

## THE NEW JERSEY PLAN FOR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Comrade G. H. Strobell of Newark, N. J., has sent out the following circular outlining what is known as the New Jersey plan for national organization. We hope it will be well considered by the comrades at large, especially by those who may be chosen as representatives of the Social Democratic party at the Indianapolis convention. It is impossible for us to agree with Comrade Strobell's conclusion that "the strife and ill feeling among us are the result of something radically wrong in our system of organization." Prior to the Indianapolis convention of last year and the inauguration of the union project, there was no "strife" in the Social Democratic party; there has been none since, except what was directly and wholly traceable to certain well understood results of the attempt then made to unite. The form of organization was not responsible for the strife. A better form is undoubtedly desirable and we hope it may be found; but if delegates go to Indianapolis with the notion that all that is necessary to promote harmony is to strike down a form of organization that was pre-eminently successful up to March, 1900, and harmonious, too, they will commit a blunder. We can not feel otherwise than that this is a superficial view; it entirely ignores the procuring causes of discord. It is not in accord with the facts in the case. The form of organization is not as important, after all, as the question whether it can be so constituted that individuals will not be able to destroy it.

### THE NEW JERSEY PLAN

Dear Comrades:—I have thoroughly at heart the welfare of the Social Democratic movement. The divisions of the last few years deeply grieved me, and I have tried to study the causes that produced results so ill. It always seemed to me that if we can with justice hold the capitalistic system responsible for the evils existing around us today, there is equal reason to think that the divisions, the strife and ill feeling that existed among us are the result of something radically wrong in our system of organization.

Anyone conversant with the history of the past dozen years can point to a number of such crises, the fragmentary remains of which have come down to our day. This is the more curious as we remember that Socialist principles have not changed, neither has the method of their application to the present capitalistic society, for all believe in the historical evolution.

It is hardly necessary to point to the different conditions prevailing in the United States from those existing in Germany, from which our form of Socialist organization has been copied. We have not to confront the same obstacles.

Our American political organization is different and really is an evolution from a vague and uncertain form to an instrument of utility. It meets the need of the American voter and he is used to using it. We need more Social Democracy in the organization of the Social Democratic Party.

I, therefore, offer the following form of organization to the comrades of the United States, with the hope that it will be thoroughly thought out and put in shape by the discussion that should ensue, so that when the convention meets all objections will be removed:

We, the Social Democratic Party, in convention assembled, in order to secure harmonious and united effort among the Socialists of the United States, submit plans to all National Socialist organizations, independent Socialist State organizations, and unaffiliated Socialist bodies.

1st. That the respective Socialist organizations elect a National Committee, said National Committee to consist of one member from each state and territory, except as hereinafter provided.

2d. Where in any given state there shall be two or more independent Socialist parties, they shall be entitled to one member each upon said National Committee.

3d. Each state shall have one vote.

4th. Where there are more than one representative from any given state, the one vote of that state shall be cast in a fractional part by each representative, based upon the number of members in the organization represented by them.

5th. Upon the election of such representatives, their names and addresses shall be forwarded to the secretary of this convention, and upon twenty or more states complying herewith, a meeting of the said National Committee shall be called at such time and place as the committee may determine.

6th. The said Socialist parties so represented shall cease to exist as in-

dependent National organizations, and become merged into this organization, representing the Socialist Social Democratic movement in the United States.

7th. Complete state autonomy is hereby guaranteed.

The duties of the National Committee shall be to call National Conventions and fix basis of representatives; to maintain national headquarters, exercise general supervision over the national movement and conduct a general propaganda. They may maintain an official national paper, to be sold by subscription. The expense of national headquarters to be met by per capita tax of 25 cents per year from each member of the organization represented. The term of office of the members of the National Committee to be determined, and the expense incurred by them in attending meetings of the National Committee to be met by their constituents in the states represented. Special meetings of the committee may be held upon a call of five states, in which the place of meeting shall be named. A quorum to consist of states represented, not members present. This call is issued to all organizations who definitely subscribe to Social Democratic principles.

I went to the Chicago Convention in January with the sincere determination to do all in my power to end the present miserable disunion, ready to offer this plan as an alternative should the desire of Socialists for a Union Convention be defeated. I found a most harmonious gathering which was determined that unity should be accomplished. My plan met with the most cordial reception and favor, and nothing but the conviction that in the present tension it might be looked upon as a device for blocking unity prevented its acceptance.

Most of the delegates besides, having come instructed by their constituents, voted for a convention, after having passed a resolution unanimously endorsing the plan and recommending its adoption by the Unity Convention for the future organization of the Socialist movement.

It will be well to add in conclusion that we, who favor this plan of national organization, would heartily assist in the adoption of any plan of still greater promise. It is time, high time, that division and consequent weakness should cease, not for this time only but for the time to come. Let us establish that real Democracy in our ranks of which our present political system is but the shadow and we will place upon an enduring political foundation the conquering hosts of the co-operative commonwealth.

G. H. Strobell.  
Newark, N. J.

### Tenement Dwellers in Chicago

From an exceedingly interesting report just published on the conditions of tenement life in Chicago, by a committee of the City Homes Association, headed by Robert Hunter, we extract the following facts:

The density of population per acre in the Polish quarters of Chicago is three times that of the most crowded portions of Tokio, Calcutta and many other Asiatic cities.

One "double-decker," has forty tenements, each of which rent for \$4 to \$7 monthly. There are 127 people living in it.

A "double-decker" is built in front and rear tenements, which are joined by a covered passage, shutting out the sky and darkening rooms in both buildings, sometimes to a pitch blackness. And in these rooms people live. In one tenement house there are seventy dark rooms.

