

McGRADY AND HERRON HEARD IN MASSACHUSETTS

A Straight, Class-Conscious and Uncompromising Movement Advocated
—Four Hundred Students Listen to Herron
at Old Harvard

BY MARGARET HAILE

The visit of Father McGrady to Massachusetts has been of great benefit to the movement here, more particularly, perhaps, in removing prejudice and arousing a friendly interest in Socialism among the people of his own denomination. As he is the first Catholic priest who has openly identified himself with a Socialist party in this country, some little curiosity naturally mingled with the interest with which Socialists, as well as others, regarded him and listened to what he had to say. His reputation as a speaker had preceded him, and his books had been read and admired by many, so that as a matter of course he was greeted by large and enthusiastic audiences at each of the four places where he spoke; and this in spite of the damp, dreary, disagreeable, drizzly, foggy and rainy weather we have had uninterruptedly for the last four weeks. The popular verdict is that "the father is all right."

With his oratorical ability, his keenness of intellect, his natural wit and his sound economics, Father McGrady will be a power for good in the Socialist movement. The only regret expressed was that we could not have had him for twenty lectures instead of four.

Last night at Brockton Prof. Herron completed his tour in Massachusetts, speaking to an audience that filled one of the largest halls in the city.

The first meeting of the series, at Everett, was one of the most successful yet held in that city. Dr. Howard A. Gibbs, Worcester, led off with an opening speech in his happiest vein, after which Dr. Herron held the audience in earnest attention for an hour and a half. Several of the comrades present expressed themselves as somewhat surprised and altogether delighted at the professor's clear, unequivocal and forceful declaration in favor of a straight class-conscious movement, a clear-cut program and an undeviating policy, with "no compromise, no fusion, no dickering with the hosts of capitalism, lest we should awake to find our movement saddled and bridled and ridden to a different goal." They had not understood Comrade Herron before, and were glad to have the opportunity of knowing him better.

The second week brought a disappointment to the comrades of Whitman and Weymouth, whose turn to have the professor came next. He was sick in New York and unable to come. He sent in his stead, however, Comrade Franklin H. Wentworth, who proved to be a highly satisfactory substitute. The Whitman meeting was held in a church and attended largely by church people, which is exactly what we worked for. Comrade Wentworth told them some such plain truths in unadorned language that I am told it was necessary to call in the services of a roofer next day, as the pious shingles were found to be standing on end with amazement and horror.

In Weymouth the opera house was filled, and Comrade Wentworth successfully accomplished the very difficult task of winning over and sending home perfectly satisfied an audience which had gathered to listen to a different speaker. The most flattering reports are coming in from those who have heard Comrade Wentworth, and several have expressed a desire to have him come on here on his own account and not as a substitute, and lecture in different places.

Dr. Herron was on deck himself for the meetings arranged for the third and last week. Fitchburg was the first of these, and a comrade writes: "We had a noble address from Prof. Herron, and a fine audience in spite of the rain." But perhaps the most notable of all

the lectures of this trip (and an achievement of which our committee is justly proud) was that of Thursday evening, which was delivered within the sacred walls of Harvard University itself. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Social Science Club, a society of Socialist students organized some two years ago by Comrade Everts, then a student, but who has since been graduated and is now studying law. His good work, however, lives after him, as it was only at the request of a club of this kind that one of the college halls of fair Harvard could be had for a Socialist speaker. Of the audience of some 400, not more than twenty were outsiders; the rest were students. And they heard some truths which it is to be hoped will one day bring forth good fruit. The Boston Herald next morning gave a half-column account of the lecture, and among other things said:

"Prof. Herron's style is of the eloquent, dramatic, intense order. He may be called a master of invective, and does not hesitate to 'call a spade a spade.' His conclusions are extremely drastic to contemporary self-respect."

"Prof. Herron's argument was that individuality was only attainable by co-operation. Liberty was not possible except where all were free. Nowhere was there freedom where any person whatever was dependent upon another for the necessities of existence. The world is owned privately by a few, who exist parasitically on the producer. In this class of parasites are all who do not actually produce, most college-bred people for example, lying in weight, as it were, to seize upon the product of labor and leave the laborer only a bare pittance."

This state of things was exemplified in the Pennsylvania mines, where children shivering with the cold were driven to work on coal heaps; in sweatshop workers in the cities who labored for years on clothes and were never sufficiently clothed; in conditions that frequently obtain, where thousands starve because too much is produced. Suppose all the air was privately owned, everybody else not in the corporation would have to submit to the terms imposed by the owner, unless there was a revolution and the air was made common property. That was the remedy of Socialism.

"Turning to imperialism, he said the desire for new markets was a natural outgrowth of the capitalistic system, which inevitably ground its votaries down below the purchasing point. Every stack, loom, mill, shop or other industrial agency started in the Philippines or in China lowered in some measure the wages of every person working for wages in the United States."

"The imperialist was depicted as one who has sponged in parasitic fashion on his hosts or victims, and sought new victims, armed in economic might and contemptuous of all moral law. It was at this stage that the 'hush' incident came."

"The sentiment of brotherhood was considered. The disease known as 'grip' was instanced, where the severe living conditions of a few Russian peasants, made miserable by a capitalistic organization, had devastated the whole earth as no other known agency had ever done. Every war, or even disturbance, was reflected everywhere in the marts of the world, affecting for weal or woe every person in the world to some extent. The socialistic remedy was the application of this ever present fact of brotherhood, practically, and the enforcement of a common ownership of common needs."

Boston. Margaret Haile.

A Socialist Resolution

In the British house of commons Tuesday night, April 23, J. Keir Hardie, Socialist member, offered the following motion, which was not adopted:

"That, considering the increasing burden which private ownership of land and capital is imposing upon the industrious and useful classes of the community, the poverty and destitution and general moral and physical deterioration resulting from a competitive system of wealth production which aims primarily at profit making, the alarming growth of trusts and syndicates, able by reason of their great wealth to influence governments and plunge peaceful nations into war to serve their interests, this house is of opinion that such a condition of affairs constitutes a menace to the well-being of the realm, and calls for legislation de-

signed to remedy the same by inaugurating a Socialist commonwealth founded upon the common ownership of land and capital, production for use and not for profit, and equality of opportunity for every citizen."

This is the first time a straight Socialist resolution has been submitted in the English parliament.

A boom has been started in Indianapolis to build some sort of a monument to ex-President Benjamin Harrison. Already \$2,000 is in sight. We confess to little knowledge of art to outline the right sort of a thing in the way of monument-building to the distinguished citizen of Indiana. But a brass statue carrying a gun in the act of shooting a striker would be recognized by workingmen as appropriate.

BEN ATTENBURY'S SHOTS AT IGNORANCE

Pintocracy is in possession and a free and intelligent people look on with gaping mouths, saying, "this is a free country!"

If the reading of this paper disturbs your opinions, perhaps you had better get some new opinions. It may be that your old opinions are all wrong. By reading this paper long enough you may get opinions that are right.

Who are having "good times?" Look around; if you are not blind, you can easily satisfy yourself. National bankers, interest sharks, landlords and coal barons, street railway owners, electric plant owners, gas plant owners, trusts, attorneys for trusts and officeholders. All these are having "good times." What sort of times are you having?

There is a lot of difference between the kind of division which labor intends to establish and that which capitalism struggles to maintain. One is division among the shirkers with the workers left out, the other will be division among the workers with all the workers in and the shirkers all out.

