

A LAST WORD TO THE DELEGATES

By C. W. WHITE

Delegates to Socialist Unity Convention: Comrades—Take this thought into the convention: "The only possibility of securing Socialist unity is by a practically unanimous consent of those participating in the convention." A factional control of the convention will bring a factional outcome of its proceedings, leaving the movement more hopelessly disrupted than at present.

Turn the leaf on the past. Bandage your wounds and forget your sores before entering the convention hall. The judgment of a man is something quite apart from his integrity as a Socialist; and we Socialists have demonstrated to ourselves, as well as to the world, a woeful lack of judgment. But even those of us who have come into most bitter antagonism to each other are not questioning the loyalty of our antagonism to the principle of Socialism as they see it. We occupy different points of view, and can be loyal to Socialism and ourselves only by contesting all matters of principle. But if you who are to represent us in the convention would be statesmen as well as Socialists, you will see to it that there is no struggle there that is not based on some vital principle.

To this end let all unite in securing a chairman of the convention who is not simply an able presiding officer, but one who has not been conspicuous in the factional differences of the past. An hour's conference or "love feast" prior to the formal opening of the convention will afford an opportunity for expression of goodwill and for good counsel, which cannot be given when the battle is on in convention. The atmosphere of your "love feast" will carry over into the convention hall, and you will all acquit your-

selves better for having breathed it.

Because many of you are partisan yourselves and know it, you should see the wisdom of uniting with others to secure a non-partisan organization of the convention. Then, having secured the right kind of a chairman, do not make the mistake of electing your committees from an admittedly partisan floor. Trust your committees to the appointment of the chairman. Take a recess that he may have time to select the most able men of all factions for the various committees. You might assist him by suggestions in writing, but do not worry him with your presence. Be at his service, but do not use your "influence" on him.

Men don't count, except as they represent a principle, and remember that though the man were dead the principle would live to be represented by another.

When the committees report will be time for the fight. Not a mean, contemptible, personal squabble, but a battle royal, such as you and we whom you represent may remember with pride. Respecting yourselves, respect your adversaries, that we may respect you, and that the Socialist cause may merit the respect of the world.

Remember that all cannot win on all points. Make mutual concessions on small matters, and when you come up against those vital differences discuss them thoroughly and vote, and let the majority rule until the next convention. So shall both unity and harmony be consummated.

Your responsibility is a tremendous one. If your spirit and judgment is equal to the occasion, you will have covered yourselves with glory, fired the ranks with enthusiasm and made the Socialist movement a well-organized power.

Roxbury, Mass.

THE PERFECT STATE

Where is the perfect state
Early most blest and late,
Perfect and bright?
'Tis where no palace stands
Trembling on shifting sands
Morning and night.
'Tis where the soil is free,
Where, far as eye can see,
Scattered o'er hill and lane,
Homesteads abound;
Where clean and broad and sweet
(Market, square, lane, and street,
Belted by leagues of wheat)
Cities are found.

Where is the perfect state
Early most blest and late,
Gentle and good?
'Tis where no lives are seen
Huddling in lanes unclean,
Crying for food;
'Tis where the home is pure,
'Tis where the bread is sure,
'Tis where the wants are fewer,
And each want fed;
Where plenty and peace abide,
Where health dwells heavenly-eyed,
Where in nooks beautified
Slumber the dead.

Where is the perfect state
Unvexed by wrath and hate,
Quiet and just?
Where to no form or creed
Fettered are thought and deed,
Reason and trust?
'Tis where the great free mart
Broadens, while from its heart
Forth the great ships depart
Blown by the wind;
'Tis where the wise men's eyes,
Fixed on the earth and skies,
Seeking for signs, devise
Good for mankind.
—Robert Buchanan.

One of the Rank and File

With regard to organization, or rather reorganization, of the Social Democratic Party of America, on account of its not having accomplished in the past what some might have hoped, I consider it for the most part very short-sighted, if not ridiculous. I for one believe we have had, and still have, the most perfect form of organization with but very little exception that we possibly could have for a reform (revolutionary, if you please) minority party. I consider the trouble is the people fail to think correctly in every sense of the word, and act accordingly. To dispel jealousy prejudice and dishonesty are needed, and not the breakdown of the organization we already have. I think Comrade Margaret Haile's ideas are by far the most practical of any of the writings I have yet seen on the subject.

I believe it to be imperatively necessary that we have a definite headquarters for the party and pay tribute to that headquarters, if you see fit to call it such; or, in other words, members should pay dues to support it. Also with the understanding that the party is always ready to receive voluntary subscriptions as well. There should be a main paper of the party printed at headquarters. But to diverge a moment, merely to show that it is a lack of love for the party and honesty for the general rank and file, and too much jobbery for egotistical purposes, that I remark if the S. D. P. was betrayed by the so-called unionists of the S. L. P. and others, which I for one believe it was, and acted accordingly, while others of the party could not see anything in that light. It appears that others, even though they could understand the betrayal, had not a very sensitive make-up, or were unprincipled in that they were willing to be led by the betrayers or be coworkers with them. Then there is the thought of the various situations of several persons in connection with the different Socialist movements or parties. Even though they may be Socialists, they do not care to part with their jobs, for they know it is not so easy these times of prosperity to obtain another. Hence the necessity to cause others who support their particular faction to believe that theirs is the only "scientific" party. Then again, I believe there are natural born leaders that are conscious of their ability to lead the Socialist movement to the highest, where others would make a fizzle of it. And we, the rank and file, don't know any one so pre-eminently adapted for the highest achievement possible as our noble leader for the last presidential campaign, Eugene V. Debs, who, by the way, so long as he is worthy, we ought to keep before the people as much as possible.

C. Payson.

Roxbury, Mass.

Men talk of the time when "our civilization commenced" way back in "ancient states." It would be an improvement in phraseology to say "a civilization." Our civilization is modern, its distinguishing features being shogun Christianity and machivellian diplomacy.

THE NEW BOOK

In "The Passing of Capitalism," a book of 150 pages by Isador Ladoff, the Socialists of America, as well as the reading public, will recognize a work of pronouncedly high type, bearing on its every page the unerring evidences of a mind absorbed with the truest humanitarian interest in the solution of the varied and profound problems of society and industry with which the author essays to deal. The development of his views on different philosophies of life constitutes a distinctly valuable contribution to the literature of Socialism, and cannot fail to impress the non-Socialist reader with the importance of a virile Socialist thought in the intellectual life of the world.

It has been the privilege of only a few men to add to the volume of Socialist literature in America works of decidedly high merit; in this limited list the name of Isador Ladoff must be included. It will appeal to the thoughtful reader and be acceptable as an addition to his library, not because of any fanciful or speculative delusions, but because of its thoroughly courageous attempts to correct some of the prevalent erroneous (if orthodox) notions of Socialism among Socialists themselves, as well as the breadth and catholicity of the writer's statement of his own definite and well-considered conclusions. Throughout its thirty-four chapters "The Passing of Capitalism" is a masterly arraignment of the capitalist system and an analysis of capitalist society in language at once trenchant and captivating. Current phases of the Socialist movement and thought considered internationally and nationally, as, for example, the recent slight modifications in the attitude of the International Socialist party to ward practical working programs, construed by some into an abandonment of the definite revolutionary aims of Socialism, are here treated with intelligence and clear understanding. Differing in his conception of Socialism from many others, although in complete harmony with the most virile thinkers of the time who stand for Socialism as an art as against the cataclysmic theorists, Ladoff everywhere gives evidence of being in the forefront of the Socialist thought of these stirring times.

The contents of this truly valuable piece of work are best indicated in the chapter titles, which follow.

1. The Passing of Capitalism and the Mission of Social Democracy.
2. The First National Campaign of the Social Democratic Party.