The average number of persons to an apartment is 4.8, while of 571 apartments classified only five had seven rooms, 21 had six rooms, 44 had five rooms, 194 had four rooms, 181 had three rooms, 116 had two rooms and 10 had only one room.

The sunless bedrooms are crowded to the point of suffocation; 41.9 per cent of the people have less than 250 cubic feet of air space per occupant, which is 150 cubic feet less than is required by state law for each homeless and vagrant man in the down-town lodging-houses.

One-tenth of the apartments in three districts are in basements and cellars, and in the Polish quarter the number exceeds those in the other two sections combined. In this Polish district 4,185 persons live in 2,068 basements and cellars, leading the writer to say that "the Polish people are the most wretchedly housed of all the people investigated. The worst of the facts shown are that 424 people live in 101 cellars.

In the Italian district 161 bathtubs were found in 1,396 front houses, which had a population of 21,612; only three

tubs were found in the 408 rear houses, which sheltered 3,200 persons.

In a rough estimate about 650,000 people in Chicago are without bathing facilities. The choice for most laborers in Chicago is to pay the 25 cents commonly charged for the use of a bath, or to bathe at long intervals at home. In their own overcrowded and narrow homes it is difficult to obtain privacy for bathing. If a bath be taken, the water must be brought from the faucet, and at best the bath is unsatisfactory. Generally the people do not take baths, especially in winter, and upon children dirt often accumulates in what might be called scales.

Intemperance is caused by bad-housing in much the same way as pauperism. The saloon is attractive. It is warm in winter; it is cool in summer. It is clean, not overcrowded, and is well lighted. It is in marked contrast to small rooms, overcrowded, badly ventilated, and lighted. The "homeless" tenement causes the greatest amount of intemperance. It is almost unbearable while awake to stay in a close and disagreeable apartment. To leave the home is to go to the only "common" in the neighborhood. For the saloon preaches the lesson of hospitality. No one is denied. Intemperance, therefore, is often the cost of a cheerful place to spend the evening.

### Plute Vindication of Socialism

Chauncey M. Depew in an address recently delivered before the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, deplored the reign of capitalism. "It works," said the speaker "by closing the factories and stores, the transfer and concentration of labor, the ruin of towns and in individuals, and causing widespread distress among the worthy people whose means of living had been suddenly taken away."

"Fifty years ago," said the speaker, "there was not a man in the world worth fifty millions of dollars; there was only one man in the United States worth five millions; there were not five worth a million. A hundred thousand dollars were counted a fortune on which to retire, and five hundred thousand was thought to be the mark of a supremely rich man. Today, in Pittsburgh, which is one of our minor cities, are seventy men worth over a million dollars apiece. When Commodore Vanderbilt died in 1876 his fortune of a hundred millions had passed the mark ever before reached, while now there are in our country several who are worth between two and four hundred millions, and a large number who have reached the hundred million limit."

Speaking of the ambition of these millionaires, Depew said: "They seek to make all except the possessors of exaggerated incomes socially second class. The result is seen in the resentment which well informed people are discovering to exist and to be growing among those who educate, who form and who guide public opinion and whose teachings ultimately crystallize into laws against the holding or devising of great wealth."

Mr. Depew's address was a vindication of the contention of Socialism.

### Trusts Playing Socialists' Game

Awaiting the outcome of our dealings with the trust, stands Socialism, says Charles J. Bullock in the June Atlantic. The "billion-dollar trust" seems to furnish a practical demonstration of the possibility of organizing the largest industries upon a national scale, and the Socialist applauds the efforts of Mr. Morgan and his associates. The concentration of all the railroads into a few groups, controlled by a single set of interests, is a brilliant triumph for the policy of centralization; and for this, too, Mr. Morgan has the gratitude of every Socialist. The popular discontent caused by the monopolization of one necessary of life after another prepares the soil in a manner ideally perfect for the sowing of Socialistic seed, and it is a significant fact that American Socialism has first become an appreciable force in this era of trusts and combinations. \* \* \* If thinking men ever become convinced that in manufacturing and other industries competition is impossible and monopoly inevitable, only two possible alternatives will then present themselves, public or private monopoly; and those who are now occupied with the formation or justification of trusts will be chiefly responsible in case the balance finally swings in the direction of Socialism.

Pass That the Third Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party in Chicago to eclipse all others—will be held at Hoard's Park on the Fourth of July. The park is at Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues. It is one of the most beautiful resorts in the city. Get tickets now for your family, and make so other appointments for the day.

## THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN THE NEW ORDER

### No Chinese Wall Can Be Erected Between the Women of the Laboring Class and Their Bourgeois Sisters—Woman's Economic Emancipation

BY ISADOR LADOFF

There can be no "brotherhood of men" without the corresponding sisterhood of women; the so-called "rights of men" will remain a dead letter until the rights of women shall have been attained. There can be no equality among men as long as the equality of women with men is not recognized. A "free man," in the true sense of the term, can be born of and brought up only by a free mother. A man cannot be actually free as long as his sisters, his wife and daughter are slaves. He cannot be a good citizen as long as his mother and sisters are deprived of the rights of citizenship.

A true democracy is unthinkable without the full and unequivocal recognition of the civic rights of women. Reason, justice and practical considerations are on the side of the champions of women's rights. Ignorance, superstition and aristocratic tendencies are against the emancipation of women from their subjugation to the so-called stronger sex.

