

Social Democratic Herald

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The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the Transformation of Private Competing Capitals into Public Co-Operative Capital.

THE MURDER OF THE INNOCENTS, STARVATION AND ASSASSINATION.

Socialism Is the Only Remedy.

The world naturally recoils with horror at the assassination of the Austrian empress. That the Italian who committed the crime should have visited his wrath or vengeance upon a defenseless and inoffensive old lady, who never took any part in the affairs of state, and who seems to have shown considerable sympathy with the poor, appears inexplicable. It was an act from which no good can result to anyone. It will greatly increase the difficulties and dangers of the Socialist propaganda and deafen the ears of many who would otherwise have listened to the arguments of those who are engaged in the people's cause. Such acts are to be reprobated as the work of the enemies of the people.

But to one who has accurate information as to the condition and treatment of the working masses in Italy, and some of the neighboring states, acts like the murder of the empress are not surprising. The Italian working people are poor, oppressed, and miserable beyond belief. According to the official statistics, a hundred thousand people in Italy each year go totally insane from hunger, while as many more are rendered almost imbecile from lack of proper food. Many thousand die each year from the same cause, although the officials assign other reasons for their deaths. Except among the well-to-do meat is an unknown luxury, while even flour is in many parts of the country used only in cases of sickness and on holiday occasions. Acorns and roots form a large part of the daily food of the poor in many places.

Notwithstanding this dire poverty, the taxation is enormously heavy. The commonest necessities of life are heavily taxed. The excise duty on salt is so heavy that the masses of the people do not use it, and suffer from disease in consequence.

Last May in Milan more than a thousand starving people were shot dead by the soldiery in cold blood because they congregated at the offices of the government and asked for bread, and thousands more were at the same time wounded or imprisoned by the government.

These crimes of omission in failing to care for the poor, and of commission in murdering them for seeking relief, necessarily bring retribution sooner or later. And the desire for vengeance engendered by these wrongs is often vented upon the innocent—if, indeed, those can be called innocent who, standing in places of power and influence, see these crimes perpetrated against the poor without raising their voices in protest and seeking to bring about a better state of things.

The Italian who drove his stiletto into the heart of Austria's empress probably saw in her, not the woman, but the representative of a class which, possessing the fruits of the toil of others, for which it has given little or nothing in exchange, revels in boundless luxury in the sight of the starving masses. The assassin cared nothing for his own life or liberty. Vengeance upon one of the class which had profited by the exploitation of the poor, and is largely responsible for the condition of his countrymen, was sweeter to him than either. He was mad with despair. His lot was, no doubt, so hard that his life was a burden to him; and, like Sampson of old, he was willing to perish in the ruin that he wrought. Against men like this, and unfortunately our modern life has developed many of them, laws, courts, police and soldiery are useless.

The problem that confronts modern society is not alone how can such crime as the murder of the empress be prevented. It is also, how can such crimes as that committed last May against the poor of Milan be prevented? As more than a thousand persons were murdered at Milan, the crime committed there was more than a thousand times greater than the killing of the empress; unless, indeed, we are to assume that it is a less crime to murder a working man or woman than it is to murder an empress, a proposition that democratic America will hardly want to admit. The problem referred to will be answered differently by the different classes. The governing and possessing class will say: Employ more police, more soldiers; enact more severe laws, and execute them with greater vigor.

But experience has shown this plan to be a failure. In no country has this

policy been tried more persistently than in Russia, yet two czars have within the present century been assassinated, and a very recent attempt against the life of the present czar failed only because of a mistake as to the time of the czar passing a certain house.

No precaution or successfully guard against the acts of men who are willing to face certain death to accomplish their purpose. And such men can be found in plenty among a people whose surroundings in life are so sorrowful that life itself becomes a burden and death a happy release.

But there is a better way. Assassins will not be found among a prosperous and contented people. And should those who hold the reins of government abandon their policy of selfishness and force, and devote themselves to the building up of a co-operative system of industry, wherein all who desire it should have a place, and all the co-operators should receive the full results of their labor, assassinations would cease; for such a system would abolish them.

To accomplish this it would not be necessary to do more than for the state to acquire sufficient land, mines, machines and factories, and organize the unemployed and underpaid into a body of co-operative workers in every kind of industry, exchanging their varied products among themselves, and giving to each co-operator all the product of his toil, except such portion thereof as should be necessary to maintain the plants.

We have the same problem to face in this country as they have in Europe. Already many of our rich men are constantly guarded by detectives to protect them against real or fancied danger. Our system of industry, producing the extremes of wealth and poverty, is fast placing us in the position of the European countries, and will produce the same result here as there. Monarchs and oppressors of labor will never adopt any adequate remedy for the evils of the present industrial system. They will continue to rely on the broken reed of force, and will pay the penalty accordingly. The only remedy is for the people to take the management of their industrial affairs into their own hands, and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

The whole aim and purpose of Socialism is a closer union of Social factors. The present need is growth in that direction.—Richard P. Ely.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—William Morris.

Let no man fear the name of "Socialist." The movement of the working class for justice by any other name would be as terrible.—Father William Barry.

The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action.—Imperial Dictionary.

A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.—Webster's Dictionary.

The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry.—Worcester's Dictionary.

A theory or polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, "To everyone according to his deeds."—Standard Dictionary.

Any theory of system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

EDITORIAL NOTE AND COMMENT.

Socialism would abolish the private control of capital, making its use and control in production a social function.

That the rich have sanctified their larcenies of the bounty of nature by forms of law, is due to the ignorance and indifference of the people to their natural rights.

The remedy for anarchism is genuine democracy; and genuine democracy requires the common ownership by all the people of the means of production and distribution.

One of the gains to society through Socialism would be the elimination of the factor of money from politics, leaving character and fitness as a passport to public office.

As a result of the war the country will pass through fiercer political corruption than it has ever known. And the president himself is to set the pace with a blow at civil service.

There is no defect in the title of the human race to the land. The title of the race is superior to that of any individual. No, the defect is in the intelligence of the people themselves.

