

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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## SOCIALIST MOVEMENT FEARED BY DEMOCRATS

A Salaried and Demagogic Scribbler  
on Hearst's Chicago American  
Vents His Spleen on  
The Socialists

### TWENTIETH CENTURY PAPER

Desperate Attempts Will be Made by the  
Democratic Press to Turn the Tide  
of Socialism—A Political  
Exorcism

By Ben. Atterbury

The leaders of the democratic party are in desperate hope of leading the people to understand them; the harder they apply themselves to their great task the more certain it becomes that they are doomed to failure. And the reason of it is to be found in the insincerity of the leaders; they are for the most part confused in their thinking, contradictory in speech, antagonistic in policy and hypocritical in profession.

Nothing is more pregnant with civic hypocrisy and damnation than the so-called "regenerated" democracy. For years it has coquetted with and seduced every third party movement that has come into existence, protesting its only desire to be the accomplishment of the reforms these parties have advocated, but really for the sole purpose of coralling votes sufficient in local, state and national elections to gain control of the public spoils by turning the republicans out.

Where this party of noisy profession and niggardly performance has been in control it has always proved itself equally capitalistic with the republican party, and it has done no more for the masses of the people, the working class. Such poor conception of civic duty as the leaders of this party have is confined to a consideration of individual aggrandizement at the expense of the people. This they call "individual liberty."

It denounces trusts in the North, lustily proclaiming a profound interest in the working man, and shares in the benefits of trusts and white slavery in the South.

It declares the financial question to be as dead as Julius Caesar, and reaffirms the 16 to 1 rot of the Chicago and Omaha platforms.

Its press buys professional sophists to write fallacious arguments about "far-reaching vital policies," to deaden the conscience and intelligence of the people to issues that are really vital.

It is too cowardly to face these issues and too hypocritical to espouse them.

Having destroyed by chicanery and double-dealing every third party movement up to date, this boastful democracy now finds itself up against a harassing obstacle to its success in the Social Democratic Party. It is writhing and venting its spleen at third parties in general and the Socialist party in particular. The paper selected for the propaganda (can you believe it?) is Hearst's Chicago American. The scribbler to whom the assignment has been given is James Creelman, a person who probably never had an intellectual conviction on any subject under the sun that was not readily convertible into cash for use in a capitalistic newspaper.

Of the Chicago American it may be said that it is "the twentieth century newspaper," if we are to accept the say-so of its publisher. Some of us, however, will prefer not to accept that as final. Some of us have ideas of our own about a twentieth century newspaper. That they would not be approved by the Chicago American is clear from the fact that in its first edition this paper said: "It will demand the construction by Americans of the greatest navy of the world; this navy to protect us against foreign foes, WHICH ALONE WE HAVE TO FEAR."

I have been groping around under the delusion, as it now appears, that the real enemies of this republic, according to the democratic party, were the imperialists—Hanna, McKinley, Roosevelt, and that set. But here comes the chief (and newest) organ of Bryanism in these parts with the information that our "foreign foes" are the only ones "we have to fear." This insidious enemy of republican institutions, imperialism, is, after all, only a scarecrow of rags. So we will encourage and "demand" that costly appendage of imperialism on the seas, the "greatest navy of the world"! That is a noble ambition for the beginning of the twentieth century! Encircled by a belt of five-million-dollar battleships,

what perfect repose and serenity will be ours in the thought that we, the working slaves of America, have no foes to fear at home! Hurrah for DEMOCRATIC PROTECTION!

Creelman has discovered that the Socialists "threaten and harass the democratic party." In this condition of affairs he sees an ominous sign of catastrophe to the country. Annoyed by the uncompromising attitude of Socialists and seeing no way by which the third party can be tricked and absorbed by the democratic tiger, he proceeds to earn his salary by heaping abuse and epithets upon its adherents. They are "cowards," "hypocrites," "poltroons," "degenerates" and "traitors." This is good democratic argument. Bankrupt in principle, with no policy of its own save that of opposition to the party in power, "threatened and harassed" by the growing spirit of Socialism, in which the working class is now coming to see its only hope of emancipation from capitalistic exploitation, this spurious political aggregation in which the spirit of democracy is also as dead as Julius Caesar, vents its wrath through its hired penmen and splutters about the "civic treason" of a voter who fails to support the absurd, out-of-date and reactionary policies advocated in a confused sort of way by Mr. Bryan, Governor Stone of Missouri and Jim Creelman the penman. The latter obviously has no conception of what the Socialist movement is, although he is afraid it will "overwhelm and engulf the moderate policy of the democratic party." I should say that nothing more truly beneficial to the world could happen than the complete defeat of a party that has been one of the principal instrumentalities in this country for the promotion of political jobbery and the debauchery of civic honor. A party whose agents and emissaries (and even its journalists, excluding Creelman) try to entice and seduce voters into its bailiwick with the assurance that Bryan himself is a "Socialist, too"; a party that only a few days ago claimed through some of its Chicago leaders (was Creelman one?) to have influence enough with the Social Democrats to arrange for the withdrawal of their presidential candidate about October 1; a party that systematically strives to turn voters away from the only movement that can help them by hypocritical profession and cowardly slander; a party that prates about a "great national peril," and in making its appeal to the conscience of the people has the brazen effrontery to say: "IT IS NOTORIOUS THAT MR. HANNA, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, IS ASSISTING MR. DEBS, THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT," such a party deserves to be swept into oblivion instead of into the White House.

If there is any degeneracy in this country more pitiable than that of democratic politicians and writers, we shall have to look for it among the politicians and writers of the republican party. It has never yet been found in third party movements. The statement by Creelman appeared editorially in Hearst's Chicago American last Sunday. It is, of course, a premeditated and malicious lie; but what the degenerated democratic party lacks in argument it must make up for in lying, and Creelman, who must earn his salary, seems to be equal to the requirements.

If in the approaching election this party shall be defeated, and its defeat so thorough and complete as to forever extinguish it and its capitalistic lackeys, leaving the Socialists to confront the banded lords of plunder (with Creelman thrown in) some progress will have been achieved and a flagrant evil will be removed from the arena of politics. No wage earner should help to galvanize this dead body of democracy.

When Creelman prattles about "individual liberty" he simply repeats nonsense that was exploded long ago—but he doesn't know it.

When Creelman asks the people to study the political lessons of the republics of the past, he gives them dangerous advice for his paltry cause, but I hope they will do it. When he undertakes the role of fabricating lies to deceive the people he is a genuine democratic success. When he essays the part of a public educator he is a genuine democratic failure.

A statement made recently in The Herald to the effect that Comrade J. W. Kelley, who is a member of the city council at Marion and our candidate for governor of Indiana, was the first Socialist elected to office in that State, was not strictly correct. Comrade W. J. Croke was elected to the Marion council at the same time and is now candidate for State Auditor, and Sebastian Fezier, of Alexandria, the party's nominee for Court Reporter, was elected to the council in Alexandria on the same day.

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## SUMMARY OF MARX'S CRITICISM CONTINUED

Difference Noted Between "Cost of  
Production" and "Price of  
Production"—The Com-  
position of Capital

### THE SUBSTANCE OF VALUE

How the Law of Competition Continually  
Forces the Individual Producer to  
Give Way to the Syndicate  
and the Trust

By A. F. Hazell

Marx, in his examination of the growth of capital, deals with "price of production" and "cost of production" of commodities, which clears up many seeming difficulties to the lay student. By "cost of production" is meant the actual time spent on or incorporated in a commodity. By "price of production" is meant the amount of money asked for it.

