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DIMINISHING POWER IS A SIGN OF DISSOLUTION

Some Considerations of the Proposition That the Middle Class is Disappearing, as Socialists Contend

A correspondent wants to know what evidence there is that the middle class is disappearing, as stated in the platform of the Social Democratic party; also whether at any time in the history of this nation the middle class was more numerous, compared to the whole population, than at present.

It will at once occur to a Social Democrat undertaking an answer that a definition of what is meant by "the middle class" is needed. If no explanation is given by the party in its platform, it must be assumed that the party does not consider explanation necessary. But no intelligent discussion can be had without the defining of terms.

What, then, is meant by "the middle class"? How do we determine that such a class exists? We take it for granted that our correspondent will agree with us that speaking generally there are three sorts of people in society—first, the owners of the major part of the means of production and distribution, the capitalist class; second, the productive workers engaged in organized industry and employed as wage laborers by the class first named, i. e., the working class; third, the army of people who, while they do not control the means of distribution, are nevertheless, by the present exigencies of "business," allowed to function as small distributors for a small profit. This latter group we call the middle class.

The question as to whether this class is more or less numerous than at any other period in the country's history is one that might be answered by a poll of Bradstreet's and Dun's commercial lists or by reference to the business directories of the country. Such reference might disclose the fact that, let us say Chicago, had as many "middle-class" men, proportionate to population, doing business today as twenty years ago. We say it might, not it would, because we are satisfied that the reverse is true.

Granting, however, that to be satisfied about anything does not prove that thing true, and that an investigation of the kind suggested showed conclusively more men doing business in what we call the "middle class," rather than less, what of it? Would that be satisfactory to the student of Socialism and the investigator? Does our correspondent base his "belief" that the "middle class is not disappearing" upon capitalistic reports and commercial spasms? Why does he, being a Socialist, give assent or "belief" to the truth of something the acceptance of which requires him to ignore so important an item as the true economic relation of the modern small

distributor still called the middle-class man?

The question is not whether as big a percentage of noses can be counted in the middle class as formerly, but how many of the noses counted belong to men economically independent? How many of them are merely agents and dependents of the capitalist class, which controls the new means of production and distribution?

We know that as to a very large proportion of the commodities which a modern merchant is allowed to handle for a profit, he can buy, not where he pleases, but where he must. He is, then, doing such business as falls to him only by submission to an economically superior class. Any contention that the middle class is not disappearing can only be supported by showing that that class is holding its own, or has held its own, in the economic struggle.

Counting noses won't do! If that class has failed to hold its own, in a purely economic sense of course, then it is disappearing undoubtedly. You can't eat your cake and keep it, comrade. And the middle class can't lose ground and hold it, too. That it has lost and is losing, who doubts? Nobody; not even our correspondent. Therefore, the middle class, an economic factor with diminishing economic power, is disappearing. Diminishing power is a sign of dissolution.

Is the concentration of wealth a fact? Is the daily absorption and reorganization of industries by a steadily diminishing number of the economically powerful a fact?

Is not the growing number of the economically impotent a fact?

Since great industrial and commercial combinations are and can be accomplished only by the absorption of small, individual enterprises, is it a fact that this process can go on without impairing the economic power and independence of small owners?

Is it true that while in 1850 not more than 37-2-3 per cent of the wealth of the country was monopolized and 62-1-3 per cent in the possession of the people, in 1890 the amount held by the rich was 83 per cent and the masses of the people owned only 17 per cent?

It seems clear to us that if these questions are answered affirmatively, then the main question is disposed of; the middle class as a potent economic factor in society is disappearing, and no counting of noses or "beliefs" can alter the fact that the middle class is very largely a group of agents dependent upon the economically masterful capitalist class.

with, the head or rather the tail of this great nation on the throne read his essay. He regretted the losses in war and he told about "my" relations with the other powers and then he spoke of "my" soldiers in Africa and the Philippines in about the same tone that the Kansas farmer would say "my hogs, my pigs and my cattle," and he was sorry that there was so much misery in "my" Indian Empire.

Now, with all this proceeding, we must certainly congratulate the people of England on their material improvements. With gold sticks, silver sticks, fiddle sticks, horses, grooms, robes, swords and plenty of brass, the people of Great Britain have now been entertained. Those in the most abject misery and want have cheered and oggled, and it is when viewing the stupendous influence of such a sham, that the Socialist feels most keenly the task which awaits him and yearns for that period when the ragged and the royal pauper shall labor together.