The successful combination of all the leading silverware manufacturers in one trust, with a capital stock of \$30,000,000 is announced. It will be one more combine for the "dear old Democratic party" to "overthrow!"

The wage system enables the employing class to appropriate all the surplus value created by the working class. This is the main support of capitalism, and while it lasts there can be no better conditions for the laborers.

One hundred and fifty hands can now make as much cotton cloth as ninety-five thousand hands formerly made. But the hundred and fifty are machine tenders, parts of the working capital of the owners of the machines and used as such.

As Socialism would put an end to industrial tyranny and wrong, and banish needless suffering and want, so would it disarm the anarchist who drives the dagger to the heart of an innocent woman, in the mad hope that such a deed will benefit humanity.

The enactment of one set of laws to encourage combinations of capitalists and of another forbidding combinations of workmen, shows how much influence capitalists, with only a few votes, and how little influence workmen, with many votes, have in the government of the country.

Socialists do not believe that society can be demolished by a stiletto or the taking of any individual's life. Society can be revolutionized and better conditions attained through evolutionary processes. And these processes are unfailingly at work, whether your ruler wears a scarlet robe or a broad-cloth coat.

Under the operations of the civil service the patriotic politicians see no "pie" in sight, and it is reported that to insure republican success in the congressional elections, McKinley will issue an anti-civil service order and provide the politicians with pastry. The old party politicians' patriotism depends on their proximity to the pie counter.

While some of the 2-by-twice politicians of the Democratic party are formulating platforms and attempting legislation to "suppress" capitalistic combinations, the trusts keep on growing in utter disregard of the "reformers." We now have the Federal Steel Company, with a capital of \$200,000,000, and a discussion on a consolidation of all the trusts. On with the trust; let combines be unconfined!

The Moscow Gazette in 1801 advertised for sale three coachmen and two girls, "eighteen and fifteen, good looking and capable." Fifty years later men and women were hunted and sold as property in the United States. But the principle of democracy has spread since then in Russia and America, and no power can prevent its triumph over capitalists. It demolished feudalism; it will destroy mammonism.

MARX'S THEORY OF LABOR-TIME AND THE REWARD OF LABOR.

Reply to Simon Epstein by Eugene Dietzgen.

In his preface to the first edition of "Das Kapital" (see Humboldt, English edition, p. X.) Marx says: "Every beginning is difficult holds in all sciences. To understand the first chapter, especially the section that contains the analysis of commodities, will, therefore, present the greatest difficulty," and in the same preface, a little further on: "In this work I have to examine the capitalist mode of production, and the conditions of production and exchange corresponding to that mode."

I concur with Mr. Epstein in renouncing the fanatics, who, unable to grasp Marx' teachings, take it upon themselves to defend every thought and view of Marx as an "eternal" truth. Marx himself is said to have uttered, in dread of such defenders, the words: "As far as I am concerned, I am no Marxist."

Marx's entire works give evidence to his disbelief in so-called "eternal" truths or dogmas. F. i. read note 5, p. 35, in which he ridicules the "eternal" truths of Proudhon, "the father of anarchism," remarking:

"What opinion should we have of a chemist, who, instead of studying the actual laws of the molecular changes in the composition and decomposition of matter, and on that foundation solving definite problems, claimed to regulate the composition and decomposition of matter by means of 'eternal' ideas, etc."

Our friend Mr. Epstein particularly objects to what he calls Marx's views on labor-time as determining the reward of labor. I propose to show, as well as the limited space in this paper will permit, that Mr. Epstein has stumbled against the difficulties presented in the above-mentioned first chapter, not unlike even professors of political economy in this country and abroad.

Marx nowhere expresses "his views on labor-time as determining the reward of labor."

That single expression, "reward of labor," furnishes at once the key to our friend's misconception. He evidently wished to paraphrase the word wages; i. e., the price for the use of labor-power. What Mr. Epstein quotes out of chapter I, page 7, in support of his assertion, treats of commodity-value, but not of commodity-price or "reward of labor."

To guard against any misunderstanding on this very essential point Marx even states on the same page, see Note 2, the following:

"The reader must note that we are not speaking here of wages or value that the laborer gets for a given labor-time, but of the value of the commodity in which that labor-time is materialized. Wages is a category that, as yet, has no existence at the present stage of our investigation."

The first chapter treats of simple commodity-production and exchange as they gradually have developed from primitive society based on property in common (see p. 37). At this stage there is no such commodity as labor-power and no such category as wages. It treats of the commodity-value produced by skilled and unskilled labor-power, but not of the value of skilled and unskilled labor-power. (The latter find in chapter VI.) The "capital" of Marx treats, of course, of no artistic or scientific rarities, but of commodities that can be produced and reproduced at will.

The principal error that Mr. Epstein commits, results from his inability to distinguish between value and price. The old story over again!

The value of a commodity is determined by the labor-time socially necessary to its production.

"The labor-time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time" (cap. p. 4).

However, the value of the commodity labor-power is not only determined by above labor-time, but as Marx plainly states on page 93:

"In contradistinction, therefore, to the case of other commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of labor-power an historical and moral element. Nevertheless, in a given country, at a given period the average quantity of the means of subsistence necessary for the laborer is practically known."

The price of a commodity, as Marx clearly proves, is not only determined by socially necessary labor-time, but

also by conditions of the market, particularly by demand and supply.

The "reward of labor," properly called wages or price for the use of labor-power, is, according to Marx' analysis, determined:

(1) By the value of the labor-power, i. e., "the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer."

(2) By an historical and moral element, as above referred to.

(3) By market conditions, by economic and political influence, and especially by demand and supply.

I trust the above will suffice to show that there exists no Marxian theory of labor-time determining the wages of the laborer, and that, consequently, all conclusions drawn from the assumption of its existence are futile.