A bare living wage means moral degradation. What the race of workers the world over needs is that moral uplift that would come by the freeing of opportunity and the awarding of every man according to his deeds—according to service rendered. Such a system is against wage slavery.

"When one man fifty years old, who has worked all his life, is compelled to beg for a little money to bury his dead baby, and another man fifty years old, who never did anything useful, can give ten million dollars to enable his daughter to live in luxury and bolster up a decaying foreign aristocracy, do you see nothing amiss?"

Nature provides a surplus—as of fruits in California.

Man leaves it on the ground to rot or dumps it into the sea.

Men provide a surplus by their labor in every factory in the land.

Capitalists gather it and dump it into their private fortunes to buy laws with, corrupt legislators and exploit the laborer.

These Socialists, says the individualist, want to abolish competition. Oh, no; they want to do nothing of the kind. They want to abolish your kind of competition, that's all. The kind that breeds misery and crime. And, by the way, your kind of competition is abolishing itself. It's going and competition to be decent and just is coming. Competition to save humanity, not to enslave it.

If somebody should discover a way of storing sunshine and charge you as much as your necessities will bear for the privilege of using it, would you keep right on sweating, to pay the bill?

And yet you think it is right that you, and with you the whole human race, should pay a few men for the privilege of burning coal, which it has taken the sun's rays a million years to deposit in earth's bosom. Coal is stored-up sunshine, and you think it right for a few to make a revenue out of it, and make slaves of the people who should have free access to it! Think it over again, and be honest.

If it were possible for the post office to make a million dollars' profit this year, and one or two officials raked in the million, you would have something to say about it, wouldn't you? If they used the million dollars to build palaces to live in, would you have something to say, wouldn't you? How much have you to say when a banker or bank cashier gets away with funds belonging to you and your neighbors? You are not interested in the bank; but you are interested in the post office, because you have an interest in it. Could just as well have an interest in a few other things if you would think for yourself.

Look here, friend, let us be honest for two minutes. You think the man in your community who is entitled to everybody's respect, the man who ought to be given a front seat on every public occasion, control your party convention, dictate who you shall vote for, and generally runs things according to his own sweet will, is the man who eats but never works, wears clothes, but never makes any, accumulates wealth that he never created, owns houses that he did not build, monopolizes land that is yours as much as his, and is coddled and flattered by the preacher who don't know where and how you live. Which is more surprising, the gall of such a man or your own stupidity?

RATIONAL HOLIDAYS PRECURSORS OF FREEDOM

May Day and Workingclass Holidays—The Working People of the World Should be Emancipated from the Paternalistic Care of the Ruling Class

BY MADON LADOFF

It is rather remarkable that social economy and socialistic literature pay so little attention to the problem of securing to the proletariat possibilities of employing the little leisure allotted to it in our age of wage slavery in a way and manner tending to raise the children of toil to a higher level of physical and spiritual enjoyment and recreation. The sociological and educational value of holidays for the working class can hardly be overestimated. The real character of men is revealed more in the way and manner they employ their leisure than in their work and business occupation. In the shop, the factory, the office, any man in any position of life is to a great extent deprived of the freedom of action and behavior by a strict code of rules and regulations of the respective trade or profession he is engaged in. This is especially true about proletarians, who are compelled to submit to an almost military discipline during their working hours. The ruling classes know that a Sunday spent in drunken riot, gambling and dissipation is not likely to tend to make the workingman fit for his labors during the rest of the week. That is the reason, or one of the reasons rather, why the labor employers and their handmaid, the institutional church, are so solicitous about Sunday rest for the working class. At the last Paris world's fair, among the numerous congresses that were held, one was exclusively devoted to the problem of insuring a strict observance of Sunday as a day of rest for the proletariat. The members of that congress were almost exclusively clergymen and capitalists, people whose life is actually a continuous holiday. Not one representative of the wage workers or their interests took part in the deliberations of that congress and very few of them, if any, knew that such a congress held its sessions at that time in Paris.

It is about time that the proletariat should emancipate itself from the paternalistic care of the ruling classes. It is about time that the actual creators of the wealth of nations should take control not only over the tools of production they work with, but also of their leisure and holidays in a class-conscious and rational way. The institutional churches would fain turn Sundays and all holidays into barren and dreary days of praying and devotion to a supernatural being whose sole agents and representatives they pretend to be; they would fain close on Sundays and holidays all places of amusement, recreation and instructive pastimes as theaters, lecture rooms, libraries and museums. That means to deprive the working class of the only possibility of taking advantage of these institutions. A puritanic Sunday and holiday may be a good thing for the ruling classes, but it is a powerful agency in the hands of the institutional church for the spiritual impoverishment and debasement of the working classes in the interests of the social economic parasites of our industrial age.

The wage workers need strictly enforced Sunday and holiday laws more than any other class of people, but not the Sundays and holidays of puritan times. The proletariat needs Sundays and holidays conducive to physical rest and recreation, to spiritual elevation, to intellectual enrichment, to development and gratification of artistic tastes and inclinations, to the consciousness of the higher nature and worth of the human race as a whole. Such Sundays and holidays are incompatible with so-called church and legal or religious and state holidays. The religious and state holidays do not appeal any more to the imagination and inner feeling of modern proletarians. The holidays of the wage workers have to be taken from the historical events, affecting the fate of that class, from the annals of the struggle, conscious or unconscious, of that class for its emancipation from the thralldom of exploitation by the ruling classes. Such holidays would tend to develop a spirit of brotherhood and solidarity among workingmen and enlighten them as to the great historical mission of their class, a mission greater and holier than any mission of any other class in any time in the memory of men. Such holidays would tend to spiritualize and ennoble the proletariat and to discipline it into a conscious host of workers in the cause of a higher civilization, founded on the recognition of the solidarity of the interests of all the actual producers of national wealth on the globe irrespective of age, sex, race and color.

Such an international proletarian holiday is the May day observed in all civilized countries of the world. It is a day set for the express purpose of manifesting this solidarity of interests. On this day, the laborer of France extends his hand to the workmen of Germany, the American wage worker to his brother in Spain, the Indian riah, the Chinese coolie, the Russian mushik. On this day the polyglot slaves and semi-slaves of the world try to make themselves understood by each other in the international language of human brotherhood and sisterhood. The persecuted, the downtrodden, the exploited, the disinherited of all climes and lands lighten their burden by the consciousness, that their sufferings and sacrifices are shared by others, that the recognition of the superiority of right, justice and reason over might, privileges and superstition is growing every day stronger and stronger, that the hour is near when a new civilization of solidarity and co-operation will be built on the ruins of the old civilization of strife and competition.

On May day all the roaring waves of the mighty ocean, all the high mountains of the continents are not able to stifle and silence the tide of warm human sympathy between fellow sufferers from unjust and irrational social economic conditions. Social Democracy, the great international movement in the interest of social economic justice, indorses heartily the celebration of May day, not only as a means of propaganda of its ideas and idols, but as an attempt to unite all the proletarians of all nations in one harmonious concert of mutual love and helpfulness. Social Democracy has especial reason to celebrate this day in the United States, where all kinds of political and social economic superstitions, unchecked individualistic aspirations and the reckless spirit of "let alone" are so predominant; where commercialism and money-making cynicism reach the degree of a national vice. In a country so typically capitalistic as the United States there is more need in emphasizing the solidarity of proletarians into rests all over the world than anywhere else. The Social Democratic party of America celebrates May day as the real international proletarian holiday, a holiday not prescribed by the institutional church or the official state, not a holiday imported upon the laboring classes by the ruling classes, but as a genuine workmen's rationalistic and class-conscious holiday, as a precursor of the many holidays of the future calendar of the proletariat.

