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FLOTSAM AND JETSAM THE STRUGGLE TO LIVE

TRADES UNIONS AND SOCIALISM

The Assertive Negro—Captain Carter and Capitalists—The Unemployed—New Trust Smasher—Capitalist's Insolent Advice—French Socialists for Justice

Current Notes and Comment

The new political movement by the trades union organizations of New York is clear enough in its declaration to constitute forthwith a powerful branch of the Social Democratic party. It says: "Monopoly rule is entrenched in every branch of our nation; State and municipal government.

"The centralization of the wealth of the nation in the hands of enormous trusts has created an irresponsible, economic and political despotism which has reduced the workers of the city and country to the condition of wage-slaves, and has converted the legislative, the judiciary and all the functions of government into mere instruments of private profit.

"Trusts and combinations are the result of economic law and cannot be met by negative anti-trust legislation, or outlawed in the courts, but only by the people assuming the ownership and operation of all industries as fast as they fall under the control of monopolies, trusts and combines.

This is getting on solid ground and is a confrontation of workingmen with conditions as they really are. We hail with delight this proof of an awakening of the organized workers of Greater New York.

A broad and liberal-minded attitude on the part of corporation managers toward workingmen is almost unknown in this country. So submissive have the latter generally become that they are commonly regarded as beasts of burden who may be expected to yield to any brutality which a slave owner chooses to impose on them. The president of the Chattanooga Electric Railway company has just served notice on the employes that no organization of the men will be tolerated by the company. He decides for the men that "no possible reason for an organization exists" and gratuitously advises them that they cannot belong to an organization without detracting from their usefulness as servants of the company. Instead of organizing, he says, consult me (for do not I know better than yourselves what is good for you) and this will be my advice: "Be faithful in word, thought and act to the company who is providing you with work and pay!" These are the exact words of this truly great man who provides "work and pay" for blind and ignorant slaves. His capitalistic instincts and interests would, of course, make him deaf to any statement of reason as to the question how wages are paid and by whom, but it is to be hoped that his insolent advice will cause the men to learn something.

A portion of the American press feigns to be greatly astonished because the general staff of France excuses forgeries to save the national honor. There is really nothing strange in that; it is nothing more than the heads of any military establishment are capable of doing for what they call "honor." O, we are not so far behind in doing wrong to save the "national honor!" There's the Philippine matter, for instance. Then think of Captain Oberlin Carter—shielded from crime and a court-martial sentence to save the "honor" of men in high places, leading republican "statesmen" as they're called. If the truth was known about the American army and the fellows in it who want a "general staff," there's no doubt we would be having a monkey and parrot time too, all for the "national honor." Carter will be acquitted because capitalists and the "national honor" require it.

In the face of evidence disproving the claim which the capitalist newspapers themselves print from day to day, it is still boldly maintained that prosperity is in the saddle and every man has work, who wants it. To show how false this claim is look at a summary of one day's work done by the Illinois employment agencies in Chicago. The Chicago Journal of last Friday reported that the day before the South Side office, 44 Congress street, received applications for work from 87 men and found places for 46; the North Side office had 43 applications from men and succeeded in finding work for 18; the West Side agency, 28 Ogden avenue, received 38 applications from men and got work for 9. This record for a day is not very encouraging to the facile administration liars who yell "prosperity" to serve their political ends; and it is quite amusing to notice how completely the press prostitutes ignore the report of the first week's results. During that week the several offices in Chicago received a total of 2,095 applications

from men and succeeded in finding work for only 289. Thus the State Employment Offices closed their doors Saturday night with 1,806 men on its books who wanted work but could not find it, even with the help of the State.

A notable gathering was that in Chicago last week of the Afro-American Council, and notable, too, were some of the things done by it. Besides repudiating Booker T. Washington as "a coward, unfriendly to the colored race," and criticising the president of the United States, these people declared "That since we and our fathers and our fathers' fathers were born on American soil, have fought and bled for American liberty, and have toiled for American wealth, it is just and proper that we should enjoy the rights and share the duties of American citizens; and we declare it to be our unalterable resolution to strive by all power and manly means to vindicate our privileges and fulfill our duties right here in the land of our birth." It is a good sign when the people, black or white, begin to see that they have some interest in the civilization they have created.

Jean Jaures, the famous Socialist editor of La Petite Republique, who has borne so prominent a part in the Dreyfus case, sent the following special cable to the Chicago Tribune from Paris:

"The Socialists have worked for justice from the first day we realized that there had been an illegal trial. We did not know then whether Dreyfus was guilty or innocent. The knowledge that there had been an illegal trial was enough for us. Unlike the anti-Dreyfusards, we do not call foreign interests in this question impertinent interference, for we look upon all men as brothers. The whole world now knows Dreyfus is innocent.

"If socialism gains by the verdict it deserves to gain. Recondemnation is impossible in view of all the light thrown on the question."

It would be a very good thing if the next census would only show us the vast amount of time that poor men have to waste waiting for odd jobs. The number is away up in the hundreds of thousands in the United States, and here in New York the waiters on odd chances of temporary employment may be counted by tens of thousands.

Up at the barns of the Broadway surface cable system some 200 men are always hanging around for the odd chance of getting the job of running a car either as motorman or conductor.—New York News.

There are doctors without patients, but the schools turn out more doctors.

There are lawyers without clients, but the schools give us more lawyers.