I only know of one passage in the "capital" that might mislead a cursory reader to think that Marx tried to base wages on labor-time. That passage on page 32 reads as follows:

"Let us now picture to ourselves, by way of change, a community of free individuals, carrying on their work with the means of production in common, in which the labor-power of all the different individuals is consciously applied as the combined labor-power of the community. The total product of our community is a social product, one portion serves as fresh means of production and remains social. But another portion is consumed by the members as means of subsistence. A distribution of this portion is consequently necessary. The mode of this distribution will vary with the productive organization of the community, and the degree of historical development attained by the producers. We will assume, but merely for the sake of a parallel with the production of commodities, that the share of each individual producer in the means of subsistence is determined by his labor-time, etc." Mr. Epstein says: "I utterly fail to see by what standard of reduction one hour of a railroad manager's mock labor is made equal to 100 hours of a toiling operative." Well, Marx failed to see sufficient compensation for his "capital" to pay for the matches he used for lighting his pipe or cigar while writing his great work. There is no such "standard of reduction" set down in the "capital," profusely, however, is therein the capitalist state of things and conditions explained that insist upon such "justice."

What Marx means on page 7 by that "social process," is further elucidated on page 50, where he says:

"But without the leave, and behind the back, of our weaver, the old-fashioned mode of weaving undergoes a change. The labor-time that yesterday was, without doubt, socially necessary to the production of a yard of linen, ceases to be so to-day, etc."

Another slip of Mr. Epstein consists in his intimation that Marx wanted to lay down in his "capital" any rules for the future Socialist community, since Marx only proposed to examine the present capitalist mode of production, in order to find its innate laws and the road these laws point to a higher mode of production. Marx did not particularly puzzle his mind about the "labor-time" wages of poets, artists, philosophers, etc., and about the value of their products, because they are subject just as well as the rules applying to the wages and value of the products of hod-carriers, street-sweepers, refuse-carriers, etc. What Marx set out to do and what he achieved, was the analysis of value, wages, capital, etc.

Mr. Epstein undoubtedly knows that already the capitalist system tends to reduce the "compensation" of the "proletariat of intelligence" to a level with the wages of the rest of the proletariat, and that not a few of the professional men mentions are to-day more poorly paid than many "ordinary hands."

He will also admit that free education to all children, including free board, free clothes, free school-materials would still more lessen that difference of value and wage between manual and mental labor-power. Add to that, in times to come, for everyone, philosophers and poets not excepted, a healthy physical exercise of a few hours daily in socially necessary production labor (horrible dicta for weak nerves and brains!), and what would become of that difference between mental and manual labor?

Undoubtedly, much trash in "art" and "science" would be replaced by

[Concluded on page 4]

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SECURITY FOR SOCIETY.

The assassination of Elizabeth of Austria was an act that is deplored by every right-minded person throughout the world. It was as unnecessary as it will be unproductive of good. As a result of it all Europe, thrilled by the cruelty of the deed, is asking the one question: "How can society protect itself against anarchism?"

GAVE THE GAME AWAY.

Governor Scofield of Wisconsin is a wealthy lumberman, and when the sash, door and blind workers' strike was on at Oshkosh recently, he was interested in a decidedly class-conscious way. He didn't need to take the people to imbibe class-consciousness, either.

TRUTH WILL TRIUMPH.

The capitalist class of America seem to pride themselves that by legality they have banished justice from the republic. Every defeat of workingmen struggling to maintain a living wage is hailed by them and their prostituted journals with delight.

ple, the truth that the present system is sustained by fraud, force and hypocrisy, in the interest of property and not of humanity, is permeating slowly through society. By and by the exploiting class, in the effete monarchies of Europe and the rotten republic of the West, will discover that nothing in this wide world is so thoroughly alive as the Democratic idea—the idea that people engaged in socially useful work have a higher claim than plutocrats upon this planet and all that labor has produced on it.

AN UNAVOIDABLE EMBARRASSMENT.

Until we have been able to build up a formidable Socialist party in the United States, there will be ordeals that we must pass through, and the passing through of which will call for the truest kind of courage on the part of our members.

One of these embarrassing situations will be upon us this fall and will grow out of the fact that it is almost impossible for a young party to enter the political arena—especially a party for the laboring men—without inadvertently helping or hurting either one of the old parties.

This being the case, what can we do? Clearly, we can do nothing but bear the embarrassment patiently, being buoyed up by the hope that we will soon have grown strong enough to have passed beyond the poisoned shafts of the old party liars.

These thoughts are suggested by a scurrilous article which appeared in the Chicago Dirty Dispatch-Democrat, the organ of the County Democracy, recently, in which it was charged that the Republican party was trying to induce the Social Democracy in Chicago to put up a ticket, so as to draw votes from the Democrats and thus increase the chances of Republican success.

THE MODERN TOOL.

Socialism has for its object the emancipation of the human race from the follies and vices of an imperfect condition of society, a condition in which few of the workers possess independent means of support and millions of their class scarcely obtain the necessities of life.

Without their primitive tools and methods of production our ancestors would have perished from the earth, the race would have been extinct and civilization unknown.

lives and the perpetuation of society being absolutely dependent upon possession of their means of life, so possession of the modern means of production—the rude tools of the earlier times developed into mighty machines—is equally essential to the people now.

We have come up from savagery; we have outgrown the crude past; we know something of invention and science, of which we formerly knew nothing; we have an ingenuity of brain and a skillfulness of hand, to which, in our ruder state, we were strangers;

And with this rise and progress have come higher aspirations, new conceptions of life and a new motive for living, accompanied by new and multiplied wants. The simple old tools have gone forever out of use, and we are in the power of new ideas.

In our industrial progress and development we have transformed the imperfect tool of the individual into a marvelously efficient machine FOR society.

This latter is the most stupendous fact in human history. The masses of mankind are now divorced from the means of production. We have no ownership in all that our labors and our loves, our sacrifices and our sufferings have created.

We cannot revert to the precarious modes of subsistence of former times. We cannot go back to individual production. We are savages no longer.

We are joint heirs of all the results of all our labor in the past. We shall either come into possession of our heritage, the modern tools of production, or progress will come to a standstill while a just retribution overtakes all who use social capital as an instrument to oppress and degrade us.

Regarding civilization as the enforced organization of food production and distribution, Socialists urge as the next historically necessary step in civilization the restoration of the means of production and distribution to all the people.

