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WHAT SHALL BE DONE AT THE CONVENTION?

SOME OF THE THEORIES OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

Before the Form of an Instrument is Decided There Must be a Clear Conception of the Use to be Made of It

By MARGARET HALL

Now that the general convention of organized Socialists, called by our party, is assured, it is well that we begin to discuss the important matters which are to come before it and make up our minds as to what we want to see accomplished. We want no miscarriage this time. Conventions are luxuries too costly for a working-class organization to indulge in indiscriminately, unless some very substantial benefit results from them. Let us see that we get from the approaching one all possible benefit to the general Socialist movement of the country. Any further rhapsodizing on the beauties of abstract unity is mere heroics. Let us get down to business and consider practical steps which will secure to the American Socialist movement all the advantages that can possibly be derived from a union of the various organizations, with the minimum of disadvantage. The other day a comrade here was expatiating on the necessity for unity, when another interposed: "Why, what are you talking about? We have unity now. All your papers proclaimed some time ago that unity is accomplished. For God's sake, let us have something different now." This sentiment will meet a general and hearty endorsement. To avoid the mistake of the previous attempt, what we need now is a definite plan of reorganization, laid before the membership and discussed, criticized and amended by them, so that they instruct their delegates accordingly. We have already taken the wise precaution of reserving the right to pass upon the actions of the convention by referendum, before they become final. Matters of such importance as the disposal of an entire organization should not be left to small committees nor entirely to conventions. Committees can betray the trust reposed in them, and conventions can be packed, manipulated and captured by politicians. It is true that our comrades in some European countries accept the action of their conventions as final, but only because notice of the measures to be acted upon has been given beforehand, and the measures fully discussed by the membership, and the delegates instructed specifically how to vote on each one. This plan would answer very well where all the delegates at a convention belonged to the same organization, but where several bodies are represented, as a matter of course each body should have the right separately to pass upon the actions of the joint convention and make its own decision as to their adoption. This point having been attended to already, it remains for us to decide upon what form we desire to see the reorganization take, as far as we are concerned.

So many new theories of party organization have been advanced during the past year that it is necessary to go into this matter at some length. Some have advocated "no national executive board," only separate and independent state organizations. Carried to its logical conclusion the underlying principle of this theory would abolish state committees, and finally branches, leaving "separate and independent" individuals to carry on the work as each saw fit. This is the individualist or anarchist principle as opposed to the Socialist principle of co-operation and interdependence.

There are others who want to spiritualize the movement. From my point of view it needs rather to be rationalized.

Others again are anxious to "launch upon the sea of American politics" and adopt American political methods—do away with our branch system and our dues-paying membership, and raise all funds necessary by voluntary contribution. This may be "American politics" all right, but what connection has it with Socialism? I want rather to see a strong, compact Socialist organization built up, adapted to the work we have to do, and conducted upon Socialist principles. Such an organization could safely go into politics and be a factor in the game, without losing its character as a Socialist body.

The plain truth is that, in view of the advanced stage of capitalism in America, and the consequent widespread and newly awakened interest in Socialism, the organized Socialist movement of the country needs to gather up all its strength and take a giant stride forward, if it would come up with its opportuni-

ties and its duties. How is this to be done?

The New Jersey plan for "real unity," which is now being widely circulated, is very well as a compromise measure, if we cannot have something better. I am afraid, however, that it will not pan out any better than the other kind of unity. In my opinion, its major premise is not correct. The difficulties in the Socialist movement in the past have not been due to our system of organization. They were due, rather, to the necessary limitations of our early stage of development, and to our lack of a proper conception of the scope of the movement and the necessities of the situation. Even now our horizon is but little broader. We still labor under an exaggerated idea of the importance of our own respective localities—and personalities. We talk about international Socialism, and yet cannot see anything on the map except our native Smithville or Jones Corners. We have not yet grasped the idea of a national movement, in its full significance, nor the nature and magnitude of the work it implies. At the present juncture we are in danger of tinkering too much with the form of organization, without reference to the work that has to be done. An organization is simply an instrument to perform a certain work. An army is a gigantic sword. If you would improve it you must keep in view the use it is to perform, so that the changes you make may add to its effectiveness for that particular work. So with our organization. We are not striving after an association which shall exemplify the principles of pure democracy, as the primary object of its existence; nor yet a political party whose first object shall be to boost men with political hankering into their desired haven. We cannot improve upon it on general abstract principles. Before we can decide upon the form of the instrument we must have a very clear conception of what that instrument is to be used for.

What, then, is the work to be performed? Let us start from a point on which we all agree. We all want the co-operative commonwealth. We all agree that capitalism is preparing the industrial running machinery thereof with marvelous rapidity and skill. We don't need to trouble ourselves about that part of it. Our part is to get control of the political power of the nation, in order to complete the transition to the Socialist state peacefully and systematically. Recognizing that when it comes to the tug of war there will be but two political parties in this country, the capitalist and the Socialist, we see at once we must have some million Socialist voters, more or less. In whatever way Socialism comes, we must have a majority of the people in favor of it. I am not a believer in the "small, well-

disciplined minority" theory. And I do believe in facing the situation squarely, staggering as the facts may be, and directing our efforts accordingly. Of course, we realize that the logic of events is making Socialists faster than any other kind of propaganda can, but that does not relieve us from doing our share. It is our work to clarify and educate the vast amount of vague, undeveloped Socialist sentiment existing in this country today, and crystallize and organize it into something palpable and definite.

Where are these seven million voters that must be converted to Socialism? In the mines, on the railroads, in the factories, workshops and offices and on the farms in every state in the union. Even such a gigantic task as this can be accomplished with energy and system. But we need both. System without energy stagnates. Energy without system and wise direction dissipates itself fruitlessly. No more random firing, hit or miss; but every shot directed at the point where it will accomplish most. Just as a scientific farmer analyzes his soil and supplies in fertilizers the constituents it lacks for raising the particular crop he wants, we must study our great field of labor—the United States—analyze the soil and intelligently apply whatever is needed to raise a bountiful crop of Socialists. We should familiarize ourselves with the particular industrial and social conditions in every state, its advantages and its needs, the nationality of its workers, and the best way to reach their intelligence. We should have special literature for the farmers, special pamphlets and leaflets for miners, for railroad men and for factory workers, presenting the Socialist argument from the particular standpoint of each group. These should be written by scientific Socialists, with special reference to the needs and the readiest comprehension of the group to whom it is addressed. The somewhat abstruse doctrines of scientific Socialism must be popularized, and put into such simple form and language that he who runs may read. This is the most difficult of all arts, and the task should tempt the ambitious.

Then ways must be devised of getting this specially prepared literature into the hands of all these different subclasses of workers—for, unless it gets into the hands of the readers, the writer writeth but in vain.

The work of education by means of literature must be supplemented by speakers who can best adapt the mes-

(Concluded on Fourth Page)

THE POLITICAL PARTY AND THE PROPAGANDA

The "Strobell Plan" Advocated by a Bay State Social Democrat to Solve a Condition That Confronts Us

By WM. E. DIXON

We here in Massachusetts are facing a condition. Other states will soon face the same condition. Why not at the coming national convention take heed of this fact?

What is the condition that confronts us? It is this. In this town, as in all towns organized by socialists, we have a propaganda society. In this case it is a branch; in others it is a local or a club. We have, also, entirely distinct from this society; a political town committee. This is the condition that confronts us all over the state. Henceforth propaganda work and the political work are to be conducted by separate organizations.

