were destructible, the material world would not exist, if there were no instinct of self-preservation no life would be possible on earth.

All the great achievements of human culture and civilization are due on one side to the ingenuity with which humanity directed natural forces into artificial channels favorable to human life, and on the other side to the ardent instinct of self-preservation too deeply rooted in human nature, the passionate desire to exist individually and racially. This instinct of self-preservation is a natural force. Natural forces are blind. The same wind that in its fury tears down buildings and destroys human life may be turned into useful channels and compelled to propel mills. The same applies to the instinct of self-preservation in human nature; it may be destructive and constructive just according to the channels in which it moves. Even the most ignorant savage knows so much of nature as to be convinced of the futility of fighting natural forces, trying to destroy them. Rather the reverse of it is true; the savage turns the natural forces into so many dainties, with which he colonizes his Olympus. In view of this fact it is rather humiliating for our so childishly exalted enlightened age to recognize that there are so many people who are ignorant enough to consider the instinct of self-preservation, or selfishness, as they call it, as in itself an evil which has to be eradicated.

Don Quixote fought windmills, but he had too much sense to fight wind itself, that means air in its motion. But that is just what our Utopian friend the revolutionary (anarchistic philosophers or philosophical anarchists) and conservative (middle-class philosophers of the ethical culturists and church moralists) individualists advocate. They propose to eradicate the most fundamental social force and change human nature so as to take away from it the very motive of its existence, to cure a headache by decapitation, to build up a society by destroying the building material on hand and killing the builder. A more irrational undertaking is hardly imaginable.

The Social Democratic view of selfishness and the way to utilize it in the interests of the human race we have treated in some of our former articles and hope to treat later many a time. Let us here pass this phase of the problem and try to see how the instinct of self-preservation in humankind originated,

two diametrically opposed philosophies of life. Taking for granted that self-preservation is the fundamental force of life, we have to deal with the ways and means to direct it. Between two points—the starting point and point of final goal of a force (the term final means here, of course, in a relative sense), the shortest road is a direct line; the most economical road from the point of view of preservation of energy is the curved line of least resistance. This law of mechanics applies likewise to social life in general. On the lower stages of life, taking the desire, let us say, for food as the starting point and its satisfaction as the final point, the animal will directly reach for the food just as it presents itself to its feelings, without any consideration as to the ratio between the energy to be expended and the end to be accomplished. The higher an animal stands on the evolutionary ladder the more considerations of economy in energy enters into its mode of satisfying its needs, the more the line of least resistance is followed. Cunning and prevision takes the place of brute force and immediate impulses, association is resorted to and the elements of social co-operation appear on the surface, as in the case of the ant, the bee and the herd animals. The individual arrives at the conclusion that his interests will be best served by the somewhat round-about way of apparently merging his individual interests into the sea of racial interests. This is the starting point of racism, of which modern Socialism is the most typical expression, while individualism belongs to a lower stage of life and survives at present only as a hypocritical cant on the part of middle-class philosophers and a Utopian dream of unphilosophic philosophical anarchists. Individualism celebrates its orgies in our present age of mercantilism and capitalism, and will die with it the ignominious death of a philosophy of brute force and slavery. Racism—the philosophy of Social Democracy—is gaining ground with every day, and will usher in a new, higher and nobler stage of culture and civilization and be the crowning glory of the human race, the religion of the future.

There never was and certainly never will be a human creature without some philosophy of life, without some theory about the non ego, the not myself, the outward world and some conception about the mutual relations between this outward and the subjective inward world, generally called human soul. We are justified to go even one step further and venture to state, that the higher types of animals have some rudimentary conceptions of their relations toward the outward world. Trivial as this statement may appear—it is, however, true, that a bird protecting its nest or a tiger hunting after a weaker animal, each in their case respectively act so and not otherwise in accordance with some conception; however crude, of their place in nature. The hackneyed distinction between instinct and mind is unscientific, as there is only a difference in degree between those two properties or rather functions of the brain.

It is true that, strictly speaking, there are as many conceptions of life as there are human individuals, and that these variations increase with the progressive evolution of the individuality. And yet we may very precisely distinguish between two cardinal principles in the popular conception of life, principles diametrically opposed to, nay, even excluding, each other.

One of these principles is egocentrism, individualism or anarchism. This principle is a survival of the geocentric and anthropomorphic exploded theories, according to which the entire universe is created by some supernatural being for the special benefit of a certain chosen human unit inhabiting the grain of cosmic dust called earth. From this puerile point of view the outward world is only to be considered as a means of satisfying the desires and cravings of animals. From this point of view logically follows, that might is right. Anarchism as a philosophy of life is as old as the lowest forms of life on earth. The prototype of an accomplished anarchistic philosopher in the animal kingdom is the tiger, just as an exploiter of human labor is an accomplished tiger in human shape. The tiger considers himself the sole object of the world's bounty, and therefore fully entitled to the flesh, blood and marrow of animals weaker than him. The exploiter of human labor is the representative of the same tiger philosophy, in spite of all his outward appearance.

The conception of life diametrically opposed to anarchism may be traced in its inceptive stage in the animal kingdom to the gregarious mammals. The life in herds presupposes some

**AFRAID**  
Yes, he's an ardent Socialist,  
I've heard him say he was;  
And, moreover, he talks grandly  
Of the man-redeeming cause.  
Besides, I've seen him richly plumed  
On a holiday parade;  
But when asked to join the S. D. P.,  
He appeared to be afraid.

He's fond of battle music,  
Of fifes and rolling drums;  
But ask him to join the S. D. P.,  
And he fe, fo, fum;  
Still, he's a dandy Socialist,  
To whose credit be it said,  
That he would join the S. D. P.  
If he was not afraid.

But when the battle's over,  
This Socialist will stride  
To the front of the column,  
Overflowing with pride;  
And he'll say, "I told you so!  
The stuff of which we're made  
Was bound to gain the victory—  
Who the devil is afraid?" —Ike.

## WHAT HAPPINESS HAS THE CENTURY BROUGHT

Has the Telephone, Electric Lights  
or the Telegraph Diminished the  
Hunger?—Injustice and Suffering  
Everywhere

Socialism, the Wonderful Doctrine of Salvation,  
Scientifically and Practically Irrefutable,  
Says a Great Writer

Emile Zola in New York World

We pride ourselves on our refinement, but we are not nearly reclaimed from barbarism. A hundred years hence our descendants will consider us and our institutions with the same contempt we vouchsafe upon the people of the middle ages or upon the refractory Chinese of today. This is not a paradox; I am past juggling for an audience.

Despite our self-satisfied bumpiness mankind is still piteously groping after real civilization, like a tangled mass of larvae tumbling and crawling out of some dark, slimy cavern toward the light that will give them wings.

Only few men have forged ahead and stand in the full sunshine of Truth. The progress of the mass is slow enough to strike with despair those of us who are past mid-life; for we must now admit to ourselves that we will see but a few of the changes we have hoped and worked for.