This is necessary to progress, and is demanded by justice. The modern tool enforces Socialism.

THE ALPHA AND OMEGA OF SOCIALISM IS THE TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE COMPETITIVE CAPITAL INTO PUBLIC CO-OPERATIVE CAPITAL.—Dr. Albert Schaeffle, Austrian Economist and Critic of Socialism.

MORE EXPLOITATION NOT THE CURE.

The idea that by trying to govern and exploit the Orientals we shall escape the domestic problems which social unrest and discontent have made prominent in recent years is worthy of the ostrich which seeks a sand hill in which to hide its head when its placidity is threatened.

\$20,000,000 TO RAILROADS.

A staff correspondent of the Chicago Journal, writing on the management of the war, says:

"Since war was declared the railroads of the country have drawn from the national treasury, through Secretary Alger's 'kindness' in some instances, nearly \$20,000,000. This enormous sum has been paid out for mobilization and transportation of troops, the freighting of supplies, etc.

"The relations between railroads and the war department have been so close that their contracts for the carrying of troops have been kept secret, and the public has had no chance to know what was going on behind the scenes."

THE DANGER POINTED OUT.

Mme. Adam, one of the best known French women writers and editor of the Nouvelle Revue, says of the dangers and burdens of a great military establishment:

"I regard this new departure as full of perils to America—first, in her relations with the powers; secondly, in the graver consideration of national unity, thereby causing dangers to the people's liberty. The creation of a large standing army seems to me the worst calamity that can befall a people. If I had the honor to be an American citizen I should demand that the nation imprison as lunatics those men who propose to inflict on it the curse which till now the great republic has had the good fortune to escape."

SUICIDE AND INDUSTRIAL ANARCHY.

The absolute and relative growth of suicide in our modern times in all civilized countries of Europe is simply appalling. For lack of space we will glance at a few figures relating to France only:

Table with 3 columns: Year, Absolute, Per 1,000,000 of Inhabitants. Rows show data from 1827-1830 to 1886-1890.

By itself suicide is not a very important phenomenon, somebody may say. True enough. But dropsy, for instance, is not a very important sickness by itself, in fact no sickness at all, but a grave symptom of a frightful organic disease of the human body—of heart disease. So is suicide a grave symptom of some frightful social disease, a memento mori to the existing social system itself.

The tremendous increase of suicide shows beyond any doubt that the whole social body is organically unsound. Let us now analyze the causes of suicide and see if we cannot learn something useful about the social organic disease producing it.

First of all we have to agree upon the definition of suicide. What is suicide? The celebrated French sociologist, E. Durkheim, defines it as follows: "Suicide is any kind of death directly or indirectly resulting from active or passive actions (for instance abstention from food) of a person perpetrated by it in full knowledge of the inevitableness of the consequences."

The main factor of the increase or decrease of suicide in a given time and society is the degree of its integration or disintegration. In other words, anything and everything tending to unite man—diminishes the number of suicides and vice versa.

Family ties are to a great extent a safeguard against suicide, but mainly so far as it fulfills its task, that is as far as it is blessed with a progeny. This safeguard is directly proportional in its efficiency—to the number of children. The number of suicides among childless married women, for instance, is considerably higher than that among unmarried women of the same age.

mense loss of life and destruction of property work in the same direction, as can be illustrated by the great French revolution, the revolution of 1848, the time of the Prusso-French war and commune. The struggle against a common danger unites people and makes them feel as units of a great whole.

Industrial disturbances form the arena for great increases in the number of suicides, as is shown by the crisis in Germany during the so-called "Gruendertheum" following the victory over France, by the collapse of the Catholic bank of Bontoux in 1882 and many others. It is not poverty that drives people to suicide, but the economic insecurity and constant perversions, popularly speaking, the "ups" and "downs" of so-called "prosperity" and "hard times."

ISADOR LADOFF.

THE FRUIT OF GREED.

Under the title of "Every Day in Blackest Birmingham: Facts, not Fiction," the Rev. J. T. Bass, vicar of St. Laurence, has put forth a heartrending account (largely in the words of others) of the state of his poor parish. The Birmingham Daily Post speaks of it as the "poorest parish in Birmingham, and probably in England."



A fruitful subject for discussion is the long-talked-of union of Socialist organizations into one strong party. This has been made more prominent still by the recent attempt of the S. L. P. to boycott the Appeal to Reason. All this talk has raised a sort of hazy idea of uncertainty about the immediate future of the two parties that I do not relish. The Social Democratic Party was not organized as a mere protest against the bossism that exists in the S. L. P., nor as a temporary asylum for scientific Socialists, who were waiting until the S. L. P. broadened its tactics and softened down its bullying methods so they could conscientiously enlist under that banner. I do not believe that we are infested with "temporary" members, for at best such fellows are of very little value to the party. Still it is evident from the way some Socialist editors write that this "temporary" view is held. The sooner it is dispelled the better. The Social Democratic Party is not a makeshift—it is an organized fight on capitalism on conscious Socialistic lines. Talk of our joining the S. L. P. in case Mr. DeLeon is dethroned is nonsense. It would be much better to talk of the S. L. P. joining us, for we do not bear a tarnished name, and the S. L. P. does. No pleading under the heavens will restore the S. L. P. in the good opinion of trades union men; it has tried too long to muss up the trades union movement. Not so with the Social Democracy. We find the unions willing to enlist under our banner and to support our Socialistic programme. Let's have a rest from this nonsense about joining the S. L. P. We are just as much a stable party as the S. L. P. We are not organized to fight the S. L. P., or any of its leaders. We stand for definite principles and for decent tactics in promulgating those principles.

Now don't misunderstand me. I do not say I do not want to see the Socialists united. I think it a scandal that they are not, but there are reasons why they are not. The two organizations stand for different temperaments, and I do not think it is going to be an easy thing to weld them together. Even if by vote the two memberships decided to unite, the temperaments would still be the same. It would be a marriage of hostile natures, and the fighting would only be at closer range—flatirons and dishes instead of words!