Capitalist Exploitation

"The Panama and the Sierras," by G. Frank Lydston, M. D., of Chicago, is a nearly three hundred page volume, splendidly illustrated with photo engravings. As a usual thing, books of travel, where the writer is making a rather rapid journey, fail to excite any great interest for the reason that so many diaries and other contributions have been made to the literature on this subject that hardly anything new can be said, except where the author is specializing or making a slow, researchful journey.

Lydston's book is written in the scintillating style which characterizes most of his writings. There are also quite a few humorous situations which appeal to one. His description of the condition of the Panama canal would bear repetition here if there were room in a review. He says, "Along the canal there is a row of ready-made graves. The chronic malarial poisoning, with its train of physical ills, preys upon the countless thousands who attempted to dig the canal."

He notes the slipshod method, for instance, where a swamp was surveyed, and upon attempting to cut through, it was found that below a few feet of ooze there was an indeterminate thickness of hard rock; that twelve different days had been given for a formal opening; that the stockholders of France had been abused and exploited; that the mortality was immense—in a gang of eight hundred coolies, imported to work on the canal, within a few months six hundred had either died or committed suicide. Some would actually go to the beach at Panama at low tide and sit down in the mud and rocks, there to wait the rising of the tide, and there they stolidly would sit until the rising of the waters engulfed them.

During this time one director general lived in a house costing one hundred thousand dollars, with a salary of fifty thousand dollars a year; a private Pullman car, costing forty-two thousand dollars a year, and the same director had a summer house costing one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

We here have the picture of those dying on the beach who were the pathetic tools of designing, crafty capitalists, and while they were striving to cut short a miserable existence those who were

3. The Philosophies of Life: Race-ism and Individualism.
4. Science and Art in Their Relation to Socialism.
5. Anarchism from the Socialistic Point of View.
6. Tilts at the Windmill of State Socialism.
7. The Blond Beast, the Man with the Hoe and the Philosophy of Despair.
8. Religious and Secular Socialism.
9. Rationalistic Socialism.
10. The Ethical Movement as Viewed by the Socialist.
11. Is Socialism Materialistic?
12. Economic and Sociological Aspects of Capitalism.
13. Capitalism and Liberty, Freedom and Socialism.
14. Cataclysm or Evolution?
15. Communism and Collectivism.
16. Social Evolution and Reformers.
17. Blissful Socialism.
18. The Single Tax vs. Socialism.
19. Individualism and Crime.
20. Suicide and Industrial Anarchy.
21. The Clamor for Peace in Capitalistic Society.
22. The Rights of Women.
23. The Rights of Children.
24. The Social Evil and Commercialism.
25. Should Trades Unions Enter Politics?
26. May-Day and Working Class Holidays.
27. The Capitalistic Press.
28. Modern Philistinism.
29. Popular Education as Influenced by Capitalism.
30. Our Municipal Policy.
31. What Shall Be Done With the Man With the Hoe?
32. Industrial Insurance and Old-Age Pensions.
33. Building of the Co-operative Commonwealth.
34. The Intellectual Proletariat.
35. On the Eve of the Twentieth Century—a Vision.

The book is to be brought out by the Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind., in two styles: Paper cover, 25 cents; cloth bound, 50 cents. We advise Socialists to procure copies; they will find it excellent for propaganda purposes. It appeals particularly to men who are familiar with modern materialistic philosophy, but is written in simple language and will give to any one a good idea of the relation of Socialism to the other sciences, and will also serve to place it in its true position before the public. It will be ready for distribution about August 15. Send orders to Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind.

profiting from their effort sandbagged the people of France and crushed the lives from many willing but ignorant workers on the isthmus.

Any book of travel which shows the horrors of the capitalist system in any phase is worthy of recommendation, because they are rare.

Seymour Stedman.

Machinery in Agriculture

The wonderful effect of agricultural machinery in increasing the output of farming land and cheapening the price of farm products is illustrated by a recent statistical report issued by the United States Department of Agriculture. Some facts in this report are thus referred to in the Revue Scientifique (June 1):

"In 1855 the total working-time necessary to produce a bushel of corn was 4 hours 34 minutes, and the price of this work amounted, on the average, to 35 1-4 cents. . . . Machinery (today) does in one minute the work that took hand labor 100 minutes to do fifty years ago, and the final result then was inferior in quality. Instead of the four hours and a half then required to produce a bushel of wheat, the time has been reduced to 34 minutes and the work costs only 10 1-2 cents.

"Similar conclusions are reached with regard to other agricultural products. . . . In 1830 the labor necessary to obtain a bushel of wheat took 3 hours 3 minutes; today the corresponding time is only 10 minutes. The difference is much greater than in the preceding example because wheat is easier to treat mechanically than Indian corn. The price of production has fallen from 17 3-4 cents to 3 1-3 cents! . . . All these examples are very characteristic, and show that agricultural work, like all other industries, must have free recourse to machinery to produce cheaply, and hence to make headway against foreign competition."

All dissertations on labor are defective, particularly in the United States, if the fact is omitted that labor may have what it needs, in law, government and institutions, etc., by united action at the polls. Without such action things pertaining to the welfare of labor and the country will grow worse instead of better.

EXPRESSES INTEGRITY OF HER MIND

We are to have a union convention at last. At least a semblance of one, for it cannot be said that a union of Socialist forces has been accomplished as long as the Socialist Labor Party refuses to join. I for one have been hoping that something might happen to prevent this convention, but my hope has disappeared before the evident wish of the party that a union of those represented shall be effected.

I confess that I shall not be able to attend the convention in the meek and lowly spirit expressed by Comrade Debs, nor shall I be able to share with Comrade Haile her air castle of peace and good will. It will be hard for me to forget that these people who have cried so lustily for unity and amity have been unceasing in their efforts to disrupt our party. Neither can I promise to meet them in a meek and loving spirit and shoulder their debt of \$6,000, most of which has been incurred not in fighting the common enemy, the capitalist, but the Socialists in the S. L. P. Would that the members of our organization possessed the party loyalty which animates the latter. Only by adhering to the principles of no compromise, no fusion and a continual adaptation to industrial development can any Socialist party ever hope to be successful.

To my mind, Socialism in the United States has reached the point when more parties rather than fewer will be necessary for propaganda. Men and women will not all comprehend the principles of Socialism by the same course of reasoning, and a multiplicity of organizations, even of

parties, will be necessary to reach the diverse minds of those who are to make up the progressive army of the future. It would have been far more to the credit of those clericals and academicians who have been whining on the fence because two sets of people who could not agree would not unite, to have organized a party of their own. They would have reached a class of men and women whom we find it hard to reach, and they would not have been the pliable tool they have been, in the hands of our opposition.

An effective union cannot be brought about by the will or wishes of individuals. Only the natural climax of events, the pressure of circumstances outside the party, can create a force strong enough to fuse or unite all Socialists. This was illustrated at the Detroit Conference, where three members of the Springfield party and three of the Chicago party worked together in perfect accord. Together they sounded the true, unfaltering note of Socialism amid that chorus of uncertain, wavering tones. In party matters these two sets of people have been unable to agree.

In spite of my opinion, however, that union at this time means disintegration and dissipation of energy, I shall go to Indianapolis determined to carry out the evident wishes of the party and work to the best of my ability for a union of those represented. I shall stand for the name Social Democratic Party. I shall work for a platform with progressive and immediate demands and for headquarters west of the Alleghenies. I shall favor the "New Jersey" plan with modifications so as to secure a goodly measure of state autonomy and trust the rest to the inevitable logic of events.

Corinne S. Brown.

Socialist Tactics

I am glad to note the growing sentiment in favor of less power to the national organization and more power to the state organization.

Nearly every fight in the several states has been caused entirely by our form of organization. What we need most is not a strong central organization, but education. And education can be carried on much better by the respective states than by any advice or tactics from a national ex-board. National ex-boards are only human beings like the rest of us.