An undeniable increase in material comfort and equipment must be credited to the nineteenth century; but that alone does not constitute civilization. Better food, fast steamers, telephone and electric lights—all that is only the accessory part of human development, means to happiness, certainly; but not happiness. Has the telephone diminished the hunger of the hungry?

Our brains are still befogged; our private and public life is still based upon vile, exasperating ignorance. Reason, now proclaimed by a hundred prophets in every country, has everywhere the greatest trouble to penetrate through the thick folds of inane prejudice that enwrap individuals and institutions.

The evils we suffer from, and the evils each of us perpetrates, have no doubt been lessened in a measure; but it seems to me that they have for the most part merely changed their aspects and their names.

Thee were times—not so many generations ago—when in every country men and women were tortured by inquisitors—religious or not. Now most countries, we think, have grown beyond that. But are not the newspapers filled with revolting cases of children tortured by their parents, of wives who are long-suffering martyrs, of students who find cruel delight in bullying some poor, ill-gifted companion? And do you know what frightful things take place—I will

### MAX NORDAU, SOCIALIST, ON THE DANGER THAT CONFRONTS THE CENTURY

The chief danger, threatening civilization itself, seems to be that infernal selfishness called by pseudo-philosophers "individualism." In social life it leads to anarchy, in home politics to party-preying, in international politics to wars, conquests and land-grabbing; in art and literature to silly boob-pooing of all traditions and to attitudinizing. Progress is the outcome of a strong social sense. Individualism, such as preached by the madman Nietzsche and brought into fashion by his contemptible followers, necessarily leads to barbarism. —Max Nordau.

not say in Turkey or Siberia—but in the penitentiaries and insane asylums of the most advanced nations?

There were times, to be sure, when political and religious fanaticism fettered all development, sought to extinguish science and burned the scientists at the stake. We are certainly past that stage. Yet to-day Tolstoi is excommunicated by Rome. I was before him, and so were Catholics and Protestants, Darwin, Huxley, Renan and most of the harbingers of to-morrow's truth. Why, I have it direct from eminent American professors that in most of the universities of the United States they would not dare express their real convictions on religious, political or economical questions, because their resignations would surely be demanded at once. It is the same thing in England and Germany. And in France Jean Jaures, one of the geniuses of the age, was recently refused a chair in the College de France to lecture upon Socialism. Your own admirable Henry George, if I remember well, died a pauper after having been jeered at his whole life long; and the lofty German apostle, Liebknecht, was an exile for years, hounded out of Germany as Victor Hugo had been out of France.

Yet with what contempt we regard that historical council that compelled Galileo to kneel and say that the earth did not move!

But on the other hand, for such devastating forces of retrogradation is Bismarck, Chamberlain and Gen. Mercier, the world seems at a loss to find adequate honors and adulation; even their most severe judges feel bound to temper their censure with admiring reserve.

It is useless to delude ourselves. You may tinker all you please, there will be no true civilization until the present social system is radically modified.

Have you not learned that there are every day thousands—not hundreds, thousands—of men and women who die of want, of cold, of disease unattended to, and that, too, frequently after these miseries have given twenty, thirty, fifty years of their labor to the making of all that we enjoy?

Can you forget that children—little children precious as yours—are this minute suffering famine and absorbing the germs of all vices? Can you forget that in every hospital, prison, factory, tenement there are crimes that cry for vengeance to heaven?

Ah, the sadness of it all! To think that throughout the length of the century just finished great men have vainly cried these things, have pondered during long years of abnegation over these problems and vainly pointed the remedies. But they were mistrusted, misrepresented and mocked by childish crowds, proud of their numbers.

To think that even to-day Socialism—the wonderful doctrine of salvation—scientifically and practically irrefutable though it is compelled to gain converts slowly, one by one, condemned without hearing by most people, its advocates driven from every point of vantage—the church, pulpit, the university hall, the editorial chair! Why, to make Socialism go down your progressive American throats Edward Bellamy (he said so himself) was compelled to sugar-coat it with the fiction of "Looking Backward!" These are facts which must bravely be uncovered to the public's gaze. But after all I am not a pessimist. Deploring the present I look forward into this pregnant new century with joyful confidence.

### Approaching the Critical Point

There is a critical point in all natural movements. Hydrogen and oxygen, if mixed in exact proportions of two to one and brought into contact with an electric spark, will explode and form water. When water is heated to 212 degrees it boils and becomes steam. After the hen sets on her eggs three weeks they are hatched into chickens. Apparently in each of these cases there was no outward change until the critical point was reached and then there was a sudden transformation.

We believe that society is approaching its critical point and that a transformation must ensue. That the present competitive system, embracing the private ownership of capital, is simply like the shell of an egg and is protecting the formation of a new and better society within itself. When this new society is ready to be born it will burst its shell and step forth, Minerva like, fully formed and completed.—The Challenge.

Two-thirds of the taxes of San Francisco are paid by women, and yet they have no voice in shaping legislation of the great metropolis. Every woman in San Francisco should be a Socialist.

Solomon said, "Words fitly spoken are like apples of gold in pictures of silver." Accept the proverb as true; what a magnificent gallery of pictures are furnishing for the delight of the world!

Make Socialists by pushing the Herald

## THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU

Definite Action Taken Towards its  
Establishment at Brussels by  
Anseele, Vandervelde and  
Belgian Comrades

### DEBS AND SANIAL NOMINATED

Resolutions Passed by the International  
Congress at Paris Upon Which the  
Bureau is Based—The Scope  
of its Work

The following special cable relating to the International Socialist Bureau appeared in the Chicago News:

Brussels, Jan. 3.—The international Socialist Bureau has been definitely constituted here. The members for France are M.M. Jaures and Vaillant; for Germany, Auer and Singer; for the United States, Debs and Sanial; for Italy, Ferri and Turati; Switzerland, Fauquet and Forholz; Holland, Troelstra and Vanket; Denmark, Cruidsen and Jensen.

There is some misunderstanding as to whether nominations should be made, as above report indicates, from Brussels, or by the different Socialist organizations in each country. The following letter received at headquarters from Brussels says: "The congress has also decided that the nomination of two delegates from each country shall be subject to the ratification of the proletariat of those countries." The Herald therefore prints the Brussels news report along with the Bureau's letter for information of its readers:

Dear Comrades:—We have the pleasure to announce to you the definite constitution of the International Socialist Bureau. Most of the countries of Europe have already chosen their delegates, and other countries will do so in a few weeks. The seat of the bureau is established at the "Maison du Peuple," Joseph Stevens street, Brussels, Belgium. The nomination of Comrade Victor Seruy as secretary has been ratified by many nationalities, and unanimously by the congress of the labor party of Belgium, on the 18th of November last. The designation of Edward Anseele and Emil Vandervelde as delegates has also been approved. Those willing to bear their quota of the expense of establishing the secretariat can address "Edward Anseele, Rue do Jambon, Gand."