Big Strike in Ipswich

For the first time in the history of Ipswich, Mass., resistance is being made by the operatives of the mills against a reduction in wages. Several times in the past wages have been reduced without resistance, but now the operatives say that the situation is different, as the mills are obliged to run overtime in order to keep up with orders. About two weeks ago the announcement was made by the agent of the mills that, beginning with March 25, a reduction would be made to the rate of wages in effect previous to January, 1900. This meant a loss to the operatives of \$2,500 per month, the weekly payroll being \$6,000.

A mass meeting of the striking operatives unanimously voted not to accept the reduction of wages, and 750 operatives are out.

The strikers say that every time an addition is built to the mill or new machinery put in wages are reduced. It is also claimed that the corporation declared an enormous dividend last year and that when the last advance was made in wages the machinery was speeded sufficiently to make a larger output of product with the same number of hands.

A business man of Ipswich stated that an overseer in the mill was recently told that his services were not needed because he refused to fine the operatives.

The overseer was told by one of the mill officials that the operatives were making too much money and that they must be fined. The overseer replied that they could not be fined, as their work was all right. "That makes no difference," was the answer. "Tell them that their work is poor, and fine them." He declined to do it, and had to leave the mill.

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One year, \$5.00. Six months, \$3.00.

Published at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

148 In the number of this paper.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1901.

Social Democratic Party Vote 1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 97,024

Why Socialism? As well ask, Why the sun?

The thrift of the trusts is simply the theft of the trusts.

Municipal ownership is coming and the same is true of other changes advocated by Socialists.

"Labor conquers all." It could if it would cease voting the Carnegie-Morgan-Capitalism ticket.

Our representative system of government has progressed until the query is everywhere heard, What does it represent?

The ballot is a weapon with which workingmen may achieve victories. It was never intended that they should use it to commit suicide.

A great many soldiers are returning from the Philippine islands, and if asked why they are sent there a vast majority would answer "Damn it."

Germany is intensely interested in the result of a scientific investigation showing that the drinking of beer is productive of kidney diseases.

A seat in the New York gambling den known as the Stock Exchange, according to late transactions, costs \$58,000. Bets reach millions every day.

Socialism is a combination of science, philosophy, truth, justice and humanity of such rare excellence as to merit the approval of good men and angels.

As between the Spanish and American civilization, the Cubans are decidedly in favor of the Spanish article, and the same is equally true in Porto Rico.

Imperialism in the Philippine islands is but another term for rottenness and robbery going on directly under the nose of McKinley's satrap, Gen. MacArthur.

The South is wrestling with the subject of intelligence as a qualification for voting. The "niggers" are densely ignorant and always vote the republican ticket.

Socialism makes no compromise, no concessions. It doesn't arbitrate. It makes no demands that are not eternally just, and what it gains it never surrenders.

Some one remarks that the flag is "sacred because of the doctrines for which it stands." Now, then, for what doctrines does the flag stand for in the Philippine islands?

A standing army is everywhere a menace to liberty, and the United States, crazed by imperialism, is rapidly increasing its standing army. The military idea is bullets instead of ballots.

Some one inquires, Why should workingmen and their families suffer for the necessities of life? This suggests another query: Why should workingmen vote for the party that fosters the curse of capitalism?

Reports from Germany indicate great industrial depression, and working people are despondent and gloomy. They think they are paying too much for the luxury of an emperor, who, a great many people believe, is crazy.

The harlot who sells her body for bread is bad enough. God knows; but in many regards the poor devil who sells his vote to aid capitalism to create conditions which produce harlots is infinitely more despicable than harlots.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor is by trade a cigar-maker, which is the reason, perhaps, why he thinks Socialism and the organization of a great labor party are all smoke. He is authority on smoke.

J. Pierpont Morgan of the billion-dollar steel trust, finding no more plants to capture, has left for Europe to find rest, while Schwab, the million-dollar president of the combine, is left to earn his salary by skinning workmen.

One of the travesties on religion is the opening of sessions of congress and legislatures with prayer. If such things do not tickle the devil it is because he can't see the point of a joke embodied in the motto on our coins, "In God we trust."

Yes, Socialism has passwords, but they are as public as if written by lightning on heaven's starry dome. And it has battle cries, which are heard as if shouted from the throat of a cyclone. There is nothing secret or occult about Socialism.

The Duke of Marlborough, who married five million dollars of the Vanderbilt estate, has been commissioned to visit Washington and inform McKinley that Edward VII. is in the saddle, drawing his salary and doing business at the old stand.

The local election at Fort Wayne, Ind., is awaited with the keenest interest by Social Democrats. Our comrade, Martin H. Wefel, is candidate for mayor and Emmett Martin for city clerk. It is confidently expected that they will poll a large vote.

Socialism is constantly calling for recruits. It needs men to carry forward its crusading campaigns. "Men with empires in their purpose and new eras in their brains" and "men whose thought shall pave a highway up to ampler destinies." And they are coming.

France is educating its felons in the penal colony of New Caledonia in the South Pacific ocean. One of the cultured rascals is editing a paper for his associates in the colony. It is a good idea. McKinley should let Mark Hanna try his hand at the business.

The taxpayer workmen who pay all taxes would like to know, approximately at least, how much the republican imperial thieves have stolen in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine islands. So far as is known the amount simply arouses conjecture as to sum totals.

Now that P. D. Armour has surrendered to the inevitable, the query is heard, Who of his successors is to be crowned king and hear the squeak of his hogs and the bellowing of his steers go echoing round the world like the merry drumbeat and martial airs of England?

The railroads of the country cost five billions, capitalized at twelve billions, seven billions wind and water. In the transportation business the wind and water counts as cash upon which dividends are secured, say, 5 per cent—\$350,000,000—and labor pays every cent of the vast sum.

The old prophet Elisha told Nathan the leper to go and wash seven times in the river Jordan. If Mark Hanna the leper had applied for relief instead of Nathan the old prophet, after diagnosing his case, would have said, "Mark, you'll have to be anchored in the Jordan for a month."

It is a remarkable fact that after labor has done everything from clearing the forests, opening farms, building cities, railroads, shops, ships, machinery and everything else monumental of progress, it continues to vote to weld more tightly the fetters of wage slavery upon the limbs of workingmen.

England is now discussing the propriety of conscription to replenish her army. So far the Boer war has cost \$800,000,000, and Merrie England is getting tired of the empire business; and the day the enforced enrollment of soldiers begins the empire will have an attack of rheumatics in its legs.

The rascalities daily developing under the empire in the Philippine islands has created no little anxiety relating to the crop of hemp in that province, and exportations of the article have ceased until McKinley can determine the amount of cordage required to hang the rascals who have been civilizing the Filipinos.

It is given out that the workingmen of New Jersey propose to organize a great labor party in that state for the purpose of cleansing it of the insufferable stench resulting from its being the hatching nest of trusts and legalized den of thieves. It will be interesting to note the position of Gompers in the matter.

There has not been a time in the United States during the past twenty years when the strike spirit was more rife than at present. Workingmen seem to be convinced that the country is overflowing full of wealth and prosperity and have resolved to strike for their share of it. The subject supplies food for thought.