Oil and water will not mix, and certain leaders and certain rank and file of the Springfield and Chicago factions will not mix, at least not for very long. If we would devote as much time to education as we do to national tactics, we would have many times more converts to the cause.

The time was when the Socialists welcomed the taking over of the water-works, gas or electric plants, by the municipality, but we have grown so awfully "scientific" of late that we declare such events to be reactionary. Such kind of Socialist tactics are enough to disgust at least one Socialist.

Scientific Socialism doesn't consist in heaping abuse on every one who doesn't happen to agree with Marx.

I note the Washington state convention denounces everybody who steals any part of our platform. Now, I'm not that kind of a Socialist. I wish all the parties and all the voters would grab every plank in our platform.

F. G. R. Gordon.

Milwaukee Basket Picnic

The central committee of Milwaukee has completed arrangements for a basket picnic to take place at Snider's Park, Thirty-fourth and Vliet streets, Sunday, August 25. The picnic committee has made every arrangement for the entertainment of those who will attend. There will be music, dancing, games, prizes and last, but not least, refreshments of all kinds, and everything else that conduces to a hot old time. The price, which includes all the refreshments to the full limit of one's capacity, is 75 cents per single man, or \$1.00 for the family. Let every one bring his sweetheart, wife, children or some old chum and make this the jolliest time of the year.

Picnic Committee.
John Doerflinger, Jr., Secretary.

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To Subscribers and Members.

The next issue of the Herald will be dated Saturday, August 10, and will contain a full report of the Indianapolis Convention.

Municipal corruption in Philadelphia smells to heaven. Yes, and down to hades, also.

What is the wage system, if it is not a cunningly devised system of spoliation? The question is up for debate.

Under the Dingley protective tariff trusts take shelter like toads under a cabbage leaf in case of a storm.

Human labor alone creates all values, except the value of human labor. Socialism is laboring to rectify the omission.

If a Texas steer could be so metamorphosed as to represent the present era, it would be branded as the "capitalist era."

"Nothing solid," said Carlyle, "can be founded on shams." That is evidently an error. Bishop Potter is building a \$50,000,000 cathedral.

Texas is to have her oil kings and nobility, who will fight Jno. D. Rockefeller. They will find John a rocky-fellow, requiring all their resources.

The New York Herald of June 30 devotes two pages to accounts of municipal scoundrelism in greater New York. It is an expose of continuous, unbroken infamy.

The name of J. Pierpont Morgan is on everybody's lips just now. The same was true of Napoleon once, but the great captain found a Waterloo and a St. Helena.

The question is asked: How can workingmen save money? The answer is: Unite, work, agitate, write and speak until they receive what they earn. That solves the problem.

A ton of pure gold is worth, as money, \$512,000, while a ton of steel manufactured into main springs and hair springs for watches is many hundred times more valuable.

The farmers of Germany and France are squealing about the importation of American pork, but in all the great centers of industry workingmen prefer pork to old horse and mule.

England is experiencing lots of trouble in financing her Boer war. Taxation has reached the limit of endurance and expenditures are now \$7,500,000 a day, or for a year, \$273,750,000.

It is understood that McKinley in his next message will ask for a large appropriation to improve the condition of lepers a "mysterious providence" has committed to the care of the United States.

Mr. Shaffer will require lots of cash to maintain the men he has called out to gain recognition of his great association. The stomach and belly fund must not only be large, but it must be constantly replenished.

If labor is robbed of one-half of its earnings, who is the robber? The answer is ready: Capitalism; and labor, if it will, can catch him, grasp him by the throat, stop his wind and make him disgorge his plunder.

People often commit suicide because they fear the consequences of poverty, which they account worse than death. Under Socialism there would be no fear of poverty, and suicide and insanity would largely cease to horrify the world.

"Real history," says Buckie, "is the history of tendencies and not of events." If so, there is at least one cheering tendency just now—the tendency of Socialism to broader scope and greater victories.

To secure foreign markets, American manufacturers sell their products to foreigners for less than they charge home consumers. The Dingley tariff law makes such discrimination possible, and a kick is coming which neither troops nor injunctions can prevent.

"Natural rights," says a writer, is the right which the strong has to subjugate the weak. It may be the natural right of beasts, and savages, and why not include Christian nations? The United States is doing it in the Philippine Islands and England in South Africa.

Andrew Carnegie wishes he could live thirty of his years over again. Possibly, in the dead hours of the night, he hears strange voices, like the wailings of widows and orphans in the grasp of poverty and hunger, and has visions of dead men whom he robbed of their earnings.

A writer, accepted as a Socialist, thinks one of the greatest obstacles with which Socialists have to contend is the "nation that whatever is, is the immutable order of nature." Not a bit of it—Socialists are not built that way. Of all men, none more firmly believe that wrong can be extirpated and the right enthroned.

Now comes the announcement that in the Philippine archipelago there are more than one hundred thousand Mohammedans, with korans and harems, who will not touch the Christian's Bible with a forty-foot pole. It is barely possible that they can be Christianized with money, and McKinley may ask for an appropriation of \$50,000,000 for that purpose.

The development of statesmen, as in the case of domestic animals, is supplying food for scientific thought. Chauncey M. Depew may go to Borneo and wed a fashionable Miss Orang-outang, and results are creating commendable solicitude. Mark Hanna favors the project and believes that the old after-dinner platitudinarian may yet be of service to his country.

Perhaps it would be well to send a special ambassador to England to negotiate a loan from the labor organization having on hand \$8,000,000 for strike purposes. It is doubtful if it would be just the right thing to ask for, or accept a donation, since the United States is enjoying a tidal wave of prosperity and sending ship loads of it to England and other European countries.

It may do for kings and emperors to claim, as did Napoleon, "I am the state," in which case the state may be abolished. But in the United States, as the constitution says, "We the people" are the state, "We the people" are the sovereigns; and therefore the state cannot be abolished unless all the people sell out to such imperialistic knaves as Mark Hanna and Chauncey M. Depew.

Now comes the announcement that President Gompers will promptly raise \$100,000 to aid Mr. Shaffer in his great strike. When the machinists struck for nine hours' pay for eight hours' work, the announcement was made that Mr. Gompers could and would levy a 10-cent per capita assessment on 2,000,000 members of the A. F. L.—\$200,000. Unfortunately for the success of the machinists, the assessment did not materialize.

It is an all around misfortune that the machinists did not win a victory—secure an advance in wages and an eight-hour day. Labor leaders assume a great responsibility when they call large numbers of men from work to join the ranks of the idle—and only the most serious grievance justifies such a proceeding. It does not appear that organized labor came to the relief of the machinists or that Mr. Gompers' promised \$200,000 materialized.

It is not possible nor even desirable that the veil which hides the future should be lifted or drawn aside. The revelations of today suffice; what the tomorrows have in store will be revealed as they come. Seed time and harvest, the early and the latter rain are promised. Socialism is engaged in planting the seeds of truth, justice, humanity and love, and simply awaits the coming harvest. They know that men do not "gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles."

We hear much about spheres—"woman's sphere," "man's sphere," etc. We get things regarding sphere mightily mixed nowadays. The trusts have a sphere, corporations have spheres, money has a sphere, the government has a sphere. What of labor? Has it also a sphere? If so, what is it? It might have a sphere wider, higher, deeper and more far-reaching than any other sphere in human affairs. But, as long as it votes the capitalist ticket it can have only a bobtailed sphere.

We often read of the "logic of events." What of it? What does it teach? or, what ought it to teach? If the logic of events teaches anything, it is that workmen are the wage slaves of capitalism. Again, the logic of events, as for instance in strikes, teaches that there is left in the hearts of Americans something of the spirit that animated Patrick Henry when he said: "Give me liberty, or give me death." If the logic of events does not teach along such lines it is not worth considering.