And in this connection a thought arises that does not seem to have occurred to all. Mr. H. across the road is going to vote the socialist ticket; so am I. He is not a member of the branch and won't be; I am. Now he has just as much right at the caucus next fall as I. He may be elected to a place on the town committee or to any other office the caucus sees fit. Now suppose the state committee wants a referendum on a party matter; am I to vote and Mr. H. not? Is membership in a club or branch necessary to secure the right to vote on party matters? We have here, say, five organized and ten unorganized socialists. Are the five to settle party matters for the fifteen, just because they pay dues? Is this Democracy? Is it not rather peanut plutocracy?

The mere fact that a man pays dues and belongs to a socialist organization is no proof that he is better able to vote on party matters than some one else who don't. But even were this so it would not affect the case. It is not a question of who knows the most. We socialists should be the last ones to argue for an "aristocracy of learning." In fact we often have to argue against that very point. So let us not bring that up.

Let us then agree that in all strictly party matters a referendum, when taken, must allow a vote to every man who has a right to take part in a caucus. It is to be understood that the law prevents an entirely democratic administration of party affairs. But there are several matters (such as platform, etc.) which may and should be referred to the whole party; and there are other matters on which a committee may evade the law and use the referendum if it wishes.

At the same time, matters relating to propaganda should be settled by the organization, i. e., clubs, branches, etc. Thus it will be seen that the political work and the propaganda or educational work are really separate functions.

That we should all unite in a political party is of great importance. That we should unite in one great propaganda machine is not important. Therefore it

seems to me that we should divorce the two functions. Let us all join in one political party; but if Brother H. wants to make socialists his way let him; and if Comrade T. has his way and wants to follow it let him.

And now I hear some one object. "But they don't do it that way in Germany." And I answer that this is not Germany. This is America. Let the Germans organize to suit their conditions. Let us do likewise.

It seems to me the best thing we can do for the movement is to adopt the Strobell plan and abolish the present "parties," confining the national committee, as Strobell seems to intend, to political works mainly.

Then if any sect within us wishes to conduct a propaganda leave it free to do so. There is lots of room for us all in making socialists. There is room for only one candidate to gather up the harvest. Is it not possible that the adoption of this plan will bring about an "era of good feeling" amongst the socialists of the country?

Mendon, Mass.

Wisconsin Notes

Comrade Seymour Stedman gave a witty and instructive discourse in Milwaukee on June 13. His subject was Socialism and trade unionism, and the striking machinists present enjoyed his good hits and telling points. Two of the strikers, a machinist and a pattern-maker, also took part in the meeting.

Comrade McSweeney paid Milwaukee a flying visit last week, organizing two branches on the way hither. They are good live branches, made up of earnest comrades, and will serve Wisconsin as a pleasant memento of his visit.

Our branches throughout the state are keeping up the Socialist agitation in various ways. Four branches have ordered Socialist libraries from the state headquarters. Other branches have arranged meetings for speakers, picnics and entertainments for raising propaganda funds. Branch 9 of Milwaukee is preparing for a monster basket picnic on the 23d, the proceeds to go to the agitation work.

Kiel comrades have ordered from state headquarters one thousand envelopes with half a dozen definitions of Socialism printed in bright red letters on the back. I would suggest to other Wisconsin comrades that this is a very effective kind of propaganda. Any one receiving one of these envelopes will be pretty sure to read through these definitions, though he might throw aside a Socialist pamphlet, and thus he will learn something about Socialism which is perhaps quite new to him.

Thus in all these various ways our comrades keep the ball rolling and the good work going on. E. H. T.

Walter T. Roberts, secretary of the Kentucky State committee, writes that that body accepts the invitation to the convention next month.

Social Democrats or branches of the party in Oregon and California desiring the services of Rev. Charles H. Vail to lecture can address him at Seattle, Wash.

Social Democrats of Hartford, Conn., announce a meeting at the City Hall square Saturday evening, June 22, when Comrade J. Spargo will speak. They will also give a picnic July 4 at Aetna Grove, Cedar Hill.

The quarterly dues are payable on or before the 5th of July. Branch secretaries are requested to bring the matter up at the next meeting and provide for prompt payment of all money due headquarters by that date.

Branch 9 of Milwaukee will hold a basket picnic at Dazzer's Grove, half a mile west of Forest Home Cemetery, Sunday, June 23. All Social Democrats and sympathizers are invited to be present.

The Holyoke (Mass.) branch complains that an article recently published in the Herald, "Suggestions from Massachusetts," was not printed in full and exactly as received. It is quite true that for the sake of brevity the article was condensed, but the essential portions of it, that containing the "suggestions" appeared, and as this set before the readers the ideas of the Holyoke comrades it was deemed sufficient.

NEW JERSEY PLAN AND THE PAYMENT OF DUES

By GEORGE JOHNSON

The time for the joint convention is approaching, and our comrades ought to be discussing practical plans for unity. The New Jersey plan is the only one that has been proposed yet. This is good in the main, for it provides for state autonomy. This is the main point in the plan, and a strong point it is. Let the powers of the executive board or committee or council, whatever name may be chosen, be as limited as possible. This will do away with any amount of trouble in future.

One point in the New Jersey plan seems to me quite unnecessary—the payment of national dues. This is unnecessary for the following reasons:

1. Under the New Jersey plan we shall have no national organ to support, and, with no organ, no editor to draw a salary.

2. With state autonomy our national secretary will not need a salary, for he will have no more work to do than our state secretaries. If we pay him we should pay the state secretaries also. If so, where is the thing to stop? How many salaried secretaries can the movement support?

3. The national dues will not be necessary for organization. Each state will

organize within its own territory. This it can do much more effectually than the best national organization possibly can, because each state understands its own ground better, and can carry on the work of organization more cheaply and to better advantage.

For those few states which as yet have no organization a voluntary organization fund, managed by an organization committee, will be sufficient without taxing all the members for the benefit of a very few states.

These are the reasons why under the New Jersey plan national dues will be unnecessary.

The reasons why national dues will be a positive injury to us are:

1. Under the New Jersey plan the work formerly done by the national organization will fall to the state organizations. They will have to carry on a more vigorous propaganda, they will have to organize new branches and agitate for Socialism far more earnestly than ever before, or the movement will receive a set-back. To do this, those states which pay no state dues will have to require them in the future, and those states which now pay state dues will probably have to increase their dues.

It will be impossible to do this if we still continue to pay national dues. Our comrades may be as good as gold, but they are not made of gold.

2. To a plain, common-sense Socialist it seems as if the only use to which these national dues could be put under the New Jersey plan would be to pay salaries to Socialists out of a job. We cannot afford to do this. It is worse than a waste of money to create a large number of salaried offices to attract men who want to live off of the movement.

Twenty-five cents a year may seem very little. But when the two parties are united, with 5,000 members of the Chicago organization, plus (I understand) nearly 4,000 members of the Springfield organization, we shall have about 9,000 in all. Nine thousand quarters are \$2,250 a year. Now, how in the name of common sense are we going to get through with this sum if we have no national organ, no expenses in states already organized, and no national officers whose work will be sufficiently laborious to require them to give it their whole or even half of their time?

Better amend the New Jersey plan by striking out national dues altogether.

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The secretary of war's motto is, "Let her root."

To begin, the empire has split the supreme court.

Under the constitution there is a "bill of rights." Under the flag a bill of rights.

There are acres of iron in Cuba and shiploads of steel in the United States.

Mark Hanna tells Billy McKinley that "he can now wig-wag things regardless of the constitution."

There is something in the logic of events—it creates empires and as certainly destroys them.

The constitution no longer follows the flag, and it is dead certain the flag doesn't follow the constitution.

The Boston (Mass.) brewers want an eight-hour day and will get it. It is a sort of Bunker Hill idea.

France has a large number of millionaires, and hereafter they have got to tell how they secured their money.