There are people without houses, but the homeless are building more palaces.

There are homes enough for all the people; but many are empty while hovels are full.

Everywhere labor produces abundantly, but nowhere does it enjoy free access to its products.

What a glorious life the average working man has, to be sure! Sweating and producing things for others to sell at a profit; toiling the whole year round for twenty, thirty, forty years and getting just enough to sustain life; to enable others to live in luxury, take vacations, go to Europe and indulge in all the pleasures money can buy. He's a queer fellow, indeed, is the average workingman.

David A. Wells, in his "Recent Economic Changes," quotes statistics to show that on big farms of 50,000 acres the cost of raising wheat per hundred pounds is only 40 cents, while on farms of 1,000 acres it cost 92 1-2 per hundred pounds. The present waste connected with agriculture marks it for more scientific organization at an early day.

Labor Day will find most of the speakers in our party residing at Chicago in the field at various points presenting the doctrines of Social Democracy, which alone can bring peace to society by emancipating the producers in society from the slavery of private ownership of the essential means of life.

The trust smasher in Michigan who has undertaken to organize leagues that will refuse to consume the products of the great combines has hit upon a novel idea which Mr. Bryan might do well to take up since he is without any plan to break up the trusts.

The students of the University of Chicago are so poor that they have taken to stealing books from the library, and singularly enough most of the books stolen are those treating on theological subjects.

Are you a Socialist? What are you doing for Socialism? Every Socialist should be up and doing night and day, doing something to advance the cause. What are you doing? Are you bearing your share of the burden? Your share is to get at least one new subscriber to THE HERALD every week.

LABOR'S RIGHTS AND STANDARD OF DEMANDS

SOLUTIONS OF LABOR PROBLEM

The Genius and Example of Organization an Inspiration—Intelligent Labor Flatly Refuses to Recognize the Justice of Non-Using Ownership

By Clinton Bancroft, San Francisco, Cal.

Hon. John J. Ingalls, ex-Senator of Kansas, is in search of a solution of the labor problem. He is not trying to solve it himself, he is only looking for a ready made solution; and any old thing will do if it bear the ancient stamp of mastership and aristocratic origin. In a letter in the San Francisco Examiner of June 25th, he says:

"Any laborer, artisan or mechanic has the right to refuse to work for wages that an employer is willing to pay. Being employed, except upon special contract, he has the right to demand increase of compensation, and if this is not granted to quit. He has the right by reason, argument or persuasion to induce others to quit work at whatever loss to the manager or inconvenience to the public. He has the right to contribute to the support of those who become dependent by relinquishing wages that they might have received. He has the right to appeal to the sympathy and emotions of those employed elsewhere to bring further duress upon obdurate employers and secure greater advantages for themselves."

But labor has other and higher rights than those enumerated above. It has the right to organize; it has the right to demand ownership; it has the right to operate the industries it may collectively own or acquire; it has the sole right to control such industries and the right to produce, and finally to enjoy the products of toil. It has the same right to resist tyranny and oppression that tyranny and oppression have to exist; and somewhere, at some time, some one summed up its rights in the words: "The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The rights of labor are the universal rights of man. They are the foundation upon which alone social order exists, and upon which the social structure of the world must rest. Evil, there is evil everywhere, and conflict, there is conflict throughout the realm of organized mankind.

I quite agree with the senator, however, that when the laborer goes beyond these and enters the lists of lawlessness and crime, he has forfeited all his rights save one—the right to a fair and impartial trial by an honorable and impartial court. But this last right must not be denied him nor abridged.

Again he says: "Labor is a commodity more or less intelligent * * * It is a commodity of which there is a constantly increasing superfluity."

If it is true that labor is a commodity to be bought and sold, its price fixed by the buyer according to his own estimate of his business necessities, then indeed is the laborer a slave. And that it is a constantly increasing superfluity, or that it is a superfluity at all, is an economic error that has come to be quite commonly accepted by the unthinking of the day. I am surprised that the Senator has endorsed it. As long as there is an unoccupied, untitled, unimproved acre of land in the country and an idle man willing to work, there is a place for labor to be applied. As long as city improvement is in its present backward state there is a use for this "superfluous" labor. As long as the employed or the unemployed in our cities are living in abominable habitations unfit for men, labor should be neither idle nor superfluous. Properly organized, it can all be utilized.

And then he goes back to the days of Napoleon Bonaparte to dig up from the ruins of a fallen empire, a solution of the present day labor problem. [Not there will you find it, senator. It lies straight ahead, not back. The methods and objects of the past to which you still blindly adhere are obsolete and utterly inadequate to the enlarged and enlightened knowledge which labor now has of its rights and its proper relations to producing capital. "Conseils des prud'hommes," might have been all right in their time but they are old now, and after a century of experiment they have failed to answer the labor question. The relationship actually involved and practically acknowledged by such a "solution" is that of subjects to a sovereign, inferiors to a superior, slaves to a master, and the only result of its application is to perpetuate and strengthen the institution of wage-slavery. What else could be expected of a Bonaparte?