A Wail From Israel

Socialists have from time to time pointed out with courteous criticism that our Christian civilization is alarmingly defective and needs revision; that the church, instead of mending matters, is permitting the ramshackled condition to prevail. And just here it is pertinent to remark that Elder Bartlett of the Seventh-Day Adventists, a clergyman of high standing and wide influence, is of the opinion that the intense heat of July portends the coming of the day of judgment, when all things mundane will go up in a blaze. In a recent sermon Elder Bartlett said that "the visitations of God are coming because there are sinners in Zion. There is infidelity in the church. The gospel does not attract as it used to. The world is making six converts where the church makes one. Everywhere is unbelief and love of pleasure, rather than a seeking after God's truth. Get ready. I warn you, get ready for the days of terror that are at hand."

It will be observed that the church, according to Elder Bartlett, is largely responsible for the impending calamities to which he refers. Socialism is as far removed as possible from superstitions. It has no time to devote to the vagaries of soothsayers, magicians and other people who deal in delusions. Nevertheless, it concedes that Elder Bartlett states some facts which are level-headed, as, for instance, the "gospel does not attract as it used to," and that "the world makes six converts where the church makes one"—declarations which demonstrate that the church cannot be trusted as a reforming agent in civilization. It is weighted down with creeds and dogmas, rituals and forms to an extent that it must of necessity follow the same old trail. Such facts illustrate the importance of Socialism as a reforming agency in civilization. Utterly regardless of all hair-splitting theories regarding the origin of man, Socialism takes him as he is and seeks to elevate him by processes which bear the stamp of common sense, and feels satisfied, Elder Bartlett to the contrary notwithstanding, that this old terraqueous sphere will continue to pursue its shining track around the sun until Socialism makes it a paradise regained.

The Insanity Trust

Marion county, Indiana, is the capital county of the state; that is, it is the county in which Indianapolis, the capital city, is located. The county and city have at least one hundred and fifty churches and probably a hundred school houses, with their equipment of ministers and teachers. There is a thoroughly equipped press—daily, morning and evening, weekly, semi-weekly, monthly and semi-monthly; courts galore, all the way from that of a justice of the peace, police, criminal, circuit, superior, appellate, supreme and federal, everlastingly engaged in dispensing what is called "justice." These things are mentioned simply to emphasize the fact that civilization, tagged "Christians," is up to date, and yet in this center of religion and education, books and newspapers, an "insanity trust" has flourished like a green bay tree, and would have continued to flourish but for the heroic action of workingmen, one of whose number was the victim of the trust. The "insanity trust," as cruel, as heartless, as rapacious as an average band of brigands, sighted their victim and proceeded to rob him of his liberty and consign him to the mercies of a madhouse for the fees there was in it—a few contemptible dollars and cents. To make the thing horrible beyond expression, one of the great charities of the city of Indianapolis was made the covert under the protection of which the "insanity trust" operated.

Socialism is charged with warring against our civilization. Let it wear its white plume of distinction—it is eminently becoming. It may, with eminent prudence, point to the "insanity trust" of Indianapolis, and ask, how does it happen that the infamous combination could flourish where there are so many churches and preachers and teachers on guard? The answer is easy enough: The woes of the unfortunate are disregarded. It was left for a few noble-hearted workingmen employed in a great packing house to smash the trust and send the abomination to the grand jury for investigation, and, possibly, some of its members to the penitentiary where they belong.

The S. W. S. German branch of Chicago now meets on the first and third Saturdays of the month, instead of the second and fourth, as heretofore.

The Great Strike

President Shaffer of the Association of Iron, Steel and Tinsmith Workers has locked horns with J. Pierpont Morgan's billion-dollar trust.

Mr. Shaffer is not contending for higher wages, nor a less number of hours for a day's work, but simply for the recognition of organized labor. He affirms that he can call out from 150,000 to 200,000 men, and at this writing 74,000 men have obeyed his order.

The trust magnates do not oppose "unionizing" workmen, but bitterly resent the claim of union men to in anywise dictate their policy in the employment of men to do their work. To them, union and non-union men stand upon the same level. Mr. Shaffer demands that all the plants of the trust shall be unionized, and that none but union men shall be employed. That is the issue in a nutshell.

What will be the result? That depends not upon the rights of the parties involved in the struggle, but rather upon their powers of endurance. Mr. Shaffer undoubtedly can give the trust a great deal of trouble, and the trusts, by refusing to yield to Mr. Shaffer's demand, can inflict upon thousands of men a multitude of serious inconveniences, growing worse, more calamitous the longer the strike continues. It is just here that an embarrassing fact appears. The more men Mr. Shaffer calls out, the more money is required for subsistence; and as experience shows, it does not take a long time to find the bottom dollar, while the trust is not likely to experience any inconvenience in that regard. In a word, the weight of the money power, if required, will be cast where it will do the trust the most good and labor the most injury.

For instance, there are more than 4,000 national banks controlling more than two billions of money. There are approximately a thousand trusts with resources exceeding five billions of capital. Then comes the corporations, including resources of more than twelve billions. These banks, trusts and corporations are in close alliance—touch one, and you touch them all. There is therefore no bottom dollar for Morgan's trust. Nor is this all, the money power, in the interest of capital, controls legislation, the judicial machine and the army, and injunctions and marshals and troops can be called out to aid capital, utterly regardless of the rights of labor; such is history, and history repeats itself every time labor locks horns with capital. A dispassionate review of the situation is not favorable to labor. But it may be said it sowed to the wind of republicanism and is reaping the whirlwind of calamities. And after all, this may turn out to be a great blessing to labor and to the country. It will afford workingmen a reason for abandoning all the old plutocratic, labor-robbing parties and impress them with the propriety of casting their lot with the great Socialist organization and in the future cast their conquering ballots to push forward the civilizing, redeeming and harmonizing sway of Socialism.

Scientific Agriculture

There is no permanent solution of the agricultural problem except in the national ownership of land and the means of transportation, and the municipal distribution of the products of the soil. Agriculture is far back in the march of economic evolution. Instead of the intensified competition we still have in agriculture, we should have intensified, scientific farming conducted by a board of administrators selected for their thorough knowledge of progressive farming and practical acquaintance with its details. Of progressive farming we know next to nothing in this country, and can only know next to nothing so long as the individual cultivator, deficient in capital and knowledge, remains.

Experience shows that the cultivation of land by private enterprise is not in the long run conducive to its best use. We all know that the efforts of the philanthropic banker to bolster up individual farming with the mortgage nearly always end in failure. It is an open question whether all the plans now urged to place impecunious laborers on the land, giving them an opportunity to work out their own salvation, would not end quite as disastrously.

Science is only just beginning to turn her searchlight on the food-growing problem and, except through the collectivity, it is next to impossible to make much progress in agriculture. Progressive agriculture requires brilliant minds to develop the principles of intensive cultivation. When such conditions can be reached, agriculture will be advanced to a stage scarcely dreamed of today. These conditions can be attained only by Socialism.

In the United States we have a population estimated at 78,000,000 and 80,000 communities considered sufficiently important to have postoffices. Yet, owing to private ownership of land, railways and the means of distribution, the cultivators of the soil not only see their expected profits continually swallowed up, but enormous waste attends the present system. In addition to all of this we have a glut of products in one section of the country and a scarcity of food in another. The people of Pennsylvania starve for lack of food that is abundant in Kansas, all because the

workers are enslaved, politically and economically, under a system that makes one millionaire surrounded by a million paupers.

