

THE BLONDE BEAST, THE MAN WITH THE HOE AND PHILOSOPHY OF DESPAIR

The Idealism of Brute Force and the Doctrine of Non-Resistance to Evil Compared and Analyzed

BY ISADOR LADOFF

Rationalistic modern Socialism is based not on certain economic theories and maxims, as some narrow-minded "Socialists pure and simple" think and fain would make others believe, but on the broad foundation of modern science and thought. The economic theories peculiar to modern Socialism are not all there is in it, but they are rather the application of the results of the achievements of modern knowledge and philosophy to the field of social economics. The trouble with the "Socialists pure and simple" is in the extreme limitations of their mental horizon. They happen to know, or rather imagine that they have mastered Marxian economics, while modern science and philosophy remains for them a sealed letter. That is why they get irritated whenever and wherever they meet in the socialistic press an article containing something else than the everlasting parrot-like repetitions of pseudo socialistic commonplaces and shibboleths. Every attempt to present to the attention of the readers of socialistic publications glimpses of the radiant world of science and philosophy, leading up to socialistic ideas and ideals in all their world redeeming significance, appears to the simple-minded and suspicious, simon-pure socialists, as an attack on somebody or something, as a heresy and heterodoxy of some kind. To such people the religion of science is the religion of ignorance and vice versa—ignorance is their religion and science.

But what have these remarks to do with the theme of this article, with the blonde beast, the man with the hoe and the philosophy of despair? Nothing; except that they are apt to show the utter helplessness of the simon-pure socialist when confronted with problems of deeper and broader significance than "surplus value" and iron laws of "supply and demand," problems without the solution of which an actual knowledge even of these economic theories is impossible. A simon-pure socialist is dead sure that he is in possession of the truth, of the whole truth and nothing but the truth, that all who do not exactly agree with him in his dogmatic faith are either fools or knaves, or both at the same time. He is happy in his belief. Ask him, however, what and why he thinks one way or another about the philosophy of Nietzsche or Tolstoy and you will hear him call them names instead of bringing forth arguments, tending to show the same materialistic conception of history he pretends to represent in the capacity of an orthodox Marxist.

We will in this article not mention again the orthodox Marxists, fearing that we be accused of attacking them, which is not our intention; we limit ourselves to the consideration of the two great German and Russian individualistic or anarchistic thinkers from the socialistic point of view. Nietzsche, philosopher of an epoch of blood and iron in German history, and Tolstoy, the representative of the thought of the Russian era of Czarism, are unlike each other as are the respective races, cultures and civilizations they belong to. Two things are, however, common to both of them. The philosophy of Nietzsche—the idealizer of brute force—leads to the same blind alley of despair in the future fate of humanity, to utter pessimism, as the philosophy of Tolstoy—the preacher of non-resistance to evil. Both Nietzsche and Tolstoy declare for the supremacy of the individual over the race and despise social institutions as tending to the deterioration of the individual; both are anti-socialistic or anarchistic in their trend of thought. That some anarchists, as, for instance, Victor Yarros, do not see in Nietzsche one of their apostles, a man who dared to reduce the anarchistic philosophy to its utmost logical conclusions, the apotheosis of the brute force in man, of the blonde beast, goes only to show that there are so-called philosophical anarchists just as narrow and simple-minded as some of our friends, the socialists pure and simple.

The historical conditions created the landed gentry or junker caste in Germany, an arrogant, ignorant and brutal class of a semi-feudal and semi-capitalistic stamp. This class represents the type of physical health and perfection of the Caucasian branch of the animal styled by learned men homo sapiens, or, in plain English, the blonde beast. The blonde beast is endowed by nature with gigantic appetite and absence of any moral restraint; it is ready and willing to devour

all and everything in sight and out of sight. It glories in its physical force and has no conception whatever of the spiritual, mental or moral part of human nature except as a means to its chief and only aim—the satisfaction of its desires, to rule and enjoy life in spite of all and everything antagonistic to it. All those who do not happen to belong to the Junker class are not aristocratic overmen, or blonde beasts, but common under-men (or rather under dogs), a lower race, that has to feel happy and dignified by subordination to a higher one. The German Junker as over-man and blonde beast is the first born, the beloved son of God and Nature, the fittest to survive. All other mortals have to obey when the blonde beast gives orders. The common under-men have to slave all their lives in order to allow the over-man to enjoy life and multiply.

This is the law of God and Nature, according to the philosophy of Nietzsche, with one slight modification. The philosopher of the blonde beast broke the caste lines and substituted the purely individual qualifications of a blonde beast for the accident of birth. He was liberal enough to admit that there are blonde beasts outside of the Junker caste and that some Junkers may accidentally be under-men.

But enough of that nude brute Junker anarchism of war and strife. Let us turn to the more sympathetic, although just as pathologic, anarchism of peace and passive submission to evil—the philosophy of Count Leo Tolstoy. If the triumphant but stupid blonde beast arouses our just indignation and hatred, the Russian mushik, the genuine man with the hoe, deserves our pity and compassion, our sympathy and moral support. Count Leo Tolstoy is the philosopher of the Russian man with the hoe, just in the same sense as Nietzsche of the German Junker. It does not require much mental exertion to understand the philosophy of blonde beast, its origin and psychology. But it is quite a task to unravel the mystery of the soul-life of the man with the hoe. We westerners are all more or less blonde beasts in our daily life, but we have no key in our mind to the condition of mind of the Russian mushik, who is so far from us in every respect. Imagine a human being born and reared in a primitive rural community in entire dependence of the uncertainties of nature and whims and fancies of an awkward, antediluvian, cruel and wasteful police-state and state-church. Nature and social economic conditions both work in the direction of creating deep dissatisfaction and the recognition of the uselessness of all individual efforts to find the source of the evil, its causes and remedies against it. The Russian peasant, on account of his dense ignorance, is not able to correct the irregularities of nature by artificial irrigation and fertilization of the soil. He is brought up in deep, slavish reverence for all authority—state and church. He silently, like a Roman gladiator, dies of starvation and submits without grumbling to all the extortion in blood and money by the Czar's government.

The man with the hoe is not a beast, but a poor, suffering, thinking human being. He cannot fail to see that there is evil, and much of it, in the world. The powers confronting him are the state and its handmaid—the church. Is it not natural that the Russian jumps at the conclusion that the state is intrinsically, essentially an evil, the work of the anti-Christ? The conclusion that the church is an evil is, however, modified by the intense religious instincts of the Slavic race. The Russian peasant can create for himself and as a matter of fact does create for himself another, better religion, than that presented by the official state church in the shape of numerous semi-rationalistic sects. He, however, does not know of any government but that of the Czar. Hence his religious, unconscious anarchism. Ages of submission and enslavement to the dominant classes on one side and a healthy idealism and touching childish faith in the ultimate victory of light and truth over darkness and falsehood inherent in the soul of the man with the hoe, are the sources of the obviously absurd maxim of non-resistance to evil. The Russian mushik is a truthseeker by nature and inclination, but he gropes in the dense darkness of ignorance and superstition.

Count Leo Tolstoy is only the spokes-

man of the plain Russian peasant. He does not believe in science, because it has not so far benefited the man with the hoe; he denies art for the same reason; he fights the institutional church, but finds himself in accord with the original teachings of the religion of the man-with-the-hoe—of Jesus of Nazareth; he denies all kinds of government, because it is the very personification of evil in his native land and far from perfection in other countries. The immense physical power in the command of the Russian ruling classes in the shape of a blindly-obedient, excellently-drilled army, crushing all opposition at its very inception, is the explanation of his non-resistance to evil. The blonde beast philosophy of Nietzsche leaves no hope for the under-man, the plain people. The man-with-the-hoe philosophy of Tolstoy preaches submission to the blonde beast. There is perfect harmony between Nietzsche and Tolstoy, in spite of the immense distance dividing them as men and thinkers. Social Democracy will fight and vanquish the blonde beast, but what shall be done with the man with the hoe?

Boomerangs

You pray for the poor, but you vote for the rich.

You favor the brotherhood of man, but you want to be the big brother.

You object to Socialism because it prevents a man from working for whomsoever he pleases, so you make him work for whoever pleases to engage him.

You fear men will have no incentive under Socialism, so you vote in favor of threatening them with starvation if they fail to get a job now.

You want to know who will do the dirty work under Socialism, but you are quite willing that it be left to the poor (and the politicians) under the present system.