But no longer will intelligent labor accept such "solutions." Under the brighter light of a higher knowledge, it is now known that the relationship involved in that acknowledgment is radically wrong in principle and permanently and continuously evil in result. Not the service, but the relation is a severe one, utterly subversive of industrial rights, directly and distinctly hostile to material justice and its acknowledgment a fatal betrayal of the cause of labor at its most vital point. Long ago the United States Supreme Court declared in effect that the servile have no rights

that are bound to be respected and neither constitutions nor statutes nor "conseils" can change by the shadow of a hair this practical law of industrial life.

The acknowledgment of that relationship is now repudiated. Labor's comprehension of its rights has broadened and risen. The genius and example of organization has given it an inspiration, and today an intelligent labor absolutely and flatly refuses to recognize or acknowledge the justice of non-using ownership as related to the machinery of industry, or to permit its management to remain permanently in the hands of hostile interests. It is willing to recognize temporarily the present possession of such ownership and to abide temporarily such management under fixed regulations; but only until just terms of transfer of such ownership and management can properly and safely be made.

The bane of organized labor today is a lack of an object founded on principles that will permanently settle the labor problem. The fact is, organized labor has never made its standard of demands conform to its rights. It has never given its membership an objective really worthy of the manhood justice that is their due. It has never placed before them the only true remedy that can ever be of any permanent benefit to them. Organized labor is entitled to nothing less than the ownership of its industries. No objective less than this will ever permanently hold it together from within. Under present methods its only real combining force now is the outside pressure of oppressing masterhood, not the inward attraction of brotherhood. The little organization we have today is caused by the outside club of the stock and bond managers, not by the inside magnetism of a principle.

Collective ownership and control of the means and machinery of production and the distribution by organized labor intelligently supervised, is the key to the industrial problem; and this must become the acknowledged object of all labor organizations, and its methods should conform to the attainment of this end, namely, to fit and perfect itself for the ownership and management as well as the operation of its industries; and further, the declared purpose of ownership and control by labor organizations must be the preparation of industries of every character for transition from private to public ownership with safety to the nation. Place this object before them and labor organizations will no longer be the disintegrating, wobbling, unsatisfactory things they are today, as soon as some little advantage is gained; no longer will labor orders be but a little see-saw on the rock of membership. Place this object before them and organize them for it and strikes will be a thing of the past. Gradually transform labor orders into business companies or industrial guilds for the actual ownership, management and operation of the machinery of industry and see labor organizations spring from the dead and alive things they are today into real and virile life, and watch them unfold to a wondering world mighty potentialities hitherto lying latent. A new vista now opens out before organized labor. An object worthy of its manhood is presented, permanent and abiding; and at last a real "solution of the labor problem" is presented as a reward for organization.

Debs on Arthur

The following is from the Cleveland Artisan, the daily paper published by the street railway men:

"In response to a telegram sent by President Bryan of the Street Railway Employes' union, to Eugene Debs the following was received:

"Your telegram in reference to P. M. Arthur did not reach me in time to comply with your request. I am not at all surprised to see Arthur on the side of the company and against the employes in the street car strike. This is perfectly consistent with his labor record. Himself a plutocrat in all the term implies, he adds to his contempt for labor, the crime of hypocrisy by pretending to serve it.

"He is the only labor leader in the world who has grown rich at the business. To this malodorous distinction he holds the exclusive title. As for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers under his administration, it is simply auxiliary to the General Managers' association. The railroad companies control it in their own interest, and the thousands of railroad slaves in other departments of the service pay the penalty of Arthur's apostasy. As a matter of course these same railroad companies see to it that Arthur remains in the position he has so long befouled.

"If you will examine the files of the Firemen's Magazine while it was in my editorial charge, you will find many articles in which I stripped Arthur of his mask and exposed his perfidy and his heartless treatment of the working class.

"Yours fraternally,

"Eugene V. Debs.

A TIMELY WARNING TO SKILLED MECHANICS

"NOT A COMMON WORKMAN!"

Possessed of Labor Power Alone and Prevented by Lack of Tools from Applying it, the Skillful are Abjectly Dependent on the Tool-Owning Class

By James Allman, New York

The reference in the last issue of The Herald to the selfish attitude towards other grades of organized labor assumed by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers suggests to my mind a conversation which I had with a skilled mechanic about fifteen years ago. I had been striving to convert to Socialism a most impossible subject. The subject was a Scotchman, Samuel Johnson once said "that a Scotchman can be tamed if he is caught when young." I did not catch this Scotchman very young, and being young and enthusiastic myself, I met with very little success. The man besides being Scotch was a skilled mechanic, a typesetter, and he expressed his contempt for my pleadings in the following manner:

"Your Socialism does not concern me, for I am not a common workman. I belong to the aristocracy of labor and have nothing whatever to fear from that machinery which you say displaces other forms of labor and makes those whose places are taken by machines mere unskilled laborers. Where is the machine which can possibly be made to perform my skilled labor? Could you put human discretion into steel or iron to such an extent that it would reach out over the case and pick up here an "a" and there a "z"? Why, that would be impossible. A machine may be invented to perform a uniform and regular action. You may construct machines to stamp a regular stamp or mold many forms of articles from one cast, continually going through one similarly repeated motion, but a machine can never be invented which will perform the un-uniform and erratic labor which I do."

Fifteen years have passed away since the above words were uttered, and behold! What appeared then to be impossible has been achieved in the onward march of inventive genius. The Mergenthaler typesetting machine, an ingenious contrivance which is worked by means of a keyboard upon which certain letters, figures and punctuation marks are inscribed and which is simpler than a typewriting machine as far as its operation is concerned, now performs the skilled labor which hitherto required the quick eye and hand and the steady, observant brain of a trained "aristocrat of labor."

