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WHAT SHOULD BE SAID TO THE FARMER

AGRICULTURE UNDER SOCIALISM

That Instead of Being Owner of a Piece of Land That Burdens Him He Should Be Part Owner of All Land and Productive Capital

In your issue of July 22 Mr. La Monte, in reference to the "Farmers' Demands," among other things says: "Nevertheless the farmers should be told that land will be the last thing to be socialized."

Why should the farmers be told this? The farmer above all others is looking—hoping—for a better condition for himself than that which now prevails. Are we to cast him into still deeper despair by telling him that he is to be the last to share in the blessings that socialism will bring?

Or do some of our city advocates suppose that the farmer is afraid of socialism, and hope to appease his fear by such assurances? Or do city Socialists imagine that the good to result from Socialism to the dispossessed can only come by an injury to those who now have?

In my experience I find the farmer in many respects far in advance of the city proletariat in the knowledge of Socialism, where they have given it any thought at all.

Under the present system, who has a harder lot than the farmer?

Under Socialism, who would receive a greater advantage?

As it is now, the one ambition of the farmer is to secure for himself a home—a farm of sufficient size and fertility that he can by an application of his labor thereon support himself and family during the productive period of his life and which will enable him to have a reasonable assurance that he will not come to want in his old age.

In order that he may do this, what does he do? He marries, goes into debt for a farm, and he and his wife from that hour resolve to deprive themselves of every comfort and many necessities until the farm is paid for—until they are "out of debt," and for the first ten or fifteen years of their lives they toil early and late, in season and out; economize and deprive themselves of a multitude of things that they would enjoy and ought to have; go nowhere, see nothing, and by the time they have accomplished their purpose—by the time the farm is paid for—they are broken in health, permanently aged, and no longer have the desire of youth for things that delight the human heart. Besides, their family is coming on, and, remembering the hardships through which they have passed, they hope to provide for those they love better than they themselves were provided for—decide to now begin to get more and more, the appetite having been acquired, the habit of self-deprivation formed, and they keep it up until the grave claims them as an early victim.

Now, for what is all this sacrifice made. What have they when they have their farm paid for? Only the right to occupy a certain piece of land. And for that right, for that privilege only, they have been slaves of the veriest type—slaves to a system—a system of private ownership of land. Now, under Socialism, what would have been the difference to this young couple—what would have been the difference if we had had Socialism—the public ownership of land, fifteen years ago, when they bought their farm, when they were first married and started in life? We will suppose the farm to have cost them \$5,000, interest only 6 per cent. When the farm and interest cost them \$7,250.

If we had had Socialism that day, instead of buying a farm and giving \$7,250 of toil for it, they would have gone to the proper officials of the county and made application for a farm. If there had been no empty farmhouse, the public would have erected one and they would have moved into it and lived there all their lives. They would have had no mortgage hanging over them or interest to pay; would have started in life out of debt; would have started where they now leave off.

Do you tell me that the farmer should be told that "land is the last thing to be socialized"?

But some will say, "How about the farmer who has his land paid for? He won't want to have it socialized. He is a capitalist. His interest is antagonistic to ours. Oh, ye of little faith, go thou to the farmer and learn wisdom. Here is a farmer, we will say, with a farm paid for—out of debt. Has that farmer no trouble?"

Where is there one who walks out over his broad acres, and with a low skin to that which he holds toward his

children he looks upon his fields, and the thought comes to him that when he is laid away in yonder church yard, "Will this land continue in the possession of my children, or will they get into debt and mortgage it away, and perhaps become homeless?" A terrible thought after all the hard work and sacrifices he has made. But as he looks around upon the adjoining country, how many cases can he call to memory where kind parents had left comfortable homes to the children they loved, only a few years thereafter to find those same children dispossessed and without a home? Besides, what farmer is there whose heart does not sink within him when he remembers the quarreling, lawsuits and trouble that so frequently arise between the children of those who are fortunate (or unfortunate) enough to leave them real estate as a legacy? Who is it that can contemplate with composure the horde of hungry, cunning, dishonest lawyers that hover around every county seat, eager for some wealthy parent to die, that they may get their filthy fingers into his lifetime's saving? Go to that man and ask him if he would not be willing to turn the title of his lands over to his country to manage and care for, if in return his government guaranteed to protect his children and their children's children in its enjoyment and against want and the fear of want for time without end. Tell him this is Socialism, and that under Socialism he had a guarantee that no child of his would ever come to want or beg bread. Show him that then, instead of being an owner of only a few acres of land, he would become a part owner of all land, all factories, all railroads, and all the means of production of his nation, and I opine that you will find him more easy to convince and ready to take hold of the cause that will make him free than your average dispossessed proletarian, whose scant wage makes him a pliant slave in the foul hand of the corrupt politician and plutocracy. Bellevue, O. W. I. Hood.

Emile Vandervelde

Emile Vandervelde, leader of the Belgian Socialist party, is the youngest member of Parliament, being but 33 years old. He is returned from Charleroi. He is a doctor at law; an advocate at Brussels; professor in the still existing school for higher studies of the recently closed new university, and a contributor to Le Peuple of Brussels, the Berlin Central Blatt, the Vienna Arbeiterzeitung, the Milan Critica Sociale and London Justice. M. Vandervelde is always talking in the chamber, taking part in all discussions. He is both energetic and clever. Although, as a Socialist, he advocates the repatriation of wealth, he is worth more than 1,000,000 francs. He has obtained much notoriety and not a little popularity by his fierce criticism of the king in the chamber of deputies.

Living in Pesthouses

A sanitary inspector of Chicago has been making the rounds of some of the horrible basement dwellings, where the sunlight never enters, but where dull-eyed and hopeless humanity swarms in places that are "foul beyond credence." This is what was found in one of them: "A widow and her five children were visited in their hot, little basement on Austin avenue. The eldest of the children was 8 years of age, the youngest 18 months. The mother and three of the children were ill from the heat and bad air and from lack of proper food. The room was almost bare, and the widow told in trembling tones how she had sold the furniture to get food for the babies. She did not care for herself, she said, but could not bear to see the children hungry. Not being able to do any work, she and her young family had been subsisting on the charity of their poor neighbors—and to judge from the pale skins and cadaverous eyes the subsistence had been most scanty."

Debs' Lecture Tour

The circular announcement of L. W. Rogers, manager for Eugene V. Debs, anent the season 1899-1900, contains the following: "A large number of applications are already on file for the coming season and the remaining dates will be speedily disposed of. Beginning with September eight months will be divided among the various states. At the end of that time Mr. Debs goes abroad to fill engagements in England and Australia and study economic conditions in foreign lands. The great movement in which he is a factor has become international, and the United States no more remains to itself than one of our cities or states can hold aloof from the others. The forward march in a world-wide movement to a better civilization has begun." The season begins at St. Louis, September 9.

