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NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

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No Laws, No Rights of Property should Stand Against those who Create Property.

CHARGEABLE TO THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY.

The wrecking of the mill of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Mining Corporation, Idaho, was the result of an organized attempt by the Standard Oil Company to wreck organized labor, particularly the Western Miners' Union. This gluttonous octopus aims to control the mines of the United States. It has taken its stand against fair wages and honest labor. It has sent its paid spies to the Coeur d'Alene mining district for the express purpose of fomenting trouble, it is clearly a case of one wrong begetting another, and the agents of the Standard committed the first. This shameless combine of law-breakers, as part of their plan to secure control of vast mining properties, sought to foment strife between the miners and mine operators; failing in this, recourse was had to spotting the union men employed at the Bunker Hill mine and ordering them to get their time at the office. For some days the miners endured this, but in self-defense were finally compelled to strike. When the Freeman's Labor Journal, of Spokane, Wash., says "the men were gored to the limit," every one who remembers Spring Valley, Pullman, Homestead and Hazleton will appreciate what that means. It was a blow directed at the lives of the miners and their families. The mine owners have on their side the law and the courts, the governor of the state, United States soldiers, the capitalist press and unorganized labor. All the miners have is justice and some measure of public sympathy.

The Freeman's Labor Journal says: "The Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine is a conspicuous example of a fool policy of coercion and of failure to recognize the rights of individuals. It refuses wages that other less prosperous mines at the same place pay. The men who took part in the wrecking of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan concentrator were not animated by a spirit of lawlessness, but their minds were embittered by the knowledge that the Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine of all mines of this district alone in its surliness repudiated the honest demands of skilled labor, and attempted to run a "scab" mine in a union camp. Under such a condition, sooner or later, the Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine would have driven competent miners from the Coeur d'Alenes or the mine would have been shut down.

"The price of lead has advanced. The mine is prosperous. The wages of the miners ought to be raised. Let us not forget in judging the motives that animated those that took part in the blowing up of the Bunker Hill concentrator that it was a struggle of men who had wives and children to better their condition and the condition of the fellow-men. There are greater crimes than the blowing up of a mill."

And the Standard Oil Company has been guilty of the greater crimes.

The length which the state and military authorities are prepared to go to wreck workingmen's organizations, in the interest of heartless and tyrannical corporations, is shown by the order of General Merriam and the attorney-general of Idaho, which provides that no mine-owner shall be permitted to operate his mine if he employs a member of the union. Such action as this is unworthy of the worst despotism on earth—but it occurs in "free and enlightened" America.

Senator Mason's pure-food inquiry has brought out the fact that flavors sold at sodawater fountains as the juice of fruits are chemical compositions.

That's all right for summer drinks. But inquiry has also brought out the fact that the fruits of a hundred years' experimental and irresponsible rule in America are tyranny and despotism and capitalist domination of "government" and the people's lives.

A New York lawyer has just been awarded \$700 in a suit against Hetty Green for valuable services in beating the state out of \$28,000 taxes. In other words, a court of justice rewards an attorney, one of its own officers, because he was instrumental in beating the state, that is the people, out of what the state said was justly due it and Mrs. Green was abundantly able to pay.

Comrade F. O. McCartney spoke on Boston Common, Sunday afternoon May 7.

The button designed by Comrade Drake, of Boston, is highly spoken of by our Eastern friends.

The new branches organized since last week are at Beverly, Mass., Salem, Ohio, Chelsea, Mass., and Nashville, Tenn.

If you want information how to organize a branch of the Social Democratic Party, write to Theodore Debs, National Secretary, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

A meeting of Branch 4, Chicago, will be held at 209 St. Louis Ave., Monday evening, May 22. Charles Soelke or S. Stedman will speak. Ladies are specially invited.

The Brockton branch of the Social Democratic Party has a helpmeet in the form of a ladies' reading circle which has organized for the purpose of reading Socialistic books and pamphlets and arming themselves for arguments which may come their way.