Now what is there to prevent the capitalists, who employ girls and women in their offices to operate typewriting machines, from employing girls to operate this new typesetter? The only reason why they have not done so already is that they have been prevented by such powerful organizations as Typographical Union No. 6. Organizations which, prior to the invention of the new machines above referred to, became, on account of the peculiarity of their craft, so numerous in membership and so strong financially, that they have for a time performed what appears to be an economic prodigy, i. e., managed to maintain their standard of high wages and short hours until the present, in spite of the introduction of labor-saving machinery into their craft. But the end is at hand. A strike is taking place in this city in the office of the New York Sun, which marks the beginning of an era when probably women and boys will take the places of the men whose skill can be dispensed with on account of the machinery.

We of the Social Democratic Party do not hail the lowering of the standard of the skilled mechanics with anything that savors of pleasure, for we know too well that the flower of the Socialist army is recruited from the ranks of the better class of workers who still have the means to buy books and some little leisure to study them; nevertheless, we cannot refrain from reminding all skilled mechanics who think they are above the level of the proletariat of the triteness of the old adage: "Today to me; tomorrow to thee."

To such laborers as the engineer, whose sudden reduction in wages mentioned in the last issue of The Herald was brought about by the simplification of the mode of locomotion from that of the complex steam engine to the more easily manipulated electric motor, and to such workers as the hitherto well paid compositors, we would suggest that the only ultimate remedy for their condition is that instead of allowing the machine to be their master in the hands of the capitalists they make it their servant by assisting the Socialists to nationalize all the machinery of production and distribution.

(Continued on page 2.)

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1899.

GOVERNMENT RAILROADS

When one reads between the lines of a statement recently made by the third vice-president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad, Paul Morton, the attitude of railway managers at no distant day is foreshadowed. We may reasonably expect at any time to find them ready to negotiate with the government for the sale of the properties. Mr. Morton said:

I believe that one of three things will come to pass in the railroad business of this country: Legalized pooling, consolidation of properties or governmental ownership. Of the three propositions I favor the first one as the most desirable experiment, and believe it will go a long way toward solving the problem. I am not against the second, and there are many indications that it will come in any event, and I am not at all sure that later on it will not be followed by the third. The first one will delay the other two, and any long delay of the last one is to be regarded with great favor.

A number of years ago the then president of the Chicago & Alton railway favored government ownership on the basis of an issue of bonds bearing a high rate of interest, which would have saddled generations unborn with an enormous debt merely to get possession of properties already paid for and built by people who had passed away. Not while the roads are profitable to those who favor private ownership for opportunities of public plunder will the owners care to let go; but when all their schemes for levying tribute on the people have been tried, then they will go to the government with their old junk and want to sell at fabulous prices. And if their class then has control of the government they will succeed in dumping the railroad business of the country on conditions that will do that class the most good.

SOCIALISM IN THE BARRACKS

The German government, which exists by reason of the tyranny and ignorance of the past, and still struts and fumes in the person of the Kaiser and his ministers because a sufficient number have not yet learned the folly of being governed by a class, has two principal causes of grievance against Social Democracy. One is that the doctrines of Socialism find acceptance among those in authority in the institutions of learning; the other that they are given hospitable welcome in the barracks. It is a matter of great annoyance to the mediaeval person who rules Germany, as it is to the capitalists of America, that learning in the universities cannot be confined to the dead past; but that the revolutionary principles of Socialism, which will ultimately prove to be more powerful than all the crowned and uncrowned rulers of the world, penetrate to the class-room and find advocacy among men foremost in science and philosophy. But the German emperor's main prop is not brains but bayonets, and he is again confronted by the continued spread of Socialism among his soldiers. So aggressive has the agitation in the military barracks become that the war minister, acting for his master, has recently published an ordinance intended to stop it. It forbids the soldiers attending meetings and entertainments without the permission of their officers, and threatens severe punishment to those who circulate Socialist literature in the barracks or on the exercise grounds. All officers are commanded to report the least indication of Socialist agitation among the troops.

But the economic revolution consults no emperor and can be stopped by no army and the conversion of men, citizens and soldiers, will not be stopped by any limit line emperors or capitalists can set up.

THE REFERENDUM

All the branches not having acted upon the propositions submitted for a referendary vote, the time for taking the vote has been extended to September 1. The propositions, upon which members will vote "yes" or "no," are as follows:

- (1) That the present constitution be continued and remain operative until the next national convention.
- (2) That the "Demands for Farmers" be eliminated from the platform.
- (3) That the next national convention be held at Indianapolis, Ind.
- (4) That the time for holding the convention be the first Tuesday in March, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m.
- (5) That the following be the basis of representation: Each branch in standing and organized at least 45 days

prior to holding of the convention shall be entitled to one delegate; provided that branches having more than 50 members shall be entitled to an additional representative for each additional 50 members or major portion thereof, and provided further, that no delegate shall represent more than one branch, that of which he is a member.

John Rockefeller sells oil to the people at a profit or over one thousand per cent. But then think how much he gives to have the consolations of the gospel carried to the poor!

The newspaper correspondents at Manila proved that the administration policy in regard to the Philippines is one of systematic lying and deceit; but McKinley still goes to church and still serves the class which gave him the purchased presidency.