Can there be any doubt as to the attitude of the Social Democratic Party of America towards this problem? There may be some diversity of opinion as to the ways and means of solving the problem. The Socialists of the old school would like to erect a Chinese wall between the women of the laboring class and their bourgeois sisters, adding to their general theories of class-consciousness that of class-exclusiveness. The orthodox Socialists forget, however, that women have their own class-interests apart from the interests of the class to which their fathers and husbands belong.

Engel said: "In the family, man is the bourgeois and woman represents the proletariat." The woman of the bourgeois class is a slave, while her proletarian sister is a slave of a slave. Why, then, in the name of common sense, should the proletarian woman refuse to struggle with her bourgeois sister side by side as far and as long as their interests as a class, as women, are identical?

The proletarian woman can not expect her emancipation before the entire sex is emancipated. The proletarian woman has a double burden to bear—the burden of a woman and the burden of a proletarian. She belongs at one and the same time to two exploited, downtrodden and disinherited classes. To demand from her that she should forget her sex class-interests for her social-economic interests is the climax of absurdity. We might as well ask a negro slave to forget his double chains of social and economic slavery and renounce any attempt to free himself from the yoke of the white slave holders in order to reserve all his energies for the general struggle of the laboring class against their exploiters?

Is not the political disfranchisement of women in all civilized countries actually identical with political slavery? Is economic emancipation imaginable without political rights? That the male proletarian is an exploiter of the female proletarian is an undeniable fact. Is there any sense in demanding that she devote all her energies to improve the condition of her exploiters in expectation that her own fate may improve indirectly, instead of uniting with others of her class in demanding political freedom. Only by gaining political rights will the proletarian woman become a political power, and then she will be able to help more effectively in the struggle of the proletariat class against capitalism.

Another objection to the co-operation between women of all classes for the purpose of conquering political rights advanced by some orthodox Socialists is that the emancipation of women cannot be accomplished under our present social economic system. This objection is, however, hardly true. If the women of the United States, for instance, will seriously demand political rights, there is no person on earth to prevent them from obtaining them. If the women of the United States have no political rights it is not wholly because men oppose it, but chiefly because the women themselves have not become conscious of their class needs. Superficial observers may think lightly about women's clubs and sneer at the club-woman. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that these seemingly insignificant institutions perform quietly and unostentatiously a useful missionary function in developing a class-conscious political woman movement. That this movement is bound in the

near future to crystallize in a direct demand of civic rights for women is certain.

What the effect of the political emancipation of women on the prospects of Socialism in the United States would be is a very interesting question. It is true there are fewer women Socialists in the country than men. Even the wives of many Socialists are indifferent or outspokenly opposed to Socialism.

The propaganda of Socialism among them has been neglected. Furthermore, women have not had the development which comes from working with their peers for a common master. Each woman has been trained to look out for her own exploiter on whom she is to be doubly dependent. It has, therefore, been more difficult for them to recognize their common interest. The recognition of Socialism comes from a consciousness of class interests and organization is promoting that consciousness.

Women are as easily interested in the new social economic theories as men, but their mode of reasoning is different, and the spurs to their interest must be made to their feminine needs.

It ought to be easy to prove to women that the transformation from a capitalistic system to a collectivist one will be to her gain. As a child, a girl, a wife, or a mother she is at a great disadvantage in this industrial age. Her training is such as to fit her for an inferior position in society. She is expected to appear at the best advantage in the matrimonial show-window as a waiting commodity or ware. As marriage is considered to be her final destination, all the qualities and graces calculated to please her future sovereign are carefully developed, all likely to repel him are as carefully repressed. The approval of man is her objective aim, and her economic dependence stimulates competition among the marriageable women and degrades them.

Nothing is more pitiable than a girl hunting for a husband. The bourgeois woman in such case is more pitiable than her proletarian sister. Accustomed to a certain ease of life, unfit to compete industrially, she is entirely at the mercy of the fluctuations in the matrimonial market.

This market, with all its humiliation and indignity, is being contracted by the disintegrating influences of industrial life, which are bearing also upon family life. The standard of a single life among men is advancing in inverse ratio to their ability to earn a living; the uncertainty of employment, the demoralizing influence of constant contact with the lower types of the proletarian woman in shop and factory lead to his disinclination to marry. The economic bondage of capitalism weighs more heavily on the proletarian woman than on the man. Her lower physical standard, her legal disability, her political disfranchisement make her an unwelcome and dangerous rival wherever machine production is introduced, so that unenviable as is the life of the married proletarian woman the life of the single woman is more so. A lonely life filled with monotonous toil, cramped by insufficient wages leads to a miserable old age. The solution of the woman problem must follow the revolutionary lines of the man problem. Her economic emancipation must follow her political emancipation. She is now entering upon the class-consciousness of the latter; that attained, her recognition of the next step will quickly follow and all effort to keep the proletarian woman apart from the bourgeois woman until after their political enfranchisement is the work of a remnant of capitalistic instinct dormant in proletarian man.

A dispatch from Paris, dated May 31, says: "The split in the ranks of the Socialists caused by the defeat of a resolution in the license congress declaring M. Millerand, the Minister of Commerce, had placed himself outside the party by accepting a portfolio in a Bourgeois cabinet, is bearing fruit."

"Eight deputies, including M. Vaillant, who retired from the congress on the defeat of the motion to expel M. Millerand from the party, have announced their withdrawal. The Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies intend to organize a new group, thus weakening the government, liberally supported by these deputies. Other Socialists are expected to follow the example of their colleagues and withdraw from the party."



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**Social Democratic Party Vote  
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Stingless bees have been discovered in several islands in the West Indies. They belong to a class of toilers that never strike for better condition.

Single and double entry bookkeeping no longer answers the demands. Experts find that treble entry is required to meet the requirements of progress.