Here are the Manila dispatches now saying of Aguinaldo: "He is not an educated man, but is possessed of considerable character, and improves on acquaintance." As Dr. Del Pan Fontela

said the other day the point of view seems to make all the difference in the world. There was Gen. Delgado. As late as last January he was being referred to as a bandit, a murderer and a robber, a mere leader of ladrones. As soon as he came in and took the oath and accepted the civil governorship of a province in Panay he was "able, capable and popular," and in all respects, apparently, a gentleman and a scholar. Aguinaldo is "evolving" in much the same way.

A goody-goody independent paper of the intensely republican persuasion, too good to live in this sinful world, and dying like a spring chicken with the gaps, gave it out on its death bed the opinion that "the saloon is the most potent factor in our political life" when everybody knows that Mark Hanna can touch a button and receive from the whisky, beer and other trusts money enough to buy an election as easily as old Jay Gould could buy a judge when he wanted the right sort of a decision.

The Count Boni de Castellane and the Countess Anna are expected in New York during the summer, when the heirs of old J. Gould will have a reunion among the \$50,000 mausoleum of the Napoleon of finance, who bought judges as if they were steers and taught the country numerous judicial tricks still practiced by millionaires. After weeping a few pearly tears, Count Boni and his countess will return to Paris with pockets full of cash and resume the pleasures of the gay capital.

But for coal the labor-saving machinery of the world would stand as still and useless as Cheops in the sand by the Nile. The coal miners furnish the fuel to keep it in motion, and they are the class of workingmen capitalism robs relentlessly. It is only a question of time when coal miners will grasp the fact that Socialism can afford them the relief to which they are entitled. The time is not distant when instead of paying out thousands annually for strikes they will buy and equip coal mines and operate them upon co-operative principles.

Buckle on Liberty

The world is indebted to Henry Thomas Buckle, an English writer of renown, for views upon the subject of liberty, and just now, when William McKinley, the trust President of the United States, is engaged in crushing liberty when he can use his army and navy, the words of Buckle are entitled to special weight. He says: "Liberty is the one thing most essential to the right development of individuals, and to the real grandeur of nations. It is a product of knowledge when knowledge advances in a healthy and regular manner, but if under certain unhappy circumstances it is opposed by what seems to be knowledge, then, in God's name, let knowledge perish and liberty be preserved. Liberty is not a means to an end, it is an end itself. To secure it, to enlarge it, and to diffuse it, should be the main object of all social arrangements and of all political contrivances. None but a pedant or a tyrant can put science or literature in competition with it, within certain limits, and very small limits, too. It is the inalienable prerogative of man, of which no force of circumstances and no lapse of time can deprive him. He has no right to barter it away even from himself, still less from his children. It is the foundation of all respect, and without it the great doctrine of moral responsibility would degenerate into a lie and a juggle. It is a sacred deposit, and the loss of it is a holy instinct engraven on our hearts."

The Herron Incident

Now that the preachers of religion and panderers to capitalism, from Brooklyn to San Francisco, have shot their bolts at George D. Herron, giving another illustration to the rational world of their brutality and also of the vast gulf between religious profession and practice, one may profitably turn to what Mrs. Herron has to say of her late husband and his Christian detractors, who are never so fulsomely pious as when defending the institution of "holy" matrimony.

Referring to Hillis' refusal to meet Prof. Herron at the Get Together Club, Mrs. Herron in an interview said: "It is nonsense for those people to refuse to sit down at a dinner in Dr. Herron's honor. If they approve his views they should have no objection to dining with him. One fact in his private life should have no effect on the value of his views. Dr. Hillis several months ago expressed his approval of a speech of Dr. Herron's and Dr. Herron's views have not changed since then. If it was right to approve Dr. Herron then it is right now."

Mrs. Herron's attention was called to the statement of Prof. Parker of the University of Iowa, in which he scored Dr. Herron. She said: "Prof. Parker is a venerable old man, who means well, and I appreciate his efforts in my behalf, but

I think his objection to Dr. Herron is more on account of his political views. "Those Gimmel people," she continued, "are actuated not so much by sympathy, but by a desire to down Dr. Herron politically." When she was asked if Miss Rand, the wealthy friend and patron of Dr. Herron, was cause of the divorce, she refused to reply. As to a prospective marriage between Dr. Herron and Miss Rand she said that was their affair. "If," she said, "the marriage takes place the public can draw its own conclusion, and if it does not, why, the same is true."

Continuing, Mrs. Herron declared that neither Dr. Herron nor Miss Rand had a better friend in the world than herself. A sister of Mrs. Herron denied in positive terms that the divorced wife received a hundred thousand or fifty thousand from Miss Rand. To every rational man and woman, uninfluenced by superstition and unawed by religious bigotry and clamor, the statement of Mrs. Herron will be satisfactory as to the one point over which the clerical police have been most deeply concerned—namely, that whatever the terms of settlement may be (and that is something that does not concern the general public), she is herself satisfied with them. This means that the children are provided for—no doubt much better than many children within the shadow of Hillis' church. Society is not injured. It is more than a debatable question whether society has not been benefited.

Coming Events

Do coming events cast their shadows before? Or, perhaps, in this matter of fact age, of science and investigation, the query should be, Are these avant-couriers heralds of coming events entitled to recognition to whose messages the world should listen?

This thing of prognosticating coming events comes down from centuries long since buried, and with the more enlightened are regarded as evidences of ignorance and superstition. And yet it should be remembered that according to the Bible God Himself resorted to signs to warn men of coming events. The trouble is doubtless that while signs are as numerous now as ever, we have only now and then men like old Daniel of lion den fame to decipher them. Occasionally, however, the signs of coming events are of a character which only the irredeemably obtuse fail to comprehend.

In the physical world close observers, students of mystical lore are constantly reading the signs of coming events. Farmers predict from a multiplicity of omens, abundant or deficient harvests; the mariner scans the heavens and consults their barometers to foretell fair or foul weather, and those who live in close proximity to active volcanoes are on the alert for earthquakes.

In governmental affairs, when nations augment their armies and navies and equip them with the most effective death-dealing weapons, it is in anticipation of war and slaughter, and that hell and civilization are in alliance, to carry forward progress and poverty to the uttermost limit of human endurance.

In the industrial world, when great combinations of capital are formed to still further and more effectually control the lives and fortunes of working men, labor accepts the omen as portending its further degradation and bondage.

But there is one sign of the times, one coming event which is causing the astrologers, soothsayers, magicians and scorers of capitalism a deal of trouble and vexation to master the mystery. It is not a dream, nor a vision. It is not a huge image, the creation of a perturbed and diseased imagination, and yet it is colossal in dimensions. With millions of eyes, millions of hands, millions of mouths and millions of tongues, and is growing larger and more mighty every day. It alarms capitalism and utterly dumbfounds its astrologers, soothsayers, magicians, sorcers and all of its army of fawning, kneeling, bootlicking parasites, the yaller dog that trots along under its subsistence carts and the walking delegates who obey its commands. It is the avant-courier of the overthrow of capitalism. Its name is Socialism. Its mission divine. It is the new force in human affairs. With its eyes it sees conditions, the savagery of civilization. With its hands it lifts up the unfortunate victims of oppression and with more than Samson strength breaks their fetters. From its great heart there is forever flowing streams of sympathy for the poor, and its millions of tongues proclaim in unison and in thunder tones the doom of capitalism and its methods of rapine and subjugation.

The picture is not overwrought. Its coloring is not too florid. Socialism is a fit theme for poets as well as for economists. A million would see in it the one force in human affairs to regain possession of paradise. In solving the problem of work, Socialism proposes more than adjusting inequalities. Whittier says: "Beyond the poet's sweet dream lives The eternal epic of the man." And in this eternal epic Socialism would mean pictures of beautiful homes, facts of peace and contentment which fancy could not improve upon. Certainly Socialism sounds the harbinger notes of improved conditions and a better civilization.