So long as competition and capitalist production determine the destiny of the working class, a bare support is all that class will get.

LESSONS TAUGHT BY BROOKLYN STRIKE

WILL THE WORKINGMEN HEED IT

Economic Salvation Will Come Only Through a Party of Their Own—Parties Financed by Capitalists Will Not Help

The strike on the New York trolley roads should furnish the workers with food for earnest thought and reflection.

It was a foregone conclusion that the strike would result in failure, but if it teaches some wholesome lessons to those engaged in it, it will have been worth the suffering entailed.

The organization of the men was incomplete, and from the first regarded by many with suspicion. This lack of confidence was not altogether the fault of those immediately responsible for the organization, but can be largely attributed to the workers' general mistrust of labor organizations in consequence of the frequency with which leaders have in the past been convicted of using trades unions as instruments for their personal advancement.

Militant labor organizations will only be successful when led by able men who will be willing to remain permanently in the movement, instead of by feigned enthusiasts whose only object is to use their position of leadership as a lever with which to elevate themselves above the workers.

It is the political rather than the industrial aspect of the New York strike which is of interest to us Socialists.

Many of our comrades are still favorably inclined toward the Democratic party, believing that that party will help forward the cause of the workers. To such comrades this struggle should be sufficient to convince them of the futility of their hope.

Both the corporations in the dispute are controlled by Democrats, prominent in the political world. It is a well known fact that it is almost impossible to obtain employment with either, without first producing an introduction from the local Tammany leader. The city also is controlled by Democrats, and the whole force of the municipal government has been used against the men on strike.

The police, instead of being public servants, have become ruffians hired to protect the corporations' interests, and have acted throughout with a brutality disgraceful to any civilized community.

Strikers have been arrested who have in no way violated the law, and when their innocence has been proved beyond doubt, not one word of censure has been said to the police who were responsible for the arrests. Frequently the police themselves, by their swaggering insolence, have provoked the riots which have formed the pretext for the arrests made.

All this, as I have said, has taken place in a city infested with Democratic officials, at the bidding of those who furnish the funds for the party's organization; and it is well known in politics that "he who pays the piper calls the tune."

Even the attempts to enforce the ten-hour act are being fiercely opposed by these Democratic friends of labor.

Surely no one can longer doubt the insincerity of the professions of sympathy with "the cause of labor" coming from a party dominated and controlled by capitalists of the meanest type.

This strike has proved that Democrats are equally as willing as Republicans to use their power to crush down labor. With these facts staring them in the face it would be suicidal on the part of the workers to continue, by supporting them at the polls, to place in the hands of their employers the very weapons which are to be used to defeat them.

In times of strikes the question is not, Are you a Democrat or a Republican? but, Are you on the side of the employers or the men? Seeing that the masters use their political power to enable them to win industrial battles, let the motto for the workers at election times be, "Remember the strikes," and refuse to support any who in times of strikes arrayed themselves against the workers' cause.

That this thought is slowly gaining ground was evidenced by the applause which greeted Mr. Parsons' declaration, that "for the future the workers would not put their trust in Tammany, but would have their own independent political party."

I would, however, warn the workers against any party, on the basis Mr. Parsons suggests. He declared that in ten days he could finance the new organization with \$100,000, which would not come out of the workers' pockets.

The experience of the past has proven that where capitalists furnish the funds for a party, they also control its platform.

It is this controlling interest of the money bags which has made the old

parties the workers' enemies, and not until the workers build up a party of their own, paid for and run by themselves, will they be able to work out their economic salvation.

Lionel Levoguo.

How to Raise Funds

One of the most difficult things in the every day affairs of the branches of the Social Democratic party is that of raising money to meet running and campaign expenses. Most of the members are victims of poverty, at least during some part of the year, and it is hard work for them to pay dues regularly, and to contribute to the campaign fund.

Numerous ways and means have been suggested and tried for the purpose of raising money to convert the people to our cause, but they all fall short of the mark. I am going to outline a scheme for the consideration of the branches throughout the country; a scheme if taken hold of and pushed will yield good results, for it has been tried. It is a scheme to make the capitalist pay our bills, with the co-operation of the Social Democrats.

I can give a better and clearer idea of the scheme by giving the history of how it was carried out in Haverhill in connection with the Haverhill Co-Operative Society. We wanted to start a co-operative grocery store, and had no capital, so we concluded to try and make the merchants in the city start us in business. We succeeded in doing so by the following method:

We obtained the name and address of nearly one hundred workingmen and women, who agreed to trade at the stores where the best discount could be obtained from the cash trade of the hundred persons.

We took the list of names to the various dealers in the different articles, groceries, boots and shoes, clothing, drugs, coal, wood, hardware, furniture, and all the rest, and said to them: "Here are a hundred persons who will trade at one place, that place to be the one where the largest cash rebate can be obtained. How much will you give to have the trade of these people all come to your store?"

The merchant, knowing that he could afford to give a liberal discount for the cash trade of a hundred customers, made an offer for the trade of the society.

These offers averaged about 10 per cent. After we had got the bids of the dealers a meeting of the members was called, and it was decided by majority vote where we should trade, and an agreement made with the merchants. Every time one of our members made a purchase in one of these stores he asked for and received a check. On the checks was written the amount of his purchase. At the end of every month all checks were turned in to the secretary of the society and each member was credited with the amount of his checks turned in. Then the checks were all placed together and the secretary or some other person would go to the dealers and collect the cash rebate, as agreed upon, on the total amount of checks in his possession. For instance, one member turns in checks from the dealers as follows:

Grocer, \$10, 10 per cent rebate. . . .	\$1.00
Shoes, \$2, 5 per cent rebate.10
Provisions, \$10, 9 per cent rebate. . .	.90
Clothing, \$5, 10 per cent rebate.50

Total \$2.50

On this amount of trade there comes to the member \$2.50 in rebate. In this manner the Haverhill Co-Operative Society saved on what they were obliged to spend for a living enough to start a store of their own.

Why cannot each branch of the S. D. P. do the same? Why not make the merchants pay for the salvation of the people? Each branch of twenty-five members or over could start this scheme in their city and have a revenue coming in all the time by simply spending their money at certain places. Let each branch get the signatures of their members and as many of those who are not members as are willing to trade with the stores selected. Take the list around to the several merchants and get their figures and start the ball rolling. Each branch should elect three members as a committee whose sole duty to the movement would be to handle this department.