[The latest information about the royal bankrupt's debts is that they are to be settled in private. They are so monstrous (in character, and amount) that to settle 'em in public would cause another scandal in the career of the "defender of the faith."—Ed.]

A MODERN INSTANCE

Of the Inhumanity of Wage Slavery in a Chicago Daily Newspaper Office

By Ben Atterbury

Some inside facts concerning a recent happening in one of the capitalistic newspaper offices of Chicago have come into my possession, which I think will interest readers of The Herald, and incidentally show up the hypocritical character of some of the popular schemes which these newspapers as a class resort to in order to gull the public and make money.

For many years past Mr. Harry Armstrong, well known in his profession as a thoroughly capable newspaper man, was city editor of Victor Lawson's paper, the Chicago Record. He had always been considered a man exceptionally well qualified for the responsible position he held. When the war started, or rather, when the capitalistic looters of the United States army and navy started over in the Philippines, Mr. Armstrong was chosen to represent the Record at the seat of hostilities. This he did with his usual energy and ability until the villainous climate, which is ruining thousands of young Americans, impaired his health and he was compelled to return to Chicago. Being reinstated in his old position, it soon became evident that his condition was far worse than he or his friends supposed. He was physically unable to continue at his post. He went out to the Philippines. He came back broken down and, at least temporarily, incapacitated.

Here was a chance for Victor Lawson, he of the plethoric bank account and baby sanitarium scheme (to help the circulation) to send a faithful employe who had served him, even to his own undoing, to some healthful resort where the poor fellow might have a chance to renew his wasted energies and recover his only capital, health. Did Lawson do this? Not he. He let Armstrong, broken in health, but, we hope, not in spirit, go with one month's pay in his pocket. And that has been the fate of more than one man who received a commission to the Philippines. Armstrong should be doing a little thinking for himself about now.

A Flippant Preacher

A clergyman drawing a salary of \$6,000 a year and having a "call" to preach for \$10,000 a year, in a recent sermon got things badly mixed. Among other things, he said: "There are so many things, constituted as they are, that do not need explanation. The light is lovely to the eye and the sun is pleasant to the gaze. A sweet, beautiful landscape needs no explanation. It is its own philosophy, it is its own raison d'être. It needs no one to unfold its purpose. Here is a man who has good fortune. His good fortune needs no explanation. He has accumulated riches. They are their own vindication. It is such a natural and a proper thing to be rich, such a natural and proper and inevitable thing to be in good fortune or to be lucky. Pleasure needs no philosophy."

If there is anything under heaven that needs explanation it is the modern methods of accumulating riches. They are not their own vindication, nor is it a natural thing to be rich. The accumulation of riches is entirely artificial, and now-a-days, often piratical. The universal testimony is that great riches spawn great crimes.

AS TO CHATTEL AND WAGE SLAVERY

The Right of Workingmen to Own Themselves, the Tools of Their Trade and a Just Share of All They Create

By Lee Hibbard

From time to time efforts are made to establish parallels between chattel and wage slavery. In the case of the former as it existed in "old plantation times" in this country there were, amidst its horrors, some redeeming features which are not found in the latter form of bondage. Indeed, it is denied that a system of wage slavery exists at all in the United States of America, except as ignorance and superstition create ghosts and goblins to frighten women and children.

In the case of chattel slavery, it existed by virtue of law, constitution and statute and was upheld and protected by the courts. The slave pen, the auction block, whip and fetters were all constitutional, and a vicious public opinion indorsed the "sum of all villainies." And yet, as has been remarked, this system of horrors had some redeeming features. As a general proposition the ebony-complexioned and wool-crowned chattels were well fed, well clothed and well sheltered and relieved of care and anxiety. When old age came they were not cast adrift, but still clothed and fed and sheltered until death closed the scene.

These chattel slaves created vast sums of wealth for their owners, their share being simply subsistence. But from the first—A. D. 1620—chattel slavery was doomed to disappear. It required two hundred and forty-three years to accomplish the task. Nor was it consummated until a hell storm of war such as never before visited the earth completed its overthrow.

In this connection it may be said that at the time when the war of the rebellion was raging with a fierceness that defies exaggeration, when blood and carnage clothed the ground in crimson and the rivers and streams, red with blood, flowed to the sea, shrewd, designing, heartless men were engaged in laying the foundations of wage slavery. Lincoln, with prescient vision, saw the dark shadows of coming events and gave the warning. It is not worth while to split hairs in defining the term "wage slave." The term "slave" does not necessarily suggest the adjective "chattel," because there are other forms of slavery requiring a different word to define their chief characteristics; and "wage" identifies those who are the vassals of conditions which are destructive of men's independence in the matter of work and wages, conditions which, while they do not derive their power

from constitutions or statutes, hold their victims in a grasp as relentless and as unrelaxing as the jaws of a man-eating tiger.