Our valued contributor, Isador Ladoff, is confined to his bed at his home in Milwaukee by a badly injured leg, a piece of iron penetrated it to the bone, inflicting a dangerous and painful wound. Comrade Ladoff is reported to be doing as well as can be expected, although there was at first a fear that amputation would be necessary.

One of the immediate results of Comrade Debs' visit to Nashville was the determination of the Socialist club of that city to join the Social Democratic Party. Their action brings to the organization a body of earnest, true comrades, whose active work in the past year is a guarantee for greater service in their new affiliation. We heartily welcome the Nashville comrades to the ranks of International Socialism.

In addition to the good news from Nashville, we are able to state that the Socialist Club of Memphis will also become a branch of the S. D. P. Which is more good news. One of the exceptionally strong men of this branch will be William Pinard, national-organizer of the Barbers' Union. The president of the Memphis Socialist Club was C. W. Merker, and the new branch is a distinctly valuable addition.

It is not surprising that the indefatigable Gordon should get mixed up with Charley Martin on the "Farmers' Demands," but what shall be said when an esteemed contemporary, Humanity, for April, confuses Gordon with the great Karl Marx himself, as witness this credit to "Gordon:"

"Workingmen unite! You have nothing but your chains to lose; you have a world to gain.—F. G. R. Gordon."

A communication received from the Dallas branch of the Socialist Endeavor Society of Texas, an organization with a growing membership and flattering prospects of extended influence, says: "It is useless to state that we are heartily in accord with the great ends you are striving so zealously to achieve." We send Socialist greeting to our friends and comrades, the Socialist "Endeavorers" of Texas. May they soon be ready to follow the example of Nashville and Memphis, and join our ranks.

A preacher who just returned from Cuba brings the news to his countrymen that "the whole structure of business, politics, society and etiquette in Cuba is built on deception." According to this dominie's testimony there is a remarkable likeness between Cuba and the United States.

A Baptist preacher of Chicago, Henson by name, regards the Declaration of Independence, if taken literally, as one of the greatest falsehoods palmed off by the devil on a credulous world. This is in line with the patriotic ideas of that other well-known Baptist saint, John Rockefeller.

Capitalist papers declare that Mayor Jones of Toledo would be an acceptable candidate for governor on the republican ticket—to save the state of Ohio on a pinch from the hungry democrats.

A Socialist farmer on the "Demands for Farmers" next week.

The Rostrum.

The Commercial Appeal of Memphis gives a two-column report of Comrade Eugene V. Debs' lecture in that city, May 11. From this report the following extracts are taken. The lecture was under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Council and was listened to by over a thousand people. Comrade Debs was introduced by Congressman E. W. Carmack. He said in part:

There has been an economic revolution in this country, but few people have realized it. A few years back people were on a social and economic equality. The employer saw where he could soon become an employer. To-day it is different. To-day the children of the poor feed machines, and the machines starve the children. In those days there was not a single millionaire or a single tramp. Employer and employe were more nearly on equal footing. There are in this country today about 4,000 millionaires, and nearly as many million tramps. Both are abnormal products of abnormal conditions. It is but a few short steps from the condition of a tramp to crime. Many hardworkingmen had become emergency tramps. A few years ago there was a great gathering of tramps in London. The police were ordered to disperse them. They did so. Before their ranks were broken by order of law they gave three cheers for Jesus Christ. Some people thought this irreverence. He did not. The man of Galilee sympathized with the suffering poor, and so far as history shows Jesus Christ never had a dollar. He had no desire to become a millionaire.

John Ruskin said there was no difference between stealing with a long arm and stealing with a long head. I quite agree with him. Because of mental might I have no more right to rob my fellowman than physical might would give me. But the principle involved in this struggle is essentially cannibalistic and will be until justice and right prevail.