If the members of the branches throughout the country were willing to co-operate in this manner and all trade at one place, they could have a source of revenue that would be continually turning into the treasury of the branches money with which to carry on the battle against capitalism. I hope every branch will act upon this matter, and see what they can do in their cities. The larger the membership the larger the revenue will be. The merchants know that the movement is a growing one and they will be glad to make a bid for the trade of this large number of consumers and will offer from time to time better inducements for your trade. Try it.

Haverhill.

DIRECT LEGISLATION A SOCIALISTIC WEAPON

SO DECLARES AN E. RLY ADVOCATE

The Claim Made That it is Mere Juggling of Words to Speak of a General Election as a Referendum

That direct legislation plank in our party platform seems to have aroused the resentment of some party leaders because there seems to be a widespread movement among the people for its adoption. A movement, while successful now in a state or two, and seemingly destined to success in many, can in the nature of things never be nationally successful without the direct help of a powerful Socialist party.

This movement has arisen outside of socialistic thought and propaganda, because, beyond that of any other nation, our political and official life has been filled with corruption; but mainly because the experience of the last fifty years in this and other lands has revealed defects in the representative system.

The hope of the advocates of direct legislation has been to purify the civil service so that the government, owned and controlled by the people, should be ready for real service in any way that the people through the initiative should call upon it to perform.

Direct legislation is Socialism in law-making. It being more easily understood and not so easily opposed, brings it nearer to success in whole or part than any other question before the people today.

Let us not antagonize, by belittling or opposing arguments, those who are only partially enlightened, but rather say direct legislation is a part of Socialism. Be consistent. If the people can do the law making, they can do other things also.

* * *

It is mere juggling of words to speak of a general election as a referendum. At a general election the vote is made up probably of 60 per cent of party loyalty, 20 per cent of bribery and intimidation, 10 per cent of selfish interests, leaving perhaps 10 per cent of true patriotism.

This is naturally the result of the education under the representative system, voting for party and men instead of measures.

Practice in direct legislation will lead men to consider measures, and, given time for this education, ideas will rule, and the people will exercise their reasoning faculties.

* * *

The words of Comrade Debs, "Had my fate been decided by it in '94, I would have been hanged for the crime of trying to help humanity," sound argumentative, but are not, nor are they wise.

It were far better for him had he been jailed by a vote of the people. As it is now, a judge is blamed for putting him in jail, and the people are not responsible, are careless and indifferent to a possible repetition of the outrage. Under the operation of direct legislation the people will make their own mistakes, suffer for them, repent of them; no scapegoat is possible. Direct legislation is only legislative, not judicial nor executive in its character.

* * *

But there is one serious argument party idolaters make the most of, namely, that "it has a tendency to do away with political parties, i. e., with great organizations of well defined ulterior aim." This is both right and wrong. Of course, in common with all parties that ever lived, Socialist parties have a "well defined ulterior aim." But it depends upon that aim somewhat whether the life of the party is affected. There will always be a faction or party to defend whatever of special interests exist. There will always be a party with an ideal to make real. Buffer parties, like the Liberal party in England, or our Democratic party, and parties built on fads and on single issues of governmental policy, will feel the blight of direct legislation at once. Conservative and progressive, the natural divisions of political life will face each other, and will form the media for referendary petitions, for initiatory groups. These two opposing forces will practically divide the field between them, with the chances very largely in favor of the forces of progress. Their machinery is needed for educative purposes, to marshal the forces and to provide the backbone and sinews of the political and economic warfare.

Socialist parties will find in direct legislation a powerful weapon for socialistic agitation and propaganda.

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

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PROGRESSION AND RETROGRESSION

The only criticism we have to offer of the trusts is that they are not large enough; they do not yet include within the scope of their operations all that they should. But even this criticism is seen to be pointless, when we reflect that the trusts are comparatively new, that their existence at all is a necessary result of new economic conditions, and that their development is also necessarily slow. It is futile to indulge in regrets over "the revolution of industry, just as it is to wish for a reversion to the "good old days" of individual production. It is folly to hope for legislation to dissolve the true trust and bring about "good times" by a restoration of individual initiative and general competition. Far better will it be for society to recognize the historic necessity and economic inevitability of combination by a clear understanding of the causes that have led to it.

A study of the phenomena of nature reveals natural law; a study of the human organism establishes laws of health; so does the study of social and industrial phenomena discover economic law, and none can escape its operation. Under it the fool is made rich and the philosopher poor; the cunning and brutal dwell in palaces; genius with the strain of Shakespeare and the heart of Christ is smothered in the slum. When history and economic evolution is correctly understood, the impossibility of returning to the "good old days" of individual initiative and Thomas Jefferson becomes apparent.

Do those persons who contemplate a reversion to the day of small production, through some trick of legislation, ever think what stupendous tasks their policy of reaction involves? On the contrary, there is nothing in their hysterical writings or speeches to indicate that they have any real grasp or true insight of the economic question. For the most part they are blindly following the lead of some "good man," allured by the promise of money reform or tax reform, and have no comprehension at all of the economic evolution. What they propose is devolution. They would roll back civilization upon itself by returning from the trust to the corporation, from the corporation to the company, from the company to the partnership, from the partnership to the individual trader—and there the millennium! They want to go forward by going into the grave, by restoring opportunities for competition and robbery to all men, they hope to establish equality; by a series of reversions from the massive production forced upon us by growing intelligence, discovery, and invention, they dream of advancing civilization by rolling it back! Carry out the program of the trust breakers and there follows a reversal of all progress. Follow your "good man" and "peerless leader" in his reactionary reforms and he will lead you into a state more chaotic than you are now in. Recognize the economic law and cooperate with the evolutionary movement—of which the trust is a mere phase—and you will witness the transformation of private combinations for profit for the few into social combinations for production for use and plenty for all.

Society cannot go back to any past and outgrown era of production any more than the butterfly can return to the chrysalis.

ONE VIEW OF TRAMP PROBLEM

Some months ago a writer named Josiah Flynt contributed some accounts of actual experiences of tramp life to the Century Magazine. He fixed himself up like a hobo and lived among the "bo's" for the sake of the experience. Later a railroad manager got him to repeat the experience under salary in order to get information that would enable the road to break up the "tramp nuisance." Mr. Flynt gives his later experience in the June Century, and in spite of his bourgeois way of viewing the tramp problem, some of the information he gives will be of practical use to students in social science.