A VIGOROUS POLEMIC

Tolstojan Preachers and Anarchists Arraigned in a Noteworthy Article by an Englishman

The I. L. P. News prints the following notice of a notable article—"The First Step in Civic Progress"—by R. Roberts of Bradford: The article embodies one of the clearest and most trenchant statements of the necessity of basing social reform upon the conversion of the state instead of upon the conversion of the individual only that we have seen for some time. It is a complete reply to the Spencers on the one hand and the evangelicals and Tolstojan extremists on the other. To these latter the article is especially challenging at this juncture—if perchance any of them may be induced to read it. Its teaching is in flat contradiction to some of the tenets of the great Russian moralist, and will sound to his devoted disciples little else than flat blasphemy.

Mr. Roberts inquires why religious and moral ideas have hitherto proved so ineffective in society; and he answers boldly that they have failed because religionists and moralists have neglected to moralize and democratize the state. The state has therefore become a sort of perquisite of the evil, and the devil has made the utmost of his acquisition. Mr. Roberts points out that the individual has been taught to believe that the moral imperative is addressed solely to the individual conscience. The "Thou shalt not" of the decalogue and "Thou shalt" of Jesus alike single the individual out of the community, and fasten upon him the sovereign claims of the moral law. And this error, we may add, is precisely what Tolstoj and his followers are stumbling headlong into once more. Two evils, says Mr. Roberts, result from this failure to apprehend the essentially civic character of social and personal reform: (1) The social activities engaged in have been for the most part palliative, and have not dealt with causes; (2) Where the aid of the state has been called in, its action has been limited to mere restrictions. Mr. Roberts protests vigorously against this attitude towards the state.

"To me there is scarcely any phase of our modern life more deplorable than that which has resulted in the vulgarization of the state. All sections and parties have had their fling at it, and now none so poor as do it reverence. Theologians of every order and age have ever sought to make it the servile tool of the ecclesiastical order. Proud pontiffs have delighted to humiliate it; priests and jurists, with theories of the 'two luminosities,' have sought in the very ordinances of nature an argument for its perpetual enslavement in the service of the church. Modern commerce regards it as a convenient instrument for opening up new markets, and for securing an ever increasing volume of trade. Politicians, who of all men might have been expected to be jealous alike of its integrity and its honor, have acquiesced in theories which have degraded it into a mere 'spigot of taxation,' or a mere helmeted policeman 'straitened to get its pay.' Conformist and nonconformist in England regard it as so unclean and imbecile that, were it to touch what they choose to regard as religious subjects, they would forthwith charge it with profanity and blasphemy. It has become the milch-cow of hungry commercialists, the football of wrangling politicians, the butt of angry sectaries, and every witless fool in the land cuts his sorry joke upon it."

There is fine illumination in the thought which Mr. Roberts puts forward "that an ethical democracy must begin its work by seeking to rehabilitate the state and placing it on the eminence of esteem where it is found in all the political philosophy of the ages from Aristotle to Burke." The state, he contends, must take up functions in morals, art, science, commerce and industry, and so enrich the life of all. In such corporate action for the common good will be realized the moral unity of the individual with society. There is a clarion ring, too, in Mr. Roberts' words:

"I affirm that the organization of iniquity among us, as evidenced in the growth of monopolies cornering the very necessities of life for mere company profit, is proof positive that church-taught morality is a failure. Nothing that church and pulpit have been able to do has been sufficient to prevent such scandals. But there is a power which can prevent them. That power is the state."

The first step in civic progress then, according to Mr. Roberts, is to rehabilitate the state. We must democratize the state: we must improve its character, humanize its methods, and develop the affection and trust of the people towards it. The state has a spiritual function. It does not exist for the satisfaction of bodily and material wants alone; it must build up character and intellect. Only by civilizing and socializing the state can man himself become truly civilized and social.

Any reader of The Herald who would like to do something for Socialism and thinks he isn't knowing how, is reminded that he can get subscribers for the paper.

THE ROOT OF THE EVIL AS TOLSTOY SEES IT

From a Message to the American People, Written for the North American Review, and Copyrighted by the North American Review Publishing Company

Why does the land belong not to those who work it but to those who do not work? Why do only a small number of men profit by the taxes collected from all and not all those who pay the taxes? Why do factories belong not to those who built them and work in them but to a small number of men who did not build them and do not work in them?

The usual answer to the question why the non-workers possess the land of the workers is that the land has been granted them for their services or bought with the money they have earned. The usual answer to the question why some men—a small number of non-workers, rulers and their assistants—take to themselves the greater part of the wealth of the working classes and use it according to their caprices is that the men who profit by the money collected from the people, govern them and defend them and establish among them order and well-being.

And all these men—and owners and government officials, merchants and factory owners—sincerely believe that their possession is perfectly lawful and that they have a right to it. And yet neither the ownership of land, nor the collecting of taxes and profiting by them, nor the possession of the produce and instruments of labor by non-workingmen, has the least justification, because land—like water, or air, or rays of the sun—is an indispensable condition of every man's life, and, therefore, it cannot be the exclusive property of one.

Property in land was established by violence; land was usurped by conquest, and afterwards given away or sold; and in spite of all the attempts to transform it into a right, it still exists only through the violence of the strong and the armed against the feeble and the defenseless.

If only a workingman infringes this imaginary right and begins to plow a field which is considered the property of another man, there appears instantly that on which this imaginary right is based; first, in the form of the police, and afterwards in that of soldiers, who will cut down and shoot those who try to avail themselves of their natural right of drawing their sustenance from the soil. Therefore, what is called the right of landed property is nothing but violence against all who may need that land.

Right in land is equivalent to the right which robbers claim in a road they have taken possession of, and along which they allow no one to pass without paying toll. Still less can the right of governments to enforce taxes find a semblance of justification. It is said that taxes are used for the defense of the state against external enemies, for the establishment and maintenance of internal order, and for the organization of social institutions necessary to all.

But, in the first place, external enemies have long ago ceased to exist, according to the declarations of governments themselves; they all assure their subjects that they desire only peace. The German emperor desires peace, the French republic desires peace, England and Russia desire peace, and the Transvaal and China desire it still more. Then, against whom have we to defend ourselves?

In the second place, in order to give money for the establishment of internal order and social institutions, one must be sure that the people who are to establish this order will really do so, and also that the order itself will be a good one, and that the proposed social institutions are indeed necessary for the community. If, on the contrary, the payers of taxes do not believe either in the capacity, or even in the honesty of those who maintain the system, and besides consider the system itself evil, then it is evident that there can exist no right to levy taxes—but only violence.

classes must pay taxes without profiting by them, and why not workmen but capitalists are masters of the instruments of labor, one realizes that the cause of it all is the existence of an army, which maintains the possession of the land by the wealthy, collects taxes from the working classes for the use of the wealthy, and protects the wealthy in their ownership of the factories and costly instruments of labor.

When one asks oneself why, in an army, the very workmen who have been deprived of all they need, should persecute themselves, their fathers, and their brothers, one sees the reason to be that, by the help of methods specially designed for the purpose, conscripted or hired soldiers are trained in such a manner that they lose all that is human in them, and become unconscious and passive instruments of murder in the hands of their superiors.