We believe it is necessary to call attention in this first circular to the terms of the resolution of the congress establishing the International Bureau, defining precisely its powers and duties:

Resolution One—The International Socialist Congress at Paris considers.

That as the International Congresses are destined to become the parliament of the proletariat, it is necessary to formulate resolutions for the guidance of the proletariat in their struggle for freedom:

That these resolutions resulting from international agreement should be translated into acts. The following measures are decided upon:

1. An organization committee shall be named as soon as possible by the Socialist organizations of the country where the next congress is to be held.

2. A permanent committee consisting of two delegates from each country shall be formed to handle the necessary funds. They shall regulate the order of proceedings in the next congress, and shall receive the reports from each nationality connected with the congress.

3. The committee shall choose a salaried general secretary, who shall

(a) Procure all necessary information.

(b) Edit an explanatory code of the resolutions passed by previous congresses.

(c) Distribute the reports of the Socialist movement of each country two months before the new congress meets.

(d) Furnish a general summary of reports on the questions discussed by the congress.

(e) Publish at different times leaflets and pamphlets on questions of facts and of general interest; also on important reforms, and essays upon serious political and economic questions.

(f) Take all necessary measures to facilitate the international organization of the proletariat of all countries.

Resolution Two—The International Socialist Committee shall form from the national organizations of Socialists in parliaments, a special inter-parliamentary commission to facilitate common action on great political questions and international economics. The commis-

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 12, 1901.

Social Democratic Party Vote  
**1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 96,878**  
**1900 (S. L. P.) 34,191**  
**TOTAL 131,069**

**Attitude Toward Reformers**

A resolution adopted by Branch 1, Newark, N. J., received by The Herald, makes the suggestion that the attitude of this paper is not friendly enough toward reformers. The resolution says: "If our official organ would treat more friendly these reformers who were kept away from Socialism by pseudo-Socialists, we would surely get a great portion of them in our ranks." The resolution also protests "against the expression of our editor in 'Notes and Comments' when he says: 'Please count us out, friends; we want ten years relief from fusion,' and, furthermore, declares that instead these people should be invited to "effect a strong Socialist organization."

The Herald at all times welcomes friendly criticism of those who are as deeply interested in the spread of Socialism as its editor or any one else connected with the party can be. That the comrades of the Newark branch are actuated by one motive alone, a desire to promote the cause and bring fresh adherents to our standard, is beyond all question. Let us examine their position from the same standpoint.

Early in December there appeared in the daily newspapers a report to the effect that a move had been started, presumably by the radical wing of what remains of the populist party, for a new national party, "to include the Social Democrats," the report said. Whereupon, with ample proof in hand of the disintegrating and disorganizing effects of fusion, The Herald expressed the hope that the party it represents might be exempted from any further experience in that line. The reason for this was obvious enough to the writer and no doubt to all readers of the paper acquainted with the methods pursued to force upon us a union which the majority of the organization had declared against. Many times The Herald has been called upon to say that the Social Democracy is a revolutionary and uncompromising Socialist party. If that is a true statement of our position, and it has never been challenged by resolution from a single branch of the organization, then we are necessarily and logically opposed to amalgamation with reform parties of whatever attitude or profession. This uncompromising attitude toward capitalism, absolutely required from any party claiming to stand for the social revolution, cannot be maintained by fusing with reformers who are "kept away from Socialism by pseudo-Socialists." It is time enough for a Socialist party to invite and welcome new recruits to its ranks when they have become Socialists. It is dangerous to admit them before they have reached that point in their development. For this reason The Herald, with all due respect for the opinions of Newark comrades, still hopes that the pseudo-Socialists will succeed in keeping away from the Social Democratic party the radical element whose radicalism does not include the complete abolition of capitalist production—the program of international Socialism.

We invite Socialists, as we always have, to unite with the Social Democratic party. The branches of this party are open to receive and welcome any man who is a Socialist and ready without reserve to subscribe to its principles and its laws. For the man not willing to do this there is no place in the party and he should not be admitted. Overtures to any organized body of reformers by a Social Democrat are useless and must prove barren of results so long as the individuals constituting the body want only the "half loaf" measures which economic development and necessity alone can give them.

We have before us an authentic report of the recent conference at St. Louis of the mid-road populists. To that conference Prof. Geo. D. Herron was invited. After he had spoken the discussion was taken up by the populist radicals, some of them declaring, and no

doubt truly enough, for it passed unchallenged and may, therefore, be accepted as expressing the party verdict, that the populists were "not ready yet to take up Socialism." This much was known to some of us before the conference assembled, and that being the fact, the uselessness of attempting any kind of enforced union, or permitting others to coerce us, should be apparent to all. The most that can be hoped for from the presentation of Socialism to such bodies is that an individual here and there will see the light and abandon the darkness. Such individuals are ready for a Socialist party; the Social Democratic party is ready for them. We again remind the Newark comrades, as we have frequently said in these columns, that an effective Socialist organization can only be accomplished by Socialists.

In connection with above reference to Prof. Herron's visit to St. Louis, it has been stated by some Socialist papers in the east that he went there as the representative and spokesman of the western Social Democrats. There is some misunderstanding here. We do not find in any report we have seen of the populist conference that Prof. Herron claimed to represent this party. He was not sent there by the Social Democratic party, and, so far as our information goes, he spoke as an individual, urging upon his audience in general terms the cause and paramount importance of Socialism.

**Wage Slavery**

Does wage slavery exist in the United States? The Social Democratic party avers that it does. Is the allegation worthy of consideration? Let us presume a half dozen railroad corporations have purchased all the anthracite coal-bearing lands of Pennsylvania, 63,000 acres, or 90 square miles. They own all the mines; no coal miner can dig coal in all this region without permission, nor retain employment a day against the order of the boss. His fate is sealed. He must starve or work, and often starve and work. These mine employes recently went out on a strike because capitalism had decreed that they should work and starve.

Of these strikers, more than 3,000 of them were boys in age ranging from 6 to 16 years.

Mr. Thomas I. Kidd, general secretary of the Amalgamated Woodworkers' International union, visited the anthracite coal regions to note conditions. He saw in the city of Scranton, Pa., during the strike 3,000 "breaker boys" marching in procession as a protest against the enslaving policy and practice of capitalism.

"Many of these boys," said Mr. Kidd, "could not have been over 8 years of age." It was a procession that proclaimed conditions such as should "make the people of Pennsylvania and of all America hide their heads in shame." These "breaker boys," as if to shame the authors of their cruel fate, carried empty dinner pails, and people of Scranton could not restrain their tears as these young wage slaves marched by.

These boys, says Mr. Kidd, begin work as early as 6 years of age. "All day long they sit separating the slate from the coal. They work in all sorts of weather, in summer's heat and winter's cold, without shelter." With finger nails torn and fingers bound in rags to arrest bleeding, these slave-doomed children toil on from morning till night, because their fathers cannot secure wages sufficient to feed and clothe them.