Wages under this system have declined. To-day seventy-two operators were needed to make a shoe, where in years gone by one made a pair of shoes. In States where child labor was prohibited, work was let by piece and done at home. No education for the children, no happy home for husband and wife. The strife to-day is man versus machine. Women and children have been driven to the factories and shops, homes deserted, neglected, cherished hopes vanished, dreams of happiness awakened by the growl of the wolf at the door. The iron law of supply and demand works under the competitive system. The speaker presented a paradox. In the proportion to which products decline in price, the ability of the masses to obtain them decreases. When clothes cost \$40 a suit, the masses were better dressed than now at from \$6 to \$10 a suit. Shoes are cheaper than ever and yet more feet are bare. The more clothes or shoes the workman makes today the less he can wear. As his capacity for turning them out increases, through the use of machines, his ability to buy them decreases, through the decline in wages.

The competitive system under which the laborers live is war. How is it with the wage-slave to-day? He is not as well off as the chattel slave of 40 years ago. The chattel slave was put on the block and sold to the highest bidder; the wage-slave of to-day is put up and sold to the lowest bidder. Society is making criminals faster than it can punish and provide prisons for them. There are men not in jail who deserve to be. Speaking of the difference in classes, the lines drawn by society, he said the rich man was inebriated occasionally, while the poor man got drunk; the poor girl was a thief, while the rich girl was a kleptomaniac. He had the same sympathy for the rich that he had for the poor. Both are victims of the system.

He predicted that within a few years, when a majority of men now in business were out of business and men now employed were out of work, the people would send men to congress who would decree co-operative ownership of all means of production and distribution. The people will have to take possession of the trusts or the trusts will take possession of them. Let a man go to one of the railroad yards in this city and steal a lot of scrap iron to get a meal with; he is sent to jail as a thief. If a man in

Wall street conspires and schemes to steal a railroad he is called a financier and may be sent to the United States senate. What is true of the railroad is true of the factories.

How to make a living, would be no problem in a true civilization. The savage did not speculate on how he would get the necessities of life. He lived free and equal. He floated down this river in his canoe and did not think of schemes to oppress his fellowman. He at least had something poetic in his life. The economic slave knew nothing of the poetry of living. In Chicago the man who could face the misery at sight on every hand without being moved to tears had a heart of stone; on every side men, women and children suffering unspeakably; women trafficking in their chastity, men committing all sorts of crime—on every hand les miserables. What is needed is to make make everything in society co-operative instead of competitive. Everything in nature, the universe, is co-operative, moving in harmony. Suppose, for instance, nature should set up a competitive conflict between the planets, what a crash of worlds there would be.

Economic equality is a movement that is traveling over the world. By it penitentiaries will be depopulated, factories will become temples of science, homes will be comfortable and cheerful, the shadows of the gallows will be chased away, and the walls and bars of prisons will fall to ruins.

Last week the armed cruiser Nashville, after consuming a month steaming up the Mississippi, lay at anchor off St. Louis. The occasion was improved by two classes: jingo patriots and monopoly skinners. The boat was anchored in the middle of the river and the arrangements committee gave away (?) a monopoly on carrying the people from the wharf to the boat at 20 cents a head. The people could not board the boat they had paid for except by being skinned by this monopoly. They pay for gunboats, they have to pay to see them. A conspicuous illustration of the injustice of the arrangement was afforded when 400 excursionists from Alton, Ill., who had chartered their own boat, went down the river and alongside the Nashville, but were refused the privilege of going aboard by the officers of the Nashville. Nobody could get on that boat without first submitting to be fleeced. Captain Maynard, commander of the Nashville, had an opportunity to prove that he had courage enough to stand with the people who pay his salary, but the opportunity was not improved.

The comrades who are discussing the "Farmers Demands" will please take notice of what Chauncey Depew says:

"Agriculture does not appeal to everyone as an opportunity; but the world is about to witness a change in this. Business and scientific principles can be applied here as well as elsewhere. I believe the era of great farmers is upon us—men who will control hundreds and thousands of acres instead of sixty or a hundred. The method of the merchant and the manufacturer will apply as readily here as anywhere else, and the farmer will be a capitalist in the truest sense of the word. He will plant his field with the greatest economy and reap with the least and most effective machinery. He will economize in the matter of labor, as other merchants do, and spare himself all but the executive functions connected with his great enterprise. He will be an important factor in the life and prosperity of the nation."