Finally, when one asks oneself why men, having realized this deception, still continue to enlist as soldiers or to pay taxes for their hire, one sees that the reason of this is in the doctrine which is taught not only to soldiers, but to all men generally—that doctrine according to which military service is an excellent and praiseworthy occupation and murder during war an innocent action.

Therefore, the fundamental cause of the evil is the doctrine taught to mankind. From it arise poverty and depravity, hatred, executions and murder. What is this doctrine? It is the doctrine called Christianity, and its substance is as follows: There is a God who, 6,000 years ago, created the world and the man Adam. Adam sinned; and for his sin God punished all men, and then sent his son—God, like the Father—to the earth in order that he should be executed. The fact that the son of God was crucified delivers men from the punishment they must bear for Adam's sin. If people believe all this, then Adam's sin will be forgiven them; if they do not believe they will be cruelly punished. Proof that all this is true is given in the fact that it has all been revealed to men by God himself, knowledge of whose existence is gained from the very men who affirm the doctrine in question. Passing by various modifications of this fundamental teaching in accordance with different creeds, the general and practical inference from it is the same in all creeds—namely: Men must believe what is taught them and submit to the existing authorities.

This doctrine is the foundation of the deceit through which men come to consider military service a good and useful occupation, enlist as soldiers, and become like machines, without will, oppressing themselves. If there are unbelievers among these deceived men they are exceptions; and believing in nothing else and consequently having no firm basis, they, too, yield to the general current and although they realize the deception they submit to it as the believers do.

Therefore, in order to remove the evils from which mankind suffers, neither the emancipation of land, nor the abolition of taxes, nor the communizing of the instruments of production, nor even the destruction of existing governments, is required; the only thing needed is the annihilation of the teaching falsely called Christianity, in which the men of our time are educated.

Congressional Brokerage Shop Labor as a "commodity" puts the laborer just where capitalism wants him placed—in the market to be sold and bought as if he were a machine.

Into the market the laborer takes his soul and his body, his eyes and his ears, his tongue and his heart, his interest and his skill, his liberty and his independence. He becomes a "commodity." He disrobes himself of every prerogative as a citizen, except the ballot—the last remaining relic of manhood. The scoundrel who has robbed him of everything else which distinguished him from an orang-outang then proposes to buy his ballot. He gets it for a trifle, deposits it where it will do the most good for the robber class, and then cares no more for the "commodity" than if it were so much guano. Socialism takes no stock in the degrading "commodity" theory. Once get it into a man's head that he is a "commodity," because he works for a living, and the work of human degradation has reached its utmost limit. Capitalism proposes to achieve for labor that climax of debasement and is making headway in that direction.

Dives was a rich man—same as Carnegie, Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, Gould, et al. Dives had plenty more than enough. He had as many chances of raiment as young Vanderbilt. He didn't care a continental for Lazarus or any other beggar. Presto! as the story goes, Dives died and waked up in "hell."

Private Property and Social Progress

The social life in which we must all live is in part molded by the wealth distribution which actually obtains. This can be seen in simple, every-day matters. A short time since there was an auction sale of rare pictures. It was reported in the press that the public art galleries obtained very few of these because the bids of private parties were so high as to place them beyond the reach of the representatives of public institutions. Where there is a concentration of enormous wealth in a few hands it becomes correspondingly more difficult for organized society to secure the treasures which it may desire. Similarly, a person who has millions upon millions may offer a price for the services of gifted individuals which is beyond the reach of city or state. It is very certain that an enormous concentration of wealth tends to bring into private service a disproportionate amount of the intellectual resources of the nation.

A well-known religious weekly stated lately that congressmen were afraid to call attention to alleged frauds perpetrated by powerful corporations. These words were used: "In the absence of a general demand from the public relatively few congressmen care to take any political lives in their hands by attacking an abuse which an omnipresent and almost omnipotent private interest supports." Is it not a bad state of things when private interests are so powerful that representatives of the nation have to take their political lives in their hands to call attention to the frauds and abuses which they perpetrate upon the public? Rightly or wrongly, it has long been the opinion of wise men in many nations that there is danger in giving to a class of individuals, however excellent they may be, the vast power which accompanies the ownership of wealth counted by tens of millions. It has been felt that they may even gain a disastrous control over the intellectual life of the nation.—Richard T. Ely, in the Cosmopolitan.

France Has Learned Her Lesson

The employes on the Paris underground railroad had a strike and have settled their strike. The terms of the settlement amaze the outside world. Those terms are especially amazing to the American—and well they may be. The employes of the underground railroad in Paris are government employes. Their strike inconvenienced the public, and even the radical French people were annoyed with the strikers. In other European countries and in this country, as the news reports very truly say, the strike of those government employes would have been dealt with very summarily. Three engines of civilization would have been brought into play effectively: "First, the police; second, the cavalry; third, Gatling guns." But the police, the cavalry and Gatling guns were tried on the French people long ago, and that little matter was fought out and settled. The men who govern France know that at a certain stage in the proceedings a courageous people will not stand Gatling guns, cavalry or police. They have found out in France that the way to deal with striking workmen is just the way the government official would like to be dealt with himself if he were a striking workman instead of a well-paid public officer. The striking men complained that their day's work was too long and their pay too small. The pay was increased and the day was shortened—which was perfectly right. Each employe is now allowed one day off in seven, and ten days' vacation every year with full pay—which is perfectly right. The young men employed on the road are compelled to do twenty days' work in the army each year. Their wages are paid while they are doing this compulsory military work—which is perfectly right. If a man is ill he gets his pay as long as he is ill up to three hundred and sixty-five days, and the company in whose service he has become ill pays his doctor's bill, his drug store bill and any extra expenses involved—which is perfectly just and fair. No striker is to be dismissed because of having taken part in the strike. A benefit fund is provided for the employes of this government enterprise—and the company pays the membership subscription to the benefit fund with no deduction from the workman's pay.—Chicago American.

The party in Belgium is preparing for another great fight for universal suffrage. The warm-blooded Walloon people advocated the general strike. Others said they were ready for the revolution, and gave the feeling of the workers as being tired of waiting any longer. The Flemish, usually more reasonable but not less determined, favored the general strike as the very last policy. It was resolved that they should accept in this fight the help of any party, but that the Workers' party should rest its hope chiefly on its own power and action, and not give way this time before universal suffrage was granted.



AROUND THE WORLD

The city council of Kokomo, Ind., by a vote of 8 to 2 has decided to inaugurate a municipal water works system. In the election for members of the legislature in Luxemburg, Germany, Socialists increased their representatives from two to four. A new Socialist review, Zaria (the Dawn), is to appear. It will be published at Stuggart and smuggled into Russia. In a parliamentary election in Holland the conservatives, liberals and radicals combined against the Social Democrats and barely defeated the latter.

City election in Winterthur, Switzerland, found all political parties united against the Social Democrats, who lost three seats, having sixteen out of forty-five. The Siecle, the liberal daily of Paris, has suspended publication. The reason it gives is that in France but two living political forces exist, clericalism and Socialism.

The returns of the general elections in Denmark show that the conservatives lost 5,000 votes, the moderates 13,000, while the Social Democrats have gained over 11,000 votes, securing fourteen seats in the national parliament. Our Belgian comrade, Piet Fabri, a short time ago most unjustly punished for disturbances in the last dockers' strike in Antwerp and exiled from his country, has been banished from Rosendaal, a town near the Belgian frontier in Holland, where he had taken refuge.