"These boys," says Mr. Kidd, "know nothing about school; they know nothing about childhood. From one year's end to another they know nothing of pleasure. They are tied down as effectually as the black slave before the war, but without the latter's full dinner pail."

None of the 3,000 boys who marched in procession, says Mr. Kidd, "have ever been a day in school," and he adds: "There are thousands of men and boys in Pennsylvania who live in darkness, because cruel task masters in their lust for gain have so willed it."

If that is not wage slavery then words have ceased to be the signs of ideas, and are of no more value than the gibberish of apes.

The Social Democratic party's contention finds explicit confirmation in the Pennsylvania anthracite coal region, and if space permitted it could be as fully demonstrated that it is equally the prevailing cause throughout the land.

What of it? This—Socialism proposes to tear it up by the roots; and, mind you, it is the only party, the only organization, that espouses the cause of the wage slaves of the country.

**The Approaching Collapse**

The "calamity howling agitator" has been censured severely for predicting a crisis which all the economic conditions of the present indicate. Recent panics and depressions, whether starting in South America or Wall street, have ended by becoming universal and particularly acute in those countries where the present capitalist form of production is most highly developed. The consular reports as well as newspaper comments and the increasing exports from the United States and the taking of markets from foreign countries have indicated that which the Socialists have endeavored to prepare the people to receive.

A panic more far-reaching, barring possible international war, is now projecting itself in the capitalist countries, and especially in Germany. The impetus of it is gradually accelerated and this evil and most oppressive panic will soon be recognized within the realms of Emperor McKinley.

Talbot J. Albert is not a Socialist. He is a wise man who knows all about industries and how to make figures that don't lie. He is one of the American consuls in Germany, and it may be well to reproduce, from his report of a few days ago, his sizing up of future prosperity in Germany. He says that there is a decrease of 37.4 per cent in building enterprises in Germany, as compared with the summer of 1899; of 58 per cent in railroad projects; of 63.43 per cent in construction of electrical and street railroads; of 32.33 per cent in projected electrical plants for lighting, etc.

The number of projected gas works is almost a third less, but, in view of size and percentage of production, there is little difference. In other spheres of activity, such as mining and smelting, work in stone and earth (fertilizing salts, etc.), metal manufacture, production of chemicals and textiles, breweries and water works, the statistics show a difference of 27.2 per cent.

There have been quite a number of failures in all branches of business during the last seven months, "and in my consular district," Mr. Albert says, "two of the oldest and best established glove manufacturers have become bankrupt. This depression is a natural reaction after so much prosperity. Germany was never so flourishing as during the year 1899. New business enterprises of all kinds were projected, and old enterprises increased their plants."

The foregoing is but one report of many indicating the approaching storm and collapse.

**NOTES AND COMMENT**

Massachusetts has a population of 2,805,346, of which 492,497 are engaged in manufactures. They are the persons who "make the wheels go round." There are 82,624 engaged in the making of leather and shoes, 77,092 in building, 45,488 in clothing, 9,045 in food preparations, 58,457 in machinery and metallic goods, 9,887 in paper and paper goods, 127,117 in textiles, 21,374 in wooden goods and 61,413 in other industries, but there is not one of them who owns his tools. Capitalism has sequestered the entire outfit, and of the vast army not one can have a day's work at any wage except by permission of the boss. That is wage slavery, and no amount of word juggling modifies the condition.

Robert P. Porter makes the prediction that the population in 100 years will be 300,000,000, and says: "There is no doubt that as the population of the country increases the fight for life becomes more bitter and serious." He further says that young men "in order to evade responsibility will refuse to marry." This is not a very bright prospect for the greatest republic, with its increasing population. But no other view can be honestly taken. It is forced by capital industry. But as the "fight becomes more bitter," light will become more pervading, and Socialism will make giant strides.

Education is either good, bad or indifferent. It is eminently and pre-eminently good if it levels up the poor and levels down the rich, the proud, the arrogant, by exerting an ever-increasing influence in promoting human happiness. Socialism, in demanding an education enabling its possessor to master the science of economics in human affairs, however strange it may appear to some people, includes the highest ideals of philanthropy.

Socialists can afford to be cheerful in view of the fact that throughout the country there is a demand for legislation which will enable the people of towns and cities to own and operate their street railways, their gas, electric light and water works plants, etc., and enjoy all the profits, instead of granting the privilege to corporations. This is strictly in consonance with the teachings of Socialism.

Emperor McKinley's Satrap, alias governor-general of Porto Rico, feeling clement after partaking his royal Thanksgiving feast, in true imperial style ordered the prison doors of his province unbarred and set at liberty scores of his incarcerated subjects. The milk of kindness in his cocoanut head flowed in streams as rich as if his excellency had been a pipe of wine and his mouth the bungalow.

The term "civilization" is something worse than a misnomer if it permits one class of people to rob, with impunity, another class of people, which is at present going on in the United States. For this aggravating crime Socialists are alone seeking to find a remedy.

Henry Rockefeller, in presenting a sword to President Kruger of the Transvaal republic, said: "The syndicate of thrones will some day be overthrown by a syndicate of the peoples." That is the view Socialists take of the subject.

One of the outposts of our empire is the island of Guam in the Pacific ocean, the latest accounts from which represent the natives starving to death, and Governor-General Shrader asks for 65,000 pounds flour, 30,000 pounds biscuit, 1,000 pounds sugar, 20,000 pounds salt pork, 20,000 pounds rice to head off famine. Why not kill 'em as we are now doing in the Philippine islands. Dead "niggers" don't eat.

Mr. Gompers contemplates unionizing the workmen of Porto Rico. It might be better if the great organization known as the American Federation of Labor should seek to unionize, educate and elevate the 3,000 "breaker boys" of the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania who, as the victims of capitalism, are as wretched and degraded as any 3,000 persons to be found in Porto Rico.

Reports have it that a number of millionaires of New York city have organized for the purpose of fighting vice in that great metropolis. If the report is true it is another demonstration that the spirit of Socialism is already working wonders in the way of reform. Possibly, as history is said to "repeat itself," that the age of miracles has come again.

After a workingman has passed through a capitalistic cornsheller and nothing remains of him but the cob, he is in a state of mind to soliloquize—  
"When I think what now I is  
And what I used to was,  
I see I've thrown myself away  
Without sufficient coz."

The churches complain that they cannot get close enough to the common people. It is not recorded that Jesus Christ had to contend with any difficulties in that line. Indeed, it is written, "the common people heard Him gladly."

The injunction is, "pray always." John D. Rockefeller, the holy holedorer of the continent, changes the orthography of the order and preys always. His preying pipes are full and his preying pumps are in operation. John's creed is "pipe, pump and prey."

If Mr. William Jennings Bryan does not secure more and bigger game by shooting off his pen than has rewarded him by shooting off his mouth, he will never be known as the Nimrod of the twentieth century.