"But the land is being rapidly divided into smaller and smaller holdings."

"Nevertheless, combination will come. The growth of population will dictate wisdom in the matter of tilling the soil. It will reorganize farm methods and make only the broader methods profitable."

The statutory limit to the market price of a human life is understood in many states to be \$5,000, but a dozen men in Chicago are eager to accept the offer of a physician to undergo an experiment, which may cost them their lives, for \$100 cash down. This they do because the money will relieve the distress of poor relations. But \$100 is really a high figure for a life, according to Judge Robinson, of New Haven, Conn., who has just awarded \$10 to the relatives of a poor man killed by a railroad company.

William Hopps is fighting with Funston in the Philippines. He has not drawn any pay for some time and his wife and baby are destitute in St. Louis. The other day baby Hopps was turned over to one of the city institutions, and the destitute wife will try to find something to do until her hero husband returns with a "barrel of money."

It is reported that the administration will exert influence to seat Quay. A united delegation from Pennsylvania is necessary in the next national convention.

INVITE YOUR FRIENDS TO SUBSCRIBE.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

A SYMPOSIUM.

H. M. HYNDMAN, ENGLAND.

At the end of the Nineteenth Century two economic changes can be discerned. England no longer dominates the markets of the world. Competitive capitalism is being displaced by organized monopoly. The British Empire, enormously powerful as it is, shows in more than one direction increasing weakness due to the exhausting levy of tribute to which certain parts have been subjected, while at home the inferior education and physical deterioration of large sections of our people put them at a disadvantage in the world-competition of industrialism which is being substituted for the narrower rivalry of a recent time. The workers at home, on the other hand, find themselves face to face with the growth of that trust system which in America has already arrived at supreme dominance, and which no mere trade union effort can hope to encounter successfully. In every regime of capitalist monopoly is being instituted, and as yet the toilers whom it will overmaster seem incapable of understanding what is coming about.

Yet out of this welter of ignorance and oppression new ideas and new forces arise. Wherever the capitalist class has attained its full supremacy, there scientific Socialism comes in to organize a class-conscious proletariat capable of comprehending the economic development and of controlling the political and social life of the near future in the interests of all mankind. If the competition for wealth has inevitably engendered monopoly, the competition for wages is inevitably engendering combination and collectivism. The two forces of the near future are already face to face in every civilized country on the planet right away from Europe to far Japan.

WILLIAM LIEBKNECHT, GERMANY.

Never has German Social Democracy been so strong, and never more united, than now. I say this because the English middle-class press is telling you we were on the point of giving up our revolutionary principles and tactics, and changing into a soft party of reform, melting together with middle-class radicals and democrats. Don't believe a word of it. Fabianism, which misled Bernstein, failed to be exported from England to Germany, and will not, cannot, strike root in German soil. And for the very simple reason, that we have no radical or democratic middle-class. In Germany there is but one Democracy, and that is Social Democracy. Our middle-class has never been able to conquer political power, has never been marching at the head of political progress, and stands, since Socialism has arisen, on the side of the Junkers against us. The handful of middle-class men, who are real democrats without being Socialists, is fast disappearing, and the few, that have character and intellect, are coming over to us.

ASLESSANDRO SCHIAVI, ITALY.

A year ago last March, ten thousand citizens of the advanced parties in Rome, twenty thousand of Milan, an imposing cortege at the funeral of Felix Cavalotti, and Turati, speaking there finished his discourse with the words: "And now, comrades, let us resume our work!"