The remedy for industrial and social ills is not to be found in the adoption of any money reform whatsoever, but in the restoration to the people of the tools of production by the socialization of the modern machines.

In the steel industry three men with the latest machinery will turn out in ten hours two hundred and fifty tons of steel billets; in 1892 it required one hundred and fifteen men to do the same work in the same time. Say, John, can you think?

All Socialists are pledged by their acceptance of the principles of Socialism to secure the abolition of the wage system and the emancipation of labor from service to the tool-owning class. One may say "I am a Socialist too!" but unless he accepts without compromise the foregoing he is not a Socialist.

Referendum Agitation

We have all heard of the man who strained at a gnat and then swallowed a camel. Comrade Reches as a Socialist does something similar when he strains at the revolutionary Fabian society and then swallows the middle class voting reform, the Referendum. The rottenness of the present social system is so repugnant even to those who after all believe in it, that the more radical among them are trying to make it more palatable by tax reforms, ballot reforms, and various other reforms, too numerous to mention. Comrade Reches swallows this sort of thing, hook, bob and sinker, and then turns upon the Fabian society of revolutionaries, and cries, "Middle class! Middle class!" Why? Because the Fabians were so indiscreet as to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee.

Comrade Reches seems to believe that with direct legislation we could vote in Socialism. Let him disabuse himself: Socialism will not be voted in until the people really want it. The radical impulse today is divided and confused. It is composed of middle class discontent even more than the revolt of toilers—and that middle class discontent is not revolutionary, but entirely selfish and personal. It is made up of jealousy, because the big fleecers are getting more than the little hawks. The hawks want to be vultures, they want to rise to higher planes of exploitation. Naturally these fellows have great hopes for the Referendum also. They hope to vote in certain "reforms" that will clip the wings of the big fleecers in favor of the little fleecers—the Referendum is their game, and were it in operation today they would doubtless succeed in marshaling the hosts of prejudice and ignorance into an army of voters to "down the department store and trusts," and to the devil with the natural social development.

What the referendum does in the little state of Switzerland cuts little figure with us. The question is what would it do in the broad expanse of America, with that woful creature, the American politician, as its guardian and professed friend. Switzerland is such a little tract of land that it could be taken out to some one of our western states and lost.

Comrade R. says that Fabians celebrated the Queen's Jubilee and that it was a terrible thing. Perhaps it was. I do not know. But it must not be forgotten that Fabians are not a political party, but merely a small society of men of culture and learning, whose guiding principle is "permeation." That is, they seek to spread Socialistic ideas from the inside of various organizations, rather than from without. The members of the society are ready for all sorts of service, street speaking, lecturing, and so on. They make friends wherever possible and do not seek to advertise Socialism by being queer, but by making themselves at one with the various classes. Their plan is not without merit, though sneered at by the un-Marxlike Marxites in the S. D. F. of England. If celebrating the Queen's Jubilee would get them any more attention for their teaching on the part of the "patriotic" British worker, I do not know that I have any particular objection. Anyway it is unwise to judge such a case from a distance and without knowing the British situation and the British temperament. If anything, Socialists err in being too exclusive. We like to hold aloof from society as it exists, because we do not approve of it. This doubtless lessens our influence with the people.

Frederick Heath.
Milwaukee, Wis.

Wants the Whole Truth

"If the farmers cannot be reached by the same scientific statement with which we appeal to all other citizens, it proves one of two things," etc., says Comrade Martin. This depends on just what we mean by a scientific statement. Science concerns itself with all the facts. If we go to the farmer with an alleged scientific statement as to the world movement toward democracy and tell him that concentration is the law in all lines, we simply do not tell him the truth—we cover up the fact that concentration is not going on among the farmer class. The cause that deals in half truths does not deserve to succeed.

Prof. Holmes, whom he quotes, is himself drawing on his imagination when, in speaking of the now decreased wage of the farm "hands," he says, "we do not know how many dependents (they have) upon them in their families." He is simply sentimentalizing.

The fact is that farm "hands" do not, as a rule, have families. When they marry they set up in farming on their own hook, land being cheap and easily got.

"Now I want to ask if the interests of these employes and employers are identical, and if not, whose interests do the Social Democratic Party represent?" says Comrade Martin.

Aye, true, whose indeed! Is it the average farmer, whose class is increasing, whose poverty is proverbial, who is fleeced on all sides, who works harder than his "hired man," and who dies before his time, bent, hisshapen and broken down, yet who, because he has a man to help him for a wage, is classed as an employer? Or, is it the "hired hand" who works alongside his employer, as they used to under the old guild system, and who is not held to such relation by economic pressure—as the city wage slave is—and who has the opportunity, which he means to take advantage of, of setting up in business for himself some day, once he has secured a domestic helpmate? Is there such a difference between these men that we should take up the cause of one against the other? Or, honestly now, are they not one class practically, and a growing though an unfortunate class and one that Socialism if it is to make good its claim to being scientific must recognize as such?