Mr. Flynt estimates the number of tramps in the United States at 60,000. While thieves mix with the hobos for convenience in travel and in order to elude capture, the genuine tramp, as a rule, is not a dangerous thief, and he

has never known men of that class to take anything more valuable than fruit. The tramps depend on the railroads for travel, riding in box cars, on top of coaches, and even on the trucks. The railroads serve to keep the tramps in the larger cities, the country thus in a measure escaping. "Out-of-works" who beat their way from place to place on the railroads easily degenerate into tramps. "I have traveled with men who in six months' time," he says, "had become voluntary vagrants merely because their first stolen rides, while in search of work, had demonstrated to them how easy it is to manage without working and paying their way. The average unemployed man in the United States goes from one large city to another, rather than, as is the custom in Europe, taking in the intermediate towns and villages, where there is no such likelihood (?) of the labor market becoming congested. In a few weeks, unless he is a man of very strong character, he learns to travel merely for travel's sake. * * * Among the so-called (!) unemployed in this country there are thousands of this type." He regards many tramps as "discouraged criminals—that is, men who have made a failure of crime," and who find tramping easier.

Mr. Flynt has a theory as to the origin of the tramp as a class that is novel, even if it is clearly a wrong one. The custom of tramping has grown up in this country in the last thirty years, he says, because, after the civil war, there suddenly appeared on the scene a large class of men who had "become so enamored of camp life that they found it impossible to return to quiet living, and they took to wandering about the country." As railroads were few thirty years ago and tramping along wagon roads is far from an easy way of living, this theory will not answer. In 1870, the writer says, the tramps of the country had a sort of imaginary organization, known today as the "Hobo Push."

The theory that laborers can fix their standard of living where they may choose is not supported by the strikes and lockouts incident to the present season of so-called prosperity.

Wages is that portion of the laborer's product which the employer does not take from him; it is a pittance which capitalism allows the laborer to keep in order that he may live and propagate his kind.

The president of a bankrupt Canadian bank says the run on the institution by depositors who wanted their money "was quite unnecessary." That is, if the run had started a week later, when there was no money for the depositors to get, it would have suited him better.

Four thousand quarrymen at Les-sines, Belgium, preceded by a band, paraded the town, carrying a coffin covered with funeral trappings and bearing the words, "The Government's Franchise Bill." The coffin was buried with much ceremony in a disused quarry.

In the State of New York, in 1897, 2,551,455 persons, one-third of the inhabitants, applied for and received charitable aid. But they are all "incompetent" or "indolent" or "shiftless," and never were good for anything but to produce wealth at a price fixed by the fleecing class.

In the "freest" country on earth and the most resourceful, fifty-two per cent. of its population, constituting seven millions of families, are in possession of only four and one-half per cent. of its wealth. And yet we hear the childish prattle that the people are better off than their forefathers!

From Johannesburg, South Africa, comes the Witness bearing witness that the principles of Socialism are not being neglected even in the Transvaal. No colonial or international questions of the day are able to obscure the worldwide Socialist movement. We welcome the Witness to our table.

The pope has appointed a commission of cardinals to watch the Catholic Democrats of Belgium and Austria and prevent any sort of fusion with the Socialists of those countries. On the other hand, fusion of cardinals and bishops with the tyranny of capitalism in Europe and America is permissible.

We have received the program and declaration of policy of the Canadian Socialist League, headquarters at Montreal. The object of the league is the education on all questions relating to the necessity of Socialism, and the corresponding secretary is R. Smith, Fraternity Hall, 715 Washington street, Montreal.

The report comes from Germany that Dr. Arons, the Social Democratic professor in the University of Berlin, will be dismissed. The case is causing wide discussion, and the faculty are opposed to the government's proposed action. Prof. Arons is the teacher of physics and does not participate in other branches. He is to be dismissed solely because he is a Socialist.

The London Daily Chronicle publishes part of the private correspondence of an English journalist at Manila, in which he says: "An American correspondent here was asked by his paper: 'Why did you not cable the taking of Pateros?' He replied: 'Because it did not take place,' and a sharp reprimand for his 'want of enterprise' was his reward. An other American correspondent, told by his stenographer in the midst of an exciting story that it was not true, calmly answered: 'Never mind; it's good stuff.' Another correspondent was dismissed as incompetent because he never sent such stories."

We are pleased to learn that Comrade James Allman, of New York city, has resigned membership from the Socialist Labor party and become a member of the Social Democratic party. This gives our party one of the ablest and soundest exponents of Socialism in the United States, Comrade Allman's experience as a lecturer and agitator for the cause extending over many years, both in this country and in England. Already he has addressed several outdoor meetings for the party and the demand for his services promises to be sufficient to keep him busy for many months to come. We welcome him, and all such, with open arms to the rapidly growing young Social Democratic movement of America.

From Farm to Factory

It is but a few decades ago that both food and textiles had their intermediate manufacture to a great extent upon the farm, and it was the necessity of the farmer to largely distribute his own product. The movement has been away from this to specialization in shop and factory and trade. We know that when our fathers and mothers were children wool was carded, spun and woven upon the farm. At the same time all the cheese and butter was made in the farmer's house. Some farmers spun a little more cloth than they needed, and this they carried to some neighbor in some trade, or to the store and gave it for sugar or flour or molasses, or they traded it for shoes and boots to the shoemaker, and, similarly, they took their butter or their cheese or their wheat or potatoes to the neighbor or village and got any article which belonged to the barter and trade of the time. In this narrow movement the farmer was his own manufacturer and distributor. The growth of things is but now obliterating the last vestiges of this.

When we were children the development in textiles had got so far along that the spinning wheel was becoming a curiosity, and the commercial drummer, the distributing agent, bringing the advance in product, began to make his appearance with his bag upon the village street. One of his novelties is called to this day "factory" cloth. And division of labor, or specialization, in both manufacture and distribution had in this degree found its development. The organization in manufacture had grown into the looms at Lowell, and the organization of distribution had developed centralization in the wholesale merchant and his agent upon the road. We see the result of this organization in the cheapening of the product and the raising of its quality. There came in the several grades of the plain "factory" cotton, from coarse to fine unbleached, and coarse to fine bleached, or muslin. Different grades were numbered and became stable in their weight and quality. And similarly the calicoes began to uniformly grade themselves and to rise in quality and coloring effect. Finally the silks and cashmeres began to appear in the stores, and the ingrain carpets, graded in weights and quality, had displaced the old rag carpet. Then came the cotton and woolen stockings and the knitted hoods and gloves. The knitting needle passed to the knitting factory and its multiplied and graded goods. Then followed the more complete phase of organization in manufacture, the made-up articles of every kind. Even in country stores man, woman or child can buy complete clothing; and there can be had pillows, pillow-cases, bedding, window hangings, portieres, cushions, etc. The needle and the sewing machine in the house have fallen very much into disuse.