And so it seems to me that the only hope of union will lie in a gradual change in the temperaments. As the fight against capitalism gets hotter we will get nearer together under the common interest. It will not be many years before the two capitalist parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, will unite to keep the workers down. Then no DeLeons in the world can keep the Socialist hosts from presenting a united front to the enemy. So, it seems to me that union will come naturally and in its own good time. I do not overlook the fact that there are many fine fellows in the S. L. P. They will come to us just as soon as they become sure that we are stable. Some have already come, and it is my private opinion that as time goes on the Social Democracy will wax big and strong and the S. L. P. will dwindle because of its inherent intolerance.

The S. L. P. hasn't sweetened by a possible—tho' quite improbable—turning down of Mr. DeLeon. It must not be forgotten that there is a whole progeny of little DeLeons all over the country, encouraged and nourished by the big one in New York. They have chosen a bad ideal, it is true, but they are enthusiastic just the same, and with them the S. L. P. is more important than Socialism. They are party zealots to the point of fanaticism, and having had their worse natures cultivated, it is questionable if they can be won back to the lines of civility and true brotherhood. This must not be forgotten.

Just to show what the dominant S. L. P. temperament is I will make a few quotations from the correspondence column of the New York organ. The People, specimens of the "DeLeonistic good nature." Listen to this fine example of brotherly love:

"If Debs were to apply for membership to Section Pittsburg he would be refused, and I have no doubt such would be the case in most other places also. . . . Debs admitted to some of our comrades in Philadelphia last year that he would join the S. L. P. if there was a salary in it. . . . Debs would make a good drum major for a minstrel band."—H. A. Goff.

What an amiable, fair-minded man this Mr. Goff must be! No wonder he is in the movement for a Co-operative Commonwealth; he would make such a high-minded member of one. A man who tells a lie about another injures his own character. A year ago The People said editorially that Comrade Debs traveled on railway passes. When called on to substantiate the

charge, the editor refused to retract the falsehood, and the man that made the demand was forthwith visited with contemptuous treatment. So you can't expect much from the big or the little DeLeons. That those who know Comrade Debs' nature are deeply pained at these falsehoods goes without saying. Down deep in their hearts his detractors know that he possesses one of the most unselfish natures to be found anywhere; they know that a more conscientious man does not breathe, and that he is wearing himself out in the cause of humanity. What sort of a nature can it be that would allow its party spleen to go to such ignoble lengths? But I want to make a few more quotations. Here is a Missouri "Socialist" who says some uncharitable things about the Appeal to Reason, and concludes with this choice ebullition of good fellowship: "We look to the party organ to warn us of these devils." M. T. Berry of Haverhill calls our party "a flank movement of capitalism." And the worst of it is that probably this man who rushes into print to call Socialists names probably really believes that we merit the term he flings at us. Certainly, he, as a self-respecting militant Socialist, would not join forces with us.

And so it seems to me that fusion between the two parties is as yet an idle dream. The most I can see as possible, is that there might be federation for the purpose of putting up joint candidates for elections, and even that seems remote. In England they are having the same trouble. An attempt has been made to fuse the Social Democratic Federation (the Hyndman Party) with the Independent Labor Party, which is made up of the Fabians and men like Blatchford and Kier Hardie. In spite of an apparent ability to bring fusion about, the question arises whether it is wise to bring together incompatible elements. Members of both parties fear that it will be at best a divided household. And a divided household will not help, he cause very much. So the probability is that the two parties will remain distinct while maintaining friendly relations. We can hope for little better here just now.

THE PHILOSOPHER.

THE ALPHA AND OMEGA OF SOCIALISM IS THE TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE COMPETING CAPITAL INTO PUBLIC CO-OPERATIVE CAPITAL.—Dr. Albert Schaeffle, Austrian Economist and Critic of Socialism.

HOW ONE MAN SAVED HIS LIFE.

Dear Herald:—Will you please carry this little true story to the good comrade in St. Louis who is still deploring the split, believing it could have been avoided if the bolters had acted differently—and to some others like him elsewhere.

A man whom I used to know was out chopping in the woods in the northern part of Ontario one frosty winter's day, a good many years ago. The snow lay deep on the ground. The thermometer was away below zero and the man was all alone in the woods. He had just cut through one huge trunk till it was ready to fall, and prepared to jump aside out of its way. But unfortunately he was not quick enough. The falling tree struck him and bore him down with it, the trunk falling across his foot and ankle, crushing them horribly and pinning him firmly to the icy ground. There was no one within a mile to hear his cries for help, and he could not extricate himself. Soon he realized by the numbing of the pain that the imprisoned limb was rapidly freezing. What was he to do? Lie there passively and let the slow torpor of freezing steal over his frame, numbing his senses till life was extinct? Not he. The fellow had the nerve, the clear grit, to take his own axe and with his own hands cut off the crushed and frozen foot above the ankle, bind up the stump with his red bandana and woolen muffler, and drag himself home on his hands and knees, minus a foot, it is true, but—alive.

Our friend in St. Louis will hold up his hands in horror and say: "That was no way to amputate a foot! The man should have gone to a hospital and been put under chloroform. He should have had a skilled surgeon with the most improved surgical instruments to perform the operation. He should have had trained nurses to dress and bandage the leg and keep the patient perfectly quiet for days. It was barbarous to mutilate his body, anyway. If he had acted otherwise the foot might have been saved."

The bolt may not have been "according to Hoyle," but it was the only way of saving the life of the organization, and, what is still more important, maintaining the honor of the name of Socialism, for which so many, many brave comrades have gladly given up liberty and life itself in other lands and days, and may yet in our own.

MARGARET HAILE.

THE ALPHA AND OMEGA OF SOCIALISM IS THE TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE COMPETING CAPITAL INTO PUBLIC CO-OPERATIVE CAPITAL.—Dr. Albert Schaeffle, Austrian Economist and Critic of Socialism.

When one man can hold a million acres of land against the natural right of a million men to use it, property in land has become a trying evil.

THAT INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

I note with no little surprise the communication of Adolph Hepner in the Herald of September 10. How any class-conscious Socialist can hope for any good from a body originating as this does, is more than I can comprehend, and it seems to me that the comrade must be possessed of a wonderfully well developed "bump" of hope, or egotism.