Among our 78,000,000 people there are millions who do not get enough to eat the whole year round. The principal cause for this state of affairs is not individual shiftlessness, but lack of opportunity for employment owing to the private ownership of land, railways and means of distribution. Suppose these means and utilities were owned in common: The farming industry could then be conducted scientifically, with the best modern machinery and appliances, as it can be to a limited extent only by private cultivators. Products would be transported and exchanged at cost; the 80,000 municipalities or communities where postoffices are now operated could have farms and public markets, and those in the community who were employed on the municipal farms could enjoy all the benefits of city life, working fewer hours than the banker who skins the individual farmer now does.

If the cultivation of land is to be scientific, ever developing to higher stages, always going forward and never dropping back, agriculture must become a collective industry. The grandest work that any nation can possibly undertake is to make the most of its land in the common interest.

The knowledge of agriculture in all its best and most scientific phases should be taught through the medium of national agricultural colleges and training farms. How much better this than maintaining an agricultural bureau merely to gather statistics sowing the incompetency of individual cultivation and distributing seeds for political favors.

This better way Socialism would establish.

Discontent is Everywhere

On the Fourth of July, while spread-eagle orators all over the great republic were glorifying their country and its institutions, this is what Eugene V. Debs was saying:

The constitution of the United States was founded in inequity. Our much-vaunted equality is only a myth. The rights of the laboring people had no consideration in the drafting of that document.

The Supreme Court of this country is nothing more than a convenience for the rich. Every judge who sits on the supreme bench today is a tool of capitalists. Chattel slavery was fully recognized under the constitution, but this inequity of men never troubled the fathers of the country. Civil war did away with this form of slavery, but it only gave way to an improved and all-embracing slavery which made victims of all laboring men.

There is a good deal of slavery in the world today. Much of it is self-imposed, but it is slavery none the less. Ever since the world began men have been the slaves of destiny, of circumstance, of environment. If the environment is pleasant we make no protest; if it is unpleasant we kick. So long as the chains are light or pretty we do not mind. If they are ugly and gall we grow restive. One form of restiveness is voiced by Mr. Debs. The laboring man cannot get used to the startling contrast between his own condition and that of his millionaire employer—of which education has made him conscious. When he hears that his employer has bought a new steam yacht, built a new palace, or endowed a university, he wonders how many thousand years he would have to work at his present rate before he could have that much money. When his boss drives by with his wife in silks he looks at his own wife in calico and grows restive. Discontent with industrial conditions exists everywhere on earth probably, but it exists in its most aggravated form in the United States for various reasons. Of this discontent Eugene V. Debs is simply one of the republic's mouthpieces, but he happens to be one of the most conspicuous.

So far the statesmen of the great republic have not paid very serious heed to the mutterings of the discontented, but the day is coming when in self-defense they will be obliged to. Sitting on the safety valve stops the noise sometimes, but it does not relieve the pressure.—Toronto Daily Star.

What a terrible condition it would be for workingmen to work eight hours a day in a shop that they owned, ride on railroads that they owned, buy their groceries and clothing at a store that they owned, go to the play at a theater that they owned, study the art of the world in galleries that they owned, ride on street cars that they owned, build houses that they owned from forests that they owned—wouldn't that be a calamity? Slavery like that must never be allowed! It is much better for the few to own the whole outfit—and the workingmen with it.

Progressive Thought Library

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THE CLASS WAR

Journal from Political Economist

Mrs. M. G. Fawcett, "Political Economy for Beginners," page 154—"Trade combinations imply hostility, while this remains strikes and lockouts will continue to occur. The combinations existing among employers are justifiable on exactly the same grounds as the combinations of workmen. The hostility which combinations imply may be deplorable, it certainly leads to much misery and pecuniary loss, but while the hostility remains no good can be done by attacking the right of combination. Trade unions and associations of employers would not exist in their present form unless there were an antagonism of interest between workmen and their employers. Those, therefore, who most deplore the frequency of strikes, and the misery and heartburnings they produce, should endeavor to remove the antagonism of interest between employer and employed, of which strikes and lockouts are only the outward and visible signs."

Again, page 158—"We are constantly assured that strikes have imperiled and still threaten to destroy the commercial greatness of England. Strikes can never be prevented by discouraging trade unions by adverse legislation. That plan has been tried for half a century, and strikes have become more and more frequent. Strikes are the result of the antagonism between capital and labor. Remove the antagonism and strikes will die a natural death."

Alfred Marshall, "Economics of Industry," page 187—"The citizens of the Middle Ages formed themselves into town guilds in order to defend themselves against the oppressions of lawless barons. They did many noble and self-sacrificing deeds until they had achieved their freedom, but afterwards they sank into a habit of harsh exclusiveness toward their inferiors. The oppressed craftsmen formed themselves into guilds, which, after a struggle of some centuries, overthrew the old town guilds, took the rule out of their hands and governed the town in their place for many generations."

Page 188—"The social separation between masters and men went on steadily but somewhat slowly until the latter part of last century, when a great impulse was given to it by a series of the most important inventions the world has known. Between the years 1760 and 1770 Roebuck began to smelt iron by coal. Brindley connected the rising seats of manufacturers with the sea by canals. Wedgwood discovered the art of making earthenware cheaply and well. Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny. Arkwright utilized Wyatt's and High's inventions for spinning by rollers, and applied water power to move them, and Watt invented the condensing steam engine. Crompton's mule and Cartwright's power loom came shortly afterward. These inventions took manufacture away from houses and cottages, and gave it to factories and large workshops. Armies of workmen came together under the management of capitalist employers, and the modern wages question made its first appearance."

Page 193—"The function of an army is not to make war, but to preserve a satisfactory peace. War is a proof that the army has failed of its first object. And though there is always a war party in a union, its cooler and abler members know that to declare a strike is to confess failure. The number of strikes would be diminished if all unionists reflected that six years' work at a rise of one shilling per week is required to balance the loss of ten weeks' wages at thirty shillings per week."

Again, page 207—"When one group strikes for higher wages the others give moral, if not material, support to the strikers. In each of our great industries the employers are often seen arrayed on the one side, while several classes of employed are arrayed in a strike on the other, and the remaining classes are observing a friendly neutrality toward the strikers."

Page 208—"Although there is a well-marked class distinction between skilled and unskilled laborers, and although in some districts more than half the employers have risen from among the employed, yet the great social division of the ranks of industry is that between employers and employed. A working man's friends and relations are seldom to be found among the employers, they are generally scattered about the trades associated with his own, and he himself is much more likely to pass over to one of these trades than to become an employer."

False Socialist Tactics

I have no patience with that class of Socialists who like sleuth hounds are continually hounding those who have at some time in life been in error on some economic idea. I am willing to let men advance. I know there are those who are class conscious Socialists today, who have not always thoroughly understood the philosophy of Socialism. If these men have reached the stage in education that they have laid aside economic fads and middle class theories, I am content to let them alone and not try to create prejudice against them by hounding them about past mistakes. There was a time when the people who are continually railing at others for

their past mistakes were not Socialists and even voted for capitalists, but their own past errors are never mirrored in their own minds, and they never see themselves as they see others. Such a course is not just to the men who have grown into a perfect knowledge of Socialism nor best for the upbuilding of the true Socialist movement.

It would not be hard to prove that most class conscious Socialists in the early beginning of Socialist agitation had some erroneous ideas on Social philosophy, but I respect and honor the men who have become strong enough to reach the plane of class conscious Socialism and possess the manhood and courage to contend for it; and I have no disposition to hound them for the mistakes they made in their evolution from middle-class politics into the realms of pure Socialism. Great movements can never be crystallized by such a policy, and in my opinion is a false system of tactics out of which only evil can come.—W. E. Farmer in Social Economist.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCER

By KARL KAUTSKY

There is no little truth in the saying that the wage-earner of today is better off than the small farmer or the small industrial producer. Those who most frequently use this phrase mean to imply thereby that the wage-worker has no reason to complain. This statement is, however, a boomerang that hits, not the Socialists, but the advocates of capitalism. If, indeed, those who are wholly propertiless are better off than those small producers who still have some property left, of what use can property be said to be to the latter? If the artisan and the small farmer stick to their small production, although they could earn more in the factory as wage-workers, simply because they still retain some property, it is evident that their property hurts rather than benefits them. To the small producer, whether agricultural or industrial, his property has been transformed from a shield against into a bond that fetters him to misery. To him the effect of private ownership in the means of production has changed character; that which a hundred years ago was a blessing to his class has now become a curse.