It is more recent that the advance has been marked in the organization of the food product. When we were children it was still the custom to find a great mixture in sizes, quality and coloring of cheeses at the groceries. This was because every farmer who had sufficient milk made his own cheese. He would save the milk up for two or three days, if the weather was not too warm, and get as large a batch as he could, sufficient to make a cheese "big enough to sell." These cheeses, little and big, would be found ranged along on the hanging shelf of the farmer's cellar. They were subject to all vicissitudes; the weather was too warm or too cold in curing, and in the summer time, owing to lack of ice facilities for milk, the cheese was often bitter and hard. Certain farmers developed skill over their neighbors in the manufacture of cheese and obtained better prices. Those having the inferior facilities and skill began to take their milk to the others to make up for them in the one batch. From this it passed easily to the cheese factory at the cross roads or in the village, and the higher and more uniform product. And in-

stead of the farmer arranging to sell a cheese here and there, in trade for groceries or blacksmithing, or shoemaking, or with the painter or wagonmaker, the product now moved from the factory to the wholesale distribution at the large cities. The wholesale or commission grocer today has standing contracts for all a given factory can make. The advance in butter has proceeded more slowly, owing to the less need in the earlier day of giving it over to the specialist, partly because butter can be made from a small quantity of milk. Many country stores, even within twenty miles of New York, still get some portion of their butter direct from the farmer, who sells it to them and takes groceries home. But where the farmers have any large amount of milk they go on the advantage of giving butter-making over to the "creameries" or factories. In place of the tub of butter on the counter, in rolls of all colors and sizes, most of the butter now comes from the manufacturer or wholesale distributor in the uniform package and color of the creameries. This butter, save for faults in the care of it, comes to the table well-nigh uniform and as sweet as when lifted from the churn.—Corydon Ford, in The Organic State.

Appeal for Help

The public officials having failed to enforce the ten hour law upon surface railroads, made it necessary for the employees of the lines in New York and Brooklyn to stop work in an attempt to secure the observance of this just law. Through the action of the police and courts in sustaining these companies in their violation of the law, three thousand of these men are still out of work, without any means of securing employment; many of these men being injured by the brutality of the police in their service for these companies, making this the most unequal contest ever witnessed in this locality.

Therefore, a committee of organized labor, Comrade Joseph Barondess being one of the number, appeals to every organization, also every fair-minded citizen, to donate such financial aid to these men as their cause deserves, for the relief of them and their families, thereby showing that all fair-minded people will stand by these men against persecution and oppression.

All money should be sent to Wm. J. O'Brien, Treasurer, 110 East 125th St., New York City.

Zola's New Novel

Clemenceau's journal l'Aurore has begun the serial publication of a new work of fiction from Zola's pen, completed during his exile. It is called "Fecundite," and is the first of a series of four organically connected novels. The others to be entitled respectively "Travail," "Justice," and "Verite."

The first chapters of "Fecundite" describe in the author's realistic manner the environment and conditions of Parisian manual laborers. The hero of the story is a workman, Mathieu Froman. The author's general purpose in this novel—for it belongs to the category of "tendency fiction"—is thus explained in the introductory remarks of l'Aurore:

"Fecundite" is a study, drama, and poem at the same time. It celebrates and glorifies the achievements of a numerous family. Around the central character, who knows how to love and to will, to work and to create, in the midst of a constantly growing family, Zola has grouped more than fifty subordinate personages of the opposite kind, bad and decadent representatives of the modern social-economic order—men and women who carry death and dissolution with them in the lives of Malthusianism, in the terrible mortality of children.

"Fecundite" is the history of the dissolution of the capitalistic industrial system, the history of fatal and deadly poverty; it is the picture of social hell, the result of social injustice, which inevitably entails the ruin of country and humanity.

"It is impossible to create a more impressive and striking drama than that contained in Zola's tale of two deliberate murderers, who are depicted in a series of marvelous scenes. At the same time it is difficult to conceive a more reassuring, more inspiring and elevating poem than is given here. In the pages of this novel, full of joy and charm, there is the triumphant song of the all-conquering family—the family which conquers by virtue of its numbers, which brings to the country and humanity the hope of tomorrow, health, joy, indomitable energy, in the interest of the coming society and for the erection of justice and truth."

Some time ago Zola wrote an essay on the healthfulness and beneficence of labor, in which he claimed that his works had been misrepresented, and that instead of despair and pessimism he inculcated love of useful life and invigorating, honest labor. This idea, it is now said, finds artistic embodiment in "Fecundite."

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LESSONS OF THE SEASHORE

I sat upon a jutting rock
That overhung the sea,
And heard the voices of the waves
Sing merrily and free.

While thus I sat, the ocean old
Taught me a lesson new,
And with the license of a friend
I'll pass it on to you.

Slowly the rising tide rolled in,
With steady, sure advance,
Not hurried by a leaping wave,
Not hindered by mischance.

O'er shifting sand and rugged rock
The tide resistless went,
A type of the advance of right,
Of right omnipotent.

In spite of low environment,
In spite of haughty height,
The tide of human right moves on,
Assertive of its might.

Then let the pebble multitude
Their weak defiance roar;
Bide ye the time; the right shall rule,
And cover evil o'er.

I saw a vessel sailing north
Before a southern breeze,
I saw another sailing south,
Against the wind, with ease.

Why wait we, then, for favoring winds
Of friendly public thought,
To waft our socialistic ship
Into the harbor sought?

The very breath of those who hate,
Who wish our movement ill,
Will force us onward to our goal
Against their wish and will.

No breeze but serves the swelling sail,
No blow but helps our cause,
If they who hold the ropes of power
Use judgment and not jaws.

I flung a pebble in the sea,
And watched it as it fell;
It lost itself beneath the waves,
But raised the sea as well.

And he who sinks a kindly act
Into the sea of need,
Shall lift this whole great world of ours
By virtue of his deed.

And we, who cast our single votes
For socialism's sake,
As surely help the social tide
A higher mark to make.

All motions to amend the world
Dame Nature always shelves,
Until the formers of reforms
Have sunk their selfish selves.

I tossed another pebble in,
And watched the ripples grow
In ever-widening circles, till
Their limit none could know.

The circles from that tiny splash
Broke on the coast of Maine,
And touched the unseen, distant shores
Of England and of Spain.

No word of truth can e'er be dropped
Whose influence is lost;
No act of justice can be done
But what repays its cost.