As the officer of a labor organization, I issued a circular two years ago, urging our members to use their influence with their Congressman and Senators to kill the thing, designating it as a "Soft Snap Bill," and that is what it was, and is.

The father of the bill is Thomas W. Phillips, who represented the Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania District in the Fifty-fourth Congress. The district that Matt Quay lives in. Don't overlook that. Who is Phillips? Let me quote you a little from his biography as printed in the Congressional Directory:

"Shortly after the discovery of petroleum entered the oil business, and in company with his brothers became prominently identified with the petroleum industry, under the firm name of Phillips Bros.; when the Producers' Protective Association was formed, in 1887, was elected president of the association without opposition, and continued to serve in that capacity for three years; is president of the Citizens' National Bank of New Castle, and president of the electric street railway of the same place."

Not being a member of the present Congress, the President has appointed him one of the nine "civilian" members of the commission, each of whom is to receive \$3,000 a year and expenses. The commission serves for two years.

In the original bill there were to be five men to represent each, agriculture, labor and business, each five were to select two more for each division, and each division was authorized to select a secretary at a salary of \$200 per month, and a legal adviser at a salary the same as each member of the commission, viz., \$5,000 per year, and expenses.

A detailed history of the progress of this bill would be a most interesting document to hand down to posterity. It enlisted all the scheming, place-hunting fakirs in labor, farm and industrial organizations, who have used every possible scheme to push it along, as well as to push for a posish on the commission. But as it finally passed, it curtailed the snaps to such a degree that many who labored hard for the interest of the poor laboring man (?) are now thinking — or words to that effect.

Five Senators and five Representatives, with the nine civilians, now compose the commission and those who are supposed to represent labor are Frank P. Sargent of the Railway Firemen, and Mike D. Ratchford of the United Mine Workers, both pure and simple trades unionists.

This commission is to travel over the country and take testimony and hear suggestions, and then make a report to Congress. In the meantime I suppose the politicians will now tell us to keep quiet and stop our agitation until we hear the report of the commission, which will tell us what is the matter, and how to secure a return to "prosperity"—that funny old thing.

How many remember that in 1883, Senator Blair of New Hampshire headed a committee of the United States Senate, which went from one end of the country to the other, setting in all the chief industrial centers, where all who chose could come to air their ideas and opinions, and they were empowered to send for any who were not so inclined? The result was printed in four ponderous volumes and distributed lavishly over the country. I received several sets, but kept only one, and I assure you I find lots of comfort reading the testimony of such fellows as Jay Gould, Chauncey Depew and others of like ilk. All classes and conditions of people are represented. The Socialists selected Dr. A. Doual to present their position, and his testimony is found in Vol. 2.

I predict that the work of this commission will be nothing more than a revision of the matter found in the report of the Blair Committee, and will result in no more good to the people.

I have come to think that an appointive office is nothing more than a bribe to the working class, and I think the trades and labor unions of St. Louis are to be congratulated on the constitutional provision they have provided against such indorsements.

When the working class elect men of their class to office there will be no need of petitions and appeals for the appointment of friends.

Spurn the sop of appointment, and fight for the election of men of your own class. Fraternally,

CHAS. R. MARTIN.

Tiffin, Ohio.

If members who change their address will promptly notify this office, they will receive The Herald and be saved the time and expense of writing to know why they don't get the paper.

Every member who receives The Herald should regard it as a duty to the party to secure one or more subscriptions at 50 cents per year. The paper is yours, and the movement will grow with its circulation.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.]

Colorado Branch No. 1, of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Marian Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Frank Whitney, Roanoke building, secretary.

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

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 13th and Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 3338 Iowa avenue.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stengel's Hall, corner Monroe and Pearl streets, every Monday evening.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza. The branch issues a call for a general conference of Philadelphia Socialists for Friday, 8 p. m., September 30, at 223 North Twelfth Street.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, secretary, 614 Chestnut street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays of the month at Volkmann's Hall, corner of Twenty-first and Centre streets at 8 p. m. Edward Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Mondays at 8 o'clock sharp at 614 State street. Frederic Heath, secretary, John Doerfler, treasurer.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The dues of members are payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October. Dues for the second quarter, 25 cents per member, are therefore payable at the office of the National Secretary, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., at any time from now to October 1. It is important that the prompt collection and remittance of dues be attended to by Branch organizations, and the Executive Board urges immediate action to insure the payment of all dues within the next ten days.

Saturday, September 24, the comrades of Branch 12, Milwaukee, will give their second grand entertainment and ball at 8 p. m., in Volkmann's Hall, at the corner of Twenty-first and Centre streets. All comrades in Milwaukee are cordially invited.

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, is in good working order and the outlook for new members is bright. The Branch has a fine meeting place in a central location. The grand need of the movement in Indianapolis is more active workers in the field, but the comrades are working with a will and promise a new branch at an early day.

Two designs for a party button have been received. They are from Comrades Chas. F. Martin and J. C. Wibel, and will be submitted, with any others that may be suggested, to the executive board.

The prompt collection and remittance of quarterly dues is a matter that should be taken up at once by the branches. Dues are payable on or before October 1.

Texas joins our forces with a new branch at Houston and a strong organization will be had there in a short time.

The mayor of Erie, Pa., refused permission to Comrade S. Levin of New Jersey to speak on the streets. The comrade is reported to be doing good work for the party and there is no doubt of his ability to rattle the average "Mr. Mayor."

Milwaukee, Sept. 12.—The Social Democrats of Milwaukee nominated the following congressional and county ticket to-night:

For Congress (Fourth Dist.)—Louis A. Arnold.

For Sheriff—Charles A. Blodgett.

For Clerk of Courts—Nicholas B. Schwin.

For County Clerk—F. W. Rehfeld.

For County Treasurer—Phillip Siegel.

For Register of Deeds—Gustave Richter.

For County Surveyor—Carl Malewski.

For Coroner—Fred Bruckhuesen.