You wonder what we would do with the man who wouldn't work under Socialism, but you are not very much worried about the man we won't let work under the present system.—Southern Socialist.

May Day in Europe

May day passed quietly in Paris, and the departments, with the exception of Grenoble, where scuffles occurred at the close of a meeting. The gendarmes charged the crowds and some policemen were injured.

Several demonstrations occurred in Spanish cities, but there were no serious disturbances. At Barcelona a group of strikers pillaged the chapel of a convent and were dispersed by the troops.

Some disturbances are reported from parts of Portugal, and an imposing demonstration was made in Lisbon.

Both in Rome and in the Italian provinces May day was passed quietly, and orderly meetings were held.

Ten thousand persons took part in an orderly May day procession at Vienna. The publication of newspapers was suspended for thirty hours. Meetings were held at Vienna and in the provinces.

Outlook for Socialism in England

But now is there any hope of the English workers at all? Will they show up any better in the first half of the twentieth century than they did in the last half of the nineteenth? It is very difficult to say. I may say at once that unless we experience some serious shock from without I cannot take a favorable view of the situation here from the Socialist standpoint. There is no enthusiasm among the mass of the English people for anything. They vote persistently for their masters, not because they love them but because they really don't know any better and won't take the trouble to learn. A football match or a sale between horses they have never seen and never will see has much more interest for them, a direct, betting, pecuniary interest, than their own well-being, or that of their wives and children. Ignorant, conceited and too often degraded and emburied by their wretched surroundings, the English working classes are not nice people to work for. No, unless we have a shock from without we shall not make the progress here that our stage of economic growth might lead us to hope for. Two factors are needed in order to achieve Socialism on the stage immediately preceding the co-operative commonwealth—the economic development and the educated consciousness of such development. In the first we are not far behind America; in the second we are far behind Germany.—H. M. Hyndman, in Challenge.

The invasion of Kentucky by a small army of union miners of southern Indiana, well armed, to compel the union miners to lay down their tools or join the union and strike for higher wages was a novel exhibition of zeal. It is quite probable that these Indiana coal miners voted the Mark Hanna ticket last November because they were promised prosperity. Experience is a dear school, but there are some unfortunates with wheels in their heads who are not benefited by its teachings.

A NOTABLE LABOR DISPUTE IN ENGLAND

General Federation of Trade Unions is Occupied with an Investigation of the Penrhyn Quarry Case—Pete Curran on the Committee

BY JOHN PENNY, Secretary I. L. P.

A considerable portion of the report of the General Federation of Trade Unions is occupied with an investigation into and commentary upon the Penrhyn dispute, which has figured in the public mind so prominently during the last six months. The Federation Executive sent a deputation to Bethesda, consisting of Mr. Pete Curran, chairman, and Mr. Isaac Mitchell, secretary, to inquire into the matter and if possible arrive at an amicable settlement. The deputation endeavored to obtain interviews with Lord Penrhyn and Mr. Young, the owner and manager of the quarry respectively, but those gentlemen declined to appoint a meeting. Consequently the deputation was compelled to spend its time among the men and such other people as it believed could assist the inquiry. If, however, the report is somewhat one-sided, Lord Penrhyn and Mr. Young have themselves to thank for it. "The grievances of the men," says the deputation, "may be summed up as follows:

- 1st. The union is not recognized.
- 2d. The management, while partially recognizing collective action, do all in their power to discourage it, even, the men allege, to the extent of discharging those who go upon deputations.
- 3d. They desire the reinstatement of certain victimized men.
- 4th. The men are prevented holding meetings in any part of the quarry, and from collecting subscriptions. This will be better understood when it is pointed out that the men's homes are scattered over a very large area, and it is difficult for them to meet at any other place or time, also that they all carry their food, it being impossible for them to get out of the quarry, owing to its size, to get dinner; they have, therefore, a considerable length of time to spare during this hour.
- 5th. Minimum wage is not recognized. The nature of the rock varies largely, so much so, in fact, that on bad rock poundage is allowed to make up their wage; the granting of poundage is in the hands of the "letters." In letting the work, or as it is termed, making bargains, they try to fix the price so that the men may earn 27s. 6d. per week; the men desire a minimum of 4s. 4d. per day. The management reply that this would mean their having to discharge over 200 old men who could not earn that amount.
- 6th. The men desire the abolition of the contract system, but are willing to take contracts co-operatively.
- 7th. They object to the bullying of the contractors and subordinate officials.
- 8th. The rules of discipline are harsh, the most serious probably being the fines, by which the men who may be fifteen minutes or less late lose a half day's pay, over fifteen minutes a whole day; the fines go to the sick club.
- 9th. They desire more democratic management of the benefit club.
- 10th. Permission to have an annual holiday.

These grievances were submitted to Mr. Young at a conference held between him and four representatives of the men on December 19, 1900. The result of that conference was that Mr. Young would make no alterations in respect to Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. In respect to No. 3, he agreed to try the co-operative system as an experiment, but it must be in a part of the quarry where no contract had previously existed, existing contracts to remain as at present. The men objected to this as an extension of the contract system. No. 7. Mr. Young promised to deal with well authenticated cases which might be brought before him. No. 8. We believe that the fines prior to the stoppage were, for fifteen minutes or less late, the loss of one day's pay; this was reduced at the conference by one-half. No. 9. Mr. Young promised to place the benefit club under more democratic management. No. 10. It was mutually agreed to leave this over for further consideration.

Since the vote was taken on these proposals, which the men rejected by 1,707 votes to 77, Mr. Young has issued a circular to a number of the men and offered, if they return to work, that the fines for being late, etc., will be altered to suspension, the suspensions to be from one-quarter day upwards.

With regard to the position of the men, we have a favorable report to submit. The total number employed at the quarry prior to the stoppage was 2,650; of these 280 (principally old men) were left at work, of the remainder 1,750 were union men, 470 non-union men; while about 150 were s-t-k. Of the 1,750 union men only 560 were financial members, the others having joined since last year.

The explanation of the large increase since that time is that in May Mr. Young posted a notice that no more money was to be collected in the quarry, except for charitable purposes. (The men allege that this was done with the hope that it would for ever break up the union.) Up to that time the union officials had been allowed to collect the contributions in the dinner hours; the men's names being arranged in the contribution books according to the gallery in which they were employed in the quarry. The posting of this notice necessitated an entire alteration in their method of collecting, and also in their method of keeping their books. Collectors had to be appointed for each hamlet and district surrounding Bethesda, the result being that by the new method the union increased three-fold, showing very clearly the fear in which the men held the management.

We found that only financial members were receiving union and Federation support; not one of those who had less than twelve months' membership was supported by the union.

Speaking generally on the position, we should say that unless something is done to bring the two parties together the dispute will last until the men are literally starved into submission."

After the presentation of this report the Federation again asked Mr. Young to meet a deputation so that any misconceptions in the minds of the men might be dispelled, but he again categorically refused, as "it was a rule that discussion on business affecting the relations between employed and employer should be conducted by the parties concerned."

It is fair to deduce then that the position in the quarry is as follows:

(a) The management will only deal with the employes direct. No outside intervention will be allowed.

(b) The management professes to allow the men to belong to a trade union, but steadily tries to crush the union out of existence.

(c) Therefore, it appears to be the aim of the management to have direct dealings with the men as individuals.

Perhaps it will appear to some that the first clause is perfectly fair, but there are several ways of looking at it. When one considers the position of the working man as opposed to the work's manager it is evident he is at a serious disadvantage. Mr. Young, for example, is probably a well-educated man, he has plenty of legal opinion behind him, and he has had years of training in business methods. The humble and innocent quarryman, however, has probably read little, and has absolutely no business knowledge. He knows he wants better wages or shorter hours or a grievance removed, but when he comes to face the manager, a master of bluff and finesse, he is simply turned inside out. Hence through his trade union he engages an expert who can meet the manager on fairly equal ground and state his case for him. Lord Penrhyn and Mr. Young will not meet the expert. They naturally prefer to deal with the quarryman himself.

Another point to be borne in mind is that trade unionists always aim at having paid officials. They want men who will not be afraid of victimization. If I understand aright this is what has happened at Bethesda. They have taken a man from the quarry, and made him quite independent of Mr. Young so that he can meet that gentleman on equal terms without the fear of being deprived of his means of livelihood. To the outsider this seems like a perfectly reasonable idea, but Mr. Young declares he will not meet such an official or officials. He prefers direct dealing with men who have to depend upon him for the privilege of working at their trade.