What's the use of the expense of dying if it is true, as reports have it, that a man in New York slept for two years?

In Ohio the courts hold that if a white woman and a "nigger" marry, it is not lawful, therefore, to "tar and feather them."

The Empire state of New York has 22,000 insane persons, without counting those who gamble in stocks and organize trusts.

The Porto Ricans, who have been forced to emigrate to Hawaii to escape starvation, have simply changed places to find graves.

The empire means more warships, a larger army, more guns, more taxation and, therefore, a heavier drain upon the laboring class.

Cuba's constitution, to be acceptable to McKinley, must follow the "Platt amendments" and our imperial flag, else it will be no go.

It is now definitely settled that China will have to pay \$337,000,000 for the Boxer war, which is approximately \$3,370,000 for each missionary killed during the rebellion.

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, in his Buffalo address, warned all the nations of the earth to keep off of the western hemisphere. He is a whip-all-creation Yankee.

"Get rich quick" was the cry of the gamblers when the stock craze began in New York. Grover Cleveland heard the cry, straddled the tidal wave and came out \$400,000 ahead.

Rev. DeWitt Talmage says "All nations are being weighed by the Lord." In the United States what is particularly desirable is to know the heft of J. Pierpont Morgan.

Morgan's steel trust will do its own insuring, whereby insurance companies will lose \$1,000,000 a year. They had better keep still or Schwab will swipe them out of existence.

Every citizen has a right to denounce the recent decision of the United States supreme court, since that is what four members of the court are doing, including the chief justice.

The sultan of Turkey has issued an "irade" prohibiting the employment of female typewriters in all of Turkeydom. The decree by the old, turbaned, whiskered successor of Mohammed is for the protection of the harems of his subjects, and suggests the necessity for missionary work.

The probability is that the Presbyterian clergy will not only abbreviate their creed, but resolve that their sermons shall not go beyond "thirdly"—both good ideas.

If the south, particularly the "black belt," supplies plenty of watermelons and persimmons, the Anglo-African, or Afro-American, will consent to let "de white trash" run the political machine.

The Filipinos are to have the Bible in twenty different dialects and big and little guns in a still larger variety of bore. The Bible society will supply the Bibles and McKinley will attend to the guns.

President Charles M. Schwab of the United States steel trust is to have a private car to cost \$50,000—the most gorgeous thing of the kind ever constructed, and labor will pay for the same.

The announcement is made by cable that the queen of Italy has a baby—princess—and that its chief nurse is to get, in addition to regular pay, \$2,000 when the baby cuts its first tooth—and Italy is a bankrupt nation.

It is generally conceded that man, regardless of position, the poor as well as the rich, the ignorant as well as the learned, may make this world a hell equal to anything of the sort in the text about which theologians prate.

Expression is the law of life—repression is death. God pity the man who has nothing to say about matters pertaining to his own and his fellow-man's well-being, or, having something to say, lacks the courage of expression.

McKinley said in one of his California speeches that it had "been so long since he had made a partisan speech that he had lost the tune, and had no notes." Mark Hanna can supply these essentials at any time Mac touches the button.

The ladies of New York's "400" have gone crazy over "barbaric" jewelry, and the resources of Yankee ingenuity is taxed to the highest point to meet the demand for earrings and other trinkets, such as adorned Cleopatra in the days of her glory.

Jno. D. Rockefeller has given \$200,000 to found an institute for medical research—his income for about two weeks. John wants to discover a real elixir of life that he may live forever on this mundane sphere, or until he has exhausted nature's supply of petroleum.

"Eloquence," says a writer, "cannot be counterfeited—it is logic on fire." Just so. McKinley has treated his Filipino subjects with lots of "logic on fire." The muzzles of his orators have spouted it in a way that Demosthenes, Cicero, Webster and other great orators never dreamed of.

President O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists reminds one of the centurion who, when he said to a soldier, "Come, he cometh," and when he said, "Go, he goeth." When President O'Connell says to a machinist: "Stick," he sticketh, and when he says "Come out," he cometh, p. d. q.

Judge Danforth of Maine, in sentencing a poor devil of a cashier for looting a bank, expressed regret that the law did not permit him to sentence every one of the bank directors to the penitentiary for the crime of requiring their cashier to support a large family on \$600 a year and remain honest.

Hill of the Northern Pacific, the railroad magnate A. R. U., under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, brought to terms some years ago, professes to be a goody-goody sort of a skinner, who says: "I have never been inside of the New York stock exchange in my life." Perhaps Chicago is big enough for Hill.

Burglars in Tariffville, Conn., robbed the postoffice of its money and stamps. The burglars would not hesitate to rob a postoffice in Dingleyville, Taxtown, Bondburg of Trustopolis. There's no more sentiment in burglary than there is in a Wall street gambling den, a trust or a corporation—all are out for the stuff.

"Lo," the Pottawatomie Indian, claims 1,500 acres of Chicago's lake front, and lawyers who have investigated the claim say it is well founded. If "Lo" wins it will be some compensation for the land plundering to which he has been subjected since the white man went into the real estate business "way back in the centuries, when the Puritans and cavaliers invaded the continent.

Sixty years ago the population of Ireland was 8,175,124, and a recent census, 1901, gives it at 4,456,546—a loss of 3,718,578. Such has been the result of English imperialism, which the United Kingdom and the facts are all known, English infernalism in South Africa will be found to have a still darker coloring. Such is England's infernalism in Ireland, and States is trying to copy.

The Striking Machinists

Two notable incidents in the great strike of the union machinists call for some special notice. The attitude of this paper towards trades unionism is too well known to call for any word at this time on the merits or demerits of the contention between the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists. The point we wish to direct attention to is that the strike is another clear manifestation of the class struggle, which is denied by most of the men engaged on either side, but which socialists affirm the world over, with ever-increasing proof of its correctness.

The purpose of the National Metal Trades Association (an organization of the employers) is to destroy the union. The position they assume is emphatically a declaration of war against union labor. Speaking as a delegate to the convention of employers, Secretary Bliss of the Erie Iron Works, in language which no man, not even a striking machinist, can misunderstand, said:

"Not only do we defy the Metal Workers' Union, but we defy the American Federation of Labor. A big fight with these decadent organizations is coming and we might as well have it out.

"The whole principle of union labor is wrong. The labor union has reached its fullest development. It can only move backward now.

"Our fight at present is with the metal workers only. But if the Federation sees fit to join the fight we don't care. We would just as soon fight the Federation as not."

The convention at which this declaration was made adopted a plan for raising a strike fund of \$500,000 to be used against union labor. The employers' organization is, therefore, seen to be conscious of its own interests, and this consciousness is backed by determination and money. These men, who are thus able to contribute half a million dollars to carry on a war against union labor and provide more if more is necessary, are able also to close up their establishments and keep them closed while labor, with no access to the surplus wealth it has created, weakens, suffers, disorganizes and finally submits. Such is most likely to be the result of the struggle in the economic field.

The purpose of the International Machinists' Union (an organization of workingmen with nothing more than a limited fund saved from their past earnings) is to decrease the hours of a day's work and maintain the rate of wages paid for the longer term. Their position is decidedly a declaration of war against the employers, and the class struggle between them is on. The employers represent a capitalization estimated at \$200,000,000; the workmen represent skill and muscle. Almost as soon as the strike was begun they were compelled by the exigencies of the situation to appeal to the American Federation to levy an assessment in their behalf. In a convention the machinists, while dependent upon the small dribbles of an enforced charity to conduct their fight, "almost unanimously voted down a resolution pledging the union to socialism."