And a few days later ten thousand Socialists, all wearing a red rosette and singing the Laborer's Hymn, marched through the streets of Milan—to the terror of the bourgeoisie, astonished at their numbers—to celebrate the jubilee of the heroic "five days," as the inheritors of the revolutionary spirit of 1848.

The morning of the first of May dawned in golden splendor, for the workers' fete. But everywhere was heard the fusillade of the poor people of Southern Italy dying of hunger. Driven to despair, they

set on fire the old papers of the archives of the communes, using them as torches, symbolising thus, with their destruction, liberation from the crushing burden of taxation.

And a few days after the first of May the fusillade spread beyond the South, to civilized Italy, to Lombardy, to Milan; and in their white terror, in the intoxication of at last delivering themselves from these troublesome subversive parties the conservatives of Milan went so far as to order the soldiers to bayonet the monks turned insurgents.

A fortnight later all political and economic organization was crushed and strangled out of existence. The wives and sisters who a month earlier applauded their husbands and brothers in the procession of the "five days," now mourned them in prison or exile, where the majority still remain.

PABLO IGLESIAS, SPAIN.

Our party, affirming that no one people should dominate over any other, condemned the colonial wars, and suggested as a means of concluding them the autonomy or the independence of Cuba, and the concession to the natives of the Philippines of what liberties they claimed.

Our party opposed the war with the United States, not only because it would be immensely harmful to Spain, but also in order to display the principles of peace which Socialists uphold.

Our party denounced energetically the fact that Spain, finding herself engaged in warfare, took only the sons of the poor as soldiers, while the sons of the rich, by paying down 1,800 or 2,000 pesetas, freed themselves from military service. We condemned also the disgraceful fashion in which they were sent away, the horrible conditions and the privations they had to submit to while the chiefs and generals were in comfort.

Our party protested against the contributions imposed upon the poor for the purpose of the war.

Our party foretold the catastrophes which would fall upon Spain, and declared that the governing classes alone be charged with the responsibility of them.

Our party, as soon as the war was terminated, attacked fiercely the government and all the exploiting classes for the inhuman manner in which they brought back home the soldiers of Cuba and the Philippines, composed in the immense majority of invalids.

Our party, in short, has made and is making still a vigorous campaign against the present government for not having paid the soldiers of Cuba and the Philippines the arrears of pay due them, while at the same time they have satisfied the demands of the chief.

This work, done openly in the press and meetings, for a time, and as well as was possible during the six months in which the constitutional guarantees were suspended, and also the verification of all the predictions of our party in respect to the war, has modified much of the abuse of us by our enemies, and has created an atmosphere favorable to Socialist ideas.

EDOUARD VAILLIANT, FRANCE.

The republican crisis, of which the Dreyfus case has been the visible sign, has been at once the occasion and the principal cause of this progress. In this renewal of the Casarean and Opportunist conflict of Boulangism, grown to the proportions of a racial and religious war, before the dangers of the clerical and militarist reaction, the Socialist party has done its duty, and united—without mingling with the bourgeois factions, eager for the capitalist exploitation of power for their own profit—and having no other care than the defense of modern society and of the republic, as well as of the working class, it has against their common enemies, against those who menaced them in their very existence,

against Casarean clericalism and militarism, concentrated its efforts. And it has rallied against these the whole of working-class opinion in showing them to be the most dangerous instruments of royalism, capitalism and reaction. At this most difficult moment of the crisis, when the governmental imbroglio was at its height, and the military and clerical conspirators sought among themselves for the man for Casarean *coup d'état*, the Socialists recognized the necessity of uniting and mobilizing their forces.

The Farmers' Demands.

I guess I am pretty thick. Anyhow, I seem to fail to make Comrade Martin understand what I wanted to. It may be well to understand, if we can, that our platform, like all Socialist platforms, is both revolutionary and reformatory. Hence it may appear, as is the case in more than one Socialist platform, that we demand certain things which are what Comrade Martin calls "any-old-thing" reform. The passage quoted in Comrade Martin's first letter is from the preamble of our platform and is quite true; although not yet all society is split into the capitalist class and the working class, as we use those terms, and yet, in the broader sense, there are but two conflicting interests. Thousands of farmers, I am unable to state just what per cent., do belong to the "dispossessed class." All tenant farmers with very few exceptions belong to this class, and I should reckon that one half the mortgaged farmers belong to this class.