Kind woman to street gamin, trying to pull a mean dog along: "What makes him act so mean?" Gamin: "Why, missus, it's just because he's a dog."

The United States during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, collected off the people the sum of \$669,595,431.18. Of this vast amount labor paid every cent.

All the stars and suns and planets shine in co-operative harmony to beautify the heavens and bless the world, and the dog star isn't fool enough to bark at them.

"War in the Philippines is over" is the report, but 40,000 soldiers and a fleet are to be kept on duty to teach the people the blessings of subjugation and the loss of liberty.

The natives of Porto Rico are leaving the island to escape starvation. They are selling themselves into peon slavery that they may secure food. The statement is authoritative.

Within the next ten years municipal ownership of public utilities—water, light and transportation, under the influence exerted by Socialism, will be adopted by nine-tenths of all the cities in the United States.

An engraver of a \$10 greenback grasping conditions, in engraving the words "United States" placed them on the bill "upside down. As a marksman he hit the bull's eye. The United States is often upside down.

The churches, generally, are down on gambling except in cases where the gamblers bet on grain and stocks, and many meddlesome people insist upon knowing why this is thus. They should study bread and butter philosophy.

In the year 1900 the coal miners of the United States dug 274,872,779 tons of coal, valued at the mines \$321,792,265, or \$1.27 a ton. Perhaps there is no one industry in which labor is more potential than in the coal mines or paid less.

The number of national banks now doing business is 4,050, with a capital of \$139,226,035. They are the "simons" in finance that "wigwag" business affairs, and "thumbs" and things go up or down as they order.

Immigrants by the thousand are arriving at New York from Europe, and other large ports are sharing in the business of receiving the guests—significant of the inevitable war storms soon to spatter human blood over Europe to gratify kings.

A writer on Socialism says, "laboring men are dealt with by managers as mere tools" and that "they are spoken of as tools and things." Under Socialism they will be spoken of and treated as men who, knowing their rights, dare maintain them.

A cablegram from London informs the American public that the Rothschilds had a family "smoker," to which J. Pierpont Morgan was invited and told if he continued to pursue a cut-throat policy in conveying stocks they, the Rothschilds, would retaliate, whereupon, Morgan seeing the point performed the crawfish act in a way satisfactory to the Jews. It was the first intimation that Morgan doesn't quite own the earth.

Science is unable to discern the reason why persons who fall great distances lose their boots or other foot-gear. In the recent tumble of stocks in New York a great many persons who went down with them not only lost their boots, but their heads, and their fortunes also.

A British earl, who has had to submit to adverse fortune and work for a living, has had the aristocratic nonsense knocked out of him to the extent that he admits "any employment is honorable which enables a man to get money without stealing it." That earl will now organize a trust.

It is predicted that during the twentieth century people will be found who will mind their own business. A little investigation will demonstrate that Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Jno. D. Rockefeller and Mr. George Gould are doing that very thing, which includes skinning working men.

The treasury department at Washington states that on Nov. 1, 1900, the various kinds of moneys in circulation in the United States amounted to \$2,139,181,472, or \$27.82 per capita of population. The per capita of labor was, perhaps, 82 cents, the \$27.00 going to those who, like the lilies, neither toil nor spin.

Reports have it that a distinguished United States senator from Missouri, an old-timer, a democrat, concluded, during the late craze in New York, to do a little gambling in stocks. He first lost his head and then his money, and in the final round-up he was found high and dry, a nicer but a poorer United States senator—a financial wreck.

The state of New York in utilizing its lunatics in carrying forward a variety of industries is to a certain extent making amends for a civilization which produces lunatics. The New York institution supplies all the labor required to operate a farm of 1,200 acres, besides its lunatics furnished nearly all the labor required to build a railroad six miles long.

The popular idea is that under plutocratic rule when an obnoxious measure is to be passed in congress or a legislature the entire menagerie has to be bought. This is a mistake, as only enough animals have to be debauched to pass the measure, and often a very small number answers the purpose, the larger number of the Zoo having been trained to obey the whip.

Several distinguished citizens appeared before the industrial commission recently, notably Edward Atkinson of Boston and Myron H. Holt of New York. They contended that the tariff is largely responsible for trusts and for the millionaires in congress. Mr. Holt affirmed that of the \$1,279,000,000 stock and bonds of the United States steel corporation \$700,000,000 was water.

Old Russell Sage, a sage indeed, predicted a "black Friday" in stocks. It came sooner than was anticipated and twenty-three different descriptions of stock declined \$732,239,075. The Standard Oil stocks declined \$142,000,000 and the United States stocks suffered to the extent of \$269,000,000, and yet nothing like all of the water was squeezed out of them, and as soon as the machinery could be adjusted the water flowed in again.

In England and France the birth rate is declining to an item that is giving alarm. It is possible that the proletariat class which have furnished the food for ponder and the brawn for labor, have concluded to go out of the procurement business, and let the rich do the fighting and the building; in which case the two world powers named would go back to Hottentot civilization in a century.

Mr Schwab, president of the billion steel trust, does not favor the unionizing of working men, 250,000 of whom he has under his thumb. He thinks labor unions are a menace to the steel trust, the interests of which he is paid a million a year to promote. Right you are, Mr. Schwab, and hot water, lightning, nor Pinkertons will avail in arresting the organization of working men, and you will be wise in shearing them, not to cut too deeply.