Marx, to show the divergence arising between "cost of production" and "price of production," enters into an analysis of the relative quantity which constant capital bears to variable capital: the one representing the instruments of industry and the other labor-power. These two factors comprise what he calls the "composition of capital."

The composition of capital shows that price of production corresponds with the rate of profit which is common to any particular industry. In some industries there is a great amount of capital paid out in wages. And vice versa. The proportion that the one portion of capital bears to the other is always changing. For instance, a capitalist is always trying to sell cheaper than his neighbor. To do this he obtains labor-saving machinery. He employs more capital but less labor. Though there may be less value because less labor, he still wants the same rate of profit on the whole of his capital. It is nothing to him whether his capital employs one hundred more men or one hundred less, so long as full interest is secured on the employment of his larger capital. In one industry much labor is used and but little raw material, in another industry exactly obverse conditions obtain; but they both exact the same rate of profit on the capital employed. Each industry may be regarded as having an "evolution of its own" and varies with the relative composition of its capital accordingly. Thus we see a disturbing factor in the rate of profit and in the composition of capital which does not allow the true value of any individual commodity to express itself by labor time, though in the mass such commodities necessarily conform to their real cost of production.

Custom and convention is responsible for the interference with the cost of labor as represented by the standard of comfort. Social custom enables one class of workers to demand a price quite out of proportion to what they produce. They secure a purchasing power at the expense of their fellows. What they receive over their own efforts their more unfortunate brethren have to supply. And thus a further disturbing factor is introduced into the composition of capital. These arbitrary deviations from labor become crystallized, as it were, in a commodity. Given these crystallized forms of priced labor, and alter the quantity of labor in the commodity, and it falls and rises in accordance with the decrease or increase of the quantity of labor, showing that labor is the determining factor of value.

Sometimes objection is taken to Marx reducing labor to an abstract quantity

### A CHRISTIAN EMPEROR TO HIS SOLDIERS

If you close with the enemy, remember this: Spare nobody. Make no prisoners. Use your weapons so that for a thousand years hence no Chinaman will dare look askance at any German. Open the way for CIVILIZATION once for all. The blessings of the Lord be with you. May the blessing of God rest on your banners, and may He vouchsafe to you to find a path for CHRISTIANITY in that far-off land.

—William of Germany to Troops about to leave for China.

to explain the seeming anomaly between "price of production" and "cost of production," but Marx in doing this conforms to the principle of the scientific truths. Herbert Spencer, in his "Data of Ethics," Sec. 104, writes: "Scientific truths, of whatever order, are reached by eliminating, perturbing or conflicting factors, when (by dealing with fundamental factors in the abstract, not as presented in actual phenomena, but as presented in ideal separation, general laws have been ascertained) it becomes possible to draw inferences in concrete cases by taking into account incidental factors. But it is only by first ignoring those and recognizing the essential elements alone that we can discover the essential truth sought."

And in illustration of the above principle he quotes the following: "The course of projectiles having been theoretically settled as though they moved through a vacuum, are afterwards settled in more exact correspondence with fact by taking in account atmospheric resistance. We are shown that no scientific establishment of relative truth is possible until the absolute truths have been formulated independently."

Before we can understand the price form of value, which is the concrete expression of value, we must first of all get a clear conception of what the underlying substance is which forms value so as to enable us to recognize any deviation on infringement of that law by arbitrary social influences.

Marx thus found it necessary first of all to give his attention to the actual substance of value. In resolving it into abstract human labor he conformed to the methods adopted by the most eminent scientists in their search for scientific truth. In adopting this method, Marx no doubt made his subject somewhat difficult for the ordinary reader to follow who has never perhaps troubled to make himself acquainted with any single scientific truth. The apparent conflicting phenomena in economics are not greater, however, than what present themselves in any other science, and the cry of "difficult to understand," "dry and abstruse" are poor excuses for neglecting to maintain the argument adduced by Marx.

Marx goes on to point out that the law of competition continually gives the victory to the larger capital, the individual capitalist having to give way to the joint-stock company, the latter giving way to the combine or syndicate, and the syndicate giving way to the trust—the trust in its turn giving way to the collective control of wealth by the municipality and community. This principle of competition destroys itself when it reaches the stage of monopoly, giving way to collectivization of wealth. The State has already taken over the manufacture of weapons and the manufacture of clothes for its soldiers; and controls the telegraphs, postage, carriage of parcels, and runs railways; while the municipalities supply their own water, gas, build their own schools, baths, and wash-houses, libraries, erect dwellings, and bid fair to become serious competitors to capitalists in many industries. Complete collectivism means universal co-operation, which in its turn involves social equality.

Commodities will disappear with the realization of collectivism, because exchange will no longer exist. Competition will also have exhausted itself and given way to universal co-operation. The economic value of an article will then be openly expressed by the number of hours taken to produce it.

Price will no longer conceal the labor time of individual commodities; cost of production measured by time will then be the recognized standard measure of economic value.

#### NINETEENTH CENTURY DECALOG

Thou shalt have one God only: who Would be at the expense of two?  
No graven images may be  
Worshipped, except the currency;  
Swear not at all: for, for thy curse Thine enemy is none the worse:  
At church on Sunday to attend Will serve to keep the world thy friend:  
Honor thy parents: that is, all From whom advancement may befall;  
Thou shalt not kill: but needs not strive Officially to keep alive;  
Do not adultery commit:  
Advantage rarely comes of it;  
Thou shalt not steal: an empty feat  
When it's so lucrative to cheat;  
Bear not false witness: let the lie Have the time on its own wings to fly;  
Thou shalt not covet; but tradition Approves all forms of competition.

A. U. CLOUGH.

Those comrades who have received copies of the Debs campaign portrait are so well pleased with it that they are ordering. The campaign committee has fixed on the following prices: Single copy, 10 cents; 5 for 20 cents; 10 for 35 cents, and 20 for 60 cents.

26 weeks for 20 cents.

## COMMON WEAL AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE

Socialism Does Not Threaten to  
Suppress but to Elevate Individu-  
ality—Striding Toward it  
with Seven-League Boots

### COMING SOLIDARITY OF MAN

Philosophy of Socialism in Accord with that  
of Evolution—The Conscious Socialist  
Movement a Rebellion of Free  
Individualities

By W. C. Owen

In the long debate that mankind has held over its history it has hammered out one type as its ideal; a type uniting the virility of self-assertion with the femininity of self-abnegation; a type vehement in its insistence on the right of private initiative, and persistent in the subordination of its own conduct to the common weal. The womanly tenderness and the pronounced manhood of Christ bear each their equal charm, and Napoleon the egoist is tolerated for the sake of Napoleon the patriot. The judgment of the world at large is clear upon the subject, and the world has not passed its judgment in a hurry.

Every movement has, therefore, a double task before it; it must prove that the measures it proposes will elevate the type, and it must prove that it will not be careless of the single life. If it threatens to be a disintegrating force it will alarm the gregarious instinct, which is very strong; if it threatens to suppress individuality the instinct of self-preservation will immediately take fright. In proportion as one or other of these instincts is unduly developed there is also developed the tendency to exalt the claims of society at the expense of the individual, or vice versa. The understanding that the claims of each are in every way identical and inseparable comes only after long debate.