As to the unwisdom of the attitude of Lord Penrhyn and Mr. Young there can be no doubt. Experience has proved all over the country that trade union officials prefer peace to war. Where friendly relations are maintained between employers and officials grievances can be talked over and adjusted without friction. In many a workshop and factory to-day everything goes like clockwork because the manager is willing to meet the union secretary and discuss differences.

With regard to clause c, it will be evident that when it comes to bargains made between individuals, the working man has very little chance against the millionaire. Lord Penrhyn has said: "The quarries are mine and I intend to do with them as I like." The quarrymen by combination have, however, prevented them being worked these many

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A writer remarks, "We are living in the end of an age." Which end, please?

Old Li Hung Chang thinks there are too many Christian bulls in the emperor's China shop.

The labor unions of Ohio, those reporting, paid out last year \$69,350 for benefits to their members and had on hand for the same purpose \$130,695.

The guns of the armies of Socialism are ideas. The enemy can't spike them, and the more of them it captures the better it is for Socialism and humanity.

McKinley's army in the Philippine islands is a steal trust having the protection of "old glory," and operates directly under the muzzles of our imperial guns.

"The history of all society," says a writer, "thus far is the history of class strife." And it should be added that in this strife the poor never gained a victory.

It may be said that under our civilization more opportunities are offered for the poor to become poorer and the rich richer than at any previous period in the world's history.

Workingmen, receiving one-fourth of what they earn, often less, and cheated out of a portion of that, have always had a struggle for existence. Socialism proposes a change of program.

A president and cashier looted a bank at Vancouver, Wash., and then blew the tops of their heads off. The mistake they made was in not killing themselves before they stole the money.

Physicians occasionally administer deadly poisons in fighting certain obdurate diseases, and perhaps a little of the devil in prescriptions for remedying the curse of capitalism would be in order.

Voltaire, says Victor Hugo, declared war against conditions of all social inequities and fought them with his pen, "a weapon which has the lightness of the wind and the power of the thunderbolt."

"War is hell," said General Sherman. Public opinion in the United States favors McKinley's war in the Philippine islands, hence public opinion is in favor of hell; and the same is true of the devil.

It is said that the man who makes two blades of grass grow where only one had previously grown is a philanthropist, but in a larger sense is a man the benefactor of mankind who adds to the number of the Socialist army.

It is stated on good authority that in the city of Boston aldermen can be bought at from \$5 to \$10 each. Capitalism has an easy job in Boston, and may call the roll of its slaves under the shadow of Bunker Hill monument.

Emperor William of Germany, should the anarchists succeed in taking his scalp, will die with the proud reflection that he has provided heads enough to conduct the business at the old stand with ample ability to draw their salary.

When a workingman asks for a job as it ever known that the plutocrat inquired how many children he had to support, that he might add something to the daily wage to make the kids happy? The ages do not record such an incident.

A tenderfoot complains because of too much noise in great cities, and suggests a public uprising to silence noise. The probabilities are that a great deal more noise will be heard in all of our great cities if conditions do not change for the better.

New Jersey has suddenly become conspicuous as a nest where anarchists plot murder. The state has long since been the den for breeding trusts, and as between trusts and anarchists the distance

is but a step and the difference immaterial, through a trust diminishing workingmen and setting them adrift has caused more sorrow than all the anarchists in Christendom.

A Patagonian chief recently offered a captain of a British ship the land over which he ruled for a quart of rum. The price seems cheap, but it is more than McKinley paid for Porto Rico.

The latest thing in the way of inventions is the paper coffin. The inventor claims that the introduction of paper coffins will reduce the cost of funerals and thereby add to the comforts of the living.

The carpenters of Indianapolis struck for 35 cents an hour and an eight-hour day. They compromised on 32 1/2 cents an hour without reference to hours of work, a gain of 2 1/2 cents an hour or about \$1.30 a week.

A masculine member of New York's "400" has sued another of his class for alienating the affections of his wife, claiming damages to the amount of \$150,000, equal to 750 shares of stock in the Standard Oil trust.

The latest suggestion is to raise \$100,000 to build a monument to the late ex-president, General Benjamin Harrison. Why not make it \$111,000? That would be \$1,000 for each man of the military company he commanded to shoot down railroad employes in the strike of 1877.

It is said "no man makes a revolution and no man can check a revolution." In response to such propositions yes or no are equally authoritative. In the Central and South American states one man has been known to make a revolution in an hour, while another man has checked it by killing the maker.

Never was a government more ruthlessly administered by a class and for a class than the government of the United States. Capitalism dominates in everything. It supplied the money which enabled Mark Hanna to elect McKinley, and permits neither congress nor courts to act independent of its will.

Tennessee, grasping the Socialistic idea, has a law, recently enacted, prohibiting child labor. Under the sway of Socialism children and women will not be required to drudge in factories. The home will be their empire, and instead of being dark and cheerless it will be the center of love and light and happiness.

It is the idea of some people that error, wrong, injustice, must be accorded a period of time more or less extended in which to take root, grow, bud, blossom and bear fruit before it is in order to exterminate them. But the truth is they have no more right to live than a poisonous plant, a cobra or a tiger, and it is always in order to kill them.

Said a captain of industry, "See that machine? It cost me \$10,000, and will do the work of twenty men. I pay a man \$400 a year to attend it. I estimate the annual expense of the machine for interest on the investment and wear and tear at 6 per cent, or \$600 a year. Twenty men at \$400 a year is \$8,000. Deduct interest and the cost of overseeing, \$1,000, and my profit on the machine is \$7,000 a year." Under co-operation advocated by Socialism the profits of the machine would go to the workers.

If "Socialism is a mere dream—nothing more," how much better as a dream than the wild and horrible reality of competition! How much better than Jeffersonian democracy, which is a mere memory—nothing more. Socialism is an anticipation; Jeffersonian democracy is a recollection. Socialism owns the future; Jeffersonian democracy is owned by the past. Socialism is a moving, potent, universal force; Jeffersonian democracy is an inscription on a tombstone.

At a Fourth of July celebration in Boston in 1833 the following toast to "lovely woman" was proposed: "Woman:—When we affect to consider her inferior to man, let us not forget that she first discovered the tree of knowledge and first dared to eat the forbidden fruit; while Adam had not pluck enough to pluck an apple, nor capacity enough to swallow one, for it stuck in his throat."

In these later days we men can reflect over the fact that it was the women who found a way to get at the non-tax-paying corporations of Illinois. "We ain't so much," after all.

Capitalism affirms that trusts, by the consolidation of industrial plants under one management whereby expenses are reduced, is simply the result of evolution in the science of economics, and that if in the process men are thrown out of employment it results from the fact that in the evolution of machinery there are more men than are required to do the work required. Capitalism, the captains of industry affirm, is not eleemosynary in its nature or operations. It is simply organized greed, obeying the letter of the law everywhere governing individuals and nations. In this connection it is pointed out that organized labor is more heartless than the trusts. When a trust

forces a man into idleness it is because his services are no longer wanted—there is nothing for him to do—while organized labor forces a man into idleness simply because he is a non-union workman, a penalty imposed upon independence, without which men cease to be men.

Tolstoi, the Russian agitator, the excommunicated Christian, the Abol Ben Adhem of the czar's empire, discussing conditions, says that "fortunes are acquired always either by violence—the most common way—or by avarice, or by some huge villainy, or by chronic swindling, as in the case of trade. The better a man is the more sure he is of losing his wealth, and the worse a man the more sure he is of retaining and increasing his fortune. The laws which claim to protect property are laws protecting only property acquired by theft, which is in the hands of the wealthy; they not only do not protect the workman, who has not property, but they directly contribute to the exploitation of that labor."

In the process of evolution ballots have become a commodity and capitalists of the Mark Hanna breed buy them as if they were peanuts. Socialism is engaged in restoring the ballot to its pristine dignity and mission, and says to those who have a right to wield it:

"Take the ballot in your own free right hand. Grasp the ballot in the fist of your own free right hand. Go to the polls defiantly holding aloft the ballot in your own free right hand. Put the ballot in the ballot-box with your own free right hand. And if a capitalist or his henchman proposes to buy your ballot knock him into the middle of next week with the fist of your own free right hand."

That is one of the patriotic uses to which a man may devote his own free right hand.