The ripples of a speech, a song,
A word in private said,
Pass out of human sight and ken,
Flow on when you are dead.

A thousand years ago, I thought,
These waves were dashing here,
While some wild savage crouched near
By
In wait for foe or deer.

A thousand years ahead, and still
The waves will splashing come,
And speak with their eternal voice
When you and I are dumb.

Why spend we, then, our fitting lives
In aiding selfish might,
In fighting for the dying wrong
Against the eternal right?

Man's creed and greed shall pass away
Like mist upon the sea,
And only righteous principle
Shall live eternally.

Upon the sands the tide flowed in
From out the further deep,
From point to point, with slow advance,
I watched the water creep.

Each crevice in the lower rock,
Each hollow in the sand,
Was filled with water e'er the tide
Made progress toward the land.

And so it is with that great tide
Of human brotherhood:
The lower life of man must rise
Before we touch the good.

Then level up the fetid slum
And fill each factory hole,
Till, to a common level raised,
We reach life's higher goal.

Learn, then, the lessons of the sea—
The death of selfish might,
The final triumph of the free,
The omnipotence of right.

—Merlin.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

CALIFORNIA

Branch 1, San Francisco, Cal., holds meetings every Sunday at 8 p. m. at the Temple, 117 Turk Street. Public invited.

COLORADO

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo. 7 p. m. Thos. H. 1799 Washington street.

CONNECTICUT

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in the month, at 83 Cedar street, at 8 p. m. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 185 Frank street.

ILLINOIS

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

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 254 Wentworth ave.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2d and 4th Saturdays, at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 33rd Island Ave. Secretary, Vaclav Jelinek, 438 W. 18th St.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 2d and 4th Monday of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 33rd Island Ave. Secretary, Frank Ort, 866 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 5 Illinois meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 33rd street, corner Jefferson street. Secretary, Paul Chlapicka, 47 Ruble St.

Branch 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first and third Saturday evening at 8 o'clock at Nagle's Hall, 55 Blue Island avenue, near 18th street.

Branch 9, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 31st and Morgan streets, every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westine, Sec'y, 528 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Schwab's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 211 W. Gay St. Secretary, Frank Marek, 1408 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 23 Summer St., near Market St., business meeting every Monday night at 7:30 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St., Fin. Sec.-Treas.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business, in Cutter's Hall, Clark's Block, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 332 W. Elm street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. A. E. Sweeney, 12 Webster st., Sec.

Branch No. 9, Massachusetts, Brockton—meets first and third Tuesday each month for business, in Cutter's Hall, Clark's Block, cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, 332 W. Elm street.

Branch 21, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., room 2, postoffice building, Chelsea. Alfred B. Outram, sec., 72 Ash street.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and money intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 West Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Margaret Halle, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geswein, on Main street. Wm. H. Randall, sec.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

St. Louis Central Branch, composed of all members in the city, meets every 3rd Sunday afternoon, 2:30 p. m., at Aschenbroedel Hall, 646 Market St. Lecture and general discussion at every meeting. Public invited.

Branch 7, Missouri meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1230 W. 9th street, Sec.

NEW YORK

Branch 10 (4 Ass'n Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 107 Henry St. Jacob Fankon, 141 E. Broadway, Org. Sec.

East Side Branch No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday at 112 Clinton St. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.

Branch 3, New York (4th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday of the month at 324 E. 54th St. L. Funcke, 239 E. 58th st., Sec.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," at 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, Secretary, 251 Madison street.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge street, meets every 3d Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 251 Rutledge St., Secretary.

Branch No. 21, New York (23 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 223 E. 34th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Forsyth street, in the Social Democratic League rooms. Alex. Kahn, 118 Broome St., secretary.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlson's Hall, 65 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch 3, Cincinnati, meets every 2d and 4th Saturday, in Workingmen's Hall, 1318 Walnut St. Secretary, J. L. Franz, 1214 Walnut St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Hendrick; secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 25 W. 5th street.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., Funk Hall, South 24th and Philadelphia sts. President, W. Bohn, 24 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 1215 Jane st.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Friday at 8:15 at South Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 533 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howarth Tuttle, chairman; Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Getzke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concourse sts.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's hall on Pennsylvania avenue. R. Schoen, S. 11th street, secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 778 Twenty-fifth street.

Branch 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Siegel's Hall, S. E. corner Orchard street and 2d avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 781 Windlake avenue.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin "Yorwarts," 614 State St.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Perleus hall, 717 Center street, at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party meets on the second Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at No. 418 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

Newburyport, Mass.

Newburyport has said little, but the work of Socialist education has gone steadily forward in this "conservative city." Two of our local papers have been publishing Socialist articles weekly, one reprinting "Merlin's Mixture" from the Social Democratic Herald and the other voluntarily giving space to the publication of a "Social Democratic column," edited by the chairman of the local branch. This is something wonderful when it is considered that previous to the last election not over twenty-five votes were cast here for Socialism, and clearly indicates the phenomenal change of feeling respecting the absorbing question of the day. Socialist sentiment is unmistakably on the rapid increase.

Meetings of the local branch are held on the second Monday evening of each month in Laster's Hall, and hardly a meeting passes without adding to its membership. As election draws nearer these meetings will grow in importance and interest. Newburyport will enter the campaign with a full ticket, state and local. It seems certain that some of the Socialist candidates will be elected. Among our best workers are the barbers, who instill the gentle truths of Socialism into the minds of their patrons while deftly trimming or removing their hirsute appendages. A hundred Socialists continually agitating for industrial co-operation and exposing the hopeless injustice of private capitalism make a mighty force in the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. Keep your eye on Newburyport. Lux.

Connecticut

The comrades of Connecticut desire to inform their comrades, through the instrumentality of The Herald, that the good work in this state goes steadily on. Though until the present they have been very cautious as to publicity, not that they were ashamed of their party, its principles, or number, but because of its delicacy. Many obstacles had to be overcome in a quiet way before they could trust the child to walk alone.

However, the youth is gaining in strength, and we feel that the time has come when we can reach out and clasp hands with our comrades all over the country in one inseparable and unbroken alliance for the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of the commonwealth.

Rockville seems to be the storm center at present. On July 30 they gave a grand picnic, to which the comrades of Hartford and New Haven were cordially invited.

Everything in this state points to a good fall's work, and we are in hopes to have in the near future a cordon of branches woven clear around the state, with none but Socialists on guard. And these, armed with the dynamite of intelligence, will reawaken the echoes of 1776, reaffirm the Declaration of Independence over the heads of the political boss, and, on the ruins of the capitalist system which has already outlived its usefulness, we will rear the temple of freedom—the Social Democratic Commonwealth.