"Ah!" said the flea, as he hopped a hundred feet,  
"Capitalism isn't hunting me because I'm good to eat;  
But still, it is after me with a relentless stride  
To pocket the profits of my tallow and my hide."

When Goldsmith wrote, "Man wants but little here below, nor wants that little long," he had a hermit in his eye. If, instead of an anchorite, the poet had had a capitalist in his optic, he would have written, "Man wants everything in sight, and wants to hang on to it everlastingly."

The latest venture capitalism proposes to round up all the toads and extract the jewels from their noses.  
"Let no toad escape," is the shibboleth of the trust.  
"Get the jewels from the toads, though your waistbands bust."

Socialism has no objection to letting "well enough alone," if "well enough" in human affairs can be found; but it does not propose to let "bad enough" alone, and treat it as incurable. Something to be borne with patience and resignation.

"Yes," said the rattler to the tarantula, "I've built on the capitalistic plan, with this difference: I rattle to give warning to my victims before I strike, while capitalism strikes its victims before it rattles. I am the better of the two enemies of society."

The royal Bengal tiger remarked to the leopard: "I'm a trust, the result of the evolution of jungle civilization. I'm a man-eater. I like the diet; am getting fat, and am opposed to Socialist agitation for a new civilization."

What is Socialism? Well, negatively, Socialism is not capitalism. It is not government by gun and injunction; it is not a system of robbing and slavery; it is not Phariseism nor militarism; it is not a combination of beak, fang and claw. Do you catch on?

Man is what his environments make him. Socialism strikes at environments, because they can be changed, modified and improved, and with the improvement men and society experience a salutary change.

For three years the sugar and coffee folks have been trying to skin each other; now they have quit and will devote all their energies to skinning the public.

Common struggle to live leads to common property in the essential means of life.

**The Approaching Convention**

The special convention which meets at Chicago on the 15th promises to mark an important era in the progress of the party. It is called by members of the party, "the rank and file," of whom we hear much these days, and they will have entire control of its deliberations. Every member of the party is entitled to a seat in the convention with full rights as a delegate; and if unable to attend in person he may sign the credential of some other comrade, thus being represented by a delegate of his own personal choice. This will make the convention as democratic as such a body can possibly be.

And yet it is not doubted that we will hear about "boss rule" and "hero worship." This sort of talk is not strange to us. We have heard it all along the route. It comes from the throat of envy and is inspired in the heart of failure.

When you hear this cry turn your dark lantern in the direction whence it comes, and you will see—not always, but generally—a very small man, or two or three of them, in fear of losing their occupation. They are desperately opposed to "bosses"—other than themselves. They are greatly alarmed lest their own service be dispensed with, and hence their lilliputian assaults upon "leaders" and "bosses" and "hero worshippers." Artemus Ward would probably have classed them with his "amossin kusses," and as such we dismiss them.

The convention will be well attended, but I write to urge every comrade who can possibly do so to answer the roll call in person.

I heartily concur in the call for a national meeting at this time. Matters of great importance demand consideration and action. Delay would simply impede progress.

It is generally admitted that the party has outgrown its present form of organization. Certain changes are necessary that the party may keep pace with the progress of events.

There will be both opportunities and responsibilities for the delegates. They should and doubtless will be actuated by the loftiest motives. The party must be made the best expression of the Socialist movement. If less than this the defects must be remedied and the weak points strengthened.

There is not one who does not wish to see all factions merged into one united party, but it is time wasted to try to force a union of inharmonious elements. The growth of the movement will do the work. The unifying process will go forward with the infusion of new blood.

It is not a question of uniting two antagonistic factions, but of bringing all the Socialists of the country into harmonious alliance that there may be one united party which can summon to its aid all the strength of the Socialist movement in grappling with the capitalist parties for the overthrow of capitalism.

The delegates must, if true to themselves and equal to their responsibilities, take advanced ground. Great strides have been taken since the last convention and the party must be adapted to the conditions now existing, and be prepared to face the future with not only a clear comprehension of its demands and necessities, but the required ability and power to successfully meet them as they come.

Tens of thousands stand ready to join us. Our policy must be such as to appeal to them, as well as to other thousands that are being rapidly prepared for Socialism by the economic development.

Wisely directed, the coming convention will pave the way from the bogs and fens of factional strife to the highland of party supremacy.

Eugene V. Debs.

**Weyerism**

Less than three years ago the United States declared war against Spain because Weyler, the governor-general of Cuba, was treating Cuban patriots, their wives and children, with savage cruelty. The accounts of the barbarity that reached the United States frenzied the people to extreme and uncontrollable indignation. The reconcentrado orders of Weyler consigned thousands of their defenseless victims to death by the torture of starvation and horrified the world. The United States had but one voice and that was for war to drive Spain out of Cuba and from the western hemisphere. It was done. But as a result of the war the United States obtained a doubtful sovereignty over the Philippine islands, where Weyerism has reigned unrestrained. Filipino patriots have been slaughtered by the thousand, and old men, women and children have perished under the sway of American Weyerism, and the tragedy is still under way. Socialists, if in power, would find a better civilization than Weyerism.

A mummy has recently been uncovered in Egypt which, in the opinion of scientists, lived 10,000 years ago. The old Egyptian was doubtless a mechanic, and as his flint tools were buried with him, he evidently expected to pursue his vocation in the new country to which he was destined. Had he waked up in the United States in this age of steal, he would have been robbed of his tools by capitalism, and besides would not have been permitted to own himself.



COMMERCIAL DECADENCE OF OLD ENGLAND

Now Disliked for Her Arrogance and Laughed at for Her Ignorance, She Will Soon be Despised for Her Impotence

An English Social Democrat's Views of the Boer War and Causes that Point to England's Downfall

H. M. Hyndman in London Justice

It is now quite clear to all the world, and not merely to thinking Englishmen, that England to-day is owned and controlled by as corrupt and incompetent a set of aristocratic and plutocratic political adventurers as has ever played fast and loose with the destinies of a people. The speeches of the Tories, Mr. Bartley and Mr. Bowles, on Lord Salisbury's wholesale jobbery in the interest of his family party, and the general constitution of the cabinet, now commonly called the Hotel Cecil; the attack of Mr. Lloyd George on Mr. Chamberlain and his family's nefarious government contracts, which, if not actually corrupt, are so close to it that not even the revived Titus Oates of the Colonial Office has anything effective to say in his own defence; the admirable indictment by Mr. T. M. Healy of the entire government policy—an impeachment which ought to have been forced home then and there by an Englishman; and, last not least, the kicking upstairs into the Foreign Office of Lord Lansdowne, who has winked his eye at, and perhaps been a participator in, more fraudulent contracts and wholesale swindlings at the War Office than have ever been heard of even in the days of Lord Melville—all these things are read and studied and commented upon throughout Europe and America by men of ability, who see clearly that such miserable ineptitude and scurvy robbery at the public cost in high places, such indifference to the corrupt mismanagement of their business by the English people at large, must inevitably lead to the downfall of our empire. We are disliked for our arrogance, laughed at for our ignorance, and, if things go on as they are going, we shall ere long be despised for our impotence. The conduct of the war in South Africa, with the nations looking on at us, has been enough and more than enough to justify the growing hatred and contempt with which we common Englishmen, as represented by our government, are now universally regarded. Look at the war how we may in its inception—and nobody can honestly deny that it was brought about by as infamous a set of intriguers, official and unofficial, as ever were seen—it is obvious that to-day, Botha, De Wet, De Larey, Viljoen and their followers are patriots and heroes, and that the language of whole sections of the English press in regard to men whose names will be recorded side by side with those of Kossuth, Langiewicz and Garibaldi, is worthy of the crew of international pickpockets who now own so many of our most "patriotic" newspapers.