Do you think that the man who sits in the office, lives in a brown stone house with oriental decorations, eats his dinners from a silver service and rides out in the evening behind a thousand dollar team with abbreviated tails, do do you think that man pays you your wages? Think a little harder, brother! Isn't it a fact that you pay your own wages by what you produce? Isn't it a fact that the capital of the man who claims to be paying you wages cannot produce anything? And isn't it a fact that besides paying your own wages by what you produce, you create the "income" of your employer? In other words, isn't it true that labor "pays the bills," whether in the form of wages to itself or income, rents, profits and interest to capital?

A New York paper, the Commercial Advertiser, discussing the stock and bond crash on "change in that city, credits the whole business to "gamblers and robbers." It says: "Those who went into the crazy market to guess what the manipulators would do were gamblers. Those who knew what moves would be made and profited by their knowledge were robbers. Neither gamblers nor robbers are promoters of prosperity of useful members of society."

Capital is a tool that those who own it did not make. Neither do the owners keep it in repair after it is made. It is productive only in the hands of the laborer. It is labor and labor alone that makes all the capital in the world effective. Without labor capital would rust and rot. Capital is saved from decay and annihilation by human labor alone. And yet the laborer bears not only the burden of creating and preserving capital, with no part in its ownership, but suffers the hardship of being deprived of its use without permission from those who contribute nothing to it.

We are often treated to a comparison between labor at the present and labor one hundred and two hundred years ago, and a vast improvement is shown. If there has been any improvement, much or little, the rich are not entitled to any credit. Labor, and only labor, has wrought the change, and a vastly greater change in conditions is to come. He who has not seen the signs of coming emancipation is blind. He who does not hear the slogan is deaf, and the working man who does not help on the new regime is a traitor to himself and to his fellow toilers.

There are some men who oppose Socialism, not knowing what Socialism is. Others oppose it on principle; but the curious thing about the latter is that they are all the time lending their influence and support to movements and legislation, which, if they result in anything at all, must inevitably give us more Socialism and bring us nearer the co-operative commonwealth. Why don't they start a crusade for the abolition of all laws and institutions that have the Socialistic taint or tendency? Simply because they know that would be going backward. They are unconscious Socialists, afraid to go forward or backward. They are waiting for the tide; that will move them, and move them forward, too.

R. N. Pollock of Cleveland, O., who looted the savings bank of which he was president, and then committed suicide, had his life insured for \$65,000. The insurance company will have to pay and the money thus secured may equal the stealings. The incident is suggestive. Depositors, particularly in savings banks, should insist that the custodians of their money shall not only have their lives insured, but their integrity also. The fact that they are members of a church, superintendents of Sunday schools and move in high social circles, no longer counts. Our Christian civilization demands gilt-edged bonds, indorsed by solvent insurance institutions.

**Capitalist Supreme Court**

The confused and confusing decisions in the insular cases by the Supreme Court are a disgrace to that bench of national arbiters. They are in the interest of the capitalist class. The Supreme Court is a tool of capitalism and the party in power. One of the justices, Henry B. Brown, has put himself and the court on record by saying:

"In one case we decided that Porto Rico was a territory of the United States. In the other case we decided that Porto Rico is not a part of the United States, under the revenue clause of the Constitution."

Any man, though a fool, should be able to see that a court decision to the effect that after the Foraker act Porto Rico ceased to be part of the United States, though before the Foraker act it was a part of the United States, is a court that is ready to juggle with the rights of the people and under the malign and despotic influence of capitalist interests to destroy the people's liberties. An irresponsible despotism is all that the American people have in the form of government.

**Crime and Its Cost**

Estimates, carefully prepared, show there are 500,000 known criminals in the United States, 250,000 of whom belong to the "habitual" list. The "earnings" of the "habituals," that is to say the amount of their stealings, is placed at an average of \$1,600 each, or an aggregate of \$400,000,000. The other 250,000, who are "occasionals"—bank presidents, cashiers and tellers, embezzlers, forgers, etc.—get away with an amount equal to the "habituals," say \$400,000,000—a grand aggregate of stealings of \$800,000,000. And when such unclassed criminals as railroad wreckers are considered, such as place great corporations in the hands of receivers under court jurisdiction, the amount of stealings wells to dazzling

magnitude. The governments, state and national, are ceaselessly trying these habitual and occasional criminals, and the annual loss is estimated at \$600,000,000—a colossal aggregate of \$1,400,000,000 a year. Such figures are not flattering of our civilization, or our religion. But the compiler of the figures does not take into consideration the robberies practiced by the "captains of industry" who prey upon labor and confiscate a portion of the earnings of every working man on the continent. Once take this crime into consideration and no extravagance of language meets requirements. If working men would unite and wield their ballots for the right, the much-used proverb, "Labor omnia vincit," would have more significance than at present.

**Ye Gods, What a King**

Mr. William O'Brien takes no stock in the "divinity" that "doth hedge a king" and in his paper, The Irish People, he goes for King Edward VII. rough shod. O'Brien denounces the king as an "old and bald-headed rone, lover of every woman of fair features who has appeared in English society for forty years, including titled dames and actresses—the English gentleman perjurer of a historic divorce case, the polluted hero of one of the malodorous scenes in Zola's rotten novel—Nana—the center of a score of the most disgraceful scandals of the most contemptible type, and an old and worn-out descendant of a race of scoundrels and practical professors of hideous immorality."

Mr. O'Brien could have added that the British king and emperor is a notorious gambler, and otherwise decorated him with titles. But his work at once set the nobility on fire, and as far as possible The Irish People was confiscated—that is, every stray copy that could be found. And this is the sort of a king that English working men are required to pay an annual salary of more than \$2,000,000. Reports have it "the king is silent"—not so the world. It is talking, and King Edward is the target for more flings and jeers than falls to the lot of any other ruler, not excepting the sultan of Turkey.