The convention was held in the hall of the United States Brewery Workers, which was filled. A feature of the evening was the presence of two comrades from Sheboygan, Socialist Editor Oscar Loebel, and Socialist Alderman Emil Mohr.

Of the candidates chosen, Comrade Arnold is a stenographer, Comrade Blodgett a painter, and Comrade Richter, the secretary of the entire organization of brewery workers of the city. The other occupations represented are those of horseshoer, die sinker, brewery teamster, shoe dealer and cigar-maker.

From now until election the United Brewery Workers' Hall will serve as a party headquarters, the local central committee meeting there every Monday evening.

MASSACHUSETTS NOTES.

Branches No. 1 and 8, whose headquarters were located very near together, have consolidated for greater efficiency in work and greater economy in expenditure. A more thorough and vigorous working up of the section of the city covered by these two branches will be one good result of united action.

The Lynn branch has a delightful way of holding its business meetings in some one of the numerous groves accessible from that place. They gather at about one o'clock on a Sunday afternoon at Spring Pond or High Rock, bringing lunch with them, and I notice they are never in a hurry to go away. This combination of business and pleasure works admirably and fosters the social spirit among the members.

Last week I said that the special car to take the Boston folks to the joint picnic on the 18th left the corner of Court and Hanover streets at 10 a. m. A day or two after I sent that notice the subway was completed and the rest of it opened to the public. This makes the Scollay Square entrance to the subway the starting point for Lynn. It is practically the same corner, only we start underground instead of on the surface. Comrades will please bear in mind the change when selling tickets.

The meeting on the Common last Sunday was interesting and successful. Comrades Porter and Spillane addressed a large and attentive audience and a lot of Heralds and Merrie Englands were sold.

BOSTON.

LABOR DAY IN BALTIMORE.

If fine weather and large crowds go to make a Labor Day celebration a success, then the Baltimore Federation of Labor is to be congratulated upon its success at Meeter's Park on September 5.

If, on the contrary, the success of a Labor Day celebration consists in arousing in the breast of the workers a feeling of discontent with present conditions, and a desire to change those conditions and replace them with higher and nobler ones; if success consists in showing the reason and necessity for trade unions as growing out of the class antagonism in capitalist society; if success consists in making the workers conscious of the opposing interests of the capitalist and working classes and inspiring a confidence in their own ability to accomplish their emancipation, then the celebration at Meeter's Park was a grand and magnificent failure.

It was with a feeling of disappointment and sadness that the writer listened to the speeches on that occasion. Instead of hearing words of fire that would rouse the workers to rebellion against the system and the class that are responsible for the terrible conditions that beset the working class, there was only fulsome praise of the conservative nature of the Baltimore Federation of Labor. The orator of the day was Hugh O'Donnell of Homestead fame, and his speech which he read from manuscript was no exception to those who preceded him. All through it bristled with such expressions as these: "The A. F. of L. is an organization which has won the confidence of the employers." "The Baltimore F. of L. is dominant, yet not aggressive or unmindful of the rights and liberty of the capitalists." "Baltimore is the best organized city in the country." Indeed, such was the tenor of his remarks that it seemed at times that he might be joking. It was strange, indeed, to hear such words from one who had taken such a prominent part in the historic Homestead strike. That it taught him no lesson is painfully apparent.

There was no enthusiastic applause. The audience listened as though there was something wanting which the speaker would supply later on. But they listened in vain. Once only did the applause appear hearty and spontaneous, and this was when he mentioned Socialism, not to speak in its favor to be sure, but to declare it impractical. The applause the word called forth show that many in the audience were of a different opinion. This, in connection with the manner in which The Herald was received, 1,000 copies of which we distributed, was the redeeming feature of the celebration, and showed if the leaders are not, the rank and file are ready to receive the gospel of Socialism. The trades unions are a promising field of agitation, and our efforts should be redoubled toward extending our propaganda in this direction. In the language of Comrade Debs in his Labor Day article, "The trades unions are ours, built by our labor and consecrated by our suffering, and we propose that they shall serve the noble purpose for which they were intended by rescuing them from those who would dwarf and restrain and subvert them, that they may pursue unfettered their march to emancipation." Then, indeed, will Labor Day celebrations be successful, but in a different manner from the one of September 5.

WM. A. TOOLE.

MUDDY-BRAINED PEOPLE.

The people is a beast of muddy brain. That knows not its own strength, and therefore stands Loaded with wood and iron, the powerless hands

DISCONTENT MAKES FOR PROGRESS.

"The Nation," in its issue of July 14, has the following criticism to offer as to Socialism: "The western part of 'The Workers' by Walter A. Wyckoff, in Scribner's, does not attract so much attention as did the eastern chapters."

Something must be done. Shining through the darkness of confused and confusing "reformers" and reactionaries is the unwavering light of the Socialists, pointing the only way: As production is now carried on by social effort let the organization of industry also be socialized.

PATRIOTIC RAILROAD MAGNATES.

That our public postoffice is run by the private railroads is shown in the following statement by Justice Walter Clark: "Postmaster-General Bissell's report for 1894, and Wilson's for 1895, show that the average price for carrying the mail was 8 cents per pound, and this for an average distance of 448 miles."

ORGANIZED LABOR.

The attitude of the Social Democratic party toward organized labor and trades unionism is defined in the following resolutions, adopted June 11, 1898. These resolutions represent the unanimous sentiment of the party: "Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial conditions in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

INTERNATIONAL MENTION.

Since the recent insurrection in Italy a total of 115 newspapers have been suppressed by the government; 70 of them were Socialist journals.

On account of the discharge of Socialist workmen the Socialists of Budapest, Hungary, resolved to boycott four of the largest breweries of that city.

New Zealand Socialists were organizing. With half the population of Kansas, New Zealand has just appropriated \$600,000 to provide homes and pleasures for her aged citizens.

The city of Berne, Switzerland, has a trades' apprentice school, where the youths may learn a trade free of charge. Over 100 young men are availing themselves of the opportunity.

By a vote of 185 against 27 the Italian Chamber of Deputies has passed a measure introduced by the government which places postal, telegraph, and railroad employes under military law. Government coercion and intimidation belongs to the capitalist system. The Socialists and a few Radicals opposed this reactionary measure.