But, it may be objected, this misery is the price which the small agricultural or industrial producer pays for the greater degree of independence which he enjoys over the wage-worker, who is wholly propertiless. Even this is false! Wherever small production is forced into competition with large production, the former sinks quickly into complete dependence upon the latter. The artisan becomes an appendage to the establishment of the capitalists; his home becomes an outhouse of the factory, or he sinks still lower. And as to the small farmer, to whom it is impossible to stand up against capitalist competition as farmer, he is forced either to take up some industrial pursuit in his home as the employe of capital or he is bound to hire out either himself or members of his family as wage-workers to the large farmer. What has become of the independence of these? Their little property is the only thing that distinguishes them from the proletarian, and it is this very property that prevents them from taking advantage of the best opportunities to labor; it rivets them to their own threshold, with the effect of making them more dependent than the wage-workers who are wholly propertiless. Observation shows that private ownership in the means of production not only increases the physical misery, but also the dependence of the small holder. The effect of these small holdings has wholly changed character; before the days of large production these small holdings were a bulwark of freedom; today they are a means of slavery.

Another contention is that such small holdings vest in the producing small farmer or artisan the product of his labor. Where this is true it is but a trifling consolation, considering that the declining prices brought on by large production render the product of these small producers insufficient for their domestic needs. But even this consolation is mainly illusory. It does not hold good in most cases; for instance, it is wholly false in the cases of those who are in debt. The usurer who has a mortgage on a farm has a stronger claim upon the labor of the farmer than the farmer himself. The usurer must be first satisfied, only what is left falls to the farmer; whether this remainder suffices to support the farmer and his family does not concern the usurer. Accordingly, the small agricultural and industrial producers work as absolutely for the capitalist as does the wage-worker. The only difference established between them by the private property of the former is that the wages of the propertiless workmen is, in general, controlled by their needs, while in the case of the small property holders, there is no limit downward; it frequently happens that interest on mortgages will absorb the whole product of the labor of the small holder. In that case he has worked for nothing and paid his own expenses to boot—all this, thanks to his ownership of a little property!

THE GOLDEN EGG

By JOSEPH ANDERSON

The Cynic and the Person of Good Intentions walked leisurely along the Embankment. Presently they came to Temple Gardens. On the seat opposite sat one of the co-proprietors of the Municipal wealth. He was, or rather had been, one of the workers, but, being either too old in the prime of his years, or more likely still (which was the case), having been competed out of the market by a machine, had developed into a very dilapidated specimen of humanity, a veritable piece of flotsam cast about by circumstances hither and thither, and kept in existence only by the charity that is twice cursed, cursing both him who gives and him who receives.

The erstwhile God of Industry and creator of wealth advanced and offered the Person of Good Intentions some bootlaces in exchange for a disc of metal that represented one-fourth of the rent for that night of a couch and shelter. The bargain concluded the Person of Good Intentions observed:

"Poor fellow; evidently unable to obtain a living at his trade."
"Just so," responded the Cynic, "wherefore he should with all convenient dispatch and rapidity relieve an unsympathetic world of the trouble and expense of supporting him."
"But he has no doubt produced wealth, been useful in his time, so why should he not strive to live? We all cling to life, you know."

"The tenacity with which such creatures cling to life," remarked the Cynic, "is one of the great paradoxes. When one considers how easily satisfied they are, and how content with small things."
"But," returned the Person of Good Intentions, "the increasing number of this class strikes me as one of the dangers of society."

"It is," said the Cynic, "wherefore you try to buy them off by purchasing bootlaces, and pretty successful you have been up to now."

The Person of Good Intentions puckered up his eyebrows. "I think," said he, "that legislation should be introduced to prevent machines displacing men."

"Not so," rejoined the Cynic, "let us legislate for men to control them."
"Of course," retorted the Person of Good Intentions, "you must have some roundabout way of settling the matter. Man versus Machine is a perfectly simple issue which we could all understand, but you confuse it."

The Cynic smiled. "I do not want Man versus the Machine; I want Man and the Machine, Man dominating Machinery."

The Person of Good Intentions was posed, but only for a moment; then he brought up all his reserves to smash the argument of the Cynic. "But you want to destroy the relations between employer and employed; you attack property, forgetting that the interests of the employer are also the interests of the employed. The workman is necessary; he produces the wealth."

"Yes," interrupted the Cynic, "he is the goose who lays the golden egg and allows his master to take it from him."
"Then if that is so," said the other, "the master will always have to have some regard for his goose, as you call him; and there will always be a sufficient check in the fact that if he kills the goose who lays the eggs the supply will cease."

Said the Cynic, "The analogy does not hold good in this case, for the means of producing golden eggs are in the hands of the masters; and it scarcely matters how many geese are killed, there are always plenty of others prepared to accept the terms and continue the supply."
Meanwhile the dilapidated one trudged on, content if he could but obtain the bare necessities of life.

The four cardinal points of unrevolted human nature—human nature which accepts the economics of capitalism—are rent, interest, profit and taxes. Of journeying or being drawn to one or another, most "business" men seem never to tire. These are the magnets that lure men to fortune, though it matters nothing how much suffering and wretchedness and degradation. If one can't be a great capitalist and worm the worms, he is content to be a little grubber, fattening on grubs. If he cannot attain the slick rotundity of a master flea, he is satisfied to be looked upon as a "smart" imitator. When the great capitalist has forced him to the fence, and made competition in certain green pastures impossible, he is ready to go on a back lot if he can only retain his middleman's position and respectability and nibble at per cents. We Socialists are "fanatics" and "fools" when we declare that the law of gravity is no more certain in its operation than the economic law of the concentration of capital, by which in the end a few immense establishments with machinery do the work formerly requiring millions of men, and do it at a cost for labor that laborers cannot live on. It might pay you to consider for yourself what these Socialist "fanatics" say.

INCENTIVES

What are the aims that move mankind
To toils of an ambitious life,
What are the ends that people find
To be incentives in the strife,
What is the hope that animates
The seeker after nature's laws,
What is the thing his pride inflates,
Desire for truth, or, for applause?

When race was young, love of applause
Brought forth the warrior to the fight—
For, "glory" never sought a "cause,"
Avoided "wrong," desired "right"—
It was enough to be the strong,
The sure of hand and quick of eye,
Of courage great, endurance long,
And not afraid to dare and die.

Religion, next way to goal—
Applause of gods and love of men—
For, destiny of human soul
Absorbed the mind and thoughts of men.
Then wealth was spent and temples built,
No heed was taken of the loss,
Crusader grasped the rude sword's hilt
In wars of Crescent and the Cross.

Now other ends our efforts mold,
The great renown that Croesus won
Spurs each to seize, to have, and hold
All property beneath the sun.
Nor care we aught whereby we win,
For misery, that we may cause,
The "moralist" excuses sin
And winner gets his just (?) applause.

Ere long will Evolution sweep
Into the past this outgrown toy,
And toss into Time's rubbish heap
This false, malicious human joy.
When Fear and Want no longer sway
And Equity destroys what was,
Then Love will bring the happy day
When olive crown is best applause.
—A. A. Kautz.

Evolution and Revolution

The immediate reforms which may and which should be realized in order to increase the advantages and reduce the inconveniences of the present exploitation of the public services, are only the starting point for the far more profound changes in the present organization of the state.