**The Crank**

What of him? Very much. Define him, please. Well, to begin, the crank is a reformer, an agitator. Jesus and all of his apostles—excepting Judas Iscariot—in the opinion of scribes, pharisees, Heodians and high priests, were "cranks" because they were agitators and reformers, who wanted better conditions and an improved civilization. Judas was not a reformer—he was a thief and conservative. He was out for the stuff and when he had secured it, like some level headed thieves now-a-days, performed the very rational act of killing himself—"cranks" are always advanced thinkers, have ideas and ideals. They will not "let well enough alone." You see that in the opinion of plutocratic conservatives the slave trade was "well enough," but the cranks would not let it alone, and, finally, the United States, by the fiat of public opinion, molded by "cranks," in 1808, abolished the slave trade and in 1820 declared it piracy.

Chattel slavery in the United States by a great majority of the people, north and south, was declared to be "well enough," but the "cranks" would not let it alone. It had grown in numbers from 20, in 1620, to more than 3,000,000 in 1860, and from the first had been opposed by "cranks." After the abolition of the slave trade the "cranks" took courage. The storm of agitation increased in fury. There was no let up. Then came the war of the rebellion and Lincoln's emancipation proclamation and the fetters fell from the limbs of more than 3,000,000 chattel slaves—the "cranks" had won a victory such as the ages had never beheld since the deluge.

In 1770, or thereabouts, the British concluded to exploit their sovereignty in their American colonies in a way that aroused all the "cranks" from Maine to Georgia. There were thousands of conservatives known as Tories, who insisted upon letting "well enough" alone, but the cranks, the reformers, the agitators, the true American patriots, such as Washington and Adams, Hancock and Jefferson, including all the "cranks" who signed the Declaration of Independence, were not conservatives but radicals of the most pronounced type. They would not "listen to reason," they would not compromise, they would not arbitrate. They demanded liberty and independence. These "cranks" fought at Concord and Lexington and Bunker Hill. They plunged their country into a war that lasted eight long years. Half-naked, and half-fed they froze and starved at Valley Forge, and fought the British as naked as they were born at Eutaw Springs and Kings mountain, and at Yorktown unfurled to the winds the Flag of Freedom and saw a nation born.

The "cranks" are the pathfinders. Find them where you may and they are striding onward to higher elevations, and they are of that noble type of manhood which dares all things and suffers all things to lift up the oppressed and lighten their burdens. They are their brothers' keepers. They are the salt of the earth and the light of the world.

Do you say Socialists are "cranks"? Admit it—and what of it. They have come of a noble race. Their vision is microscopic and telescopic. The eternal clamor about things being "well enough" does not deceive them; instead at the best, they find them bad enough and steadily growing worse. They scan the field—telescopes are not required to disclose conditions. The naked eye suffices.

Throughout the broad land the press heralds increasing corruption, and the church proclaims the overmastering power of the devil—but neither suggests any practical remedy or change of program; only "cranks" do that. The world needs more "cranks"; men whose faith in humanity prompts them to do and dare; who, as they advance hold their ground, fortify their positions and then move on. In such regards Socialism is in its dawn, and its sun is steadily rising to meridian glory.

**Representation in the Convention.**

A report published in New York Volkszeitung, relating to the matter of representation in the approaching national convention of Socialists, is calculated to cause a misunderstanding and lead to confusion and strife. It is to the effect that the Social Democratic party (Chicago), through its national executive board, had agreed to a proposition that all Socialist societies and organizations recognizing the "class struggle" would be entitled to representation by delegates.

Speaking for the party and its executive officers, the Herald wishes to correct this erroneous report. The call adopted by our January convention expressly provided that the organizations which shall be invited to participate in the convention are national, state and territorial Socialist parties only. There is no provision whatever for the admission of delegates from clubs or societies; no such organizations have been invited; the call was so worded as to exclude from the convention all but the national, state and territorial "parties." It should be clear to everyone that mere clubs or societies do not come within the provision of the call, and, therefore, cannot be admitted to the convention. This is the general and correct understanding. We hope the Volkszeitung, and possibly one or two other papers whose erroneous reports may have misled a few people, will correct the mistake.

Another matter which has already been referred to in these columns with a view to a correct understanding, again calls for a word of explanation. The call adopted at our January convention provided that the "results" of the proposed convention "shall be submitted to our branches and a referendum taken upon the same." This has reference solely to our own organization and can not be construed as imposing the same procedure upon any other. Yet the executive board and the party has been appealed to not to insist upon a reference of the acts of the convention to a vote of all organizations taking part. This the executive board has not thought of doing and the January convention did not provide for a referendum except to the party which that convention represented.

No changes whatever have been made in the provisions of the call, except as to the time for the convention to meet, and this was done through the initiative of the executive board complying with a very general desire for an earlier date. With these explanations, and understanding that the national, state and territorial parties in accepting the invitation of our party also accept the provisions accompanying the invitation, we again urge all members of the branches throughout the country to prove their zeal for Social Democracy and a unified movement by an enthusiastic discharge of their individual duty.

The legislation of Minnesota, in its last session, passed a law making wife desertion a felony, punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary, from one to three years. Thirty of these rascals have been located and requisitions for their return to the state have been issued. The Minnesota idea is that a man shall support his wife and family. Now, then, suppose these run-a-ways are captured and returned to the state and cannot find employment? The law provides they shall give bond to the state to support their families. Who will go on the bonds of a workman out of employment? If the law provided that the state should supply employment, then in that case, the husband and father who would not work should go to the penitentiary. Under the reign of capitalism thousands are forced into idleness who cannot support themselves, to say nothing of wife and children.