On the other hand, all shoemakers, carpenters, railway employees, etc., do not belong to the "dispossessed class." Not by any means.

Let us examine a few reports from the U. S. census. In table 2, compendium 11th census, relating to farms, I find that there is a total (1890) of 1,624,433, or 34.08 per cent. of all farm families who are tenant farmers and belong to the "dispossessed class" quite as much as the New England shoemaker. Also 28.22 per cent. of the home-owning farmers have a beautiful mortgage as one of their "possessions." In 1890 only 47.32 per cent. of our farmers owned their farms. In other words over one-third of our farmers belong entirely to the "dispossessed class" and nearly one-fifth more are properly in that class.

There are 35.90 per cent. of the city and town-inhabitants who own a home and are not "dispossessed." Again in the 420 cities having from 8,000 to 100,000 population 629,092 or nearly 36 per cent. own homes. And in the 28 cities having 100,000 inhabitants or more, 14.20 per cent. own homes free and 8.63 per cent. own homes with a mortgage. But this is not all; this so-called "dispossessed class" does not number near so great a per cent. as many people think. There is, however, no reliable statistics to prove just how many wage-workers have bank accounts, but in New England, at least, they number thousands. I cut shoes in a room where 60 people are employed; 35 out of those 60 have money in a savings bank or own a home, the value will compare favorably with the value of the average farmer's home. I am simply pointing out certain facts to prove that this "dispossessed class" average almost as large a per cent. in the country as in the city. In New England and the middle states at least, we find a constant change going on, i. e., the wage-worker who has saved some money is buying a farm or some petty business. On the other hand there is also a constant stream from the country to the city. Just to illustrate this in a local way, take the city of Brockton, a purely manufacturing city with a total of 6,155 families; 2,139 own homes of which 55 per cent. had a mortgage. Now I know something about the S. D. P. of Brockton, they are as hard workers for the cause, as brave and self-sacrificing as any band of Socialists on top of this globe. Yet, a canvass will show that a large per cent. of the

members of the Brockton branch are not of the "dispossessed class."

It seems to me that here is proof enough that so far as this "dispossessed class" goes, it is composed of both, "shoemaker and miner" and farmer.

I agree with Comrade Martin that there was no need of bringing in Marx, but Comrade Martin brought him in first, as the man whose books had taught him scientific Socialism, etc. Now I want it to be understood to be consistent too. I repeat, "the farmers are doomed to hopeless bankruptcy under our present competitive system."

So likewise is the now possessed shoemaker and miner, the thousands of men and women who have insurance assets, bank accounts, little homes, etc., all are doomed under this system. I am not attempting to unite with him and save him and myself for the co-operative commonwealth. How many times have I got to repeat that giving aid to a man or a class don't make that class hate and despise you. What Comrade Martin says about a farmer not accepting the truth about Socialism simply because he owns his farm or even if it is "overlapped with a mortgage," I cannot believe to be true in general, I have found it to be the exact opposite. Now it ought not to surprise Comrade Martin "beyond measure" when I state an absolute fact in relation to the people's party in Kansas. Is it a "funny old thing" to demand the collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, trusts, direct legislation, a shorter workday, and a dozen other Socialistic planks? Well the people's party in Kansas had all that and more in the last campaign.

I have said and I say again, the people's party was as honest a political movement as was ever built in America. There are some "rotten" politicians in all political parties. I have read the platform which Comrade Farmer is canvassing in Texas and I have also read some editorials in the Social Economist. Said editorials convey to me that Comrade Farmer is one of the very last men in the nation to kick against our farmers' demands.