If you held the title to ten thousand acres of good land, couldn't you get rich—without work?

If you could borrow money from the government at 1 per cent and loan it to the farmers in your county at 10 per cent, couldn't you get rich without work?

If you happened to be born rich, had plenty of money, lived in a country where men were made cheap and money was made dear, couldn't you get richer—without work?

If you had obtained a monopoly on some natural product, like coal or oil or lumber or silver or gold—things that you could not make—and millions of people wanted them, couldn't you get rich—without work?

If you have brains and can think for yourself, hadn't you better think?

The Church

Socialism does not inveigh against the church per se. Indeed, the term "church" is of such complex significance that lexicographers bemoan rather than elucidate the subject. The term may mean a building or an organization or a system of theology, as, for instance, the Roman church, the Greek church, the English church or the Protestant church. But the Protestant church is split up into so many fragments, each styled a church, that discussion breeds confusion which becomes worse confounded as we proceed. Occasionally some Shakespearean star tries to play the great tragedy of Hamlet by omitting Hamlet, and thereby reduces the drama to a farce. The churches professedly have Christ for their central idea. How often they make the mistake of the Shakespearean tragedians referred to need not be mentioned.

The church is in the world, but affirms it is not of the world—that is, of this world. Socialism is in this world, is of this world. It knows nothing about any other world. Its teachings are not occult, mysterious, unfathomable. In this is seen the wide difference between Socialism and the church. Socialism deals with men's bodies, the church with men's souls. In the wilderness there were "five thousand men, besides women and children." They were hungry. Christ took in the situation at a glance. He asked no questions. He just fed the vast multitude, so we are told. Socialism has no power to work miracles, but it seeks to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, shelter the homeless and make this world brighter and better for man's habitation. And this it does upon principles eminently scientific without the aid of any other force except a ceaseless appeal to reason.

Socialism appreciates the fact that the church is in the grasp of environments which it cannot overcome. It manages to secure vast revenues. It builds edifices as grand as Diana's temple and fills them with paintings and sculpture, while outside, under their shadow, the poor perish for the necessities of life, the excuse being that the architectural wonders are erected to "honor God," when the Bible affirms that the "Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands."

Socialism, if it could command the funds, would build co-operative factories and other industrial establishments, and homes for the toilers, bright and beautiful, dotting the country with landscapes as delectable as a poet's dream. It is possible that the church is doing as well as it knows how, however lamentably little that may be, in the advocacy of better conditions for workers and a better civilization for the world. At any

rate, if Socialism discovers that the church is breaking away from its former and expanding in the direction of new thought, it will cheerfully enter its commendation. If the church should ever denounce war, such as is going on in South Africa and the Philippine islands, Socialism will be quick to admit the reformation; or if the church should ever be moved to arraign capitalism for its ten thousand iniquities and resolve to devote its powers in the interests of working men and women, Socialism will hail the advent of such a departure from the old beaten pathway in which it has traveled for centuries with acclamations of approval.

The Strike

For workingmen to strike is to declare industrial war. Nevertheless, the strike is as much to be credited to evolution as the coming of labor-saving machinery or the trust.

There is profound philosophy in a labor strike, the primary cause of which is injustice to workingmen. Workingmen never strike without a grievance and never except to correct a wrong more or less flagrant.

We hear much nowadays about industrial evolution. It is credited with producing capitalism, the trust, labor-saving machinery, etc. Admit it. The strike is also to be credited to industrial evolution. It could not occur but for labor organization, and trade unions confessedly are to be credited to industrial evolution.

Here, then, we have an epitomized view of the industrial strike—at the bottom injustice, then the grievance, then the organization and finally the strike. Cause and effect, wrong and resistance.

At this juncture we moralize. We say strikes are expensive and often entail vastly more suffering than they realize. It was said by Admiral Porter that "a pin was worth fighting for if it involved a principle." The dictum is valuable because it explains the why and the wherefore of the industrial strike. But there are other considerations involved in an industrial strike. It would be a gloomy day for labor if capitalism had succeeded in so debauching workingmen that they would accept degradation without protest or resistance. Fortunately that day has not come, though capitalism is concentrating all its forces to expedite its advent.

There is not a student of present industrial conditions worthy of the name who does not know that in the very nature of things they breed strikes and that they will occur in spite of injunctions and all the death-dealing machinery at the command of the government, while workingmen retain enough manhood and self-respect and courage to resist enslavement.

True, and unfortunately true, it may be said that labor strikes are purely individual in their scope; that is to say, they are for the benefit of those who engage in them. A labor organization may have a grievance and strike to remedy the wrong of which it complains. In the struggle other organizations are not involved. Labor, in any broad sense, takes no hand in the fight. If the individual organization wins a victory, well and good. If defeat results, it must take the consequences and bear resulting misfortune with such composure as it can command.

The real significance of the industrial strike is that workingmen are resisting oppression and at the same time studying conditions. In this their attention is directed to remedies proposed by Socialism. The strike at best settles nothing permanently. It must be forever renewed, bequeathed from bleeding sire to son, until capitalism in some great battle overwhelms labor in irretrievable defeat.

Socialism takes in the whole body of labor and points out that by co-operation workingmen may solve the labor problem; that once unified, all pulling together, they will prove more potential than capitalism; that by co-operation they will regain possession of their tools, they will own labor-saving machinery and compel it to exalt rather than debase labor; that the iron arms of the steam engine will work to lift the burdens from the back of labor; that the hammers will beat, the forges blaze, the wheels revolve, the spindles whirl and the shuttles fly by the irrevocable decree of co-operative labor. The strike is helping on the good work. The better day is already dawning. The signs of the times are auspicious, and the ballot will yet prove a potent factor in ushering in the co-operative commonwealth.

The American cigar factory at Passaic, N. J., started up April 29, after a lapse of one week, caused by the strike of employes. The first break in the strike occurred when fifteen of the girl cigarmakers returned to work with twenty brought from New York. The firm is paying only 25 cents per hundred, which is 10 cents less than the girls demanded and 2 cents less than the rate before the strike. At 6 o'clock the police charged the strikers, who gathered at the mill. The girls resented the rough treatment. Several girls were dragged along the streets by the hair and the strikers have gained sympathy by the police brutality.

Any reader of The Herald who would like to do something for Socialism and who has not been here, is reminded that he can get subscriptions for this paper.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDENT RIOTS IN RUSSIA

Are the student riots in Russia social or are they, as the American press would have it believe, symptomatic of a deep-seated disease in the empire of the czar? The continental European journals generally do not regard the demonstrations in Moscow, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities as at all serious, and believe that they indicate merely the necessity for reform in the method of governing universities in Russia. French papers blame the English press for exaggerating the disturbances. The Temps (Paris), which supports the alliance with Russia, manages to treat the subject so skillfully that, in a two-column article, it does not express even the shade of an opinion. The Journal des Debats (Paris) declares that the question is solely one of reorganizing the interior administration of the universities, and that it has no political significance whatever. It is a struggle for academic liberty, says this journal, such as is found in German universities, for the liberty of doctrine and association which is enjoyed by professors and students in universities the world over—except in Russia. There is a good deal of the idealist about the Russian student, says the Frankfurter Zeitung, and the government, in trying to treat him like a child, has done its best to foster a desire for martyrdom in him. It continues:

"The truth is that in Russia the government has never realized that in the hands of the youth of the country lies the future of Russia, and this is particularly so of the youth of the universities. The statesmen of the present seem to have adopted the policy of the first Nicholas and to wish to treat them like soldiers. Any symptoms of discontent with the attitude of the government, or what the bureaucrats take to be discontent, are punished by forcible enrollment in the army. It may be remarked that the Russian soldiers are far better treated than they were fifty years ago, and that, therefore, the punishment of compulsory service is not so severe as it was when Nicholas I. was emperor. But the principle is the same—the government thinks that intellectual movements can be stamped out by military discipline."

The Independence Belge (Brussels) publishes a dispatch from St. Petersburg stating that General Dragomirov, commander in the Kieff district, has protested to the czar against the army's being used as "a house of correction for fractious students." Military service, he is reported to have said, should never be made a penalty for insubordination. The Independence Belge also publishes a statement signed by forty-five Russian authors and educators, recounting the facts connected with the riots and the violence of the Cossacks, and claiming that the protest, which has been sent to "every newspaper in Europe," has the indorsement of "all intellectual Russia."