Pacifically or revolutionarily, by a series of insensible modifications, or of more or less sudden eliminations, the authoritative functions of the state will grow less and less, whilst its economic functions will become of ever greater importance.

The antithesis between the governing state and the administrative state is nothing less in fact than the reflection of the opposition which exists between the military and the industrial structure of societies. And everything tends to make us prognosticate, in spite of inevitable temporary and partial reactions, that the political conquests of the proletariat, the development of its international organization, the absorption, more or less complete, and more or less rapid of capitalistic property into collectivist property must have as a result the elimination of the causes of war between men, as between nations, and consequently will reduce progressively the importance of governmental institutions founded on constraint.

But at the same time the importance of administrative, decentralized and autonomous institutions, having for their object the organization of social solidarity, and the exploitation, in the common interest, of an ever-extending collective domain, will increase. Let these two tendencies be extended through the future, and a regime will be arrived at, founded on voluntary co-operation, in which the governmental state has disappeared, taking its place, as Engels expresses it, "alongside the spinning wheel and the bronze hatchet in the museum of antiquities"; and giving place to an administrative state which is nothing less than the whole of the functions and the organs whose object is to ensure the fairest distribution of wealth.—Emil Vandervelde, Belgian Socialist.

That men do not more generally accept and proclaim the teachings of Socialism is probably due to a fear of what is called public opinion, more than to any other one thing. Long after men have ceased to give mental assent to prevalent ideas and have come to recognize the vicious results to society from their survival, "they frequently shrink," as Dr. Draper says, "from openly emancipating themselves from their dominancy." This is one of the chief causes of the slow progress made toward social harmony and industrial peace, or, in other words, toward Socialism. For every man openly avowing himself a Socialist, there are scores, perhaps thousands, who accept its essential principles but shrink from acknowledging them for fear of public opinion. Very much of this hesitancy is due to the present misrepresentations of Socialism by the salaried apologists of an economic system which is less capable of moral justification than the acts of a cowardly assassin.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 25 weeks for 50 cents.

LOCAL BRANCHES

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, meeting at 8. Admission free.
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, Social Democrat Herald free for non-member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Westley, 27 East street.
Branch No. 2, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodman's Hall, 224 West street. J. S. Bruner, 27 N. Hill street.
Branch No. 3, 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, 122 Folk street.

COLORADO
Branch No. 1, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. LaKamp, secretary.

CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Saturday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 122 Main street, Hartford. Louis Herrop, secretary, 4 Kinley street, Hartford.
Branch No. 4, Rockyville, meets second and fourth Fridays at Link's Hall, up-stairs. Secretary, Richard Niederwarter, Box 720.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 22 Dearborn street.
Branch No. 1 (Bohemian) Teut. ward, Chicago, meets first Saturday in the month at Nagel's Hall, Blue Island avenue. Secretary, Albert Zeman, 8 S. Morgan street.
The Southwest Side German Branch of Chicago meets second and fourth Saturdays, 2 p. m., at Ed Gottke's Hall, 27 Blue Island avenue (near Lincoln street). Secretary, R. Pusch, 22 S. Wood street.
Branch No. 1 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 2 p. m., in Dunder's place, 1222 W. 12th place. Joseph Dunder, secretary.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m., at 1222 W. 12th place. J. A. Ambroz, secretary, 240 Wood street.
Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Fridays, at Lundquist's Hall, 61st and Morgan streets. Chas. Wistrand, secretary, 614 Aberdeen street.
Branch 4 (Svatoplukcech) meets every third Sunday in the month at Finger's Hall, corner Michigan and 11th place. Camil Kabat, secretary, 127 Stanwood avenue.

INDIANA
Branch No. 4, 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 Catton, 202 Warren avenue.

IOWA
Branch No. 1, Hitegan, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Baxter, chairman. Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 121.

KENTUCKY
Branch No. 4, Newport, Ky., meets every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock at Socialist headquarters, 44 York street. A. L. Nagel, secretary, 202 E. Third St.

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall, Carl Schwabe, 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 2 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 Geeswein, on Main street. A. Kingsbury, secretary.

MISSOURI
Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Mondays, at 2 p. m., at Halderman's Hall, 201 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. 6 (German), Paterson, meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Helvetia Hall, 64-66 Van Houten street. Karl Lindner, secretary, 242 Edmund street.

NEW YORK
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 413 Grand street, W. Under Hall.
East Side Branch, No. 1, meets every first and third Thursday at 222 East Broadway. L. Rothman, secretary, 121 Norfolk street.
Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, meets every Saturday at 2 p. m., at 24 Moore street. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 120 Boerum street.
Branch No. 10, meets every Friday at 2 p. m., at 222 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 42 Henry street.

OHIO
Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum streets, every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Thos. McKernan, secretary, 22 Laurel street.
Branch 1 (Bohemian) meets every second Sunday at 1 p. m., in T. J. Cook's Hall, Cor. Bridge and Belmont streets. Secretary, Frank Holub, Bellairs, Belmont Co., Ohio.

OREGON
Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, corner 2d and Flanders streets. Everybody invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mps. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Thursday, at 2 p. m., at 23 Third street. Rose Bloedkin, Treasurer, 215 Pine street.
Branch No. 4, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—executive meets every Sunday morning—at 8 A. M. P. Club Rooms, at 23 S. 2d street. Organizer, M. Gillis, 214 Reed street.
Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor Hall, No. 23 E. 2d street. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jas. Lyon, secretary, 72 2d street. Public invited.

WISCONSIN
Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Brewer's Hall, southeast corner 4th and Chestnut streets.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, 4th street, between State and Prairie, every fourth Thursday evening.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Gaetke's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay avenue. Frank Liebisch, secretary.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Fridays each month at Moller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 223 2nd street.
Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard street and 9th avenue. J. Luell, 2d Orchard street, secretary.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays of each month at Volkman's Hall, 21st and Center streets, at 2 p. m. Secretary, C. Kasdorf, 27 21st street.
Branch No. 22, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 22 Clark street. Hermann Schneider, secretary, 222 2d street.
Branch No. 24, Kiel, Wis., meets every second and fourth Saturday 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, 1224 Market street. H. A. Leeds, organizer.

Any reader of The Herald who would like to do something for Socialism and who has not time to do so himself, can get publications for his own use.

LABOR UNIONS AND THE MILITIA

The action of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' association in incorporating in its constitution an amendment providing from membership in its organization "any person a member of the regular army or of the state militia or naval reserve," has aroused a discussion involving wide issues. Added importance is given to the amendment in question by the fact that it was indorsed, even though perfunctorily, by the Central Federated union of New York. Many daily papers see in the spirit of this amendment a serious menace to present-day institutions. In the opinion of the Providence Journal (Ind.) the sentiment expressed "comes perilously near being a declaration that this union wishes to be in a position to resort to extra-legal means to enforce its demands." The New York Times (Ind.) thinks that the principle involved is simply the "freedom of riot." It continues: "Carried far enough, this policy would reduce the national guard to a handful of men who would be easily overcome by the mob. Striking employes of transportation companies and manufacturing establishments would then be free to tear up the rails, overturn cars, stone passengers, burn buildings, wreck machinery and club the life out of men who were willing to take the places they had left at wages satisfactory to themselves.

"It is a very singular exhibition of the present spirit of organized labor. It would be disquieting if it were not confined within narrow limits. The great mass of workmen in the United States abhor these doctrines. The solid substance of our Anglo-Saxon civilization stands opposed to them. If it were not so, if the demand for freedom of riot were so general as to be apparently about to prevail, consternation would seize upon the community. Men would prepare to leave the doomed country, taking with them their portable possessions; commerce would perish, business be destroyed, and the advocates of the freedom of riot would be left to exercise upon each other the destructive privilege they had secured."