Such a debate the whole Socialist movement has been passing through from the time when Marx and Bakunin quarreled over the conduct of the International. Looking backward we can see that the split was unavoidable; looking forward we can also see that a reunion is as certain. Of the near approach of that reunion the presence in the movement of such men as William Morris and Oscar Wilde is a very obvious sign. Both have a world-wide reputation as interpreters of that art whose breath is individualism, and whose essence is harmonious combination.

The gregarious instinct will not be denied; and today, when the possibilities of solidarity are such as the past had never dreamed of, it proclaims itself more imperiously than ever. For all to whom opportunities of study have been afforded the intellectual horizon has expanded, within this century, beyond the power of computation, and largeness is inevitably the prevailing note. We no longer grope our way with timid steps we stride with seven-league boots to our conclusions. The toil of countless generations has put a mass of details at our disposition, and the task of this generation is to sum them up. This tendency shows itself everywhere. The closest investigator of the age, Charles Darwin, is also its boldest generalizer, and the researches of a Pasteur or a Koch rivet attention through our comprehension of the role of the infinitely little as infinitely great. Our commerce circles the globe, and the markets of both hemispheres, in spite of reactionary protective tariffs, rise and fall in unison. In politics we still play at patriotism to wheedle the mob, but the thoughtful are all internationalists at heart. We ransack the god-cupboards of every age and race, seeking materials for the construction of a religion of—Humanity, which, in the face of Philistine sneers, we practically, in our hearts, all spell with capitals. The intense individuality of a conspicuously restless epoch is everywhere alive with the instinct of solidarity, and the veriest hermits of us all—the Thoreaus, the Ruskins and the Tolstoys—far from being mere disinterested spectators of the game, are feverishly anxious that it should be played in accordance with the only rules which, in their judgment, can lead to universal success.

All this splendid individuality, it is said, Socialism would crush; putting hu-

(Continued on Fourth Page)

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1900.

**WHAT HISTORY TEACHES**  
**THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT**

History shows man for centuries trying to adjust himself to a government or to associate himself with his fellows without giving up any rights he enjoyed in the wild forests as "monarch of all he surveyed." Out of the first associations grew despotism and military life, resulting in the slavery of one class to another of superior force. Slavery without industry would have been an expensive luxury for the victor, so industry followed—the slaves were put to work building tombs and monuments. Finally industry became specialized and the slave became a free man by purchase or as a reward. Increasing numbers of free men threatened and eventually overthrew despots and, by slow but steady progress, passed through the feudal system and the age of hand manufacture, or apprenticeship. The people then were of greater importance and the rulers less powerful, until the French and American revolutions opened a way for representative forms of government.

Hand craft is no longer possible, and the heirs of past great estates and kingdoms have taken the advantage offered by this modern machine age to organize industries into gigantic trusts. Government has changed accordingly the old despot formerly controlling ten thousand slaves is now an industrial organizer or machine owner, controlling ten thousand men by means of wages, which they must have, for running the machines he controls. Government is now a shield behind which the machine owner entrenches himself, and continues in his power.

Economy of production and distribution is the plan of the machine age, of trusts and industrial organizations. This is not yet perfected. Department stores of today far excel in their completeness the state fairs of a few years ago, but the delivery wagons of a dozen different department stores hourly pass along the same thoroughfares, perhaps to the same apartment house to deliver goods. This is a great waste of labor, as are also the duplicate stores, show goods, clerks, advertisements, managers—and profits. A few years only are required to centralize these into one management. Like the manufacturing trusts of sugar, ice, iron, coal, and even a money trust. The next step is for the people who make these things and depend upon them for a living to take control instead of allowing one man to rule as a despot the entire product or distribution of any article.

Education is teaching the people to rule themselves and that the only humane solution to the industrial organizing and centralizing system is to place the combined product of men's genius and labor for centuries at the command and within the reach of all by the people owning and operating the machines and doing away with the wage enslaving system.

Evolution along this line is now going on, yet so noiselessly that one who would advocate private letter carrying, private parks and life saving stations, private railroads, parcel posts, telegraphs, etc. (in Europe), or private gas, electric and car lines in various American cities would be considered a century behind the times, or crazy.

Conviction is growing among authors, poets, scientists, business men, students, and all classes of people, that the outcome of centralizing can only be public ownership, dividing among all the people the benefits of centralized production and systematic distribution, by shortening hours of toil and entirely doing away with wages.

Political parties are different; there is the Capitalist party standing for private ownership and the wage enslaving system and subdivided into the two parties known as Republican and Democratic. Opposed to this Capitalist party, but in line with the general evolution of society as above outlined is the Social Democratic party. The presidential candidate of this party is Eugene V. Debs. It declares that the present system inevitably

separates society into two classes, the Capitalist class and the propertyless working class. Its object is:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

No other party stands for the interests of the working class, because all others are divisions of the Capitalist party.

**LABOR AND WAR**

The capitalist press announces that the Chinese difficulty has already affected American industry. The Pepperell cotton mills of Biddeford, Me., are already cut off. In recent years their shipments have been largely to the Orient, and what is true of these mills is also true of mills in the South, where there are 414; Maine has 23, Massachusetts 187, and Pennsylvania 158. China alone in 1899 purchased over 205 million yards of uncolored, and 15 million yards of colored cloth from us.

In many of these mills machinery has been especially constructed and adapted to the manufacture of goods which the Chinese desire, and if the demand is shut off, the mills being obliged to close, will throw out of employment about 300,000 operatives.

Capitalism can only live by new markets. The inability of labor to consume the wealth it creates leaves a surplus which must be disposed of. When labor receives in return for its labor power compensation equal in value to what it creates then it will be able to purchase and consume its products. Then foolish men and women of America will not suffer because Chinese refuse to be clothed by them.

**NOTES AND COMMENT**

A severe lesson in the power of trade unionism has just been taught the Lincoln Guardians, says the Westminster Budget. The local medical officer asked for an increase of salary from £45 to £80. This was refused and he resigned. The guardians, saying they objected to be dictated to, sought a new officer at the lower salary, but in vain, as the local doctors boycotted the board. The salary was raised to £60, with the same result, and then to £70, but still nobody offered. At length an Edinburgh doctor was imported, but immediately after being elected he resigned and went home again. Last week the guardians acknowledged themselves beaten, and decided to appoint a local doctor at £80—if any will apply.

When the blast furnaces in the steel industry are blown out and the mills shut down you get an indication that the bottom is going to drop out of industries generally. The Iron Age says: "Restriction of production is proceeding quite rapidly, more blast furnaces having recently blown out, while others are fast getting into shape for suspending operations. It is likely now that the Western bar mills will remain closed for considerably longer than had been expected. The closing of so many mills should have an effect on prices of bars, but steel bars have sold within the week at lower rates than the previous week."

With Eugene Debs' denial of the Democratic canard about his withdrawal before him, one Creelman, an editorial writer on Hearst's Chicago American, impudently declares that "It is notorious that Mr. Hanna, chairman of the Republican National Committee, is assisting and encouraging Mr. Debs, the Socialist candidate for president." This is the journalism of "the twentieth century," amended to meet the exigencies of a campaign of slander and hypocrisy by the Democratic party. Jim Creelman would be howled down and kicked out by any decent body of workmen in the country.

"Lese majesty" is as serious an offense in Japan as in Germany. For a Christian native paper having gently ridiculed certain queer ceremonies in connection with the recent wedding of the Crown Prince, notably the simultaneous drinking of bride and bridegroom from a double-spouted teapot, the editor has been sentenced to three and a half years' imprisonment with hard labor, while even the unfortunate compositor who set the article in type is to have a year in jail.