Comrade Martin wants to preach the same philosophy to the farmers that is preached to the toiler in the city. I can predict what the result will be. In Germany, where the farmer question is being more and more thought over, they have tried to preach the same thing to both city and country. On Sundays workmen from the cities would pour out into the country, making speeches and flooding the places they visited with literature intended for manufacturing conditions, and the countrymen would stare at them with their mouths open and wonder what it was all about. Then the zealous workers would write to the papers about the great work accomplished in the rural districts and everyone would expect a great harvest. "But when the fresh laurels of that agitation had begun to wither," said a speaker at one of the German congresses, "exaggerated hopes gave way to mournings and lamentation." This foreshadows our own experience if we attempt to tell the farmer that every single line of activity is tending to consolidation. What the condition may be in the misty future is not the question. It is of present tendencies that we are now concerned in our platform drafting. When consternation begins in the rural districts is time enough to say so. We are dealing with the present. So much has been said about bonanza farms that people cannot get it out of their heads that things are tending in that direction. As a matter of fact the great Dalrymple farm is virtually bankrupt. The Sienly estate in Pennsylvania has always really been divided into small holdings. Wayfarer.

Is There Any Substitute?

Can we have a substitute for majority rule?

This is the question that naturally arises after reading Com. Hourwich's article in the last issue of the Social Democratic Herald. He said there that, "to advocate majority rule means for a Socialist to make the attainment of even palliative measures for the partial betterment of the condition of the working class wholly dependent upon the will of the middle class," who, in his opinion, are in a majority both in Germany and here in the United States. I should like very much to know what is his authority for this statement. I believe that the great majority in every nation are poor, that they belong to the "lower" state of society, and only a comparatively small number belong to the comfortable "middle" class, and a quite infinitesimal number belong to the "upper" or rich class. I take the expression "middle" class to mean the middle between riches and poverty. And I assert that the great majority are everywhere poverty-stricken and will benefit immensely by Socialism.

Com. Hourwich's argument logically leads to minority rule, the most unjust and absurd of all governments.

The majority might not always be just and wise, but neither is any considerable minority endowed by the virtue of infallibility. If majority rule is to be deprecated, then not only the referendum

and initiative, but even universal suffrage itself will have to go.

What then can we have in its place? Shall we say that only those who possess a certain amount of property are to have a voice in legislation? This would be a very good scheme for the possessors of property, and as for the effect that such a "reform" will undoubtedly have on the workingmen it is needless for me to dwell upon.

Shall we introduce educational qualifications? By raising the standard sufficiently high, we no doubt can exclude the vile majority.

I am surprised that Com. Hourwich should attack the principles of majority rule. They can be logically attacked only by upholders of royalty and aristocracy on one hand, and by individualist anarchists on the other. The first would bring about slavery, the second a complete anarchy and disorder. I cannot believe Com. Hourwich capable of upholding either of these alternatives; how then can he reject majority rule?

Com. Hourwich's statement, that the chief argument in favor of direct legislation is the desire to strengthen the authority of the majority is also very original. As a matter of fact, under the representative system majority rule is fully recognized, and we advocate the direct control by the people over legislation for altogether different reasons. In my previous articles I have enumerated some of them. Let me now repeat only a few of them. I asserted, and still assert, that the representative system turned out an absolute failure, that it is sunk in corruption, that it lost the confidence and respect of the people, that it miserably failed in the chief task of a free government, i. e., in educating the people, in giving them political knowledge, and that under it the people are as devoid of political knowledge as the people of Russia or Turkey. These heaven-crying abuses of the representative system are the real arguments in favor of direct, pure democracy.

But the most extraordinary thing in Com. Hourwich's letter is the exaggerated preference which he gives to the principle of proportional representation over the referendum system. Proportional representation is a good thing in itself, but it is a small measure in comparison with the referendum. The referendum necessarily includes proportional representation, because the larger includes the less. Under no system of proportional representation can the minority make itself so heard as under the direct democracy, where everyone has a voice in the grand legislative chamber, the whole voting nation. The importance of the proportional referendum representation dates from the time of Mill and Hare, fifty years ago. But in their time direct democracy was almost unknown. Parliaments were all powerful. Therefore the great importance of having all opinions fairly represented in the legislative chambers. If the minority could not make itself heard in the hall of the legislature, it was condemned to silence and impotence. Things have greatly changed since then. The growth of direct democracy makes the legislatures less and less important. What the legislatures lose, the people win.

New York. S. Reches.

In the decade from 1880 to 1890 the new mechanical power put in operation was equivalent to the labor-power of forty million men. Yet we find workmen with no capital but their labor-power supporting the two parties that maintain the right of private ownership of the modern means of production.

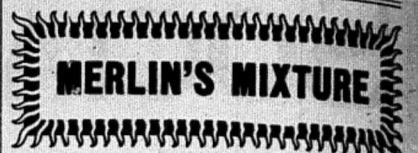
Labor pays rent, interest, profit and taxes. They are the methods used to exploit labor and maintain the capitalist class and governments in the interest of that class. Only when land and productive capital become social property will labor receive the socially-due share of its product.

The discovery of a tax swindle syndicate by which 400 business firms of Chicago are alleged to have filed fraudulent schedules through "agents" who were paid according to the amount of taxes saved for their principals, is another illustration of the methods that patriots resort to to keep the cost of patriotism down to the minimum.

A TIMELY WARNING TO SKILLED MECHANICS

(Concluded from page 1.)