An opposite point of view is strikingly stated in a letter from Earnest H. Crosby to the same paper. Mr. Crosby, who is an advocate of non-resistance, writes:

"Once upon a time there lived a Russian landlord who had a very bad temper. When anything went wrong upon his estate he was accustomed to collect his hundreds of serfs in a fenced enclosure, provide each one with a stick, and set them to work at beating each other until they cried for mercy. One day, as this operation was being repeated, a young serf called out: 'Suppose we stop beating each other, and at once they threw down their sticks and found out to their surprise that there was no one left to give them a whipping. It seems to me that the trades unions who refuse to allow their members to enter the militia are rediscovering this ancient Russian truth—that it is foolish to beat yourself.

"It is very superficial to suppose that the effect of the use of soldiers in strikes is to prevent violence. As a matter of fact, they cause the violence which they seem to put down. It is the knowledge that they have the militia to fall back upon that induces employers to hold out against just demands, and they never need armed assistance except when public opinion is against them. A study of the cases in which soldiers have been called out in labor disputes will show that invariably the public opinion of the neighborhood favored the strikers and that the appeal to the soldiery was an appeal from public opinion. If this military court of appeal had not existed, public opinion would have decided the strike, and would have decided it fairly. The introduction of the militia into such disputes is not a true exercise of self-government on the part of the community, but rather an attempt to override it."

Socialism and Invention

Under Socialism everything would sink to one dead level of mediocrity in consequence of attempting to give practical effect to the theory of "to every one according to his needs," instead of rewarding all in proportion to the services rendered. Above all there would be no stimulus to industry, no incentive to invention. This, at any rate, is the idea put forward by the average opponent of Social Democracy. He seems to imagine that every one is rewarded for services rendered today, and that the man who invents some labor-saving machine, or some life-saving apparatus, or anything which is of service to mankind in any way benefits both himself and his fellow-creatures. How far this is from the truth is proved by innumerable instances of inventors dying in want and misery. The Daily Mail the other day had the following: "Willie Would have died in the seventieth year of his age on September 28, 1821, and his remains are interred in St. Hilda's churchyard. The inscription on his tombstone records the fact that he was 'the inventor of that invaluable blessing to mankind, the lifeboat,' but he was allowed to die poor and neglected." This man, of course, is only one of very many who have conferred invaluable blessings on

mankind, but who have been "allowed to die poor and neglected." Now we are told that a young Burnley weaver has invented an appliance which threatens to effect a revolution in the weaving industry. This is an arrangement which can be attached to the looms and which largely reduces weaving to an automatic operation. The result will be that at present rates of pay each weaver will be able to earn more, but fewer weavers will be required. The result will be that a number of them will be thrown out of work, and a further result will be that those still in employment will have their wages reduced as a consequence of the competition of those who are thrown out of employment. Under Socialism such an invention would be an all-round blessing; it would mean an increase in social wealth and increased leisure for all the workers. Today it is sure to prove a curse to some, and may even injure the inventor himself. As Mill says: "It is doubtful if all the mechanical inventions that the world has even seen have lightened the day's toil of a single human being." And that must be the case so long as these inventions are monopolized by a class instead of belonging to society and being used for the benefit of all. It is not Socialism, but capitalism, which offers no incentive to invention, no reward for industry.—Justice, London.

Women and Speculation

Mr. Henry Clews, a New York banker and speculator known to fame, tells a story of the wife of an army officer in the Philippine islands who sent all of the money he could spare to his wife in New York for safe keeping. The wife took the money to Clews to bet on certain stocks, and in reading reports found she had lost all the money. In utter despair she went to Mr. Clews to see if anything could be done to regain possession of the money. Clews listened and then said: "If I show you the way to get your money back, will you promise me that you will not speculate again?" "Indeed, I will," said the weeping woman. "Well," said Clews, who had not invested the money, "here is your money; now keep out of the market."

A broker, hearing Clews tell the story, remarked: "That woman brought her money to me, I invested it and made for her \$5,400." Clews expressed the opinion that the woman would lose every cent of her husband's savings before she was a year older. "Women," said Clews, "are not made for speculators; but if another woman leaves money with me I'll invest it and take the chances, though I had rather be kicked than encounter a weeping woman."

In so far as the strike is concerned and taking into consideration successes, failures and costs, no level-headed working men believes that anything of importance to labor has been achieved. The forces arrayed against labor in a great majority of strikes are more than a match for the opposition labor can bring into the field. Hence, the demands of labor for better wages and better conditions on the whole have proved to be a dismal failure. Nor has legislation accomplished more of which labor can boast. A few laws have been placed upon the statute book, giving "labor leaders" jobs more or less unctuous, and what has been done has been for the purpose of impressing labor with the idea that its obligations to political bosses are of a character to chain working men irrevocably to some party machine and surrender unconditionally their independence. And, unfortunately, these feats of jugglery have all, too often, been successful. Socialism does not advocate strikes, but it is an ardent defender of the ballot and legislation, provided working men can be persuaded to unify their forces, and vote for men who when elected will not betray their trust.

Shakespeare, though dead for several centuries, continues to draw full houses. Last year 31,749 persons worshipped at the Stratford Shrine. William was a poor boy, at one time a tramp. He was also something of a Socialist. He believed the fish in the stream and the game in the woodlands were created for the poor as well as the rich. He mounted the tide that leads on to fortune and fame and won, to live when kings are forgotten.

Harvard, under the influence of the money power, has seceded from its action not to confer the degree of LL. D. upon McKinley, and will decorate him with the title which suggests: "A prince can make a better knight, a marquis, duke, and a' that; But an honest man's aboon his might, guid faith, he manna for that; For a' that and a' that, their dignity, and a' that. The pith o' sense and pride o' worth are higher ranks than a' that."

It is not among the impossibilities for truth and justice and liberty to regain their lost estate, to triumph over the perils that beset them and lay the foundations of a new government and a new civilization for the glory of humanity.

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An Old Command

In the list of eternal verities we have the declaration, "God is love." Man has no conception of the infinite, the measureless, the fathomless, the unsearchable, the eternal. Socialism does not bother itself about infinity. It has in this practical matter-of-fact age neither the time nor the inclination to deal in vagaries. If a man can have even a finite conception of love it must suffice. Fortunately, this is attainable. The command is "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Some have thought the command involved the impossible, but a little reflection shows that compliance with the injunction is an easy task. The query is, in what does self-love consist? Or, in what way does a man love himself? We answer, he loves to enjoy good health, good food, good clothes, good shelter, happiness, contentment, pleasure and prosperity, and in loving his neighbor he would like to see him in the enjoyment of all these blessings. Instead of detracting from his enjoyments, they increase them indefinitely. A man, in loving himself, loves good books and agreeable companions, and his pleasures are heightened by seeing his neighbor equally fortunate. A man who loves himself loves mercy, justice, pictures, music, art in its various forms, and he loves to see his neighbor in the enjoyment of such satisfaction. A man loves his home, with his wife and children around him, he loves their smiles and cheerfulness, and sets a high value upon such benefactions, and he loves to see his neighbor equally blessed by their possession. Why not? What sort of an animal is the man who does not, in such regards, love his neighbor as himself? Manifestly, he is lacking in some of the redeeming elements of humanity. Socialism has no difficulty in obeying the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The command is its platform. It outlines its mission. From it the Socialist draws inspiration, and in it he sees, with prescient vision, ultimate victory for the cause he advocates.

Organization Fund.

The following is a statement of monies received and disbursed by your Committee on Organization:

RECEIPTS.
Total amount received to date. \$350.55

DISBURSED.
For salary, railroad fare, hotel and traveling expenses of National Organizer. 343.00
Balance. \$7.55

The above balance of \$7.55 has been turned into the treasury of the National Organization.

Respectfully submitted,
ELIZABETH H. THOMAS
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