McKinley is reported to have announced that he will not receive President Kruger, the patriotic exile of the South African Transvaal republic, either officially or otherwise. If the report is true, then McKinley deserves everlasting reprobation. When Kruger visits the United States his reception will arouse such a storm of enthusiasm that McKinley and every other lickspittle of imperialism will pray for the devil to fly away with them.







THE HERALD FORUM

Communications intended for this department should be sent, legibly, 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.

A PERPLEXED PHILOSOPHER

In my article on the man with hoe, I compared the ultra-Marxists with bright and industrious high school boys. Comrade Oneal's reply to it seems to indicate that some ultra-Marxists are below their reputation at least as far as brightness is concerned. My critic made a frightful mess of my writings in the S. D. H. concerning race and class consciousness, blissful Socialism, etc., and refuses to comprehend the most obvious things. Any unprejudiced reader will concede that my theory of race-consciousness and race-interests applies to the human race in its entirety and is conducive to the peaceful co-operation of all nations on earth for the attainment of the highest ideals of humanity. Class consciousness of the proletariat I recognize as a means for the emancipation of society from class rule, but not as a goal by itself. In this sense there is no antagonism between race and class consciousness whatever. In stating that the farmers' program was voted down by the members of our party, Comrade Oneal affirms my contention. I did not mean to state that Marx entirely ignored the rural proletariat, but that he did not make an exhaustive study of it and my explanation of the causes of this fact are practically identical with those of my critic. As to my appreciation of Marx and his works, I have little to add to what was many times stated by me in the S. D. H. The statement that Marx's capital has been happily termed the bible of the working class, may be disputed for the simple reason that the working class so far know mighty little about it and understands it less than Comrade Oneal does. The terms "simon purists, ultra Marxists," etc., are used by me not as petty quibbles, but as an indication of Socialists of the old school in distinction from the new, if you please, Bernsteinian school of Socialism. The habit of my critic to reread Des Capital is certainly highly commendable. If I would dare, however, I might advise Comrade Oneal to read some of the Socialist literature of the period after Marx, as, for instance, Kautsky, Bernstein and others. He would then, may be, lose some of his pride, but gain some useful information. He would then, may be, not draw such amusing logical inferences as he did in his last article in the Herald.

I. Ladoff.

LABORERS ON THE FARM

(From the WISCONSIN VORWAERTS)

The last census shows that there are at present 5,700,000 farms in the United States, with thirteen inhabitants each on the average. In 1850 the number of farms was only 1,150,000. In the last ten years the number of farms increased by 1,500,000 and their value raised to \$650,000,000. In the eleven states, Missouri, Illinois, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and both Dakotas the number of farms increased since 1850 from 1,923,882 to 2,220,000. Such a tremendous increase of farms and the increase of farm values connected with it is so far without precedent. It is the more remarkable that such a change should occur in the decade, 1893-1897, during which a great crisis raged in the economic field. Nowhere do we notice any concentration of landed property in farms. The number of bonanza farms in the Dakotas suffered a shrinkage, because they did not pay. The Sherley estate in Pennsylvania is divided into small parcels and rented. Only in California some large farms remained intact, owing to the peculiarities of the local irrigation system. It is obviously futile to count upon a concentration in agriculture similar to that in city industries. Socialists will, therefore, have to revise their faith in respect to agriculture as far as our country at least is concerned. Without a Socialistic farmer's programme we may win occasionally a few victories in small industrial cities—in large towns it is already harder on account of the presence of a considerable element siding with the stronger party. We cannot expect to gain any tangible progress without the aid of the farmers of this country, or at least without their good-will. Otherwise we ought to be satisfied with the Socialistic reforms, fathered by the capitalistic parties. And this will never amount to much. We need, therefore, in this country unconditionally an honest Socialistic farmer's programme, if we want the Socialist movement to be a success as a proletarian class-conscious movement. No one will deny that in the application of labor to land there is no possibility of getting any values from its possession. To those who doubt it we may address the advice to take some parcel of land, put their hands in their pockets and wait for a harvest. Every child knows that there can be no harvest without a considerable previous expenditure of labor. The farmer who

cultivates his own farm is at any rate a laborer as few are. Consequently, when Socialists talk of expropriation, they do not mean the taking away of land from the farmer. Just the reverse of it. The fundamental idea of Socialism is to restore the tools of production to those who use them in order to work with them. This restoration of the tools of production in the productive city industries can be accomplished only on a collectivistic basis. In agriculture, however, collective production is for the present an impossibility. Consequently, not only the farmer but also the owner of small manufactures in general have nothing to fear from the conquest of the proletariat.

A Socialistic regime will try to create the most favorable conditions for the farmers in consideration of the interests of feeding the population.

A proletarian regime is also highly interested to increase the productivity of farm labor, and, consequently, in furnishing it with the best technical appliances. Social Democracy, instead of expropriating it, will furnish it the most perfect means of production that were out of its reach during the capitalistic era.

We want, however, that the land should belong to the people and not to the capitalist; that the title to its possession should actually belong to the people and not nominally as at present.

THINGS AS I SEE THEM

By BEN ATTERBURY

Every man sees what he DOES SEE, not with another's eyes, but with his own. My friend and I, we will suppose, are looking upon a landscape, both of us from the same physical standpoint. He may, possibly, take in all the landscape in its varied and majestic beauty. But is it not more likely that both of us will see only a portion of it? And if we really see a portion only, how much better for us both than stalking through the world like ghosts, having "eyes to see" but seeing not!

Ruskin says that "The greatest thing a human soul ever does in this world is to see something, and tell what it sees in a plain way."