Benjamin Franklin defined man as "a tool-using animal." Take the tool from this animal and he becomes more helpless and dependent than any other form of animal life. Possessed of his labor power alone and prevented by lack of tools from applying it, he becomes abjectly dependent upon the tool-owning class, the capitalists who alone have the money to invest in the expensive and complicated tools, modern machinery. The Rev. Charles H. Vail truly remarks in his "Modern Socialism," Chap. II., page 14:—"As tools are used in common, they should be owned in common. The private ownership in the instruments of production is becoming more and more incompatible with the nature of these instruments. Their magnitude and social character mark them for social ownership and management."



MERLIN'S MIXTURE

The Seedling

Last spring a little seedling grew
Within my garden plot,
And day by day I watched the plant
Develop from a dot.

Its tiny shoots of tender green
First ventured through the mould,
And slowly each outgrowing leaf
Its larger self unrolled.

The plant grew larger every day,
With broader, higher spread,
Till finally a baby bud
Peeped shyly from its bed.

Next day I went to view the flower,
But to my sorrow found
The plant, crushed down by passing foot,
Lay dead upon the ground.

A mother bent above her child,
With tender love and care,
Admiring, with a mother's eyes,
Its form and features fair.

She watched the tiny infant grow
Into the larger child;
Whose merry prattle, never still,
The passing hours beguiled.

She watched the child become the boy,
Who with his playmates ran,
And finally beheld the youth—
The blossom of the man.

She saw the youth go forth to earn
A pittance in the street;
At last she saw him crushed and cursed
By man's brutal feet!

The Labor Root

I broke a branch from off a tree,
And still the tree remained;
And by the very loss of one,
The other branches gained.

I passed a bush of verdant growth,
And picked a lot of leaves,
But still the leaf-loom of the stem
An endless raiment weaves.

I plucked the fairest flower that bloomed
Upon a certain bush,
But upwards still a score of buds
Their hidden blossoms push.

I picked a plant up by the roots,
And laid it on its side,
But later found leaf, limb and all
Had withered up and died!

So in the plant of social life,
Of which we form a part;
The single leaf of life may die,
And not the social heart.

A branch of business may decline,
While other trades may gain;
The flowers of art and culture fall,
And still the life remain.

But once destroy the labor root,
And social life must fall,
For on the root depends the life
Of art and trade and all.

Then guard the working class from harm,
On them depend the rest;
The patriot who seeks their weal
Shall serve his country best.

The Cursed Seed

Two seeds fell from the selfsame pod,
And dropped upon the ground;
Alike in parentage and power,
An unlike fortune found.

One fell upon a fertile spot
Where warmth and moisture both
Combined to give its inner life
The fullness of its growth.

The other, caught by gust of wind,
Fell in the sterile sand,
Where sun and soil refused to let
Its larger life expand.

The one seed blossomed into flower,
With charm of sight and scent;
The other shriveled up and died,
Cursed by environment!

And so two baby lives were born,
The seedlings of the man;
But by the force of circumstance
A different life-course ran.

Though with the same potential power,
And kin by bond of blood,
The one became a manhood flower,
And one a blasted bud.

Then seek we Socialism's laws
That equal rights insure,
To save the blighted human seeds—
The children of the poor.

When human right shall sway the world,
Instead of human chance;
Then never shall our children face
The curse of circumstance!

Then let these garden smiles
This larger lesson tell—
That he who betters social life,
Shall better man as well.

One hour's solicitation per week for The Herald would do wonders. Some give it. Do you?

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.

CALIFORNIA
Branch No. 1, San Francisco, Cal., holds propaganda meetings every Sunday night at 8 p. m., at Temple 117.

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

CONNECTICUT
Branch 3 (Comm.), New Haven, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesdays in the month, at 252 Cedar St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Frank St.

INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street.

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch 1, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springdale Turner Hall.

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main street.

MISSOURI
St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. address all communications to E. Val. Putnam, Secretary.

NEW YORK
Branch 10 (4 Ass'n Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of the New York Labor, 107 Henry St.

OHIO
Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlson's Hall, 65 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. L. Hall, 716 State street.

WISCONSIN
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 368 Jefferson st.

Connecticut

The branch organization at Rockville, July 13th, has for the last month met every week, and discussed the question, "How are we to get the ball rolling?"

California Coming

The following news and greeting from Comrade Arthur R. Andre, of San Francisco, will elicit a hearty response from comrades in 25 States of the Union.

"Branch No. 2, Los Angeles organized to night, with an enthusiastic meeting. "With San Francisco and Los Angeles in line the rest of the state will soon follow."

Convention and Constitution

Comrades, don't, don't, don't waste all your time over the discussion of our constitution. A party constitution is largely a matter of red tape, and it will never be perfect, and it is barely possible that we might as a political party win Socialism without any constitution.

Arouse to Action!

On Wednesday, August 9, the Tenth Assembly District of New York was organized with ten members. This promises to be a good branch, and it is certainly in a district where good work can be done.

The Herald in Bundles

25 copies \$.20
50 copies35
100 copies65
200 copies 1.20

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Appeal to Reason Kansas \$ 1.00
Eugene V. Debs Indiana50
"John Conway" New York25

their wives and children going without the necessities of life? Who has more cause for discontent? They ask for more pay and are thrown out of employment, there being hundreds to fill their places.

Now is the time for action! The battle cry has sounded. Gird on your armor. Show your owners (for you are owned) that you no longer will be their slaves.