A few days ago there were assembled in a room in the Rookery building, Chicago, four men identified with the iron and steel industry, who represented \$304,000,000 of capital. They met together to declare that the only way to control prices, which, by the way, is their principal business, is to lessen the output by stopping production for a month. No doubt it will lessen the output; it will also lessen the provisions in the pantry of the workman.

A bit of information that will interest dollar-a-day workmen comes from New York. It is that the state has 14,000 guardsmen fully armed and equipped to man the sixteen army posts within its borders, if the regulars are sent abroad. Adjt.-Gen. Hoffman is ready to co-operate with the national government—to protect the property pilfered from the labor of wage-slaves under the capitalist system.

Charles B. Spahr, author of "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States," says that for the \$4,650,000,000 of railway stock now in existence the original investors paid no more than \$465,000,000, or only 10 per cent of their face value. A railway that pays 3 per cent is actually paying 30 per cent upon the real invested capital. Labor creates wealth; capital appropriates it.

The war in China is the outcome of commercialism, not of hatred of Christians, but of hatred of capitalism from which Christians as well as others profit. The "powers," forced by the greed and necessities of modern capitalism, are massing troops and arranging to murder Chinamen in the interest of the capitalist class under the cloak of religion and civilization.

The czarina of Russia has gained the gratitude of her subjects by organizing to aid women in reduced circumstances. They are almost constantly employed in making embroidery for court dresses and ecclesiastical garb. That is, they are used to uphold and perpetuate the old order of cant and rulership.

Swift & Co., meat packers of Chicago, Kansas City, East St. Louis and St. Joseph, also Cudahy Bros. of Cudahy, Wis., have been declared unfair by organized labor because of their refusal to employ anyone belonging to a labor union.

**FABLE OF THE SILLY OLD DRAGON**

There was once a Silly Old Dragon who lived all by himself, and enjoyed his own society immensely, and cultivated the fad of having everything about him yellow.

There was no one to question his taste in colors, until one day he was visited by a Cinnamon Bear, a Tame Lion and a Trick Elephant, and some other animals who had traveled with a circus and called themselves "civilized."

They insisted that he ought to wear a red necktie and cock his hat on one side of his head, the way they did, and smoke cigarettes. To this last he offered strenuous objections, but they whipped out their revolvers and made him smoke their "dope," until he got under its influence and rather liked it.

They argued with him about God, and told him he must say some words and go through some performances that they would teach him, or he would be eternally damned.

They all had different words and forms to teach him, and quarreled among themselves, and as he took no interest in their controversies, they called him an ignorant old heathen.

They told him he had no enterprise, and they proposed to build a railroad through his garden, and to erect factories with greasy machinery and disagreeable noise and suffocating smoke, in place of his flower beds.

They told him it was a shame to live in such a lazy manner, and that he ought to borrow money and buy a lot of things he didn't want, and pay interest and rent, so that he would be obliged to cultivate habits of industry and thrift.

They offered him money—yellow money, too!—on first mortgage security, at 6 per cent interest.

They sat down on his front porch and talked about dividing up the place into town lots, and quarreled among themselves as to which should get the biggest slice.

As a result, the Silly Old Dragon lost his temper, and went to thrashing his tail right and left doing considerable damage to "foreign interests." Of course, he must be punished for his ill temper and discourteous manners, and made to pay an "indemnity"—which is just as good for the purpose of establishing a claim to his place, as getting him to borrow money.

Moral: The gospel of peace and good will must be promoted at all hazards.—Straight Edge.

**REVOLUTION ON THE WAY**

**What a Very Small but Remarkable Invention Promises to Do in a Single Industry**

A new and wonderful invention is going to cause a revolution in the spinning industry. One Victor Belanger has succeeded in perfecting a rotary spinning ring which with a new application of compressed air will double the capacity of all the cotton, silk and woolen mills of the world. This is said to be the greatest invention in spinning machinery in one hundred years.

The new spinning ring will do in eight hours what the old one does in sixteen. And it costs about a cent.

The Boston Times says: "When the frame is perfected to meet the great speed of the new ring, thread will be spun probably four times faster than at present, quadrupling the capac-

ity of the mills, and, of course, cheapening the product."

Belanger's invention will force itself upon every one of the millions of spinning spindles all over the world. It will revolutionize the industry everywhere.

Belanger was a poor man. Now he is rich. A company was organized, capitalized at \$5,000,000. Belanger was given for his invention \$2,500,000 of the company's stock; he also received what must have been a very large sum of money besides. He is now living luxuriously in an elegant summer home upon a splendid estate.

The new ring will not be sold to mill operators. It will be leased, and the income is conservatively estimated at one million dollars a year. Manufacturers are said to be jumping at the chance of making one of their spindles do the work of two.

There are many other details in connection with this invention, but they are immaterial, though interesting. What we want to call attention to is the effect of this invention upon labor.

In all the reports we have read in the press about this wonderful spinning ring, a great deal is said about the invention, the newly organized company, the prospective profits, the cost of the ring, the increase in production caused by the ring and the ring itself. All this and more about this invention, but little, very little about what to us is its most important feature—its effect upon labor.

Somehow in the excitement over this wonderful discovery, labor has been almost forgotten. This is because the capitalist press are not interested in labor, although labor supports the capitalist press. And the press is not anxious to have labor interested in labor; so the press concentrates labor's attention upon the increased omnipotence and power of those who own the ring and all the other factors in the production and distribution of the necessities of life.

One stray paragraph, however, tells us in two lines what the invention's effect will be upon labor. Here it is: "Half of the workers now toiling either may be thrown out of employment or new markets must be created."

There you have it in a nutshell.

The workers in the mills will not have shares of stock in the new company, nor have summer homes with beautiful estates, and onyx bath tubs annexed. Only in one particular will they resemble Monsieur Belanger and the owners of the stock in the new company—they won't have to work. At least, half of them won't. The other half will have to work twice as fast as before to keep pace with the increased speed of the spindles, and they will not receive any more pay for their increased exertion. Instead, they will receive less, because the number of unemployed being increased one-half, the price of labor will decrease and production will be cheapened that much more again, in addition to the lowering of the cost through labor being displaced in the first instance.—Exchange.

**IS THIS PROSPERITY?**

I admit that there is an apparent prosperity, but it is a prosperity caused by a foreign war, by the expenditure of \$65,000,000 for warships, by the flooding of the country with millions of watered stocks, but I deny that our economic system is a reliable and safe one, and I deny that we have any abiding prosperity, and I assert that the working people are growing poorer and poorer each year. Taking the statistics of the government we find that:

In 1850 the wealth of the nation was \$8,000,000,000. The producers' share was 62½ per cent; non-producers' share, 37½ per cent.

In 1860 the wealth increased to \$16,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 43¾ per cent; non-producers' increased to 56 1-3 per cent.

In 1870 the wealth was \$30,000,000,000. Producers' share was 32 2-3 per cent; non-producers' share, 67¼ per cent.

In 1880 the wealth increased to \$48,000,000,000. The producers' share went down to 24 per cent, while the non-producers' share increased to 76 per cent.

In 1890 the wealth was further increased to \$61,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 17 per cent, the non-producers' increased to 83 per cent.

And now in 1900 it is estimated that the wealth of the country is \$100,000,000,000, while the producers' share has fallen to 10 per cent and the non-producers' has gone up to 90 per cent.