But while all this is going on at the top with the assent of the mass of Englishmen how do matters stand with the nation as a whole? Do not let us suppose that the attempts made to hide the truth can succeed when blue-book after blue-book is published revealing the facts to all who choose to investigate them. The German staff, at any rate, to my certain knowledge, knew all about the Boer preparations, and understood fully the sort of enterprise we had embarked upon far better than we did. They make it a business to have such information at command. We don't. But it is likely, then, that Germans, French, Russians, Americans, are ignorant of our weaknesses at home, or that they are unable to estimate at its true value all this frothy "Imperialism" on the part of a nation 50 per cent or more of whose adult male workers in the cities are physically unfit to bear arms? Is it probable, either, that they do not see the dangers to which we are exposed by being dependent upon foreign sources, in many cases thousands of miles from our shores, for three-fourths of our food supply? Is it within the bounds of possibility that they mistake for statesmanship that policy of imbecile "drift" at home and abroad of which Lord Salisbury is so able an advocate and exponent? Is it likely again that, with all the facts and figures before them, they don't know that the decrepitude and weakness within our borders is accompanied by the wholesale ruin of India, which must ere long result in an overwhelming economic and social collapse? I say that all this is talking about on these points—to statesmen and publicists of foreign nations than it is to Englishmen. It is known, and it is discussed, and it is calculated upon. An empire which is rotting at its heart is not much of an empire. So, even from the holligan jingo point of view which the elegant Mr. Arthur Balfour now habitually takes up, the outlook is not quite satisfactory. But the truth is that the whole edifice is so rotten that the men whom we have entrusted with the management of our

business don't dare to touch it. All they say in private when challenged on their cowardice and incapacity is, "It will last our time."

My belief is it will not. Let us examine the economic position coolly. We Social Democrats do not believe in competition, our comrades in Europe and America believe in it as little as we do, and would gladly combine to co-operate with us to control the industrial forces of the present and future for the common good. But we are not at that point yet. We are still in the competitive period, and the growth of trusts and combines, rapid as it is, has not yet nearly reached the stage of international monopoly. Now, it is no secret that we are falling behind in the cost of production in every department of trade. We are losing our former supremacy in one direction after another. This has been brought home to us very clearly of late. The Germans hold, and seem likely to retain, the "record" for quick transport across the Atlantic. The best boats which cross the Channel are of French and Belgian build. French express trains now run from 30 to 50 per cent faster than ours, and so, of course, do American. The freights charged on our railways for very inferior transport are from three to five times the rates which are paid in Europe and the United States. Our machinery and organization in our factories are so far behind those of our principal rivals in the matter of prompt delivery that we have recently had it elaborately explained in the House of Commons that German firms have delivered guns and American firms have sent in bridge work on contracts which our own greatest manufacturers, with every advantage given them, were wholly unable to carry out. In the matter of chemical processes we are actually "not in it" with the Germans, who are practically in control of every English house which is at all holding its own in this department; in the direction of automatic machinery we are all behind America, which is beginning to supply our leading manufacturers. The education of our work people is so deplorably defective—of the physical degeneration of vast numbers of them no more need be said; it is too sadly obvious—that they are at a growing disadvantage in comparison with both Germany and America, while France, whose schools have been immensely improved of late years, is going ahead rapidly. No matter which way we turn, indeed, the prospect is most discouraging. The nation which had the first-fruits of steam and proudly called herself—regardless of the physical decrepitude which crowded city life was even then engendering—"the workshop of the world" is behindhand in all the appliances of modern competitive industry.

Now, just at present all this is not much felt. We have had a period of industrial and commercial prosperity greatly enhanced for the time being by the heavy war expenditure. Factories and workshops have been full of orders, and those who point to dangers ahead are, of course, croakers and pessimists. But it is surely well to consider beforehand, even from the capitalist point of view, where we shall be when the next crisis comes and prices are forced down by competition close to the actual cost of production, not only in neutral markets but here at home. How are we to hold our own? Take America. Her cost of production is much below ours, and her delivery of orders is far more prompt. Statistics tell us, moreover, that the yearly cost of maintenance per steam horse power is only \$25 in the United States as against \$60 in Great Britain. In addition the Americans make far greater use of electricity, oil-gas and water power than we do. In steel rails alone their capacity for production greatly transcends any demand which the United States can possibly make. Already their prices are much below those ruling in the "pool" here. How will it be when they tumble out their over-production on our colonies and dependencies as a slaughter market? Germany is not so dangerous a competitor as America, but her bagmen are so far superior to ours and her manufacturers are so much more ready to adapt themselves to the wishes of their customers that she is beginning to supplant us steadily and permanently in markets which were formerly altogether in English hands. Indeed, Chinese merchants predict that in a few years the trade of the valley of the Yangtse will be chiefly in German hands.

Depends on Source of Income

If we had a real science of society, we should have therein a statement of religion. But we have not; there is yet no sociology worthy of the name, or deserving of man's intellectual or moral respect. We have a lot of academic jargon, wrought out upon foundations capitalized by the existing society, but no honest or intellectual account of what society is, or of what it ought to be. We can expect a free science and a free religion, and a free art and free literature as well, only when we have a free society. For the noblest thinker is more or less directed by the economic sources from which he draws his sustenance.—Prof. Geo. D. Herron in Inter. Soc. Review.

The Debs-Herron pamphlet is sold at \$3 a hundred, \$15 a thousand.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU (Concluded from First Page)

sion shall work in unity with the International Socialist Committee.

Resolution Three—The International Secretariat located at Brussels shall have the custody of the international archives of Socialism, and shall collect all books, documents and reports concerning the labor movement in different nations. The congress has also decided that the nomination of two delegates from each country shall be subject to the ratification of the proletariat of those countries. They have fixed the budget of the International Bureau at 10,000 francs (\$2,000). The principal countries (Germany, England, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, United States), each shall furnish 800 francs (\$160) of this amount, the other countries (Norway, Argentina, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Russia, Japan, Sweden, Hungary, Australia, etc.), shall each contribute 200 francs (\$40).