At Jena there is a very important factory of optical instruments, the Zeiss factory, employing a thousand men. The manager on April 1, 1900, conceded an eight-hour day, and the result has been so satisfactory from a business point of view that the arrangement is to be permanent. The elections have taken place in Denmark. The Socialists have gained two seats, there now being fourteen representatives, and the radicals have also gained some seats. The Socialist party is very well organized in Denmark and has been particularly strong since the great strike of 1899.

The municipal art society of New York seems disposed to give up its battle for the proper honor of art in the public monuments and ornaments of the great city, on the ground that it cannot secure sufficient popular backing and that the authorities make it impossible to carry out its plans. Thousands of miners are on strike or locked out in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, and the opinion is becoming general that the operators are forcing local fights in order to prevent a joint meeting of masters and men next January. The desire to inaugurate a strike in the whole district is also growing.

The Fulton mills of the American Woolen Company at Oswego, N. Y., were closed on telegraphic instructions from headquarters in Andover, Mass. received Thursday. Between 1,300 and 1,500 men and women lose employment, and business of the villages of Fulton and Oswego Falls will be greatly affected. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court thought it about time to take a punch at labor. Last week the court decided, in the case of the window glass workers' union, that the organization had no right to force apprentices into a union or prevent an employer from employing non-union men. The injunction of a lower court was made permanent. The coal miners of Indiana, at least some of them, by striking have secured the privilege of buying powder required for their work in the open market. The strange thing about the matter is that they should have ever submitted to the denial of such a right from mine owners. Why not organize co-operative powder mills and pocket all the profits? It will be done ultimately.

In France there used to be religious services on board men-of-war on Good Friday, the flags were hoisted at half-mast and minute guns were fired. The reason for doing this was not apparent and the men did not like it. The present minister of marine had the good sense to give orders that no official notice was to be taken of that day. This is quite right. Religion is a private matter for individuals, with which the state should have nothing to do. It is clear that very important events are taking place in Russia. We do not know exactly what is happening, but news filters through in spite of the censorship. The movement appears to be general, and not only are students taking part in it, but also the workmen. This agitation has been partly helped by Tolstoy's influence, though his teaching, if logically carried out, would be simply passive resistance. Still, he has made people think, and this has shown that the state of affairs is unbearable. We can but hope that out of all this ferment something good may come, and that the tyranny will be overthrown.

LOCAL BRANCHES

- CALIFORNIA Liberty Branch, San Francisco, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1524 Spring Street. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street. Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1524 Spring Street. Branch No. 2, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1524 Spring Street. Branch No. 3, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1524 Spring Street. Branch No. 4, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1524 Spring Street. Branch No. 5, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1524 Spring Street. Branch No. 6, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1524 Spring Street. 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BRYAN DEMOCRACY AND DISHONESTY

Secretary of State of Texas Admits That the Social Democratic Party Had Votes, but His Official Report Fails to Show Them

Comrade W. E. Farmer, writing editorially in the Farmers' Review, admits the facts presented by The Herald and based upon the claims of Calvin Ross, relative to the Social Democratic party vote in Texas last fall. Comrade Farmer says:

"When the returns of last year's general election began to be published I was thoroughly convinced that there was a conspiracy among the democratic leaders to suppress the Socialist vote in this state. After it was seen that no report would ever be made of the S. D. P. vote, correspondence was taken up with the secretary of state and we were informed that he had no knowledge of any S. D. P. vote. The names of the electors were sent him and he stated in reply that the returns received at Austin showed that the S. D. P. electors had received 1,846 votes. Of these votes no account had ever been given in the public prints nor from the state department at Austin. The chairman of the S. D. P. executive committee had received through private sources reports of several hundred votes more than were reported by the secretary of state, which was evidence of a conspiracy to suppress the Socialist vote. I have at hand the last report of the secretary of state for 1900, giving the vote of different political parties for president, as follows:

"Democratic, 267,337; republican, 121,173; populist, 20,976; prohibition, 2,644; Socialist Labor, 162.

"Now, I have a statement from the secretary of state admitting that the Social Democratic electors received 1,846 votes, but the vote nor even the name of the Social Democratic party appears in the report of the secretary of state. The report shows that there were

83,000 more votes which are given as scattering. Who these votes were cast for the report of the secretary of state sayeth not. Of course a scattering vote of 83,000 is rather a peculiar coincidence in case there was no particular party for these votes to be cast.

"It is evident that the Social Democratic party received a large vote in this state. Probably a large majority of this so-called scattering vote was cast for the electors of the Social Democratic party. But the so-called reformers representing the Bryan democracy are infamous enough to violate their oaths and every semblance of political honor to suppress the votes cast for the Debs electors.

"These political villains have been talking about the corruption of the republicans, but the carpet-bag regime which afflicted the South after the close of the war was no more corrupt than the present bourbon rulers of the South.

"It is a very remarkable coincidence that the powers that be at Austin should give the Socialist Labor party 162 votes and make a record of the matter in the report of the secretary of state and refuse to make a record of the Social Democratic vote, which the secretary of state admits to have been 1,846. The S. L. P. should have had the vote recorded, but the report shows a special discrimination against the S. D. P. by the minions of capitalism, corruption and industrial slavery, who are the mundane gods of the bourbon democracy, whose infamy and corruption are as high as heaven, as deep as hell and as broad as all eternity. If the Atlantic ocean was soapuds and the leaders of the infamous bourbon democracy were washed in it a thousand centuries they would be as black as hades."

THE HERALD FORUM

*Communications intended for this department must be brief, legibly written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the real name of the writer. No attention will be given to anonymous letters. The editor is not responsible for the views of contributors.

Get at the Causes

In reading Bellamy's "Equality" I was forcibly struck with his "No political economy before the revolution." This has reference to our present time before the ushering in of Socialism, for there are no political economists at present except the Socialists. Some call themselves such and at our colleges and universities they teach branches called "political economy," but they are wrongly labeled, for they teach the science of private husbandry of wealth in production and distribution and not public husbandry, because we have no public husbandry of wealth in production and distribution, unless we would call the post office the public distribution of wealth. It comes the nearest. We have no teachers under the employ of the government disseminating this knowledge even in theory. It has been left to the Socialists to take the initiative in the field.

It is said, "Once a Socialist always a Socialist." This is a fact, for Socialism deals with the cause of things, while reform movements undertake to deal with effects. The saloon, intemperance, strife, political corruption and bossism, theft, war, gambling and even the most of murders and all of the poverty are but effects of no economic system. Then for a person to understand the cause of these and to fight the effects and not the cause is to stamp that person's actions as childish. A man may claim to be a Socialist and leave their ranks to help fight some effect. This at once shows he never was a Socialist because he never understood it.

I trust every comrade will read Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and follow it with his "Equality." I would not know where to get as much information for five times the cost.

Geo. B. Kline, M. D.

Socialism and Religion

I want to take advantage of the opportunity offered by The Herald Forum of criticizing Comrade Ladoff's article of April the 27th, entitled "Need of and Plea for Rationalistic Socialism." The publication of such an article, whatever may be its intrinsic value, in an official Socialist journal, is, it seems to me, calculated to do considerable harm to our cause.

Comrade Ladoff's first question—"Who made whom?"—has, in my opinion, as much relation to the subject of Socialism as has the inquiry regarding the color of the cheese which composes the moath. But he tells us "Socialism as a philosophy of life cannot afford to ignore any problems of life, cannot do it with impunity." I have always been under the impression that Socialism, far from being a complete theory of life, concerns itself with one single aspect of

life—that of man's economic relations to his fellow-men. Therefore, I think that Socialism can very well afford to ignore many problems of life, especially the problem of religion. Will Comrade Ladoff kindly inform the readers of this paper not what he individually but what modern scientific Socialism has to say regarding the Deity, immortality and all the kindred questions to which religion attempts more or less satisfactorily to supply and answer?