The waste, devastation and suffering incident to labor strikes is unavoidable, because the strike itself can not be evaded; it is as inevitable to the capitalist system as storm and lightning in the natural universe. But the pity of it all is that those who invariably suffer in the class struggle do not learn anything from their experiences. The labor of the world and the capitalism of the world are naturally antagonistic.

There is and there can be no peace short of social possession and enjoyment of social wealth. There is nothing in common between wage labor and capitalist class interests—no more than between light and darkness or right and wrong. Capitalism robs the worker; socialism alone will stop the robbery. Capitalism crushes; socialism lifts up. Capitalists are engaged in bettering their own condition at the expense of the workers; socialism would mitigate human woes, better conditions and improve civilization. Capitalism is beating its reveilles upon the drum heads of the machinists' union, and with conscious class interest defies the embattled hosts of union labor, while the latter cries down and votes down its only hope, its only chance for deliverance—Socialism.

National Debts

The United States treasury department has been engaged in compiling figures showing the sum total of the national debts of the world, which amount to thirty-one billions of dollars (\$31,000,000,000)—a sum so vast that no one can grasp its immensity.

It constitutes an object lesson, however, for workingmen, for, though only two or three of the nations can expect to pay their debts, they can, by the scourge of taxation, trying to raise the money to pay interest, which at 4 per cent requires annually \$1,240,000,000—and this amount is extorted from labor, since there is no other means known whereby revenues are secured and debts are paid.

Pursuing the investigation, the treasury department shows in a number of instances the per capita debt of population. As, for instance, in the British-

Australian colonies it is \$263.50 for each individual; in France, \$160.60; in Uruguay, \$148.06; in Portugal, \$143.32; in Argentina, \$128.85; in Spain, \$95.50; in the Netherlands, \$90.74; in Belgium, \$75.63; in Great Britain, \$74.22; and in the United States, \$14.52. Mexico is the least per capita, being \$10.34.

These debts were chiefly created by war, and with terrific logic expose the rottenness and infamy of the civilization which made them possible and loaded upon labor burdens which in a majority of them has sunk the toiling masses to poverty and degradation, the contemplation of which creates ceaseless horror.

The statistics represent Spain, Italy, Turkey and Austria-Hungary as practically bankrupt and steadily decaying. Nor is Great Britain, with its \$5,000,000,000, and France \$6,000,000,000, debts, in a better condition as neither of these ever expects to pay their debts. Everywhere in Europe there is a feeling of despair and premonitions of revolution, agitated by the demands of courts for money to support royalty, nowhere more effusive than is found in the nations which are bankrupt.

Under such circumstances one has not far to go to find the reason why Socialism is increasing in vitality as the last hope of the toiling millions of Europe, who, under present conditions, can see nothing in life worth living for except in the redeeming principles of Socialism.

Socialism and Trusts

The New York Journal of Commerce in a recent issue devotes considerable space to the organization of trusts, which, it is held, are promotive of the spread of Socialism. "The public is still afraid of these huge combinations," says the Journal of Commerce, "and it is asking itself whether public ownership is not a necessary protection of the community against them; it is also asking whether, if all industries are to have a single direction, that direction ought not to be the state."

It is further contended that the billion-dollar trust by J. Pierpont Morgan, showing the "possibility of organizing the largest industries upon a national scale," meets the hearty approval of Socialists, because the "monopolization of one necessary of life after another prepares the soil ideally perfect for the sowing of Socialistic seed," and still further it is affirmed that "it is a significant fact that American Socialism has first become an appreciable force in this era of trusts and combinations."

The Journal of Commerce says further: "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 of trusts will be chiefly responsible in case the balance finally swings in the direction of Socialism."

The Journal of Commerce is one of the great conservative papers of the country. It antagonizes Socialism, but is forced to the conclusion that the trend is in the direction of giving to it national importance. It is a remarkable concession, and is based upon facts it is too honest to evade or attempt to obscure. But as a seeming apology for its frankness, it eulogizes the men like Carnegie and Morgan and their associates, who have been selected to carry forward great enterprises, "by a process as far removed as possible from the process by which they would be chosen by a Socialist community"—which is sheer assumption. The municipal ownership of public utilities confirms the Socialist contention of the ability of the people to select the right men for the business of conducting them will not be denied, and in so far as government ownership of railroads is concerned, it has been demonstrated in more than a hundred instances where they have been managed by men of great "ability," the government has restored them to their original solvency and money-making capacity. Socialism will be found equal to any demands that may be made upon its capabilities.

Andrew Carnegie has given \$10,000,000 to Scotch universities for free university education to girls as well as boys, without the payment of fees. One Edinburgh college president characterizes the gift "as a mistake," probably because British and Scotch universities are opposed to admitting women to the advantages of a university education. Carnegie owes nothing to Scotland, except that he was born there. The money he lavishes upon Scotch universities was obtained from the United States. It was here that he plundered workingmen of millions, for which he thinks he is making amends by establishing a lot of small libraries. If he were to hunt up the men or the heirs of the men he has robbed and make restitution for his robberies, the devil might conclude that he had lost his grip upon Carnegie's soul, if he has anything in that sort under his vest.

Fate, fortune, luck—the whole tribe of delusion, if nursed, are fruitful of disaster. If a man is built right, he is superior to them all. If defective in his mental makeup, though as big as an elephant, a mouse will frighten him.

PRAISE FROM THE KING

Victor of Italy Appreciates the Value of Socialist Doctrines—A Remarkable Socialist Demonstration in Japan

The young king of Italy, Victor Emmanuel, is reported in a dispatch from Rome dated June 15, to have astounded the monarchists and conservatives by an expression of sympathy with the ideas of the socialists. He recently had a conversation with a prominent conservative deputy in which he said:

"I do not understand the sorrow which you conservatives have for the extreme left. I have read the speeches of the members of that party; I have studied their political and social programmes, and I have arrived at the conclusion that if those men were entrusted with the government they would do good work for the country.

"It is true that their programme contains an anti-monarchical plank, but that does not prevent me from appreciating the value of their economic and social policy. If the socialists oppose the monarchy it is because the monarchical parties regard the socialists as, ipso facto, enemies of modern society.

"I am certain that at the bottom the socialists do not bother themselves much about the form of government, whether it be monarchical or republican. They would easily reconcile themselves to a monarchical form if the constitutional parties would take them by the hand and work together for a social and economical reform."

News has been received from Tokio, Japan, of a most remarkable demonstration by socialists on April 3, when the first labor day in that country was celebrated. It was a great picnic under the auspices of a new organization known as the Social Party, the object of the party being to establish socialism in Japan. The workingmen's paper, Niroku, says of the occasion:

"It was held at Mukojima, near the bank of the Sumida, and under the shade of the blooming cherry trees. Indeed, so large a gathering of laborers of all classes was not only unprecedented in this country, but it set an example to be followed annually.

"Scarcely ten days had passed after the first announcement of the Niroku's undertaking when more than 50,000 laborers eagerly secured their tickets of admittance to the picnic. Suddenly there came an order issued from the Metropolitan Police office. The order was absurd, for it limited the number who might participate to 5,000 on the ground that 1,000 policemen were needed to guard the meeting. It dealt a hard blow to our plan. But, thank fortune, it was not a crushing one.

"Slowly the night of the 2d had dissolved into the dawn of the 3d. Every now and then the fireworks painted the sky in glowing colors. The flags of all nations were waving in the spring breeze. Groups of the white-robed trained nurses added a great charm to the scene.

"The scene was striking, impressive and warlike. It was like a military encampment—an army at bivouac.

"But those laborers who came in by thirties, fifties, hundreds, soon after the clock struck twelve, were self-possessed, order-loving, law-abiding men. When the sun rose in its splendor there were about forty thousand men in and around the picnic ground.