As the amount of wealth production increased, the producers' share in that wealth decreased.

According to the last census report, 52 per cent of our population are born in poverty and consigned to a life of servitude. Half of our nation own but 3 per cent of the national wealth, practically all of which the labor of their class has created. This class is increasing rapidly in numbers, and the middle class is being constantly crowded down into the already congested ranks of labor.—Dague's Plain Talk.

A joint meeting of Branches 4 and 7, Illinois, held Friday evening, August 27, nominated Comrade A. S. Edwards for congressional candidate in the Fifth district, and Comrade Wm. C. Horgan for the state legislature from the Nineteenth legislative district.

**BATTLE SONG OF FREEDOM'S ARMY**

Marching down to Armageddon, brothers bold and strong,  
Cheer the cheerless way we tread on, with a soldier's song!  
Let the armies of the old flags march in silent dread,  
Death and life are one to us, who fight for quick and dead.

We are they who will not falter—many swords or few—  
Till we make this earth the altar of a worship new;  
We are those who will not take from palace, priest or code,  
A meaner law than brotherhood—a lower lord than God.

We are those whose unpaid legions, in free ranks arrayed,  
Massacred in many regions, never once were stayed;  
We are those whose torn battalions, trained to bleed, not fly,  
Make our agonies a triumph—conquer, while we die.

We are they whose bugles ring that all the wars may cease,  
We are they who'll pay the kings their cruel price for peace;  
We must slay in perfect pity those who must not live,  
Conquer and forgive our foes, or die and still forgive.

Therefore, down to Armageddon, brothers bold and strong,  
Cheer the glorious way we tread on, with a soldier's song!  
Let the armies of the old flags march in silent dread,  
Death and life are one to us, who fight for quick and dead.

—Edwin Arnold.

**WHAT EDITORS ARE SAYING**

**Courier, Pueblo, Col.**  
The Chinese racket don't fool quite as many people as was hoped for by the imperialist party. The great majority of Americans don't care a tinker's swear word about the entire job lot of invading heroes sent to the happy hunting grounds. The Chinese scare stories are a pack of lies.

**Union Guide, Danville, Ill.**  
The rise in the price of sugar this year has netted \$30,000,000 for the trust. It amounts to nearly \$2 a family. If a tax of \$2 a year had been laid by law on each family for the sugar trust, we would have a tax riot in this country. Yet we concede without grumbling any extortion they demand. We are an intelligent, free people!

**The Exponent, Saginaw, Mich.**  
The workman might better have no vote at all than to use that vote to enslave himself. If deprived of the right to vote at all he would at once realize that his economic masters used all the machinery of government for selfish purposes, a condition he is slow to see because at intervals he goes through the form of voting for men and measures proposed by his masters.

**Farmers' Review, Bonham, Tex.**  
When the universal reign of commercialism is complete the world will come to one universal economic level. Through modern machinery and improvement, the nations will be knit together with steamships and wire or wireless telegraph. A few capitalist masters will become the supreme dictators of the commerce and industry of the world. Their wealth, and power to absorb the wealth will be unbounded, and the masses will become pariahs and surfs.

**Herald, Warren, Mass.**  
All England is by no means indifferent to the famine in India. But it is doubtless true that the taxes which bear heavily on her poor people, added to the concentration of wealth in the hands of native princes, prevent the masses from having any resource in case of drouth. Besides, everybody is thinking of the awful waste of money, and worse, of the wicked Boer war. At the rate the cost of this war is piling up, the expense of conquering Boers, it has been estimated, will be raised from \$5,000 to \$15,000 apiece.

**The Toller, Terre Haute.**  
Workingmen are the most generous and free-hearted people that ever lived. They build palaces and rent hovels. They build mills, factories and railroads, and then turn them over to capitalists for the latter's benefit. They dig gold and silver and hand it to the capitalists, who in turn give a small portion back to them. One good turn deserves another, you know. In fact, they produce the wealth of the world and then let the other fellow enjoy it. Truly this generosity is killing.

**Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.**  
The Democratic party is as much capitalist as the Republican party. It is opposed to socialism. Its leaders believe in private property. Bryan denies that he believes in the common ownership of the means of production and distribution. Some of the Democrats foolishly think he is entitled to socialist votes. No more than Debs is entitled to Democratic or Republican votes. Men who want socialism should vote for Debs—those who do not want socialism should not vote for him. Bryan is a reactionist. He wants to hold the present system and keep it from becoming more oppressive so that the people will be willing to bear it; he is therefore more against the coming socialism than those who would push it to its logical end and thus force people to see that the private capital system is bad and should be abolished. Vote for a great socialist party.

**Justice, London, England.**  
"The crime of the century" is how one paper describes the massacre of Europeans at Pekin, and certainly it was a very terrible and very horrible manifestation of human savagery. But have we any reason to pride ourselves upon being so very superior to the heathen Chinese? If any members of the dread association of "Boxers" have been reading our reptile press, and have instructed their co-religionists in the ideas and philosophy they have gathered therefrom, it would be quite sufficient to account for a rising for the extermination of foreigners in China. For not only have our yellow journals called for the extermination of the Boers, who have certainly not inflicted the injury on us that the foreign invaders have inflicted on China, but they have hounded on our native "Boxers," the hooligans of our great cities, to the assault and murder of all and sundry who disapproved of this war of extermination being waged against the Boers.

**Bohemian picnic Sunday, September 2.** Don't forget.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Branch 44, Roslindale, Mass., nominates Comrade Margaret Haile for the national executive board.

Branch 9, Evansville, Ind., endorses and nominates the present National Executive Board for re-election.

The Miami Chautauqua Assembly desires to secure Comrade Debs as the speaker at Miami, I. T., August 22.

Branch 2, New York, voted to endorse the amendment to Section 30 of the Constitution offered by Branch 5, New York.

Comrade Eugene H. Rooney nominates Comrade Frederic Heath as one of the resident members of the National Executive Board.

The Bohemian Social Democrats of Chicago will hold a Bohemian congress some time during the campaign, the exact date of which has not yet been fixed.

Branch No. 9, Illinois, nominates for the executive board: Jesse Cox, S. Stedman, Henry Uhlhorn, Frank Rodgers; Jacob Winner, resident members; E. V. Debs, Victor Berger, W. E. Farmer, Margaret Haile.

Chas. H. Kerr & Co. have just issued the sixteenth number of the "Pocket Library of Socialism," giving an account of Socialists in French municipalities, and translated from official reports by C. H. Kerr.

Branch 2, New York, nominates the following for the Executive Board: E. V. Debs, S. Stedman, V. L. Berger, F. Heath, Mrs. Corinne Brown, Margaret Haile, F. O. McCartney, G. H. Strobell and L. E. Miller.

The Terre Haute branch will hold a special meeting next Sunday, August 5, to hear the report of the campaign committee, collect signatures and transact other important business.

A meeting of the general national campaign committee of the Social Democratic Party will be held at Chicago, Sunday, August 19. This will be one of the most important meetings of the campaign and a full attendance is desired.

The Bohemian comrades of Chicago have taken the initiative toward the organization of a bicycle campaign club for the Social Democratic Party.

Massachusetts Branch No. 29, at Dorchester, reports the following nominations for national executive board: Frederic Heath, Seymour Stedman, Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger, Corinne S. Brown, F. O. McCartney, Geo. H. Strobell, W. E. Farmer and A. W. Ricker.