I was not misleading in relation to France, as all of the candidates voted for by the Socialists of France in the last election did have the farmers' program. Prof. Jaures, whom I regard as one of the very best Socialists in the world, is solid for the farmers' program. He is what Comrade Martin would call an idealist. Karl Kautsky has just written a book, over 600 pages, on "Agricultural Program." Edward Bernstein has advocated an agricultural program for the S. D. P. of Germany for several years. It is almost certain that the next convention of the S. D. P. of Germany will declare for a farmers' program. At any rate I find that Kautsky, Bernstein, and many others of Germany including Bebel, Dr. Victor Adler of Austria, Paul LaFargue, Jaures, Millerand, and so on of France, and in fact most of the noted Socialists of Europe, are what Comrade Martin would call unscientific.

I simply showed in my second letter that grain elevators and cold storage buildings are needed. Comrade Martin tries to make himself believe that the farmers will store their grain and wait for a higher price. Comrade Martin knows full well that this is not the case at all. He knows that a large per cent. of the farmers are compelled to sell their products just as soon as they are ready for the market. That there could not be a corner of the market everyone knows full well.

I do not deny that the farmer might receive more for his crops, but not at the expense of the dispossessed class but at the expense of the speculators and jobbers.

Comrade Martin makes the same mistake again in supposing that just because the farmer escapes the sheriff's clutches and keeps his home he will ignore Socialism and refuse to listen to us, etc. If we are to believe that an increase of misery will bring about Socialism, then we are to stamp ourselves as entirely different from the position of the Socialists of the world. Even the S. L. P. has a land plank

that if enacted into law would place 500,000,000 acres of land under the control of Uncle Sam. Pending the time when the co-operative commonwealth becomes a fact what is to be done with that 500,000,000 acres?

Would it be scientific to have the nation store the grain in 20,000 modern elevators or to have it stored in 4,000,000 ramshackle sheds?

If every farmer in America owned a 6,000 acre farm it would be wise to have national elevators and cold storage buildings, and storing products at cost don't cost anybody anything, except the farmers. If I haven't done anything else I have demonstrated that the dispossessed class are not harmed by our farmers' demands. And I think I have made it quite plain that somebody besides the strictly proletariat, is also of the "dispossessed class." F. G. R. Gordon.

POOR ARGUMENT AGAINST SOCIALISM.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox in Post-Dispatch: A man who has experimented in so many things that he has lost faith in almost everything, said to me recently:

"I used to feel sorry for the workingman, and long to help him. I was something of a Socialist until I learned, by intimate association with him, that the workingman is just as selfish as the financier. His idea is not to better things for others—it is merely to better things for himself. He has no idea beyond self."

It was a surprising matter to me that the speaker considered this fact of the workingman's selfishness an argument against Socialism.

It is to give the workingman an opportunity to do something besides being selfish that the thinking philanthropists desire to change the present condition of things. With the competitive system every man is obliged to be selfish or go under in the struggle for existence. It is man against man and brother against brother.

A laboring man must work cheaper than his fellowmen and a merchant must undersell his competitors in order to succeed. When we see men who have enjoyed every advantage and possessing millions of dollars the incarnation of selfishness, how can we expect the struggling man of toil, who has had no favors from fate, to be broad-gauged in mind?

But change the system which now prevails, and we will find human nature changing. The environment of man is better than it was in the dark ages, and man is a better being, selfish as he still is.

Once let the reign of co-operative brotherhood become established and there will be a sure and positive progress toward a higher humanity. It will not come at once—it will require a generation or two before order can come out of chaos. But the causes which produce and compel selfishness in the business world once removed, a very different race of human beings will spring into existence.

Should such conditions as the philanthropists desire be brought about today, we could not expect people who have grown old in the strife of gain to change their natures. Their brain cells are formed and very little improvement could be hoped for in their views of life. But children born and reared under a better regime would show the results of it.

"Whirlwinds of rebellion" are on the way, and it behooves us all to be thinking.

What Socialism Is.

A theory of 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.

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