"The meeting was called at 7 a. m. by a triple display of fireworks, immediately followed by the unfurling of a signal flag over the elevated stand on the mount in the center of the picnic ground.

"After a short musical performance Mr. Wagoro Fukuda, representing the directors of the reunion, delivered a very interesting opening address. He said in part that he was deeply impressed by the respectful appearance of those hand-to-mouth laborers, whose honesty and independence would put to shame a lazy gentleman in Japan, where the spirit of chivalry no longer flourishes, and that it was his hope that there would result from this meeting not only mutual acquaintance among the laborers themselves, but some good understanding between our capitalists and laborers."

McKinley is a very religious man, and his imperial career, "plain duty," crawling and shooting Filipinos in the interest of sovereignty and Christian civilization forcibly reminds one of the story of the pious old darkey, who confessed to his "brethren and sisters" that he had been a "mighty mean nigger" and "had a heap of ups and downs since he joined de church." The old darkey has "stolen chickens and watermelons, cussed, got drunk, shot craps and slashed udder coons wid his razor," but still happy, "thank de good Lawd," that he had "neber lost his religion." That's the boast of McKinley, who has shot guns instead of craps and slashed around with his sword, still thanking the "good Lawd" that he has not lost his religion.

Pass the Word That the Third Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party in Chicago—to eclipse all others—will be held at Hoerd'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 no other appointments for the day.

JULES GUESDE'S REPLY TO JAURES

[The last three issues of The Herald contained the famous speech delivered last October at Lille, France, by Jean Jaures, in a debate with Jules Guesde on the policies of the Socialists of France. The translation, as announced with the first installment, was by Lucian Sanial of the Socialist Labor party. Guesde followed Jaures and we begin in this number the publication of his reply, which most American Socialists, we feel certain, will consider far from being an answer to many points raised by Jaures. The translation is also by Lucian Sanial. Both speeches appeared originally in the Weekly People, New York.—Ed.]

Allow me at the start to thank Jaures for having placed the question so well, the only question for the solution of which we are gathered here this evening. Jaures spoke truly, as regards the historical viewpoint of our divergence, when, going beyond the participation of a Socialist in a capitalist government, he went back to what is called the "Dreyfus affair." Yes, indeed; in that lies the beginning, the start, the root of a divergence, that has since been only aggravated and extended.

Jaures was likewise right in commencing by furnishing you with the indispensable element wherewith to pass judgment. He did so, when he reminded you of modern society as divided into classes necessarily antagonistic and in conflict. He was right in telling you that only by placing yourselves upon that ground, the only Socialist ground, you would be able to pass judgment between him and us.

Nevertheless, in my judgment, he was very imprudent when he invoked what he called a principle, and what I call a fact—The Class Struggle. Oh! He defined the thing well; he exposed it to you seething in all shops on the economic field; he showed it to you as an indispensable weapon, the day when, transported and systematized on the political field, it is to do away with the classes, enfranchise labor and emancipate society. But right upon that he said to you: This class struggle which we have just now positively and theoretically proclaimed, this identical class struggle we propose to commence by leaving it aside as unable to determine our conduct, our politics, our daily tactics. Thus he placed the class struggle on a level with the paradise of the Christians, a thing that is placed so far away, so wholly out of reach, that it does not influence daily life; it directs neither the wills nor the actions of the Christians, being reduced to a simple confession of faith placed in the vacuum.

If the class struggle, such as it was well defined by Jaures, is not intended to determine our daily conduct, the political life of the working class, the necessary tactics of the proletariat organized in a class party—then that class struggle would be a calumny and a fraud. To us, on the contrary, the class struggle is the steady guide of our conduct, daily and every minute of the day. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

We do not recognize the class struggle for the purpose of abandoning it. The moment it is recognized, the moment it is proclaimed. It is the exclusive ground upon which we plant ourselves, upon which the labor party is organized, and upon which we must keep ourselves in order to comprehend the events of the day and classify them.

We have been told the class struggle exists but it does not prevent; on the contrary, it orders the proletariat, the moment an injustice is committed, the moment an iniquitous sentence smites a member of the ruling class—that moment the class struggle makes it the duty of an imperative law to the workmen to forget the iniquities of which they are every day the victims, to forget the monstrous acts that are every day perpetrated upon their families, upon their wives and their children.

The workmen were to forget all that; these were anonymous injuries, anonymous iniquities, pressing upon the working class, which does not count. But the day when a captain of the staff, a day when a ruling member of the capitalist class found himself struck by the sort of justice that his own class metes out, that day the proletariat was to abandon everything; it was to rush forward as the redressor of the wronged one.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

I repeat it; the class struggle, understood in that way, would be a veritable fraud. Jaures appealed to personal reminiscences. He told you what happened in the Socialist group of the chamber of deputies toward the close of the legislature of 1893-1898. At that season the Dreyfus affair was in its inception; in the egg, so to say. Jaures told you that there were then "moderates" of whom he was not one, and that there was an extreme left, of whom he was one, and that then Guesde himself, pushed for the intervention of the Socialist group in a matter that had not yet been clothed with an individual or personal character.

As Jaures told you, I then protested against the attitude of the "moderates," but do you know what was their atti-

tude? Jaures should have repeated their language on this platform. The "moderates" did not want us to mix in the affair, because, said they, we were on the eve of a general election, and our re-election might be endangered. And they added: "Oh! if we still had before us one or two years before the voters had again a say, then might we look into the question and decide whether the interests of the party, whether the duty of the party, is to intervene."

It was against that electoral cowardice, against those men who only thought of their seats in parliament, that I protested. (Loud applause.) I said that if universal suffrage in the hands of the proletariat was to come down to a simple question of re-election, to a simple question of retaining seats in parliaments, it would then be better far to break with the parliamentary method, and plant ourselves wholly upon the revolutionary field.

Is this true, Jaures?

Jaures—It is so; perfectly correct. Guesde—But, comrades, what was the question, then? Was it a question of dividing the proletariat into Dreyfus men and anti-Dreyfus men? Was it a question of raising before the working class this conundrum about the ignorance or guilt of a certain man? Indeed, the matter has remained a veritable conundrum, one set swearing upon the word of one man, another set upon the word of another, without your ever having been able to fathom that mass of contradictions and obscurities so as to be able to form an opinion of your own. It was not then a question of affirming, of swearing, that Dreyfus was innocent. Above all, it was not then a question of imposing upon the proletariat the work of saving one man, when the proletariat has its own class to save, has the whole of humanity to redeem.

It was anent the Zola process; we had witnessed the unspeakable scandal of a chief of the staff, a chief of the upper regimentals, appearing before the court of his own country, and, throwing into the scale his sword, and his resignation, say: "We shall not stay one minute longer at our posts, we shall abandon, we shall give up the national defense with which we are charged, if the jury refuses to give the verdict which we demand."

Under such circumstances I said to Jaures, that if a republic, even a capitalist republic, bowed down before such an ultimatum from the upper military circles, the republic was at an end. I even added: "We must mount the rostrum; we must demand the immediate arrest of Boisdeffre and his followers, not because of the role they played in the Dreyfus affair, but because of their rebellion before the jury of the Siene."

That is the kind of Dreyfus man that I was, that is to say, within the bounds of the struggle against an unbridled militarism that, under cover of an implicated government, went so far as to menace the country with a coup d'etat. And thus we continued down to the day of election; and, on election day—if there are present any comrades from Roubaix, they will be able to bear me out—within the city I was denounced as having sold myself to Dreyfus. Did I defend myself against such a charge? Did I for a moment stop to think that I might have lost some votes and assure the election of my adversary? No, comrades.