Fitchburg (Mass.) branch, at a meeting held July 23, nominated Comrade Margaret Haile for the new executive board.

The secretary, Comrade James D. Ryan, writes in behalf of the branch: "We feel that her services to the party deserve this recognition, and hope to see her elected."

The Bohemian Tailors' Association, Local 102, U. G. W. of A., will hold a picnic on the 5th of August at Bregler's Grove, Gravford avenue, Irving Park.

This was the first tailors' organization in Chicago to declare for Socialism, and a large turnout of comrades is hoped for. A good time is guaranteed.

The report issued by the repudiators of the referendum and democratic Socialism on the fusion question is that about 1,100 members of the Social Democratic party, or one-seventh of the entire membership, voted.

The Social Democratic party is still doing business at the old stand. Push forward the work of organization. Send to headquarters, 126 Washington St., Chicago, for particulars.

At the last meeting of Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, the comrades had the pleasure of listening to Comrade C. H. Michelson of California, who was introduced by Comrade Moeller of the Scandinavian Branch.

Branch No. 1 is the parent branch of the city and its membership is restricted to no special locality, and it occupies the position of being the down-town English-speaking branch. Of late it has had a number of accessions from among the trades unions.

These men are making converts in their union whom Branch No. 1, hopes to get. The annual election just held resulted as follows: E. H. Rooney, secretary; Edw. Ziegler, treasurer; Howard Tuttle, organizer.

PECULIAR IDEAS OF ARITHMETIC

What peculiar ideas of arithmetic the fusionists have! When 2,702 votes were cast on the proposition submitted by the N. E. C. as to union, the anti-De Leonites and their co-adjutors in the S. D. P. shrieked with one accord: "That vote is N. G. Not half of the membership voted. It is not a majority!"

And now, when 1,107 votes are cast on the conference committee's report, the people triumphantly declares it to be "an overwhelming majority!"

And again, the vote cast in favor of union, including those who were not in good standing, was 1,249. When 1,107 vote for union on the conference committee's report, the Haverhill Social Democrat declares it to be "an increase of nearly 200!"

AS WE STAND NOW

The total vote of the anti-deleon section of the Socialist Labor party on the fusion question was 2,500; the vote of Massachusetts Social Democrats in favor of fusion, supplemented by a few scattering votes in some other sections of the country, was 1,094, making a total of 3,594 for the "united" party.

The membership of the "old" Social Democratic party, headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, is 6,000, exclusive of those who have repudiated the referendum after taking part in it.

The real Social Democratic party is still the strongest Socialist organization in America. It is still growing as no other ever did in this country. It is a united party in fact and has a numerical strength twice that of the so-called "united" party.

It is organizing branches every day and continues business at the old stand. Send contributions for the national campaign fund of the Social Democratic party to "Campaign Committee," 126 Washington street, Chicago, Joseph R. Finn, treasurer.

TAKE NOTICE

We desire to call the attention of Socialists and friends of the movement to the following facts:

The headquarters of the Social Democratic Party are located at 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The national secretary of the party is Theodore Debs, same address.

The national official paper of the party is the Social Democratic Herald.

The National Executive Board consists of Frederic Heath, chairman; Seymour Stedman, secretary; Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger and Mrs. Corinne S. Brown.

The National Campaign Committee of the party was organized July 22 at Chicago, Comrade Robert Meister of Milwaukee being elected chairman, and Comrade Seymour Stedman, of Chicago, secretary.

At the meeting of July 22 a finance committee for the campaign was elected as follows: Edward Zeigler, chairman; Joseph R. Finn, treasurer; James Wright, secretary.

All communications relating to financing the national campaign, also all contributions to the campaign fund, should be sent to Secretary James Wright, 336 North Avers avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Acknowledgment of all contributions received will appear in this paper.

Comrades are urged to convey this information to each other so that it may be understood by every member of the branches and mistakes avoided.

Ignore all appeals for funds from any other source in the name of the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Appeal For Funds To the Comrades of the Social Democratic Party Throughout the Land, Greeting:

Dear Comrades: The National Campaign Committee of the S. D. P. has authorized the finance committee of the said National Campaign Committee to issue the following appeal to comrades and friends all over the nation:

You are no doubt aware of the fact that the campaign committees of the two old exploiting parties have already begun to get in their work.

The very elaborate and costly preparations of the old parties to flood the country with lying campaign literature is proof positive of their determination to rivet anew the chains of the exploited wage-earner for another four years.

The servile capitalistic press is endeavoring to keep from the minds of the millions of voters the fact that Eugene V. Debs is a candidate for president by studiously abstaining from referring to his candidacy in the columns of their papers or by printing confusing and misleading information.

Comrades, the time has come when we must realize that the pen is mightier than the sword and that the pen must be used to inform the millions of exploited wage-earners of the fact that Eugene V. Debs is a candidate for the presidency and that his party is for the emancipation of the wage-earner.

In order to inform them of that fact we must have money to enable us to put speakers in the field and scatter broadcast over the land Socialist literature.

The supreme self-sacrificing moment has arrived. We feel convinced that all true Socialists and lovers of freedom everywhere will rise to a full appreciation of the situation and contribute to the best of their ability. A paper, book, or pamphlet sometimes awakens a giant for the cause.

It is of the utmost importance that we make a good showing this coming election, for on that showing may hinge the movement for the next four years.

Tens of thousands are waiting to see if we are a factor in the affairs of mankind before they link their destinies with ours.

Branch subscription lists will be sent to all the branches throughout the country, and the branches are respectfully requested to put forth an extraordinary effort for this occasion.

We would recommend that the branches individually or collectively conduct branch socials or picnics for the specific purpose of raising funds for the campaign.

We request that the comrades send us in the names of competent and trustworthy persons who will be willing to act as collectors of subscriptions in every locality; the collectors will be furnished with instructions and blank subscription lists.

Address communications in connection with National Campaign Fund to James Wright, secretary, 336 North Avers avenue, Chicago, Ill.

With the hope that our loyal comrades everywhere will recognize the importance of this appeal and promptly and enthusiastically rise to the occasion, we subscribe ourselves yours in the cause,

EDWARD ZEIGLER, Chairman; JAMES WRIGHT, Secretary; JOSEPH R. FINN, Treasurer; Committee.

N. B.—Comrades, be indefatigable in your efforts to send us the names of competent and trustworthy persons to collect for the campaign anywhere and everywhere.

ANOTHER WORD ABOUT DUES

The fusion promoters, having defied and repudiated the outcome of a referendum in which they took part and met defeat at every turn, are now striving to create more discord by representing to loyal members of the Social Democratic party that the National Executive Board is "too expensive," "unnecessary," etc.

Loyal members have only to remember that these people have just elected a National Executive Board and that the cost of it will largely exceed that of the genuine Social Democratic organization.

The Executive Board of the S. D. P. has never cost the organization a single dollar. Here are the figures for it; ask the disturbers to explain them away if they can:

The constitution adopted by the "unionists" says: "The Locals shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of ten cents, to be paid monthly to the State Committee, or in the absence of such to the National Executive Committee."

And further: "In addition to the monthly stamps each member shall be required to pay for a quarterly stamp of the value of ten cents in the months of January, April, July and October."

Here you have a sum total per year and every year of \$1.60 from each member.

No single loyal member of the Social Democratic party is so poor at arithmetic as not to be able to determine, by comparison of these dues with those of his own organization, which is the most "expensive."