A writer in the Nation (Berlin) reviews the history of Russian legislation affecting the universities for the past half-century, and declares that considerable progress in toleration has been made; but thinks that the government might easily have granted the demands of the students in the present instance without at all compromising its authority. M. Plekhanoff, a leading Russian revolutionist, has declared (in an interview published in the Secolo of Milan) that the student movement has the hearty support of the masses of the empire. In support of this statement he points out that the workmen of Moscow and St. Petersburg made common cause with the rioting students, and also that in the crowd which assaulted the Kasan cathedral in the latter city there were found merchants and persons of nearly every profession. The riots, he concludes, are the result of a well-prepared and well-managed propaganda which the revolutionists are carrying into every corner of Russia.

From reliable sources in Vienna (nothing on the subject is permitted by the censor to appear in the Russian papers) the correspondent of the Times (London) declares these riots to be the "first serious symptom of a far-reaching revolutionary agitation of which more will probably be heard hereafter." Commenting upon this report, the St. James' Gazette (London) remarks: "However improper it may be for foreigners to wish well to violent revolution in a friendly country, it would be impossible for Englishmen to withhold sympathy if there were the smallest prospect of 'revolutionary agitation' leading to any practical result in Russia."

There are two "Hope Halls" in the United States, where penniless, homeless and friendless discharged and pardoned prisoners are taken in and cared for until they can find work. It is a Salvation Army idea and a good one. But if present conditions continue and the population of prisons increases there will be a necessity for "Hope Halls" on every hill and plane in the country.

A Socialist writer remarks, "Of course I don't suppose for a moment that there is any danger that the social millennium will arrive so quickly as to overturn existing conditions as a cyclone capsizes a house." But that sort of a thing does happen sometimes, as, for instance, in France, when the revolution, which Victor Hugo calls a "superb catastrophe" not only capsized a house, but a throne, including the bastille. History can repeat itself.

BLUNDER OF THE "INTELLECTUALS"

The Social Unity, published by the gathering at the head of which is the Rev. Mr. Bliss, announces in the April number that "we held a referendum on the class-conscious question and found out that among the 2,500 people to whom this magazine goes, no great interest was taken in that special question, but that of those who did take the trouble to express an opinion, a large majority was opposed to the class-conscious position."

It is to be regretted that one who stands before the community as an author and an "intellectual" should display such a lack of information and knowledge of sociology. The "class-conscious position" is simply the conception and the knowledge of a scientific process in industrial development.

It would be regarded as idiotic for men to vote on the question as to whether the mammal preceded or succeeded the mollusk. The scientist would observe and study the geological development of the earth and the proposition would be determined scientifically without a vote, and even a referendum upon that proposition would be absolutely worthless, except to advertise the supreme ignorance of those voting against a clear and scientifically demonstrated proposition.

To come directly to our subject, let us illustrate: Supposing there were gathered in a hall Mark Hanna, Senator Jones, William McKinley, William J. Bryan, John P. Altgeld, Pingree and, say, a hundred other representative democrats along with representative republicans; that these gentlemen express themselves upon commercial and industrial conditions, and there is one proposition that they will unite upon. They may differ as to free trade, imperialism, bounties, franchises, etc., but on one position above all others they will stand as a unit—viz., that conditions in the production of goods should be such as will give the manufacturer and the capitalist a "fair" return upon his investment.

In other words, these gentlemen of different political faiths believe in profits; to secure this reward they will advocate the combination of industry, the destruction of trusts, franchises, anti-franchises, improved machinery and a dozen different methods, all to that end, the amassing of profits for the capitalists, who, of course, will as a matter of charity, give labor an opportunity to create and work.

These gentlemen in order to secure profits must find markets in which to sell their goods and their constant attempt is to sell them at the highest price consistent with large sales and to buy at the lowest possible price, and when these capitalists buy at a low price they pay as wages the lowest possible sum and exact long hours and require the greatest possible return from the laborers whom they employ.

These gentlemen in political life will

advocate all the laws and the legislation which will carry out, increase and perpetuate their profits. Between themselves they may quarrel as to the amount each one is to receive, but so far as the laborer is concerned they stand as a unit, trying to buy his labor power at the lowest margin.

Let us now presume another gathering of republicans, democrats and prohibitionists who are wage workers; irrespective of their religion, education, nationality or color they will each one of them contend for the reduction of the hours of labor, for the abolition of child labor and for increase of wages. Every single contention that they make will tend to increase their reward for production and consequently the price of their labor power. You have never heard of an instance of a laborer desiring to work longer hours or decreasing his pay, neither have you heard a suggestion from Mr. Morgan, Vanderbilt or Mark Hanna (except as a political side issue) to increase pay and to shorten hours of labor.

It must be clear from these examples that there are two interests in this country which are antagonistic—the capitalist, which is trying to draw the most from labor and give the least in return to augment their efforts; and the laborers, who are trying to draw the most for their efforts and return the least in consideration therefor.

It is true that there are laborers who vote and support the capitalists, enemies to the economic interests of their class. It is equally true that there are a few, a very few, capitalists who occasionally agitate for Socialism, but one man does not make a class. Nothing can be more idiotic than to suppose that kings will come together and lay down their scepters, that the slave holders will assemble and unitedly emancipate their slaves: In view of past history it requires an overwhelming credulity to believe that those who are contented and who own the powers of production and distribution today will voluntarily come together and say, "Let us all own the powers of production in common, and be happy."

The cry of personal hatred has no place in this controversy. A man, as an individual, may be good and kind in either class. That, however, does not deny the proposition that the economic interests of the present time have established a class of dispossessed and a class of owners, that their interests oppose each other and that nothing will restore to the working class an equality of opportunity, except their struggle and through a political organization representing their interest, gaining that power which is requisite to a restoration to them of the means of production and distribution. The Blissites should read a little and guess again.

THE FEAR OF WANT

There can be no want without a scarcity. There can be no scarcity while the sunshine and the showers come to our earth. This is a fruitful world. Nature is no niggard, for the soul of Nature is Love.

But is there no scarcity? No! That many lack the bare necessities of life is no evidence of scarcity.

Look at a map of our land. Great cities dot our shores, towns guard almost every bend of our rivers, and hamlets nestle at many of the crossroads. In all these are to be found stores, from the little shop of the country dealer to the colossal concern known as the department store. These are full of goods from many climes, and the business and the pleasure of those behind the counters is to supply all comers.

Still, many lack. They are never so near many things they really need and really ought to have as when they gaze at them through the polished fronts of the palace store. This is one aspect of civilization. Just as "The Ancient Mariner" saw "Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink," so full often the modern wage-worker sees raiment all about him, but frequently he has not a coat he can call his own; there is food in abundance, but too often he has not a bite to eat. How can men look upon this spectacle and say there is nothing wrong, nothing unnatural? Some men and women cannot so see and speak.

We are told that to make black pepsin the managers of certain large pork-packing establishments starve the hogs for some hours, and then fill troughs, covered with an iron grating, with savory swill. After struggling over the tempting food for a little time without being able to taste it, the poor brutes are hurried to their death. Their stomachs are then found to be full of gastric juice.

How like this is the treatment our industrial system accords to the many! The result has not even the plea that something of commercial value has been produced. We turn off, not so many tons of breakfast bacon and so many hundredweights of black pepsin in an incredibly short time, but so many weak-throats, pickpockets, confidence men, burglars, highwaymen, assassins and murderers, and blow upon blow of law, crime and black.

We regard all too lightly the thoughts that men and women think. Our system deprives them of the real enjoyment of life. They are embittered, and they nurse not the righteous discontent that eventually finds a remedy for the wrong, but an irrational discontent that sooner or later finds expression in blind rage and ungovernable fury.

Be not deceived! Thoughts are not vacant shadows, but realities that prison walls cannot hold nor mountain barriers stop. Sooner or later they will bear fruit in acts. We are responsible not only for our own thoughts but in no small degree for the thoughts of others. Our influence is greater and of wider radius than perhaps we believe. In this awful sense, each is his brother's keeper.

But men fear want; you fear it; we all fear it, and consciously or unconsciously we are governed by that fear. The hapless seamstress, stitching her life away for a dollar and a quarter a week, is perhaps no less fearful of want than is the banker who sleeps with a six-shooter under his pillow.