In Germany the department stores are growing to be a menace to the middle-class retail merchants. The kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony, where their presence is felt most keenly, propose to legislate them out of the way. But the only way these great centers of distribution can be annihilated is to Socialize them. All other legislation will be futile.

It is reported that in Italy every year 100,000 people die from pellagra, a disease caused by not using salt in the food. The worst quality of salt costs 2d. per pound, and the poor cannot afford to buy it. Every year over 200,000 Italians emigrate to foreign countries in search of a livelihood, which they cannot get in their native land.

The following are some samples of Italian justice meted out to offenders in the late disturbances: A woman named Maria Marone was sentenced at Naples to twelve years' imprisonment for throwing stones at some soldiers. At Milan, a boy named Gauzzi Luigi, who took part in the revolt, has been sentenced to two years and a half; he is only fifteen years old.

Dr. Oliver has been visiting the French match factories on behalf of the Home Office, and he reports that the French Government has to some extent already succeeded in manufacturing a match capable of striking anywhere, yet free from white phosphorus. Difficulties in the way of production have not yet entirely been removed, but there is already a welcome reduction in the number of victims of phosphorus poisoning.

The Bon Marche Department Stores in Paris transact business to the amount of £20,000,000 annually, and last year paid taxes amounting to £46,680. As this heavy taxation does not impede the growth nor undermine the vitality of these monster concerns, and they keep on crushing the life out of the smaller stores, it is now proposed to tax them still heavier, so that the Bon Marche, which employs 8,000 people, will have to pay over £100,000 a year in taxes.

Prof. Jaurès, the well-known Socialist orator, is now engaged in a lecture tour in Southern France on the Dreyfus-Zola case. He has, so far, spoken at Marseilles, Avignon, Toulouse, and Nîmes, and expects to fire the burning words of truth about this national scandal into the populace of the provinces which has heretofore been deceived by the calumnious reports of such wide-circulating papers as the Petit Journal and Petit Parisien.

The Socialist Deputies in the French Chamber have jointly presented the following demands and motions for adoption: Gradual initiation of a popular militia system; extension of the rights and privileges enjoyed by all the other communes of France to the municipality of Paris; introduction of the eight-hour day for all state employes; regulation of the conditions of labor in all communities; rehabilitation of communal property in real estate; establishment by the communes of industrial and agricultural means of production for individuals; installation of representatives of agriculture; establishment of a minimum wage scale for agricultural laborers; revision of the constitution so that the initiative and referendum may be adopted; creation of a minister of labor, of hygiene, of indigence and charity, of statistics; abolition of capital punishment, etc.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY.

The following list of books is by no means complete, but it contains many of the ablest works on Economics, Politics and the Labor Movement. Any books desired, but not included in the list, will be procured at publisher's prices. Orders sent to the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD will receive prompt attention. The price, which covers the cost of postage, must accompany your order. Address

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

Table listing books and prices: Karl Marx. Capital. Cloth. \$2.00; F. W. Sprague. Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation. Cloth. 1.00; Gronlund. The Co-operative Commonwealth, Paper. .75; August Bebel. Woman: Past, Present and Future. .75; Blatchford. Merrie England. .75; Edward Bellamy. Looking Backward. .50; Edward Bellamy. Equality. Cloth. 1.25; Lissagary. History of the Commune of 1871. 1.00; Fabian Essays in Socialism. .75; Charles Vail. Modern Socialism. .75; Ashplant. Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits. .75; Herbert Casson. The Red Light. .75; Henry D. Lloyd. Wealth Against Commonwealth. 1.00; Thorold Rogers. Six Centuries of Work and Wages. .75; Volney. The Ruins of Empires. .75; Thomas Paine. The Rights of Man. .75; The Socialism of John Stuart Mill. Edited by Bliss. .75; Henry George. Social Problems. .75; Osborne Ward. The Ancient Lowly. 1.50; W. D. P. Bliss. What Christian Socialism Is. .75; Adams. President John Smith. .75; Richard T. Ely. Socialism and Social Reform. 1.50; Blatchford. Love and Sympathy the Basis of Socialism. .75; Buchner. Man in the Past, Present and Future. 1.00

PAMPHLETS.

Table listing pamphlets and prices: Frederick Engels. Development of Socialism From Utopia to Science. .05; J. L. Joynes. Socialist Catechism. .05; Sidney Webb. What Socialism Means. .05; The Class Struggle. .05; The Religion of Capital and Socialism Explained. .05; The Proletariat and Down With Socialism. .05; F. G. R. Gordon. Hard Times: Cause and Cure. .05; Karl Marx. Analysis of Money. .05; Watkins. Evolution of Industry. .05; Wm. Morris. Monopoly: How Labor is Robbed. .05; Wm. Morris. Useful Work vs. Useless Toil. .05

MARX'S THEORY OF LABOR-TIME AND THE REWARD OF LABOR.

[Continued from first page.]

true gems. The scientists and artists in a Socialist Commonwealth could not any more be degraded to the present low standard of refuse-carters and hunkies, but the latter would gradually be uplifted to where only the exceptions of the former stand to-day.

Let it be remembered that in a fully developed Socialist community there is no commodity, consequently no value, no price, no money, no capital to bother about, because that mode of production has not the least use for them. Mr. Epstein unnecessarily burdens his brain with the question: "How are we to find in place of Marx' unsatisfactory 'social process' and labor-time rule a 'just' basis of compensation for all the different kind of workers?"

I beg to answer: The same as in the past and present, also in the future, "just" compensation and distribution will depend less upon ideas of equity and justice than upon the respective mode of production. Under the Socialist mode of production the rules governing distribution will be laid down by the workers themselves, and if productivity of labor should supply all human wants in abundance, we may safely adopt the rule: "To each according to his wants."

PLATFORM OF THE S. D. P.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That 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.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production, for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical 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 capitalism and of all class rule.

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

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

- 1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and pensions in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end.

In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:
1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.
2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.
3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.
4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.
5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.