Note the comparison: Fusion Organization, per year, \$1.60 Social Democratic party—First year, . . . . . 1.25 Each year thereafter, . . . . . 1.00

HIS HANDS ARE FULL

Dear Comrades: Several branches of our organization have very kindly complimented me with a nomination for the new executive board, for which I am deeply appreciative, especially so in view of the recent controversy within our ranks.

From the ashes of the great A. R. U. strike this party rose, and from that time has received my best efforts.

I have accepted the position of secretary of the national campaign committee and to that task will now devote my time until November 6, 1900, and feel thereafter that I can best work for our party by more extensively devoting myself to Illinois.

Comrades, I must insist on declining as a candidate to the N. E. B. I remain the obedient servant of the Social Democratic Party.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN. July 28, 1900.

TO ILLINOIS SOCIALISTS

Socialists of Illinois are informed that circulars are being sent out by persons not members of the Social Democratic party soliciting funds for campaign purposes.

All contributions for the Social Democratic state campaign should be sent to State Campaign Committee, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

NOTICE TO COMMITTEEMEN

The meeting of the County Campaign Committee on Sunday, August 12, will be held at Central Labor Union Hall, 55 North Clark street, near Michigan avenue.

The meeting will be called to order at 10 a. m., and every comrade elected to serve on the committee is expected to attend.

NEW BRANCHES

- Carthage, Mo.
Janesville, Wis.
Ann Arbor, Mich.
Granite, Mont.
Augusta, Mich.
Monroe, Wis.
Milwaukee, Wis.
Ryan, Iowa.

NOMINATIONS CALLED FOR

The Executive Board requests the Branches to make nominations for a new board, to consist as provided for by the constitution, of nine members.

Subscribe for the Herald.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Members of Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 412 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schif, Secretary.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 32 Dearborn St.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hitterdon, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house, S. B. Jamison, chairman, James Fisher, organizer, Joseph Schlichter, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairview Ave., Lynn Perkins, secretary.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 569 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

MASSACHUSETTS

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

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 2 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswell, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Van Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St. Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1296 Kaighn's Avenue.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Sunday at 412 Grand street, Windy Hill, James Altman, Secretary, 32 Sudoit care of "Forward."

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Sunday of the month at Bowers' Hall, southeast corner 4th and Main Sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 111 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 171 N. 11th Street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Keller's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 291 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at Keller's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Keller's Hall, 2nd and Center St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1128 23rd St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

Have your card inserted in the BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswell, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

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East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 188 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesday of the month at 1059 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 224 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Thursday of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 93rd St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 2 p. m., 56 Moore street. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry St., New York.

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays, every Sunday at 2 p. m. Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe Klein, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trade Council Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. W. Brown, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 294.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1212 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Prinitz St. Branch No. 11, Cincinnati, Columbus, Thomas May, Jr., Secretary, 35 S. 3rd St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets 2nd and 4th Wednesday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Runk Hall, S. 4th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohm, President, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 215 June St.

Branch No. 4, Columbus, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month at 8 p. m. in hall Chas. Kuspel, C. armistead, L. H. Morre, Secretary, B. N. Codrington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month. Executive meets every Sunday morning at S. D. P. Ohio Room, at 423 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Wallis-sport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. in Social Labor Hall, 16 East 31st St. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 43 Second St. Public invited.

WASHINGTON

Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 413 4th Street.

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN BUTTONS AND PINS

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COMMON WEAL AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE

(Continued from First Page)

manity in irons; squeezing us all through the self-same mould; sending us all wriggling through life, dressed, shaped and colored alike, as so many tadpoles in a ditch.

Since we do not expect to gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles, the best method of examining this charge is to consider what manner of men those whom we have known as Socialists have hitherto proved themselves to be. For, as it is only the most pronounced individualities who wed themselves to a movement in its first unpopularity, so it is always these early pioneers from whom the movement draws its character. In the first place, then, the Socialists have all, without exception, been rebels against authority. As such they have been persecuted, imprisoned, exiled, hanged. In the second place they have been all, without exception, evolutionists, and he who is an evolutionist is also a revolutionist, since the acceptance of the evolutionary philosophy is the profoundest mental revolution conceivable. It inverts the whole picture of life; or rather, to speak more accurately, it opens our eyes to the fact that the whole picture has been hitherto presented topsy-turvy. The fable of a fancied fall is replaced with the proof of a continuous ascent; for the pessimistic caricature of man as a degraded creature, conceived in sin, there is substituted a figure glowing with life and hope; an individuality with a matchless record of triumphs over hostile environments; a being pre-eminently capable of selecting from and absorbing all that is best in his environment; a being therefore essentially fitted for self-government. This is unquestionably the teaching of evolution; this is the ideal it holds up as that which alone is worthy of the dignity of man. This is the ideal which, instinctively, Democracy is struggling to realize in every country, and for that struggle, which has but just begun, the Social Democrats—the Socialists—are preparing all along the line.

This central note of self-government dominates the whole of their philosophy, and their actions are the best proof of the assertion. The world, which is wedded to custom and consequently hates the rebellion of free individualities, has accused the Socialists of revolt against every venerable respectability in existence, and the accusation is unquestionably just. They are pitiless critics of existing institutions, and the criticism is very far indeed from being confined to our existing economic system, though the Socialists are peculiar for their steady insistence that it is the economic system that gives the shape to all other institutions. To this system, under which the means of production and distribution are the property of a class, they trace directly the entire system of class rule, representative government being necessarily, in their eyes, the sorriest of farces so long as this endures.

It would be easy to show, did space permit, that the whole democratic movement, of which Socialism is the advance guard, has had its rise in an altered conception of the origin and destiny of man; a conception that has slowly dawned upon the world, that flamed conspicuously into life during the period of the Renaissance, and has received an enormous impetus of late through the scientific investigations of the evolutionists. As this proud conception is directly opposed to the humiliation doctrine that the Church still teaches, the question of the future attitude of the Church toward the democratic movement in general, and Socialism in particular, is full of interest.

In reality a far more important question is the attitude of Socialism toward the Church. The Church is on the defense; she will shift her ground perpetually according to the fierceness of the attack, and yield position after position as she has already yielded them. Indeed, as regards a large proportion of our Protestant clergy, the charge recently made by Father Ignatius that they are clergy only in name, and free-thinkers in reality, is strictly true. Hitherto, however, Socialism, having its hands full with the elucidation of the economic problem, has been content to accentuate the point on which it finds itself in harmony with all existing religions. That point is the solidarity of the race, the brotherhood of man; an individualistic as well as a collectivist truth that all religions, dependent as they are on the masses for support, have always found it necessary to advance as the fundamental basis of their teaching. Unfortunately, all existing religions have immediately proceeded to undermine this principle of solidarity by dividing mankind into the lost and the saved, the sinners and the saints; by the abominable calumny that we were conceived in sin; by the grossly immoral doctrine of vicarious atonement, the most flagrant inducement to the abuse of life ever imposed upon human credulity. As Socialism gathers strength and clearness, and takes its stand more firmly on the solidarity of the race—achievable only through the conception of the individual as a being of infinite capabilities—it will find it necessary to join in a general movement for the explosion of