Then, no more than ever, did I trouble myself about the personal consequences of my actions, which have always been directed, determined and ordered by the interests of the working class, which I represented, and which alone I meant to represent. I declared: "Let no capitalist vote for me, let no employer vote for me; I neither wish to nor can represent the two struggling classes; I wish to, I can be, the representative of only one against the other." That is the mandate which I demanded, which you gave me, and which I carried out. (Loud applause and cheers.)

On the morning of the elections all had changed. It was then no longer a question of curbing the military; it was then no longer a question of grabbing the rebellious generals and colonels by the neck. What was wanted of us was to enlist the services of the proletariat in the struggle of one man.

The slogan was—and it was put down in writing, not once, but a hundred times; not a hundred times, but a thousand; there is a particular victim who is entitled to a special campaign, and to an isolated deliverance. And who was that victim? He was a member of the ruling class, he was a captain of the general staff; he was a man who, in the fullness of youth, powerful through wealth acquired by the theft perpetrated upon the fleeced workmen by his family, and free to become a useful man, free to render the science, which he owed to his millions, a blessing to humanity, choose what he calls the military career. He said to himself: "The intellectual development which I have received, the manifold knowledge which I have acquired, all that I shall employ in the work of slaughtering my fellowmen." This, assuredly, was quite an interesting victim to behold. (Uproarious applause.)

Oh, I can well understand how you, men of the factory, you, men of the field, who are torn away from the mills and from the plow, whom a uniform is clapped on your backs, whom a gun is stuck into your hands under the pretext that the country is in danger. I can understand how you would have the right and the duty to call out to us, to the organized proletariat, when you are smitten by that frightful military justice. You are not in the barracks of your own free will; you never accepted either the regulations, the discipline or yet the pretended military justice that you are subjected to. But he, he knew what he was facing when he chose the trade of arms. It was a deliberate act on his part when he entered that path and he was a partisan of "councils of war" so long as he believed they would smite only the working class, and that it would be he, a leader, an officer, who would set in motion against them that blind, that "pig in the poke" justice. Such was the victim for whose benefit some people had the assumption to seek to mobilize the whole proletariat and Socialist effort!

Oh, comrades, reminiscences have been appealed to (applause). Do not applaud, I beg you; let me reach the end without adding to my fatigue with your cheers. Personal reminiscences have been appealed to. I ask leave to complete them.

Jaures has spoken to you, not of a manifesto, but of a declaration of the national council of the French labor party.

What he has omitted to tell you was that there was a sort of Socialist council of war. There had taken place, arranged by Millerand and Viviani, a meeting between Jaures (who wished not only to enter into this Dreyfus affair, but to engage the whole party in it) and us who were of a contrary opinion.

It was in the neighborhood of Paris, in a country house of Viviani, that we all gathered one evening; and as Vaillant was unable to be present at the meeting, he had written to Jaures, notifying him—I again appeal to the memory of Jaures.

Jaures—I do not deny the letter of Vaillant; all I deny is that it was addressed to me.

Guesde—Let it be so. Leaving aside the intervention of Vaillant in the shape of a letter to Jaures, I say that there was, that night, quite some time before the declaration of the national council, a gathering in which Millerand and Viviani (who, no more than Vaillant and myself, objected at the time to having the Socialist party dragged at the heels of Dreyfus), joined me in saying to you: "Citizen Jaures, you cannot engage the party"; and you gave us your word to engage only personally in that campaign.

Jaures—I have always said so. Guesde—Jaures acknowledges that what I am here reporting is the exact truth. If I have invoked those facts, I have done so only to establish the responsibilities.

When, shortly ago, he spoke to you of the declaration of the national council of the party as having withdrawn, so to speak, our troops that were engaged—a thing that on all fields of battle constitutes an act of defection and of treason—Jaures forgot to tell you that all the Socialists and organizations which had been consulted had given him the order not to engage the party along with himself.

When our declaration appeared, it accordingly only upheld a decision that had always been ours, and which expressed the consensus of the several Socialist bodies.

Oh, I could go further still in these personal details. But I refrain, holding that what I have recalled suffices, and I return to our domain of the classes. I hold that we cannot recognize in the capitalist class—when an injustice smites one of its own—the right of addressing itself to the proletariat; of demanding of it to cease to be itself, to cease fighting its own battle, and to place itself in tow of the most compromising and most compromised members of the ruling class. It is impossible to forget that the principal fuleman in that campaign against an individual iniquity was the man who had submitted a bill that was the worst of all iniquities against a class—the railway employees—in revolt at a judgment of a council of war that would have smitten an innocent man among them; he did not fear to smite without judgment all the workmen employed on the railroads by seeking to prevent them from earning their daily bread along with stripping them of the right to strike. That was your man of truth; that was your man of justice! It would have been necessary for the very serfs of the railroads to forget the crime that was projected against their class in order to make common cause with Mr. Travioux, with Mr. Yves Guyot, with these sweet-scented flowers of the exploiting bourgeois! (Laughter and applause.) It would have been necessary, after having theorized about the exploitation of the working class, and while maintaining the class struggle, to hitch the proletariat to this tail-end of the imprisonment-dealing bourgeoisie, which had behind it the bullet-dealing bourgeoisie of 1871!

Oh, no, comrades! At that moment the party cried out: "Halt!" At that moment it recalled the workmen to their class duty; it did not preach to

them disinterestedness and abstention. The declaration read letter by letter: "Prepare yourselves to hurl back upon the capitalist class and society the scandals of a military Panama affair on top of the scandals of a financial Panama." What, indeed, we saw in the Dreyfus affair were heaped up acts of disgracefulness that reached and ruined the system itself. There was in that a new and powerful weapon that the whole capitalist class could and should be battered with, instead of mobilizing the proletariat at the heels of one faction of the bourgeoisie against another.

You (turning to Jaures) invoked memory of that admirable revolutionist, Liebknecht. Now, then, he spoke on this Dreyfus affair, and it was, as our party, to disapprove of your campaign.

"I do not approve of it," he wrote to you. "I will not approve of it because you have carried grist to the mill of militarism, of jingoism and of anti-Semitism."

And so it was, comrades. When the Dreyfus affair was over, councils of war did not therefore cease; there has not been the least modification of military justice; nothing of all that was promised you took place. All that there was was a man torn from his rock on the Isle de Diable. A personal campaign. Net results—a personal result. (Great commotion.)

Oh, I err! There was something; and what that something is Jaures himself has had the courage to confess. He said to you: "Out of the Dreyfus affair out of the campaign I conducted, together with a certain number of Socialists for Dreyfus, there has resulted the collaboration of a Socialist in a capitalist government." That's true, Citizen Jaures, and that would suffice, without counting anything else, to condemn all sort of Socialist co-operation in the campaign that you boast of.

(Concluded next week)

Socialists and Anarchists in Spain

Anarchism, forced to the background in all civilized countries, has still in Spain quite a few representatives, owing to the wretched conditions of a large part of the industrial proletariat and brainworkers. In its tendencies Spanish anarchism has little in common with the German and French communist-anarchists. The Spanish anarchism is to a certain extent a potential revolutionary liberalism. The previous theoretical coloring given to it by Bakunin and Proud has faded away lately, and the economic theories in general turned into a matter of secondary consideration. All kind of political revolutionary—or rather revolutionistic tendencies—gained ascendancy over all others. The Spanish anarchism may briefly be characterized as extremely liberal revolutionary romanticism diluted with a considerable dose of individualism of the kind represented by Stein or Mackay. This is at least true as far as the educated part of anarchists is concerned.