There are other proposals in accordance with the above which your committee has prepared with the assistance of our Socialist friends from all nations. Already we have received from many delegates, different proposals, which we are now examining, and upon which we shall consult you.

At present we think that the most important tasks before your bureau are as follows: (1) To establish communication with all Socialist organizations, labor parties, parliamentary groups, press, etc. (2) The codification of resolutions of the congress and putting them into execution.

In the meantime we ask you to indicate the questions which, in your judgment, are of a nature to render more efficient the work of our bureau. Finally, we would ask all those organizations which have not yet been heard from to send us

- 1st. The names and addresses of their delegates.
2d. The name and address of their correspondent.
3d. The name and address of their party secretary.
4th. The name and address of the party treasurer.
5th. The place of meeting of their organization.
6th. The names and addresses of their principal newspapers and reviews.

Through us the Belgian labor party thank most heartily the comrades of all countries for the confidence and trust they have reposed in us by choosing our country as the seat of the International Bureau. We shall strive to show ourselves worthy of the task which has been assigned to us. "Vive L'International!"

Les Membres Du Bureau Executif. EDOUARD ANSEVELDE, EMILE VANDERVELDE, VICTOR SERWY, Secretaire.

TWO PHILOSOPHIES OF LIFE (Concluded from First Page)

instinct of a social or racial nature. It is only natural that the racial instinct reached its highest stage of development in the human kind. The underlying principle of race-consciousness (as opposed to individual self-consciousness) is the recognition of the fact that the interests of the individual are best served by their subjection to the interests of the aggregate. This plain principle of race-consciousness is nothing else but the principle of international Socialism. Socialism is therefore primarily a philosophy of life based on the recognition of the perfect solidarity of the interests of all the members of the humankind. Socialism in the broadest sense of that term is as old as the human race.

All the Zoroastrians, the Buddhas, the Mosses, Isaiahs and Christs, all the hoary seers of the past, who preached race-consciousness, were emotional or religious Socialists. There is, however, a vast difference between the Socialism expounded and propounded by the founders of great religions of the world, the half-rationalistic Utopian or imaginary Socialism of a Thomas More, Babeuf, Fourier, Robert Owen and finally the thoroughly scientific Socialism of Rodbertus and Marx.

The Utopian Socialists had no idea about society as a natural product of biological and anthropological development, as a complex result of the action, reaction and co-operation of natural forces inherent in society. The Utopians rather thought that society is entirely the result of the free (?) human will and may be arbitrarily remodeled according to artificial designs or fancies at any moment's notice. The Utopians judged society from a high level of moral feeling and ideas (just as the religious teachers of the past) and also appealed to the higher qualities of human mind. Their conception of history was thoroughly metaphysical.

Modern Socialism is the child of modern social conditions and scientific trend of mind. One of the most characteristic features of modern Socialism is its so-called materialistic or rather realistic (as opposed to the metaphysical of the older schools) conception of history. The great founders of modern Socialism, Rodbertus and Marx, first proved that not the will and whim of kings are the most important factors in

the process of shaping the destinies of nations, but social and economic forces inherent in the masses and classes composing these nations. They first proved that economic and social institutions are the resultants of these highly complex forces and subjected to evolutionary and revolutionary, to progressive and retrogressive changes. They first investigated social and economic phenomena using exact and strictly scientific methods. They first established the existence of laws, the mutual relations between causes and effects in social and economic life. They were the Bacons and Darwins of economics. They first attempted to base the ideals of the future on a rational conception of the past and present. Modern Socialism is the art of sociology (or science about society), the application of results of scientific investigation and deduction to the practical problems of human society. It is the meeting ground of religion, rational ethics and pure science. Religions or rational ethics supply the motive—the why, while science shows the way how to accomplish the true (not the mystical) salvation of humanity from the burden of spiritual and material anarchy, from the course of selfishness and stupid subserviency to brute force and arrogance of material wealth.

Railway Discriminations

"Under the conditions now existing," says the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, "it is inevitable that frequent discriminations should occur and endless acts of injustice be committed. Some of the most important and useful incidents of railway service are maintained by methods which are believed to be inharmonious with, if not in actual violation of, a federal statute. It is universal experience that capital takes advantage of competition. It is idle to suppose that railroads will actually and all the while compete with each other as to every item of service or facility and at the same time expect that all their patrons, large and small, will be treated exactly alike. The policy now pursued cannot and will not prevent an outcome of vicious discriminations. And what is most unfortunate of all these discriminations favor the few and place the many at disadvantages."

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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.
MICHIGAN: Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 2 p. m., at 16 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall.
MINNESOTA: Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gosswill on Main St. A Kingsbury, Secretary.
MONTANA: Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block, G. Frankel, Sec.
NEW JERSEY: Branch No. 1, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1234 Kaighn's Avenue.
NEW YORK: The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall.
PENNSYLVANIA: Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 425 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.
INDIANA: Branch No. 1, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble sts.
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.
MASSACHUSETTS: Branch No. 1, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall.
MICHIGAN: Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts.
NEW YORK: Branch No. 29, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

Answers to Correspondents

M. E., Missouri.—In reply to your question we recall to your attention the fact that in a mass meeting of all Chicago branches, with over 250 members (the rank and file) present, the methods of the "unionists" were repudiated by the Social Democratic party and the "joint campaign committee" was dissolved so far as this party is concerned.

F. A. M., Ohio.—Bebel expressly states in his notable work entitled, "Woman: Past, Present and Future," that the views therein set forth are his own and are not to be considered as necessarily those of the Social Democracy. Your criticism is, therefore, not well taken. If one agrees with all the arguments and conclusions in the book, his agreement is with an individual Social Democrat—a prominent, even representative one, it is true—but Bebel is not the Social Democratic party of Germany.

Kangaroo, Michigan.—It is not true that organic union has been effected in the State of New Jersey, notwithstanding all representations to the contrary. There is in that State a clear understanding and agreement for the support of Socialist candidates under the Social Democratic name, based on a recognition of the independent existence of all Socialist organizations. This agreement is honorable alike to all parties concerned; it was brought about by honorable means, and the Herald congratulates all New Jersey comrades on the situation.

J. P. A., Iowa.—You say that your study of Socialism has led you to look upon it as "teaching that it is to place the earth back into the condition that man found it—or onto God's hands from where man stole it," and you ask, "Is this true?" Your question cannot be answered in a few words. We can only suggest to you to reflect upon it a little. How did our primitive ancestors find the earth? What condition was the earth then in? Do you not see that a condition precedent to Socialism was invention, discovery, science, and the race struggle to live? That Socialism comes not as a "divine" edict, but as a human necessity through organization and dominion over the bounty of nature? To place the earth and the civilization which labor has created upon the earth in complete possession of the creators—this is what Socialism teaches and justice demands. Think of the accumulation of centuries of common strain—all for Socialism, common property in the means of life.

When the morning stars and the sons of God sang together everything was good. It was their first and last concert. Socialists are arranging for another vocal celebration, not only the morning stars, but the evening stars and the fixed stars and the sons and daughters of God, shall celebrate in a grand oratorio, paradise regained.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. O. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel. 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 16 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.
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**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.