But granting even that Socialism can take a definite stand on matters religious, by what authority does the comrade assert that "agnosticism is the 'only' safe and honest attitude" that it can assume towards the "unknowable"? What Socialist synod or pope has ever decreed that Christianity, Judaism and Buddhism are inconsistent with Socialism? I am by no means an agnostic, yet I would not for a moment think of saying that agnosticism is antagonistic to Socialism. But many agnostics are so liberal that they not only "know" there is an "unknowable," but are thoroughly impatient with those who are not carried away by their religion of ignorance.

I do not say these things in any spirit of controversy, but merely to express my disapproval of the publication of anti-religious sentiments in the official organ of our party, which contains active supporters of all shades of belief as well as disbelief. I think the sooner our Socialist journals in general begin to confine themselves to the discussion of political and economic questions the sooner shall we cease to furnish our enemies with texts and pretexts for a campaign of slander and misrepresentation.

Joseph Jasin.

University, Cincinnati, O.

Capital and Labor

"Capital can only increase when it is exchanged for labor, when it calls wage labor into existence. Wage labor can only be exchanged for capital by augmenting capital and strengthening the power whose slave it is. An increase of capital is therefore an increase of the proletariat—that is, of the laboring class."—Karl Marx.

Men have only to become the victims of such theories as are credited to Karl Marx to be irretrievably wage slaves, with no more ability to escape their bondage than they would have to escape drowning if thrown into the sea weighted down by a ton of lead.

The terms are all misleading. Once inculcate the mind with the idea that capital is something apart from labor, not dependent upon labor for its existence, but "calls wage labor into existence" that it may increase its store, and you have conditions as they exist, an increase of wealth on the one hand and an increase of the proletariat on the other hand, or, in other words, the wage-slave system perfected for the robbery of labor and irrevocably established.

Socialism proposes to abolish wage slavery and substitute co-operative labor, by which the creation of wealth would be increased instead of being diminished, because under co-operation all willing to work would have employment and by distributing to each work-

er his just share of the wealth created the world would have changed conditions and a new civilization, in which prosperity would keep step with progress.

Marx proceeds to explain that "the interests of the capitalist and the laborer are identical, because, says Marx, the 'laborer perishes if capital does not employ him and capital perishes if it does not exploit labor.'"

The theory is false to the core, and as vicious as it is false. If the capital of the world were to perish in an hour labor in time would recreate it. It is not in the power of capital to destroy labor, nor indeed to enslave it, except by the unspeakable degradation of laborers.

Socialism proposes co-operative labor as a means of overcoming present conditions, whether from heredity, environment, legislation, judicial injustice or any of the arts practiced by the spoiling classes.

Marx admits that "so long as the wage laborer remains a wage laborer his lot in life is dependent upon capital." Hitherto, perhaps, the averment has been warranted by conditions; at any rate, there is no doubt that at present capitalism controls the destiny of millions of wage laborers, nor are doubts entertained that matters are growing worse instead of improving. Socialism, however, neither doubts nor hesitates. Knowing its duty, it dares perform it. Its courage is equal to its convictions. It has placed its hand to the plow and does not look back nor repine. The fields of its operations broaden as the years come and go. Its mission is to sow, to plant, to cultivate. It leads for the oppressed and has faith that in due time labor will come to its own under the sway of truth and justice as administered by the co-operative commonwealth.

J. B. M.

About the Special Assessment

It will be remembered by all comrades acquainted with party affairs that the convention held in January, upon the recommendation of a special finance committee, decided that an assessment of 25 cents per member be levied upon each branch, the national secretary to furnish stamps for that purpose, such stamps to be disposed of as the members of branches should direct.

The object of this special assessment, the first in the history of the party, is to provide a fund for the payment of our indebtedness, most of which was incurred in the first year of our existence, and which every member should now feel it to be a part of his duty to assist in liquidating. The method adopted is no doubt the easiest that could have been suggested; the amount per member is small and all that is required to free the organization from financial embarrassment is a general response by the members in the small sum of 25 cents each.

The report of the National Secretary-Treasurer, submitted to the branches February 12, contains a statement of the indebtedness. That report, together with the recommendations of the finance committee, has been voted upon and approved by the membership, and in accordance with this final decision, stamps of 25 cents each have been sent to all the branches. These stamps, we feel sure, will be readily purchased by the members when the whole matter is understood. We therefore take this opportunity of urging the branch officers to give it their attention and promptly dispose of the stamps. The payment of our obligations should not be allowed to fall upon a few individuals, and as the members have voted that it shall not, we hope the response will be prompt and cheerful and the party enabled to go into a convention with other organizations without a dollar of indebtedness.

Any reader of The Herald who would like to do something for Socialism and thinks he don't know how, is reminded that he can get subscribers for this paper.

Notes from Terre Haute

Comrade Wm. Anstead, an energetic agitator of Socialism and member of Branch 1, S. D. P., has been elected delegate to the national convention of Street Railway Employees to be held at Buffalo, N. Y., in May. Comrade Anstead will put in a few links for Socialism if the opportunity presents itself. tematic agitation among the mining camps for this summer and relies on the branches at Brazil, Cardonia and Diamond to secure the names and addresses of progressive wage workers in the various mining towns who desire Socialist speakers to visit them. All such names should be sent to the undersigned at 831 N. 23d street, Terre Haute, Ind., and arrangements will be made later.

The printers of this city are putting a strong fight against the "rat" Gazette, a sheet that has fought the union for twenty years. Indications are that the printers will win the battle shortly, as the proprietors of the paper are giving vent to a doleful whine regarding the "despotism" of the local typographical "trust," in their editorial columns. This paper represents the party of the small-capitalist exploiter and it is interesting to note that the trust it desires to "bust" includes the trades unions.

Local comrades are organizing a school of social economy and expect to begin study in two weeks. All those desiring to have the facts of history bearing on Socialism at their finger's ends will secure it by taking the course. Final arrangements will probably be completed at the next meeting of the branch.

The branches in the state are now voting on the proposition as to whether a state convention shall be held in Indianapolis July 4 or not. We hope that the proposition will carry, as there is an urgent necessity for an early convention to reorganize the state and place its finances on a sound basis. We also need a closer relation with the national organization, as there is no system or co-operation between them, and when new branches are formed we seldom know where they are at or who the officers are. The local branch meets Sunday, May 5, and as important matters will be up for consideration every comrade should try and be present.

Terre Haute, Ind. Jas. Oneal.

George Jacob Holyoake, the English freethinker and co-operator, owes the government £600,000. His debt will soon be half a century old. It was incurred in the days when the press as we know it was a dream. Holyoake made it his business to defy the tax on knowledge and issuing papers without the stamp. He went on issuing them, regardless of cost, and at last when his fines reached £600,000 the government stepped in and demanded payment. Holyoake had not the money on him at the time, but he offered Mr. Gladstone a shilling a month. How many shillings he paid is not generally known, but Holyoake was saved from his dilemma by the repeal of the paper duties, which brought his crusade to an end.

Public Ownership, a medium for slander while it lived, and miscalled a Socialist paper, is dead. It had succeeded during its reptilian career only in infecting the air with poison, and no regrets are anywhere heard among decent people.

The Nebraska Socialist has gone also. The People, published at 184 Williams street, New York, has changed its name and will henceforth be known as the Worker.

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