I have seen the poor made miserable and degraded by the heartlessness and selfishness of a privileged class, a class made rich by fraudulent titles to land and legalized larceny of wealth which labor alone produced and is rightfully entitled to enjoy, and I have said that the poor are poor because they have been robbed; that poverty is not due to the idleness of the poor, but to the greed of the rich; that if the poor are degraded, it is because the rich are unduly exalted; that if the poor are ignorant, they are so for the reason that opportunities for development have been denied them; that if the poor are vicious, it is because they have been born into a social and industrial system which, in itself vicious and brutalizing, the rich, for their own benefit, wish to maintain.

This social prospect differentiates itself into two groups of cold and stubborn facts. Looking at one of these groups, I look over and beyond what I see, if possible to discover the reason for their existence. The prospect is not unlike a natural landscape. There are Alps of affluence and glory, and abysses of misery and want; there are peaks of plenty bathed in sunshine, and morasses of privation steeped in night; there is honor and reward for the idle and cunning; there is hopeless slavery for the industrious and the skillful; there is power and place for the brutal and unscrupulous and bitter days and nights with sorrow and want for the worthy and the useful.

I do not see that all the virtues belong to those who revel on the social hilltops, nor all the vices to the poor who go through the dark valley of undeserved but enforced poverty. And you cannot persuade me, my friend, that the vices of the poor exceed the vices of the rich; I know better than that, so much better, indeed, as to say that the virtues of the rich do not equal the virtues of the poor. But suppose that were not true, would it be surprising?

When landlords monopolize the earth and capitalists monopolize the means of production, saying to every son of man who feels in his soul that he has some rights here of which he has been deprived, "Pay me rent!" or "Work on my terms!" what chance is there left for the development of man's higher nature. Deprive the working people of their natural rights, deny them an opportunity to gain a livelihood, compel them to pay rent for the privilege of occupying land, wring profits from them over the counter, burden them with debts for the benefit of usurers, force them to pay taxes to feed and clothe politicians and support a government which gives them no protection, confer power on the rich to bound them from the cradle to the coffin, and then exclaim, "Now if you are not good and contented while we enjoy our special privileges on our preserves, we shall have to teach you how to appreciate the blessings of being poor and the felicity of being free from responsibility for the administration of wealth."

And that, by way of dismissing a capitalist contention so provocative of contempt in any honest man, is a sample of the "virtues" of the rich!

SECRETARIES, TAKE NOTE

The quarterly dues for the third quarter of the year are payable at the headquarters on or before July 5, 1901. It is urged that branch secretaries bring the matter to the attention of the members without delay. The payment of dues is important and should receive prompt attention. Branches expecting to have representation at the national convention must be in good standing. It is desirable that the representation be general and as large as possible; therefore, members are requested to pay past dues and assist the secretaries in putting every branch in good standing on the records.

Attend Bohemian Picnic

The Bohemian comrades of the Social Democratic party in Chicago will hold a basket picnic next Sunday, June 9, at Neher's grove, Riverside, to which all comrades are cordially invited. The grove can be reached by the Ogden avenue car to West Fortieth avenue, then by trolley line to within two blocks of the grove.

Suggestions from Massachusetts

The branch at Holyoke, Mass., sends the following suggestions for publication in the Herald, with the request that other Socialist papers copy the same:

- (1) That all obligations of the different parties be assumed by the united party.
(2) That all parties give up all papers printed in the English language; the united party to publish one daily paper which shall be the official organ.
(3) That all factions and all individuals shall be compelled to accept the rulings of the convention and act accordingly.

Duty To be active from now on to the Fourth of July to make the Third Annual Picnic of the party in Chicago a big, decided and memorable success. Tell everybody about it and bustle the sale of tickets. Hoerd's Park is one of the favorite union resorts of Chicago. Big program—big crowd—big time for everybody.

Comrade M. Gillis has been made representative of the New York Vorwarts in Philadelphia. The choice is a good one, Comrade Gillis being an untiring worker.

The German branches of Chicago of the Social Democratic party will give a joint picnic at Becker's Grove, Twenty-second street and Richland avenue, July 29. There will be music and sports and a genuine good time for everybody.

The International Socialist Bureau in a circular just received suggests a conference of the members for the purpose of considering subjects of interest to Socialists, to be held at an early date.

About All cross-town lines north of Car Twenty-sixth street transfer to Western avenue, and the fare to Hoerd's Park, Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues, will be five cents; from North Halsted street transfer to Lincoln cable, then to Roscoe street line, for five cents. Roscoe street line will take you within two blocks of the park.

Nebraska State Convention.

To all organized and unorganized Socialists of Nebraska: A state convention will be held at Omaha, Wednesday, July 3, 1901, at 10 o'clock a. m., to which all Socialists believing in Social Democratic principles are invited to be present for the purpose of nominating (1) one Supreme Judge, (2) Regents of the University, and to do other business proper to be done at said convention. All comrades will meet at 1517 Jackson street.

F. H. Alexander, State Sec'y. and Treas.

Bring And give them a day's outing at the Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party, July Fourth. It will be at Hoerd's beautiful park, Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues. There will be lots of fun for the boys and girls, and they will be admitted free up to the age of twelve, accompanied by parents.

The ingenuity and skill to produce things is in the people; when the clock strikes the hour the tether of ignorance will break and then it will be found that a determination to enjoy the things produced is also in the people.

The followers of Zoroaster, the fire worshippers, had priests who stood at the altars to keep the sacred fire forever burning, and Socialists are the priests who are to guard and keep burning the sacred fires of liberty. They constitute the standing army whose mission is to vitalize love for humanity and enthroned justice.

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