**Organization in Last Quarter**

The record of new branches of the Social Democratic party, organized and affiliated with headquarters at 126 Washington street during the last quarter of the year 1900, is one that will give special satisfaction to the loyal members everywhere and inspire them to greater activity for the first year of the new century. The quarter ending September 30, 1900, showed that in twenty-eight states sixty-nine new branches were organized. This was considered a splendid record, surpassing all previous efforts by a Socialist party in the United States for a similar period. Notwithstanding the entanglements of the last quarter ending December 31, the impediments thrown in the way by "unionism," and the necessary expenditure of energy by the comrades in a national campaign, National Secretary Debs issued charters to seventy-nine new branches in twenty-three states. This is more organization for Socialism than was effected by all other bodies combined and speaks in trumpet tones for the vitality of the party and the indorsement by the people of its principles and policies. One feature of the organizing work of last quarter is that the branches are not nearly so scattered as in the quarter previous; a larger number of branches were organized in fewer states. The location of new branches sixty in the west, twelve in the east and seven in the south, follows:

Alabama	2	Montana	3
Arizona	1	Missouri	1
Colorado	3	Nebraska	1
Georgia	1	New Jersey	3
Illinois	20	Ohio	1
Indiana	4	Oregon	1
Idaho	1	Pennsylvania	1
Kansas	4	South Dakota	1
Kentucky	1	Texas	1
Louisiana	1	Vermont	1
Massachusetts	7	Wisconsin	9
Mississippi	1	Total	79

**NOTES FROM THE FIELD**

Don't call yourself a Socialist when all that you do tends to the disorganization of Socialists.

A good attendance at the national convention is assured and business of importance awaits the delegates.

To a meeting of the Social Democrats of Terre Haute, Robert Hunter of Chicago spoke on the "Confession of a Socialist."

The Bellamy Review, "a journal of progress," is the name of a monthly publication at Kearney, Neb. Subscription, 50 cents a year.

Branch secretaries are requested to send in for publication brief reports of all matters of importance in their localities connected with the movement.

The Social Democratic party has established permanent headquarters at 68 So. Main street, Salt Lake City, Utah. The rooms are open every day and evening.

What are you doing to get new subscribers for the Herald? Have you no friend among the 96,000 voters you could induce to take the paper for a year? They are waiting to be invited. Get after them.

At a meeting of Branch 4, Chicago, held at the residence of Dr. A. D. Hill last Sunday afternoon, subscriptions were started to aid the work of organization.

The Women's Social Democratic Club of Rockville, Conn., celebrated the first anniversary of the organization Jan. 1, 1901, and a most enjoyable time was passed by all present.

Does the man working next to you in the shop read the Herald? If not, why not? Ever ask him to subscribe? No. Do it; must have more Socialists; might as well begin making 'em to-day.

The city convention of the Social Democratic party in Chicago, to be held Saturday evening, Jan. 12, at 535 Blue Island avenue, should be attended by every member in good standing of every branch in the city.

Comrades of Chicago branches are requested to send the names and addresses of all persons known to them to be Socialists and not affiliated with an organization to W. J. McSweeney, 126 Washington street.

Chicago comrades who can possibly arrange to attend the National convention, which opens Tuesday morning, January 15, at Aldine Hall, Randolph street, are particularly urged to do so and participate in the deliberations.

There will be some necessary delay in answering correspondence, incidental to the extra work imposed on the National Secretary by the convention. Comrades whose communications are not acknowledged as promptly as usual will kindly bear this in mind.

Comrades Seymour Stedman and A. S. Edwards spoke at a propaganda meeting under the auspices of Branch 10 last Sunday afternoon at Odd Fellows' Hall, Milwaukee avenue. Meetings are being arranged for by all the branches in Chicago during the next four months.

The omission of a demand for public ownership of street railway and electric lighting services from a Socialist platform and the inclusion of a demand for free meals and free medicine, argues a deplorable lack of understanding of the general public attitude towards the Socialist movement.

The two largest branches of Iowa resent the reports current in some Socialist papers that the organization in that state is a unit for the "Iowa resolutions," or any other, against 126 Washington street. Both are affiliated with the headquarters and desire to have it understood that they stand with the loyal branches.

**NEW BRANCHES**

Kansas, one.  
Pennsylvania, two.

**SPRAVEDLNOST**

(JUSTICE)  
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**NATIONAL CONVENTION**

Delegates to the National Convention upon arriving in Chicago will obtain all information about hotel arrangements by calling at headquarters, 126 Washington street.

Arrangements for hotel accommodations for delegates to the National convention have been made with the Tremont House, Lake and Dearborn streets, as follows: Single person, 75 cents per night; two persons, \$1.00; single person, \$1.00; two persons, \$1.50. The Tremont is centrally located and one of the best managed hotels in the city.

The convention will assemble Tuesday forenoon at Aldine Hall, north side of Randolph street, between State and Dearborn, over Thompson's restaurant.

**THE CITY CONVENTION**

**Social Democratic Party**

To all Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party in Chicago:

You are hereby notified that, in accordance with resolutions adopted by the city central committee at a regular meeting, Wednesday, Dec. 26, 1900, a convention will be held at Nagle's hall, 535 Blue Island avenue, at 7:30 p. m., Saturday, Jan. 12, 1901, for the purpose of nominating candidates to represent the party in the municipal election next spring—namely, mayor, city clerk, city treasurer and city attorney.

All members in good standing of branches affiliated with the Social Democratic party, 126 Washington street, will be entitled to admission as delegates and every branch is urged to send a full representation.

J. H. Greer, chairman.  
M. Holsinger, secretary.

**Vail Nominated for Governor**

Rev. Charles H. Vail of Jersey City was nominated by acclamation by the New Jersey Socialists at their convention on New Year's day, held in Central hall, Jersey City. A fine body of delegates, 103 in number, brimful of energy and enthusiasm and of remarkable harmony and intelligence, representing three-fourths of the counties in the state, shouted themselves hoarse in welcome to as peerless a candidate as ever defied existence of wrong. Having been refused a continuance of his ministry by the trustees of his church for his opinions' sake, Comrade Chas. H. Vail burns his bridges behind him and accepts the nomination in an eloquent speech that made a profound impression on the convention.

A strong platform and other resolutions were adopted that will appear next week. A new campaign committee, by which a practical unity is assured during the coming year, was elected. Arrangements were perfected to secure funds regularly and a collection of about \$50 was obtained. Comrade Vail enters at once upon a tour of the state as speaker and organizer. The campaign committee organized and elected G. W. Strobell of Newark as chairman, J. P. Weigel of Trenton as secretary.

Agitation keeps the world wide awake. Stagnation is an opiate inducing death-like stupor. Socialism is agitation.

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- The Evidences of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Spirit and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Inanity, etc.
- Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.
- Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

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