New Branches

Los Angeles has joined hands with San Francisco to sustain the movement for Socialism and the propaganda of the Social Democratic party so auspiciously begun in the last named city a few weeks ago.

Out of the Mists

We are passing from the mists of individualism to the sunlight of collectivism and brotherhood. It stands for a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

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Farmers and Farm Laborers

The temptation is too strong and I wish to say a few "Notes" more. Farmers, unlike capitalist manufacturers, increase; the total increase from 1880 to 1890 being 555,734, or an average increase of 55,573 farmers every year in the United States.

More than 150,000 farms contain less than ten acres of land. More than 1,300,000 contain less than fifty acres, and more than 55 per cent. of the farms in this country contain less than 100 acres.

In other words, every time some capitalist engages in bonanza farming, 191.6 farmers engage in small farming.

Some Socialists seem to think that the average farmer has all the instincts of the cruel capitalist. It is safe to say that nine-tenths of the small farmers north of Mason and Dixon's line have been, and are in part at present, farm wage hands.

It may be well right here for us to recognize that the farmer and his wife work more hours and harder than any other class and that their income is less.

Our farm wage hands number over 3,000,000 by the census. Nearly, or quite, one-half of these are colored, and live in the South.

What prospect is there that the one million white farm laborers, wage hands, will become Socialists? I quote from Comrade Eugene Hough, of Massachusetts, that splendid writer and Socialist comrade.

And so the picture could be drawn of the conditions of farm laborers in all the various branches; the cowboys, the sheep herders, the fruit and the vegetable men, all are in similar degraded and brutish conditions.

There is ten times the prospect of winning the average farmer to Social Democracy that there is of winning his farm hand.

From a Socialist standpoint there is nothing unscientific in our "Farmers' Demands," and they would aid in winning the farmers to our party.

However, certain things have recently happened, which point in the near future to certain new alignments in our Socialist movement in America.

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AS TO THE FUTURE OF AGRICULTURE

In the Herald of the 12th inst. "Wayfarer" truly says: "While concentration and expropriation march remorselessly on in all other lines the agricultural class remains at a standstill or even moves in an opposite direction."

Bernstein and Gronlund have called attention before to this phenomenon and have caused many besides "Wayfarer" to doubt whether the Marxian law of the concentration of capital was applicable to agriculture.

The fact is that up to this time the competition of the cheap and fertile lands of the growing west has kept the rate of profit in agriculture below the rate usual in banking, mercantile business, manufacture and transportation.

But we have not long to wait, for the arable areas are now all or nearly all occupied, and we may soon look for a rapid and continuous advance in the price of breadstuffs.

This advance in breadstuffs will raise the rate of profit in agriculture and capital will rush into the new field and, when this occurs, "Wayfarer" will see "concentration" and expropriation march "as remorselessly" in agriculture as "in all other lines."

The President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sir William Crookes, F. R. S., in his inaugural address in Bristol, England, last September, called attention to this exhaustion of the arable areas and its probable future effects on the scarcity of breadstuffs.

For the last thirty years the United States have been the dominant factor in the foreign supply of wheat, exporting no less than 145,000,000 bushels.

This shows how the bread eating world has depended, and still depends, on the United States for the means of subsistence. The entire world's contributions to the food-bearing area have averaged but 4,000,000 acres yearly since 1860.

It is scarcely possible that such an average, under existing conditions, can be doubled for the coming twenty-five years.

Almost yearly, since 1885, additions to the wheat-growing area had been diminished, while the requirements of the increasing population of the States have advanced, so that the needed American supplies have been drawn from the acreage hitherto used for exportation.

Practically there remains no uncultivated prairie land in the United States suitable for wheat growing. The virgin land has been rapidly absorbed, until at present there is no land left for wheat without reducing the area for maize, hay and other necessary crops.

"It is almost certain that within a generation the ever increasing population of the United States will consume all the wheat grown within its borders, and will be driven to import, and, like ourselves, will scramble for a lion's share of the wheat crop of the world."

The details of the impending catastrophe no one can predict, but its general direction is obvious enough. Should all the wheat-growing countries add to their area to the utmost capacity, on the most careful calculation the yield would give us only an addition of some 100,000,000 acres, supplying at the average world-yield of 12.7 bushels to the acre, 1,270,000,000 bushels, just enough to supply the increase of population among bread-eaters till the year 1931.

At the present time there exists a deficit in the wheat area of 31,000 square miles—a deficit marked by the fact that the ten world crops of wheat harvested in the ten years ending 1896 were more than 5 per cent above the average of the previous twenty-six years.

"When provision shall have been made, if possible, to feed 230,000,000 units likely to be added to the bread-eating population by 1931—by the complete occupancy of the arable areas of the temperate zone now partially occupied—where can be grown the additional 330,000,000 bushels of wheat required ten years later by a hungry world?

What is to happen if the present rate of population be maintained, and if arable areas of sufficient extent cannot be adapted and made contributory to the subsistence of so great a host?

"Are we to go hungry and to know the trial of scarcity? That is the poignant question." These facts given upon the high authority of Sir William Crookes, will scarcely be disputed. That they lend no real support to the Malthusian doctrine I have not the time and space to show, but they do indisputably prove that the palmy days of agriculture are in the near future.

When those days come and bring with them the capitalistic evolution of agriculture, the facts will once again vindicate Marx and confound his critics. Robert Rives La Monte.

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