Have you ever paused for one brief moment to contemplate the damning influence of fear? It has not one redeeming line in all its form or face. Fear at first drives men to fortify themselves against foes, oftener imaginary than real. This we call self-preservation. Out of this has grown the hydra-headed monster selfishness, of which every vice is but the manifestation.

Why should men fear want? There is no rational basis for such fear, but still it exists, and because it exists our horrible world is full of oppression and hideous retaliation. Because the fear of want finds a home in the hearts of men, Want—gaunt, blighting, blasting Want—stalks through our fertile land.—Walter Ratcliffe, in Citizen and Country.

Ernest Solvay has decided to found a sociological institution in the Park Leopold at Brussels. The object of the founder is to give a positive basis to the study of sociology, and the institute will be provided with several rooms for study and a library containing all publications which treat of social questions. Any persons who are studying these questions, no matter what may be their political opinions, will have the right to use the institute.

TO OUR AMERICAN CIVILIZERS

Onward, Christian soldiers,
To some foreign shore,
Preach the gentle gospel,
Let the gentile roar,
Spread the wholesome tidings,
Also shot and shell,
Point the way to heaven
Paint the Christian hell.

You are civilizers,
You are freedom's sons,
Tell them of your gin-shops,
Also Yankee dums,
What know swarthy heathen
Of the sweater's den?
Tell them they must learn to be
Factory hands, not men.

Show your loving kindness
Teach them how to die,
Say a heaven awaits them
Far beyond the sky,
Take their land and treasure,
Say 'tis for their weal,
Teach the eighth commandment,
Tell them not to steal.

Should the heathen doubt you
And your wondrous tale,
Try another method,
Never known to fail:
Slaughter them in thousands.
When they're 'neath the sword,
Tune the hymn and raise the Psalm,
Praise the blessed Lord!

The Rich and the Poor

It is perfectly plain that God's rich children would be in a pitiable spiritual condition if there were no poor people to be kind to! The people do not understand about poverty, and so the clergymen tell the poor that they ought to thank God for making them poor and for sending his rich children to them to alleviate their poverty; and they tell the rich people that they ought to thank God for making them rich and giving them the poor people to exercise their sympathies on. They tell the poor that it is a virtue to be contented in their poverty. They tell the rich that it is a virtue to be charitable. They tell the poor that love in a cottage is much sweeter than love in a mansion; that the rich have many cares and miseries of which the poor know nothing. They tell the rich that they are so much better situated than the poor, that they should open their hearts and give.

Thus the church plays into the hands of the state. This is the reason why the rich, whether they are religious or not, are so generous in supporting the church. Without the aid of clergymen in deceiving the people, the state-created monopolist could not rob them. But all that the state does in this regard is unjust, and all that the church teaches on this subject is untrue.—Hugh O. Pentecost.

Freedom Under Socialism

The state could give shorter hours or less pay for easy and attractive work, and in this way, by proportioning reward to work, easily regulate the supply of laborers throughout the entire field of industry. Might not Socialism help the individual to secure this choice of work as the present socialistic high-ways assist the traveler on his journey, or as our thoroughly socialistic school system helps each scholar to make the wisest choice of studies? It is in order for our cities to show that because the state owns the school plants, the means of production and distribution of knowledge, that the freedom of the scholar is destroyed; that he cannot choose his study; that his individuality is lost, and that progress in knowledge must cease. Socialism in education is no longer an experiment, but a historical and glorious fact. It does not "choke freedom" in the choice of studies, but furnishes the individual with help, the value of which cannot be overestimated. What is to hinder the same result in industry?

It is by no means follows that because government supervises work the workman "will have no choice in the matter." One might with equal propriety say that because government supervises marriage, including all the details of certificates and returns, it therefore determines what woman a man shall marry. Freedom of choice in occupations, under government supervision of labor, need not be interfered with any more than is the present freedom of choice in marriage. A similar logic would show that the "factory acts" interfere with the freedom of the manufacturer in choosing the kind and quality of goods he shall produce. Would any say, because the government owns and supervises the highways, because it requires the traveler to turn out on a certain side, to walk his team on a bridge, to drive through the street so as not to exceed a certain rate of speed, to tie his horse when he stops, and not to drive him at all unless the government regards him in a proper physical condition, that freedom of travel is destroyed and that a man can no longer choose his destination, but the government must decide where every man must go?—Franklin W. Sprague.

Eight thousand of Emperor McKinley's Porto Rican subjects petition his majesty to send them something to eat p. d. q., as they are in the grasp of famine. The empire comprising territory and population is ahead of British India.

A STALE RED HERRING

Among the multitude of errors which the Socialist propagandist has to confront is that advocated by so-called land reformers known as the single tax, says London Justice. This particular fallacy has been so frequently exposed to be the mere red-herring that it is, that it might have been expected by this time to have become so stale as to have lost all scent, even for those most willing to be misled. Unfortunately, however, that appears not to be the case, and we have today men who should know better advocating a proposal which, as has been over and over again demonstrated, would not affect in any appreciable degree the particular monopoly, that of the land, which they have specially selected for attack.

The chief advocate of the single tax in recent years was Henry George. At one time there was some hope that he would stumble on the truth and become a Socialist. But he was alarmed at the idea of the common ownership and control of all the means of production, and so he sought a remedy for existing evils which would leave class society and class domination, the root of these evils, practically untouched, and he appears to have thought he had discovered it in the single tax. The fallacy of the remedy was completely exposed by H. M. Hyndman in the debate in St. James' Hall, when George was forced to admit that the single tax meant only that rent should be used to abolish all other taxes and would leave the present structure of society, with its capitalist ownership and control of all the means of production, including the land, untouched. That has not prevented others from adopting George's errors; and recently we have had our old friend Morrison Davidson taking it upon himself to father this fallacy; although how a man can be a Christian Anarchist and a Tolstoyan, and at the same time be an advocate of taxation, even the single tax, by an unregenerate state, it is somewhat difficult to comprehend. Hyndman once more points out the fallacy of the proposals which Davidson champions, and then to Davidson's support comes one Berens, whose discomfiture on this theme at the hands of the present writer some years ago will be well remembered by Bradford comrades. If Mr. Berens desires the opportunity of attempting to retrieve before a London audience the reputation he lost at Bradford, it can easily be afforded him.

The reason for the attractiveness of the single tax is not difficult to comprehend. The monopoly of land is the most obvious and most striking. "The land monopoly is the bottom monopoly," said the Single-Taxers, and they are right. Where they are wrong is assuming that the single tax will abolish, or even touch, that monopoly. Briefly, the proposal of the single tax is, as the term implies, the abolition of all taxes save one, this to consist of a tax on land values, to be increased until the whole rent of land is absorbed in taxation. How this will destroy land monopoly the single-taxers never attempt to show; they simply repeat their parrot cry, "The land monopoly is the bottom monopoly," which no one disputes. Point out to them that, if all other taxes were abolished save a tax on land, the capitalist, who pays all other taxes today out of the surplus value wrung from unpaid labor, would alone benefit, and that the exploitation of labor would still go on as it does today, they do not attempt to refute this; they only fatuously repeat: "The land monopoly is the bottom monopoly." Point out to them that even if all rent were taken by the state in the form of a single tax, land would still, as it is today, be let to the highest bidder; that the poor man, who today is only debarred by his poverty from renting land, would then be as completely divorced from the soil as he is now; that with the state as sole landlord, letting to the highest bidder, there would be nothing to prevent the capitalist farmer monopolizing huge tracts of land for profit, or plutocrats like Astor, Winans or Carnegie monopolizing still more immense tracts of land for pleasure, just as they do at present; point all this out to the single-taxers and they cannot deny it in a single particular; but they still reply, "The land monopoly is the bottom monopoly."

No Socialist denies that the land monopoly is the bottom monopoly; although he may not admit that it is the worst form of monopoly, or the one which should be first attacked—in destroying abuses it is not always best to begin at the bottom. But what the Socialist does deny is that the single tax will destroy the land monopoly, or any other form of class domination. On the contrary, we hold that the single tax would rather strengthen than weaken the position of the capitalist. By relieving him of all taxation other than the rent, and by abolishing such remnants of the old antagonism between landlordism and plutocracy as still exist, the establishment of the single tax would strengthen and consolidate the domination of the capitalist.

A good habit to contract: To secure a new subscriber for The Herald each week of your life. Do this and you will be surprised how much one man can do for himself.