To the wage-slaves of Hartford, who are conscious of their position, and who feel as though they can get along without their master, and who also indorse the principles of the Social Democratic party, we extend hearty welcome to our ranks. If you are yet divided in your opinion, come to our meetings, and let us reason together.

Branch No. 1 meets every Thursday evening at 1039 Main street.

Branch No. 2 meets every Friday evening at C. L. M. Hall. J. W. B.

Bay State Picnic

Our joint picnic has been arranged for August 20 at Gran Lunden Grove, Revere, two minutes' walk from Franklin Park station, on the Saugus branch. To insure a good attendance it is only necessary to mention that we have secured the Brockton Socialist band, twenty-two pieces, for the day, and that there are to be addresses from Mayor John C. Chase of Haverhill, Representative James F. Carey, Rev. Frederic O. McCartney, Winfield P. Porter, Social Democratic candidate for governor, and others. The tickets, which have been placed at the low price of 35 cents, cover admission to the grounds, the band concert, the speaking, and the dinner. Other refreshments, such as ice cream, tonics, cigars and fruit, will be extra. Amusements will be provided for the little folks. The proceeds are to go to the state campaign fund, and we hope to make this picnic an occasion for increasing the good comradeship and the sense of solidarity that already exist among our members, as well as a means of raising money for our approaching struggle. The branches that are co-operating in the actual work of the picnic are Lynn, Chelsea and the various branches of Boston, but comrades from all places from which the grove is accessible are selling tickets and will be present on the 20th. From Boston the grove can be reached either by steam cars or by electric—17 cents fare by steam and 5 cents by electric. Take the Lynn & Maplewood electric, and transfer at Linden. Remember that your objective point is Franklin Park station, from which you can see the grove. The comrades in Boston and north of it, who

have not had the advantage of hearing a real, live Socialist band, will at last have that privilege. Many, also, who have heard much about our Comrade McCartney and have desired to hear him, will be glad to know that this picnic will afford them the wished-for opportunity. Everybody come, and bring along with you any friends and sympathizers whom you want to impress.

Margaret Haile.

The National Convention

Comrade Chase is not in favor of the recommendations made by the late conference, especially that relating to the basis of representation. He was opposed to the conference being held on account of the useless expenditure of money. Let me say to Comrade Chase that there has been no expenditure of money, so far as the party is concerned, for we who attended paid our own expenses, as we have done for the last year.

Comrade Chase is opposed to branch representation and urges state representation instead. On the basis he proposed there will be no national convention next year. It is doubtful if five states would be represented.

The conference took a careful survey of the situation, present and prospective, and decided upon a basis that will make possible a representative national gathering, qualified to adopt a platform and nominate candidates.

Branches have eight months in which to raise money to send a delegate, and most of them will do it. No branch need send more than one delegate, he having votes proportioned to the membership he represents. Our present constitution may not be "fit for use," and it would be easy to say the same of that proposed by the comrades from Massachusetts. The conference, be it said, was influenced in its action by financial considerations. A new constitution, though effective, but a few months, would have cost money. Is Comrade Chase prepared to go down in his pocket and furnish it, as the rest of us have done and are doing to keep the national party going?

Massachusetts comes to the front promptly with a big "kick" at the slightest provocation. This is good and I like it. But Massachusetts should also be in when the coin is needed. If other states had done as little as Massachusetts for the national party, since it was organized a year ago, we would not have a sign of a national party in existence. I admire Massachusetts, glory in her progress and rejoice in the victory of her comrades, but she and they are all wrapped up in Massachusetts, and although strongest in membership, have done scarcely nothing for the party at large. They have met every appeal for finance (and these have only been made in an extremity) with a deaf ear, or, as one comrade put it: "We don't like your appeals for money; they are humiliating to the party!"

We want the advice and suggestions of our Massachusetts comrades, and we also want them to bear their share of the party's burden. The paltry dues for which The Herald is given will not establish a political party. In addition to what is due for the local branch for the state, something is due the party at large, and this is the point I seek to impress upon Comrade Chase and those for whom he speaks.

I have been candid, but what I have said is prompted in no other spirit than that of comradeship.

In closing, I hope the basis of branch representation proposed by the conference will be adopted by the referendum vote. Eugene V. Debs.

New Branches

We have the pleasant duty this week of reporting the institution of a new branch at Nashville, Tenn., which starts out with a fine list of members. Among them is Dr. B. H. Enloe, who has for years been one of the most energetic and consistent workers for the cause of Socialism in the country. The membership as a whole is well qualified to insure an efficient organization in Tennessee. The officers are: Chairman, Theo. Perry; vice-chairman, J. M. Ray; secretary-treasurer, S. T. Mosley; organizer, W. L. Hamilton.

A new branch was organized July 22d at Campello, Mass., making another link in the chain of active organizations that will do effective work for the Social Democratic ticket next fall.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes entries for Eugene V. Debs, Julius Robinson, Aug. Ruedy, A. C. Boston, M. Josephson, W. I. Hood, Jas. Monroe, Jno. Conway, S. Helton, A. Kahn, Freedman, J. Gardner, J. Find, Moore, New York, A. S. Crow, J. Goldstein, A. Schoenberg, Cash, and Total.

The Recommendations Again

There are two of the recommendations of the national conference which I hope will not be adopted, viz., (1st) to continue the present constitution and have it "remain in operation" till the next national convention, and (2d) the basis of representation proposed for the next national convention.

In regard to the present constitution, we might get along with it for another eight months, so long as no one attempts to put it "in operation." But we have no hesitation in saying plainly that we in Massachusetts are not attempting to live up to it. We have not tried to trim our growing movement to fit any written constitution, but rather to work out and frame a constitution such as the needs of the movement demand. In a vain attempt to bring our plan of state organization into harmony with our written constitution, a proposition was made at our last state convention to have a state union or state committee composed of one delegate from each branch, with an executive board of five, but the motion was voted down almost unanimously.

Our people prefer to have conventions, and a state committee of such size and manner of organization as the necessities of the occasion require and the possibilities allow. We want home rule in the matter of state organization, at least as to the form of it. The state union with executive board of five is not democratic enough for us; and we hope it won't be put in operation in Massachusetts, because—that would be a pity.