Among the demands of anarchists—who, by the way, show some peculiarities in different localities—is the full autonomy for municipalities and county units as opposed to centralization. The Socialist party in Spain is disposed inimically towards this plan of separation. The relations between the anarchists and Socialists are rather of bitter hostility. The anarchists denounce any participation in the legislature or generally in any ballot, putting all their stress on arousing revolts. This they call the preparatory work for a revolution. The Socialists despise all kind of revolution-making, and insist upon participation in the elections to the cortes and communal offices. The anarchists in their turn consider all kind of "parliamenting" as lots of time and denounce every Socialist leader as a deceiver of the people. Especially hostile are the relations of Socialists and anarchists in Barcelona, where contentions lead to interference by the police. These contentions are highly unpleasant to the Socialists, because they furnish a ready pretext for the progressive measures of the reactionary government. It is a perfidy to put the disturbances at Barcelona at the door of the Socialists. What the Socialists think about the anarchistic originators of the Barcelona revolts may be concluded from the following article, published in the central official paper of the Spanish Socialists:

"Fools! It would be dishonest to attribute to the anarchists another name. The anarchists are intolerant fanatics, whose hearts are filled with small hatred and miserable revenge, who are unable to respect an opponent and still less admit the honesty of his purpose. These fellows deserve only contempt, if their pernicious speeches would not endanger the masses of the workmen and both us like mosquitoes and bedbugs."

We may like or dislike the style of this article, but it goes to prove how sharp the lines are drawn in Spain between the Socialists and anarchists.—Vorwaerts, Berlin, Germany.

Thomas A. Edison's new storage battery, if what is told of it is true, will revolutionize the motive power of the world. This done, the coal diggers' occupation will be one of the lost arts. Electricity will supply power, light and heat. All this and more Edison promises, and he knows.

LOCAL BRANCHES

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free.
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, Social Democrat Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 2, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 125 1/2 Spring street. J. S. Bruner, 427 N. Hill street.
Branch 12, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday in each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1600 Polk street.

COLOMADO

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. LaKamp, secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 1089 Main street, Hartford. Louis Herrick, secretary, 42 Kinsley street, Hartford.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, meets second and fourth Fridays at Link's Hall, up-stairs. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 700.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn street.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Tenth ward, Chicago meets first Saturday in the month at Nagel's Hall, 335 Blue Island avenue. Secretary, Albert Zeman, 741 S. Morgan street.

The Southwest Side German Branch of Chicago meets second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at Ed. Grotke's Hall, 327 Blue Island avenue (near Lincoln street). Secretary, R. Pusch, 823 S. Wood street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 8 p. m., in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays each month at Pisarik's Hall, corner Center avenue and 19th street. James Rehak, secretary, 515 Throop street.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m., at 802 1/2 Lincoln street. J. A. Ambroz, secretary, 490 Wood street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets second and fourth Fridays, at Ludwigit's Hall, 61st and Morgan streets. Chas. Wistrand, secretary, 6146 Aberdeen street.

Branch 45 (Svatoplukcech) meets every third Sunday in the month at Pinger's Hall, corner Michigan and 11th place. Camil Kabat, secretary, 137 Stanwood avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month, at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets. Address all communications to the secretary of the State executive board, Thomas Patton, 608 Warren avenue.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteaman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Baxter, chairman; Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 161.

KENTUCKY

Branch 5, Newport, meets first Thursday evening 8 p. m., and third Sunday afternoon, at Sauttleben Hall, northeast corner Seventh and Central avenue. Address A. L. Nagel, 29 W. Second street.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall, Cambridge, organizer, 27 Jackson street.

Branch No. 29, Roxbury, meets at 24 Warren street, second and fourth Fridays of every month. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 3 p. m., at 10 W. Main street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswein, on Main street. A. Kingbury, secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Mondays, at 8 p. m., at Haldermann's Hall, 3101 South Seventh street.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, secretary, 71 E. Park street.
Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sunday each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 5, Camden, meets every third Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1236 Aalight's avenue.
Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Hook street. Karl Lindner, secretary, 246 Edmund street.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall.
East Side Branch, No. 1, meets every first and third Tuesdays at 8 p. m., at Broadway. L. Rothman, secretary, 131 Norfolk street.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore street. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 108 Rensselaer street.

Branch No. 10, meets every Friday at 8 p. m., at 229 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry street.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Rebellion Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum streets, every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Thos. McKern, secretary, 29 Laurel street.

Branch 5 (Bohemian) meets every second Sunday at 1 p. m., in T. J. Gorman Hall, cor. Bridge and Belmont streets. Secretary, Frank Holub, Bellaire, Belmont Co., Ohio.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, corner 3d and Flanders streets. Everybody invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. Third street. Ross Slobodkin, Treasurer, 516 Pine street.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—executive meets every Sunday morning—at 8 p. m., Club Rooms, at 423 S. 3d street. Organizer, M. Gillis, 814 Reed street.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor Hall, No. 28 E. 3d street. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 742 2d street. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner 4th and Chestnut streets.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays, between State and Prairie, every fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Grotke's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay avenue. Frank Liebsch, secretary.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Fridays each month at Meller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 201 25th street.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard street and 9th avenue. J. Luell, 301 Orchard street, secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays of each month at Volkman's Hall, 23rd and Center streets, at 8 p. m. Secretary, C. Kaadorf, 222 2nd street.

Branch No. 22, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 234 Clark street. Herman Schneider, secretary, 226 3d street.

Branch No. 24, Kiel, Wis., meets every second and fourth Saturdays at Fremont House. Edgar F. Lindner, secretary.

WEST VIRGINIA

Branch No. 1, Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at Trade and Labor Assembly Hall, 1515 Market street. H. A. Leeds, organizer.

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.

THEORIES OF ORGANIZATION

(Continued from First Page)
 sage of Socialism to the readiest comprehension of each different group—speakers who, knowing the life and their specific grievances, can most readily get their attention and confidence.
 Very rarely indeed are the qualities of an organizer united with those of the speaker and writer in equal proportions. The work of organizing should be in charge of men specially chosen for their fitness for this most important work—men who have a thorough grasp of the whole general program of work and the basic theory of such an organization, as well as of the general principles of scientific socialism. Each branch should understand that it is expected to assist in carrying out the work of the general organization in its own particular locality—to co-operate with other branches in its own state, to work up the cities and towns that have not yet been organized—and, finally, in conjunction with all the other branches in its state, to work for the education and organization of other states which have not yet been organized or which need assistance in their work.

So much for the general program of educational work. In addition to this we must keep in view another purpose of socialist organization. We must remember that socialism is not inevitable, unless we do our part, and that promptly and wisely. The chick develops inside the shell, but unless he has life in him and ability to peck the shell open he remains inside it and dies. We must have a socialist organization that can peck its way through the enclosing shell of capitalism when the proper time comes.

With this broad and comprehensive view of the work to be done, the form or organization naturally and easily suggests itself.

To carry on the work of education nationally and to institute a national co-operative commonwealth we must have a national organization. A heap of separate and independent grains of sand is not an organization, nor is a heap of stones. To move and act, there must be a body, with different members performing different functions, but actuated by one will and moved by one muscular system.

In a task of such magnitude, we must, of course, introduce division of labor. To study the national field from the standpoint of a socialist educator, a national committee is needed, composed of representatives from each state, which shall not fall into innocuous desuetude forthwith upon election, but be an active and vigorous body, keeping in constant communication and meeting at least once a year, and making frequent reports to a central executive board, who shall be charged with the duty of carrying out the decisions of the national committee. The members of this national committee should work locally in conjunction with their respective state propaganda committees, as they could be mutually helpful in mapping out the work within the state. How these various officials are to be elected is of less importance than what they should do when they are elected.