LOCAL BRANCHES

LIBERTY BRANCH, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Tuesday evening, commencing at 8 o'clock.
Business meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening.
Membership, Social Democrat Herald free to each member at 10 cents per meeting.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring street. J. E. Brennan, sec'y. 25 Hill street.
Branch No. 2, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday in each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August P. Mayer, secretary, 1609 Folk street.

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

CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 3 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 1009 Main street, Hartford. Louis Herrup, secretary, 6 Kinley street, Hartford.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, meets second and fourth Fridays at Lank's Hall, up-stairs. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 70.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. H. Greer's office, 28 Dearborn street.
Branch No. 1 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m., at Nag's Hall, 222 Blue Island avenue.
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m., in Dunder's place, 100 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, secretary.
Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Piazrik's Hall, corner Center avenue and 19th street. James Rehak, secretary, 415 Throp street.
Branch No. 4 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m., at 2022 Lincoln street. J. A. Ambros, secretary, 400 Wood street.
Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets at Uihorn's Hall, corner 2nd street and Center avenue, first and third Saturdays. Gus Larson, secretary, 222 Center avenue.
Branch No. 6 (Svatoplukcech) meets every third Sunday in the month at Pinger's Hall, corner Michigan and 11th place. Camil Kabat, secretary, 127 Stanwood avenue.
Branch No. 8 (German), Chicago, meets every other Saturday at 8 p. m., at A. Jankowski's place, 264 W. 21st street, between Leavitt and Oakley. A. Geisler, secretary, 726 W. 20th street.
Branch No. 10 (11th ward), Chicago, Ill., meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at Hibbard's Hall, a corner of Paulina and 21st sts. Secretary, P. J. Kuhn, 721 Blue Island ave.

INDIANA
Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each Rockwell's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets. Address all communications to the secretary of the State executive board, Thomas Cattoon, 404 Warren avenue.

IOWA
Branch No. 1, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Baxter, chairman. Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

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

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch No. 1, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall, Carl Schwabe, organizer, 7 Jackson street.
Branch No. 2, Roxbury, meets at 24 Warren street, second and fourth Fridays of every month. Public invited.

MICHIGAN
Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 8 p. m., at 10 W. Main street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, secretary.

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

MISSOURI
Branch No. 1, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Mondays, at 8 p. m., at Haldermann's Hall, 212 South Seventh street.

MONTANA
Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, secretary, 71 E. Park street, to the committee of the month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY
Branch No. 4, Camden, meets every third Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1200 Kaighn's avenue.
Branch No. 5 (German), Paterson, meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Hook street. Karl Lindner, secretary, 322 Edmund street.

NEW YORK
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, East Windsor Hall.
Branch Side Branch No. 1, meets every first and third Thursday at 202 East Broadway. L. Rothman, secretary, 121 Norfolk street.
Branch No. 2, Brooklyn, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 24 Moore street. Visitors welcome. Committee desiring to organize meet every Sunday morning at Secretary Sol. Pressman, 100 Boerum street.
Branch No. 10 meets every Friday at 8 p. m., at 202 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 26 Henry street.

OHIO
Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richellen Hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum streets, every Sunday at 8 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Thos. McKerns, secretary, 229 Laurel street.

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

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at 23 S. Third street. Rose Slododkin, Treasurer, 215 Pine street.
Branch No. 4, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—executive committee every Sunday morning at 8 S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 23 S. 3d street. Organizer, M. Gillis, 212 Reed street.
Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor Hall, No. 22 E. 2d street. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyons, secretary, 725 2d street. Public invited.

WISCONSIN
Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Brewer's Hall, southeast corner 4th and Chestnut streets.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kaller's Hall, 4th street, between State and Prairie, every fourth Thursday evening.
Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Goetz's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay avenue. Frank Lieblich, secretary.
Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Concordia Hall. Chas. Pisan, Secretary, Treasurer, 411 Lincoln avenue.
Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Fridays each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 221 1/2 1/2 street.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. Rys of Hall, southeast corner Orchard street and 9th avenue. J. Logan, 22 Orchard street, secretary.
Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 241 and Center streets; at 8 p. m. Secretary, C. Kadec, 222 1/2 2d street.
Branch No. 22, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 224 Clark street. Herman Schneider, secretary, 222 1/2 2d street.
Branch No. 24, Kiel, Wis., meets every second and fourth Saturdays at President House. Edgar F. Lindner, secretary.

WEST VIRGINIA
Branch No. 1, Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at Trade and Labor Assembly Hall, 125 Market street. R. A. Lewis, organizer.

SUCCESS
Remember, there is no one in the world who can do more for himself than you can. Do this and you will be surprised how much one man can do for himself.



Last year the police force of New York, having 7,400 members, arrested 138,875 persons, an average of about twenty to a policeman, and yet the force is roundly scored for not doing its duty, having paid little attention to the Wall street dens.

Coal mined in England last year sold for about \$330,000,000, and wages received by the miners amounted to \$57,000,000, or about one-sixth. This proportion holds good in the United States, undoubtedly. No, there's no robbery in capitalism!

Thousands of boxes of oranges are going to waste in the Santa Ana valley, in consequence of the shortage of freight cars in which to move the crop. Tons of them are being dried for fuel and quantities are being plowed under for fertilizer.—Los Angeles Record.

The Socialist party in Serbia was much persecuted by Milan's government, but recently there have not been so many persecutions. A newspaper, the workmen's paper, Radnitchki List, has just been founded and is doing well. Till now the movement has been confined to Belgrade, but it is now spreading in the agricultural districts.

The industrial depression in Europe continues to spread. Upward of 100,000 workers are on strike or locked out in Russia and frequent collisions with the troops occur. In Germany the Krupp's have added 5,000 men to the already large army of unemployed iron, textile and other workers. In Austria and Switzerland the depression is daily becoming more intensified, and big strikes are raging in Italy. In France a national strike of the miners has been ordered for June 1, and in Belgium also national strikes of various trades are contemplated.

A statement just issued by the Treasury Bureau of Statistics shows that the national debts of the world have increased in a little over a century at the rate exhibited in this table:

Table with 2 columns: Year and Debt Amount. Rows include 1793, 1820, 1848, 1862, 1872, 1882, 1901.

Within the lifetime of men of middle age these debts have tripled. They now amount to a sum that would buy one-half of the United Kingdom.

Spain has ominous signs of public disorder in its larger cities. The Australian parliament is in a state of collapse. Collision has come between the Hungarian parliament and the executive over selections; and there is a serious wave of criticism running over Germany directed against the honors bestowed by the Kaiser upon Lord Roberts. The economic stress is so great all over Europe that the spring is certain to see a period of extreme unrest, really based upon the steady, inexorable competition of the United States, which month by month undermines the economic system of England and the continent.—New York Churchman.

The Federation of Workingmen's Associations in Finland has been holding its annual meeting at Helsingfors. It represents about forty associations, and has 1,900 members, of whom 300 are women. The associations publish a newspaper, and are going to build a house for meetings, etc., at Helsingfors. Charles B. Spahr, the 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.

Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, one of the leading capitalistic writers of Europe, makes the charge that France has become the country par excellence of strikes, and that the present ministry is directly and wholly responsible, since the presence in the cabinet of M. Millerand, an avowed Socialist, is a "constant incitement to violence." The latter, according to M. Leroy-Beaulieu, is the "open enemy of private property, of private capital, the absolute advocate of the socialization of all production." The writer continues: "There is no country in the world where we find such a phenomenon as a collectivist, avowed and militant, taking part in the government, dominating the departments of commerce and industry, preparing all the laws, and presiding at the passage of all measures which should be permitted to merchants and tradesmen."

The "nub" of Dr. Parkhurst's southern observations is to be found in his declaration: "When I see the general government, in wild regardlessness, pouring its uncalculated millions into the Philippines, and yet letting its own naked children go unclothed and its own beloved offspring die of intellectual starvation, my blood boils within me." Here we are spending hundreds of millions in order to "civilize" and "colonize" the

people of the Philippines, while we allow millions of both white and black men in the South to grow up as illiterates. One-fifth of all the white persons employed in the southern cotton mills cannot read or write. Not a dollar is spent in the Philippines which could not be expended to a hundred times the advantage within our own borders. This is a fact which should be proclaimed from all the pulpits of the land, as Dr. Parkhurst proclaimed it in his Madison avenue pulpit.