A more important objection, however, to the present constitution, and one fraught with more danger, is that it does not exclude from membership old party politicians or adherents. They are all eligible to membership, but are debarred from the executive boards; that is all. It ought not to be necessary among Socialists to make any argument on the danger of this laxity, especially in a young party like ours, which is already in the field of active politics, and presents an elegant opening for the operations of professional politicians. Your wily politician does not need to be an officer of a branch before he can begin operations in the way of putting himself forward or side-tracking and misleading a young party which is still in the process of formation. Not all our branches number in their ranks old-timers who knew just how to deal with these fellows; but even though they did, the safest place for people who are not ready to cut loose from capitalist parties is on the outside. We got over the difficulty in this state by adopting a form of application for membership requiring all applicants to "sever all connection with or allegiance to any other political party." Surely our experience with the Social Democracy of America ought to have convinced us of the folly of having left the door open wide enough to admit all covers, who still retained, while nominally belonging to that organization, their own peculiar political and economic views. In working for the real and substantial growth of our movement we must not lose sight of the fact that quality is of more importance than quantity, at any rate until the character of the party shall have been formed. It is not too much to ask of any man who is Socialist enough to wish to join our ranks, that he shall sever all connection with or allegiance to any other political party. And this should be incorporated in our constitution now. Eight months from now may be just delay enough to cause a great deal of trouble. Vote down the retaining of the present constitution, comrades, and have this amendment submitted to general vote.

Then as to the basis of representation at the next national convention. To give to each branch the right to be represented at the convention may sound democratic on the face of it, but it does not work out that way, by any means. Out of our 35 branches in Massachusetts today, perhaps 5 would raise the \$50 necessary to send a delegate to Indianapolis. The other 30 would be entirely unrepresented, while every little branch of five in Indiana and the neighboring states could have its delegate. Comrade Chase made a good point in regard to the amount of money that would be expended in sending a large number of delegates which could be used to better purpose. I do not, however, agree with his proposed basis of representation, viz., representation by states. I believe that the fairest and also the most practical plan would be to have one delegate for every 200 or 300 members in a state. Each state should be entitled to one delegate, anyway, for the first, say, 300 members or fraction thereof; and to one additional delegate for every additional 300 or major fraction thereof. In this way, the expense of one delegate would be borne by 300 members, which could easily be done, and this would give the Social Democrats of Massachusetts, California and Texas an equal show with those of Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. The exact number, whether 200, 300 or 400, could be decided upon later; the thing to do at present is to vote "no" on the one-delegate-per-branch-plan, which I hope will be done. Margaret Haile.

GIVE ANSWER

(Written for The Herald.)

O ye in the van of creation, Give ear for a moment and say: Your trumpeted civilization Is fact or a mockery, pray? Say sooth: Do the trappings of culture Hide the truth of a Caliban shape? Is the eagle aught else than the vulture, Or the man than a sanctified Ape? O Church, that is called of Jesus! Dost follow wherever he goes? We are sick—hast thou'er tried to ease us? We are bruised—hast thou hindered the blows? We are starving, for all of your praying, Your fasts and phylacteries broad: Dost know whom it is thou'rt betraying? Thou'rt betraying, like Judas, thy God. O Government, named of the People! Is it true to your trust ye are found? Or just, like a costly church steeple, Invention for show and for sound? Just playing a huge game of eucheire, Whose stakes are men's blood, women's tears— Just selling men's souls for vile lucre, As you'd market a herd of dumb steers? O honest, respectable classes! Who are blest with the talents that pay, Say: What do ye do for the masses? That are starving around ye today? Ye build your advertisement churches, Put your names on your charity rolls; Be say: Is it true that ye purchase Your millions by damning your souls? Are ye certain, ye smug altar-kneelers, That sweatshops are quite Christian things? Do ye shudder at being sharp dealers, When dividends sharp dealing brings? Is it right to grow rich off the baby That is starved at its mother's breast? Ye make millions; but in the Great May Be Will ye be aught but beggars confessed? —H. D. C. MacLachlan.

Larger Hall Needed

The second meeting of the new branch of the Social Democratic party in San Francisco was held at 1159 Madison street. Every chair was occupied, and the next meeting will be held in the large hall of the same building.

Comrade Liess, who delivered the address of the evening, was listened to with eager attention as he unfolded the history of the Socialist movement in this country. He explained how, during the last six months, he had carefully studied the two branches of the Socialist movement in this country—the Social Labor party and the Social Democratic party—and after comparing the men who composed these two organizations, their economics, their methods, and their tactics, he did not hesitate to throw in his lot with the Social Democratic party, as that today is the scientific section of the Socialist movement of America.

Comrade Liess dwelt at length on the S. T. & L. A., the tax question, and the absolute necessity of maintaining a free press and a free platform, if our movement is to develop.

The Social Democratic party is sound on all these vital questions. It has already in its ranks the greatest economists of America, and is bound to lead the Socialist movement to victory in this country. Comrades Noel, Bartlett and Andre, of the Social Democratic party, and Comrade Siler, of the Social Labor party, also addressed the meeting. Valentine Britton, Sec. San Francisco.

Wanted—Sowers

Every convert to Socialism should consider it a paramount duty to diffuse among the people the great truths contained in that grand science.

That is the secret of success of the appointed aggressive missionary march of Socialism, to convert, to advance, and finally to encompass the whole earth, consummate its final triumph by the overthrow of the capitalist-competitive system, and the substitution thereof of the co-operative system of industry, by which all men and women will become industrially free—free to have access to all of nature's resources, and the discoveries and inventions which have been handed down to us through the march of centuries, to be owned and operated as a common heritage for the benefit of all mankind. Therefore the mission of Socialism is to destroy the petrifying power of capitalism, and by so doing give to every man and woman the freedom and fullness of their industry, and by maintaining the indefeasible right of every man and woman to the full product of their toil, Socialism will lay the foundation stone of the millennium.

Let it be understood that Socialism has no enemy more deadly to life than capitalism. The outlook for the establishment of Socialism at the closing hour of the 19th century is bright indeed, with every indication that the entrance of the 20th century will gather in a bountiful harvest and establish Socialism in one or more countries.

The command of Socialism to its converts now is to make disciples of all nations regardless of race or place.

Let them consider it their duty to make a determined effort to extend the circulation of Socialist literature and advance its principles, so the people at large can see what their belief is.

Let them consider themselves as much partners in the firm as they would be if Socialism was in actual operation.

There are many ways of "sowing the seed" and we leave this to the resources of our readers.

The educational features of this paper are excellent, and as we receive weekly far more contributions than we can use, we publish only the best, and everything contained in our columns is from the fountain of Socialism.

Therefore do not be a drone in the drama of "Labor vs. Capitalism," for, as Mrs. Stetson says, "We have no place for lookers on, when all the world's at war." P. P. Ayer.