To carry on this vast work funds, of course, must be raised and "plenty of 'em." To be democratic, we must have a system of dues, so that, all paying equally, each may feel that he has as much voice in the conduct of affairs as every other. This will give an assured revenue, which will increase with the membership. Voluntary contributions for special phases of the work could be made by any one who can afford it.

In order that our extensive field may be worked systematically and to the best advantage, the center of operations must be as near the center of the field as possible; that is, near the center of population as well as the geographical center, which fortunately are not widely separated, in proportion to the size of the field.

The necessity for the formation of branches to carry on the local work is as self-evident as is the necessity for a system of dues.

The raising of funds will give opportunity to those having a genius for finance to exercise it, and those who are natural organizers, and those who have ability as speakers and writers, will quickly find their place. When people have shown any kind of ability, instead of seeking to pull them down or bury them or erase them, we will rejoice in their ability and value them for the work they can do for the advancement of the work we have in hand.

In the running of such an organization, socialist principles of government must of course be applied. The initiative and referendum, the recall of representatives, and equal rights for women are cardinal principles and must be observed in every possible way. The attainment of pure democracy, however, must be subsidiary to the effective performance of the necessary work of the association.

This view of the object of our corporate existence throws a flood of light upon our proper relation to the political side of the movement. We must keep clearly in mind the distinction between the socialist organization and the political party. This educated, disciplined, coherent body should be the real entity, the voluntary association of socialists, both nationally and locally; and as such, go into politics for the further-

ance of its great object. The socialist organization should itself run the political machinery, for the purpose of furthering the cause of socialism and to prevent it from falling into the hands of professional politicians. The election of a socialist to office here and there is not so important as new recruits in our ranks are apt to imagine, except for its educational effect. What kind of benefit has socialism received from having a socialist mayor here and there or a socialist representative or two in the state house? Principally the advertising it gives the movement and the strength and courage imparted to us by success. These elected socialists, unless they have more help than they have yet had, are not able to take any practical steps in constructive socialism. Probably a hundred cities and towns in the United States have made more progress in municipalizing their public services, for instance, during the last couple of years than either Haverhill or Brockton—but they have not advertised the cause of socialism as the latter have, nor made it felt that it has at last become an appreciable force. These successes have been valuable, but they have attendant disadvantages in a party so young as ours. They have infected many of us with the political fever, to the detriment of the great work of national education. It is possible for a new party to carry too much political sail for the depth of its educational keel and the weight of its numerical ballast. Socialism must not be cramped into ward politics any more than into colonies. I am not disparaging the political work nor the political successes. Let us first get a strong, coherent, well-disciplined, national organization, working actively and systematically to convert a majority of the people of the country to socialism and the political work will come in as one of the chief educational factors, and, finally, after a sufficient amount of education has been accomplished, it will become the chief emancipating factor.

This article has spun out much longer than I intended—but it is a prolific theme. I ask you, comrades, to consider the matter carefully, criticize the plan, suggest any additions or improvements that occur to you or suggest some plan that is altogether different, which will better meet the needs of the situation. Let us freely discuss it and try and arrive at a definite conclusion as to what our party should stand for in the approaching convention.

Duty Calls You
 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 hustle the sale of tickets. Hoerd's Park is one of the favorite union resorts of Chicago. Big program—big crowd—big time for everybody.

There is much said and written about the "dignity of labor," which is well enough; but there is not enough written about the "dignity of man," and in this regard labor literature is defective. The fact is that originally man was not a savage. One writer of distinction affirms that man "was made a little lower than the angels"; another translation has it "a little lower than God," and it is further affirmed that originally man was "crowned with glory and honor." Evidently man has degenerated, but not to the extent that a change of influences and environments cannot bring him back to primitive "glory and honor." Socialism grasps the idea and is building upon it. There are in musical circles teachers who are engaged in "voice building," or voice development. Socialism is engaged in manhood building. It sets in motion new and better influences, creates new and better environments. It is a new departure in civilization, philosophy and science, and is full of promise of better things.

Philips, the Roman Catholic priest of Hazleton, Pa., who had a smoke with J. Pierpont Morgan regarding the contemplated strike of miners in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, was found dead in his room under circumstances suggestive of foul play or something else. Priest Philips was greatly pleased with Morgan's reception, and the interview resulted in the abandonment of the purpose of the miners to declare war, which was a clean knock-out of the United Mine Workers' program, which had it been carried out, 140,000 men would have been out of work. The loss of wages and the necessary contributions of other miners to support the strikers would have resulted in the expenditure of a large sum of money, to say nothing of possible riots, bloodshed, military interference and murder. If the strike had contemplated any improvement in the condition of the thousands of breaker boys, good men and angels would have favored the strike. But nothing of that sort was considered. In the anthracite district ignorance and superstition dominate, which is entirely satisfactory to capitalism.

Get Your Tickets
 Social Democrats, for the Third Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party, to be held July 4, at the finest picnic park in Chicago—Hoerd's, Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues. Make no other engagements for that day. There will be a big program; there will be no better place to spend the Fourth. Get your tickets at the Herald office, 126 Washington street; Spravedlnost office, 700 Loomis street.

SECRETARIES, TAKE NOTICE

The quarterly dues for the third quarter of the year are payable at 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.

About All cross-town lines north of Car Lines
 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.

TRANSFER OF PUBLICATIONS

The International Library Publishing Co., 23 Duane St., New York, widely known as the leading publishers of Socialist literature in the United States, have sold out their entire pamphlet department, including stock on hand, plates, copyrights, etc., to the Debs Publishing Co., and have retired from that department of literature in favor of the latter company. The sale took place last week and includes the following well-known pamphlets:

- A Socialist's View of Religion and the Churches; by Tom Mann. Price, 5 cents.
- Socialism and Slavery. Answer to Herbert Spencer; by H. M. Hyndman. Price, 5 cents.
- What Socialism Means; by Sidney Webb. Price, 5 cents.
- What Is Capital? By Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 5 cents.
- Real Socialism; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents.
- Socialism: A Reply to the Pope's Encyclical; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents.
- Object of the Labor Movement; by Johann Jacoby. Price, 5 cents.
- The Living Wage; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents.
- The State and Socialism; by Gabriel Deville. Price, 10 cents.
- Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism; by Gabriel Deville. Price, 10 cents.
- The Workingman's Programme; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 10 cents.
- The Right to Be Lazy: Being a Refutation of "The Right to Work" of 1848; by Paul Lafargue. Price, 10 cents.
- Wage-Labor and Capital; by Karl Marx. Introduction by Frederick Engels. Price, 10 cents.
- Open Letter to the National Labor Association of Germany; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 10 cents.
- Science and the Workingmen; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 25 cents.
- The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte; by Karl Marx; with portrait of Marx as frontispiece. Price, 25 cents.
- The Civil War in France; by Karl Marx. Introduction by Frederick Engels. Price, 25 cents.

The excellence of these publications is in keeping with the high standard, both as to matter and material, of all the literature issued from the press of the International Company, and their object in now disposing of their pamphlet interests is that they may concentrate all their resources on book publication, which work will be greatly enlarged so as to embrace a number of new translations of foreign standard books of various languages, the demand for which is steadily increasing with our rapidly developing Socialist literature.

We are requested to announce to all interested that the Debs Publishing Co. are now prepared to fill orders for the pamphlets above named, and that special rates to agents, booksellers, branches, sections, etc., will be given on application.

Socialist papers that are interested in the pamphlets above named will confer a favor by making mention of the transfer in their columns. Orders should be addressed to Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind.

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 and Treas.

Bring Children
 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.

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PLACE Hoerd's Park, Chicago

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REMEMBER THE TIME AND PLACE

THIRD ANNUAL PICNIC COMMITTEE
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