A New York daily gives a description of the "People's Home" of Brussels, Belgium, controlled by the Socialists and trade unionists. On entering the ground floor the visitor finds a splendid cafe, lighted by electricity and fitted with the most luxurious appointments. It will hold at least a thousand persons with comfort. On the first floor, approached by iron staircases, are the administrative departments, all conveniently equipped. There are halls of various sizes for public meetings, trade union conclaves and social gatherings. On the roof of this delightful palace is a theater and concert hall, which will seat more than two thousand persons. There is also an outside promenade and refreshment room. The labor palace is constructed almost entirely of iron, cement and glass. It is not very decorative, but the lines of the building are artistic, dignified and simple, and it was erected solely for comfort and use.

Revolution Feared in France

M. Millerand, Socialist member of the French cabinet, in an interview at Paris last week, said:

"When parliament reassembles May 17 most important work will be done. We have just decided that, while the premier defends in the senate the bill which recently passed the chamber against the Jesuits and other religious societies which meddle in politics under instructions from their chiefs in Rome or have been convicted of having accumulated a scandalous amount of property, I myself shall introduce into the chamber a bill creating a pension system for aged or disabled workmen and women.

"This socialistic reform is considered by President Loubet and the whole ministry as the most momentous step of progress ever attempted by any civilized nation since the American and French revolutions. It will be fought desperately by all the reactionary elements and by many capitalistic republicans, who fear that every satisfaction granted to the laboring masses will only increase their audacity—which will be true until society is more equitably organized.

"The popular clamor for equal chances, comfort and happiness will increase, gathering force from every concession movement. It cannot stop, however. Every sensible politician, even among those who do not hold my socialistic views, realizes that something must be done soon if a sanguinary revolution is to be averted.

"May 1, though comparatively orderly, revealed the fact that the workers are more conscious of their rights and are better organized, better led and more internationally sympathetic than ever before. The progress in that direction in the last five years has been marvelous.

"Already, while the jingo press is stirring up bad feeling, the English and the German trades unions are sending large delegations to assure organized labor in France of their friendship. French laborers are sending money to their syndicates to support strikes in Belgium, Italy and Germany, and 6,000,000 of Socialists of all countries are sending signed encouragement to the victims of Russian repression.

"The referendum held last week among the miners of France favored a general strike throughout the country, which is only postponed in order to perfect the organization. In England a movement of the same sort is afoot.

"The great French revolution broke out without giving such warnings. Only the blind now fail to see that any great labor outbreak in any country might spread like wildfire over Europe and America. Let us not forget that there was founded in Paris last year an international Federation of Socialists, which is very noiseless, yet is doing a tremendous work.

"Revolutions are always started by determined minorities, which even the most inert masses will follow in promising movements. Therefore if progress is to be made by peaceful evolution instead of by riots reforms must be immediate."

The old Greeks and Romans had a multiplicity of gods. They had their gods of all seasons—gods of air, earth and water, etc. "We" Christians are more economic. We make one god answer for all purposes, war and peace, pestilence, famine or anything else, when we appeal for guidance and protection. We overdo the thing occasionally, as, for instance, on the field of battle when we slaughter Filipinos we call on our god to give us the victory. Then in some little church around the corner the same god is appealed to to stop the ravages of war, because "war is hell." We are getting this god business badly mixed.

Turn out next Sunday to the Chicago May Celebration under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrade Calvin Ross has been appointed general organizer in Texas of the Social Democratic party.

We are happy in being able to announce the probability of Comrades Eugene and Annie Dietzgen's return to the United States in October.

The Social Economist is the name of a new weekly just published as the state organ of the Social Democratic party in Texas. It is edited by Comrade W. E. Farmer.

In the local election at Plattsmouth, Neb., Social Democratic candidates for marshal, councilmen and members of the school board received votes ranging from 60 to 322.

On Sunday evening, May 19, 1901, at Irving Hall, Brooklyn, Darwin J. Meserole will speak on the "Problem of the Unemployed," under the auspices of Branch 18. This is the first of a series of lectures and all Socialists and Herald readers are cordially invited.

To Social Democrats: To settle a dispute, if any reader of The Herald knows of a voting precinct that was carried by the party last November, a favor will be conferred by communicating the fact to Horace Meloy, 508 South Prospect street, Colorado Springs, Colo.

The Pittsburg Kansan says the Social Democratic party seems to have a good foothold in Cowley county. Luella R. Kraybill of Winfield, the well-known and gifted writer and speaker on economic questions, has received a commission as organizer from headquarters at Chicago.

Chicago Social Democrats are reminded to prepare for a good time next Sunday by purchasing tickets for the celebration. Mr. Clarence S. Darrow has promised that if business does not take him out of town he will deliver an address. There will be a fine musical program, a dance and a good time for everybody.

The May celebration of the Social Democratic party will be held next Sunday (May 12) at Brand's hall, corner of Erie and North Clark streets. There will be a provision made for young and old to enjoy themselves. The program includes vocal and instrumental music, tableaux and dancing, besides addresses by Clarence S. Darrow and Victor L. Berger.

We would like to send you one or a dozen copies of "Poems of Justice," a collection of cleverly written poems by Comrade Geneva Lake, inscribed to Eugene V. Debs and the Social Democrats of the world. They were called forth by incidents in the career of Comrade Debs, beginning with his liberation from Woodstock. Written by a brave woman whose optimism is truly inspiring, these poems will be sent to your address, postpaid, for 10 cents. Twelve copies, one dollar.

The National Convention

Our advices from all sections of the country are to the effect that the organization of the Social Democratic party will be well represented at the convention. It is perhaps needless for us to call attention to the terms of the call as adopted by our branches. Lest these should be overlooked, however, it may be well to remind the comrades everywhere that no individual member will be entitled to representation who is not in good standing in his branch. It will be necessary for every member to be paid up for the quarter in which the convention is held to be sure of participation either directly or indirectly or by delegate in its deliberations. We, therefore, urge the importance of bearing this in mind, thus preventing any disappointment to a single member. We hope to see every branch in the country fully represented, and the growing interest in the September gathering indicates that they will be.

In this connection it may be well to call attention to a misapprehension concerning the referendum on the conclusions of the convention. The call adopted by our party does not provide for a referendum of the work of the convention to "a general vote of each separate party or organization participating in the same," but only to the branches of our own organization. This is the course which the Social Democratic party has always followed in all matters of importance. The party members have reserved the right to vote on the actions and decisions of the convention.

It is none too early for the comrades to devise ways and means to insure representation in the convention, and the branches everywhere are urged to take up the matter at once.

International Socialist Bureau

The members of the International Socialist Bureau to date are as follows: England, Hyndman and Hardie; Germany, Auer and Singer; Austria, Adler and Skavet; Belgium, Anseele and Vandervelde; Denmark, Jensen; Spain, Iglesias and Oucjido; France, Jaures and Vaillant; Holland, Troelstra and Vankol; Italy, Ferri and Turati; Norway, Kringen and Hazeland; Poland, Jedrejowski and Wojnarowski; Russia, Kritschewsky; Switzerland, Fauquez and Furlholz; Sweden, Jiesnitz and Carleson; United States, Eugene Dietzgen.

National Organization Fund

Since the last report the trustees of this fund, Comrades Corinne S. Brown and Elizabeth Thomas, the following amounts have been received on individual pledges:

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes Kate Johnson (\$3.00), Edward Ziegler (5.00), John Doerfler (5.00), Corinne S. Brown (5.00), Branch 6, Chicago (5.00). Total \$23.00.

NEW BRANCHES

Table with 2 columns: State and Number of Branches. Includes Connecticut (1), Kansas (1), Michigan (2), Ohio (1), Wyoming (1), Washington (1), Total (7).

Labor Dispute in England

Continued from First Page

months. Had Lord Penrhyn had his way and been able to deal with individuals any man who protested would have been crushed.

But this raises another point. Has Lord Penrhyn the right to do as he thinks fit with his quarries? Those quarries for years have been producing a commodity of great utility to the community at large. A dearth of that commodity is felt because Lord Penrhyn insists on running the quarries as he thinks fit. Has the community no "rights" in the matter? Day by day we are realizing more clearly that it is not simply a quarrel between master and men. There is never an industrial dispute nowadays in which both sides do not try to enlist the support of public opinion. This is to some extent a recognition of the right of the public to judge on such matters, and it is not a very far prophecy to say that "right to judge" will gradually grow into the "right to interfere." When that time comes the community will not deal too leniently with people like Lord Penrhyn who think they can lock up the nation's wealth with impunity.

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