these dogmas, a movement in which it will have for allies all those who are saturated with the evolutionary philosophy of the age. It will preach to the masses the most inspiring sermon they have ever heard, and they will be greedy listeners; for it will stir to the depths the enormous body of discontent already engendered by the palpable injustices of society. It will follow a method the direct opposite of that so laboriously pursued for ages by the Church. It will say, with the historian Froude, that "the patience of the poor is the wonder of the world," and, "it will add, "its greatest crime." Disobedience will necessarily be its text; for, speaking from the standpoint of the natural as opposed to the supernatural, it will be forced to condemn tolerance of unnatural conditions as the most intolerable of vices. It will say with Oscar Wilde: "The virtues of the poor may be readily admitted, and are much to be regretted." It will tell them that class rule and liberty cannot possibly be co-existent; that in the existence of class rule is to be found the source of all their ills; that its abolition is therefore the sternly paramount duty of the hour. It will point out that all class rule depends exclusively on the power of the purse, which rests in its turn, on the monopoly of the instruments of production and exchange; and that, to abolish class rule, there is but one thing to be done, viz.: to place such instruments in the joint possession and control of the united people. It will justify this startling change not only on grounds of expediency but on grounds of abstract justice, by showing that the earth, and the inventions by which we make the earth obedient to our will, have come down to us as a joint heritage, to be administered for the commonweal. It will go much further than this. Pointing to man's achievements in the past, it will give the masses the most positive assurance of their capacity to complete the conquest, and, by firing them with hope, it will supply the one thing needed to make a revolution successful and complete. For hope and self-confidence are the parents of all great changes, and the glory of evolution is the optimistic gospel it proclaims.

In all this it is clear that the clergy must either abandon completely their view of man as a degraded being, destined forever to a leading-string existence, or they must throw in their lot with the reactionists. That such of them as choose the latter course will have no lack of company among the so-called evolutionists themselves is, unhappily, certain, if Mr. Herbert Spencer's name is to have the weight in the future that it has carried in the past. Mr. Spencer has been steadily educating a school to the delusion that evolution is at all times a gradual and slow-paced process that moves with even foot. Against this will be set proof overwhelming that the teachings of all history are: slow preparation followed by the quickest action; a lengthy incubation and a sudden birth.

Throughout this century a debate has been in progress such as the world has never seen, and history invariably repeats itself. The hour inevitably arrives when men decide that they have talked enough; the general understanding is complete, and action is in order. How soon that hour shall come, how deep the action decided on shall reach, must necessarily depend on the thoroughness of the discussion; for solidarity of thought is only possible where the leading propositions have been boldly submitted and candidly discussed. I believe that the major premise round which the fight must rage is the evolutionary doctrine of the dignity of man; his limitless capacity for self-government of every kind—industrial as well as religious and political. The two latter are, indeed, today in theory conceded, thanks to the Protestant Reformation and the French and American Revolutions. The first, which is the next and by far the most important link in the chain of evolution, has yet to be established.

While regarding the orthodox Church as a reactionary force, I am far from regarding her as a great one. In her organization, in the gifts she can bestow, in the prestige she can confer on those who openly attach themselves to her, and in the aesthetic attractions with which she surrounds herself, she has an apparent strength that makes a brave showing in fine weather, but it is ill fitted to stand the tempest that is coming. She will find herself, if she continues obstinately to oppose democracy, pitted against both the intellect and the interests of the age, and the combination will be irresistible. Every public upheaval we have had since the Reformation has proved the truth of this position. The French Revolution is a notable case in point, and the French Revolution took place a hundred years ago in a country where the densest ignorance prevailed, and slavish obedience to the priest had been the rule for centuries. Twenty years ago the same phenomenon presented itself, though far more conspicuously, in the Paris Commune, and the stand that Parnell was able to take single-handed, against the clergy in Ireland—the Church's modern Gibraltar—is pregnant with instruction. It will be observed that I have taken all my illustrations from the history of the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestants have too much rebel blood in their veins to

be able to play the part of reactionaries with effect, and many of their sects have practically long since rejected the superstitions I have criticised.

(To be continued.)

FARMER AND WAGE EARNER

In a recent report the State Labor Commissioner of New Hampshire says of the shoe industry in that state that there are employed, in round numbers, 13,000 hands, whose annual wages per certified returns aggregate over \$5,000,000, an average of \$385 each. This includes salaries of superintendents, bookkeepers, and the higher salaried officials of the great companies. The factory or jobber's price of the product of this labor for the same year was \$23,000,000, while the retail price or cost of the same to consumer was \$35,000,000. The cost of raw material (virtually labor, \$5,000,000; margins, \$10,000, of other industries) was \$15,000,000, which, with the wages paid as above, leaves a balance of \$15,000,000 to \$25,000,000 cost of product to the consumer (which includes the factory hands) over and above the labor cost of the same. In a word, labor receives one dollar's worth and capital at least three dollars' worth of the product of this great indispensable industry. Hence, labor is able to buy back, at best, only one dollar in four of that which it produces, and the other three dollars' worth of product must seek a market elsewhere than in the United States. Hence, the constantly increasing demand among our commercial men for foreign markets. Hence, too, the present inadequacy of the home market that once made the American farmer the most independent agriculturist in the world. This state of things is true in every avenue of productive industry. Invention and machinery have so taken the place of skilled hand labor in all these lines, as in the shoe industry, that, largely, cheap labor is more and more in demand, and the skilled artisan finds it more and more difficult to secure steady and remunerative employment in his chosen vocation. In the meantime, his wife or boys or girls are holding the machine down and receiving nominal wages therefor.

The direct influence of these changes upon agriculture is the restriction of home and local markets, and consequently reduction of prices. This is not so noticeable in the staple productions (as wheat, etc.), which are subject to world-wide conditions, as it is in the side lines of production, which heretofore have been the most profitable sources of the farmer's income. New conditions need new adjustments. As each succeeding adjustment opens the way for newer and more advanced conditions, it is useless to look for a panacea good for all time to come for the ills to which agriculture is exposed. The progressive, the intelligent farmer is the one who is ever on the alert to adjust his methods and enterprises to the manifest progress of the age. What is true in these respects in the United States is equally true in other lands, and the "pauper labor of Europe" is already an open question here.—F. E. Miller in Topeka Farmers' Advocate.

Happenings in Washington

The terrible street railway accident in Tacoma on the Fourth of July, where forty-two human beings were ushered into eternity, and more than three score were injured, because the company in the lust for greed overloaded its defective car and its inexperienced motor-man, who was employed to make trips. Human life and safety being a secondary consideration, makes a strong argument for Socialism. Such a catastrophe couldn't have happened under proper supervision by the municipality. Now comes the Seattle strike among the poorly paid telephone girls; they are getting the sympathy of the whole community. Corporate greed is killing its votaries; things are coming our way with lightning rapidity. Then further east there is the St. Louis strike, which shows that the corporations are trying to do with wage-earners; the day is breaking over head; our masters are doing themselves to a finish.

It is to be regretted that our followers are so few, apparently, out here. Many say our theories are all right, but that the time is too soon. They forget that it is never too early to do right.

M. CUNNINGHAM.

The degeneracy and corruption of modern representative government are attributed in large measure by Prof. John R. Commons to the fact that our representatives today, instead of being specialists, claim to represent "the whole people." "When all classes of voters," says Prof. Commons (writing in the Independent)—"capitalists and laborers, Catholics and Protestants, educated and ignorant, natives and foreigners, whites and blacks—are thrown into one district or ward and are commanded to elect one man who shall represent all, plainly they can elect a colorless candidate who represents none." What is needed, according to Prof. Commons, is representation according to interests, and he claims that this basis of representation is sustained by historical, as well as by logical, reasons.

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

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THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e. the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

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