It is not denied that comparisons are often odious, and this is especially true of the case in hand, but is all the more important because it is execrable and brings to light the repulsive character of wage slavery.

In the case of the chattel slave, controlled by his owner, he worked for a mere subsistence—food, clothing and shelter—and that he was certain of receiving. In the case of the wage slave, controlled by conditions, he, too, works for a subsistence, but without a guaranty that he will secure it, since at any time he may be remanded to idleness, a victim of poverty, beggary and despair.

No amount of sophistication, word jugglery or special pleading modifies or changes the facts. They are seen on every hand, the dark spots on the sun of our civilization, deplorable to the uttermost limit of human wretchedness, so shocking and harrowing to sight and sensibility that Abram S. Hewitt, a New York millionaire with a heart and soul in him, deploring conditions as seen in our great industrial centers, absolutely prays for storms of fire and brimstone such as fell upon Sodom and Gomorrah, if otherwise the curse of wage slavery cannot be removed.

Abraham Lincoln protested that the Union "half slave and half free" could not endure. Is any one so foolish and benighted as to suppose peace, order and tranquillity can be preserved in a country one-third millionaire and two-thirds pauper? For a time, under the sway of guns, injunctions and judicial decisions, present conditions, always growing worse, may dominate; but only for a time. Wage slavery is doomed, nor will it require two hundred and forty-three years to create a public opinion, as in the case of chattel slavery, to exterminate the curse.

Socialism is on the warpath. Its signal fires are blazing on all the highlands. Men of learning, men of thought, men of work are pledging themselves, their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to uproot wage slavery and restore to working men their indefeasible right to own themselves, the tools of their trade, and secure for them their just share of all the wealth they create.

TOLSTOY, COMMUNIST

The great Russian writer, philosopher, philanthropist and communist, the one Abou Ben Adhem of all the Russias, rich, noble by birth and still nobler by deeds of self-sacrifice and self-denial, greater than the emperor and grander than any grand duke, with a mind high, broad, profound and all-grasping, has been excommunicated by an edict of the Greek church, at the head of which stands the czar. Tolstoi's mind has been in an evolutionary condition for many years, and gradually, in its unfoldings, it grasped the great truth that he belonged to the working class, the serf-slave quite as much, if not more, than to the nobility. He had lived a life of easy luxury and idleness, had never earned a rouble, though he had had more money than he wanted—still he was not satisfied. He entered the Russian army and won distinction in the Crimean war, but the "hell of war" did not satisfy his ambition. He became an author and his writings brought him fame and applause. He was advancing, but still immensely below his heaven-adorned altitude. He became disgusted with religion as taught by the Greek church. He traveled extensively in Germany, France and England, but in the way of religion found nothing superior to the shallow, hollow pomp, pride and parade of the Russian article. Then he abandoned the cities and retired to his estate and sought to ameliorate the condition of his serfs, becoming their teacher, to enable them to comprehend freedom. He married; he wrote; became the father of a large family. He is rich; belongs to the aristocracy; has a loving wife and an interesting family, and is acknowledged as one of the foremost authors of the world. Still, he looked upon his life as a failure, and saw nothing in the future but death. He read Christ's sermon on the mount. It was a new condition. He would henceforth cease playing the aristocrat and Pharisee. He inquired, Is it possible to love one's neighbors?

He answered the question affirmatively, and he answered it practically. He would henceforward regard the poor as his brothers, cease separating himself from the mass of his fellowmen and become a simple human being like the poor around him. He would sit at the table with the poor, dress like the poor and work with his hands like the poor. He had no right to live luxuriously off of their earnings and play capitalistic pirate.

Born a Russian noble, with large landed estates and numerous serfs, he comes at last to recognize the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Dressing like a peasant, trying against tremendous odds to help the poor of Russia, he has been excommunicated by the Russian church, which is not hereafter to consider his wants, whether living or dying. Thus Tolstoi has been promoted and crowned a martyr for loving his fellowmen, and it is possible that the czar, who is at the head of the Russian church, will still further promote him by consigning him to prison that the largest possible measure of glory may settle upon his name and elevate him to a prouder position than ever fell to the lot of an imperial Romanoff from Catharine to Nicholas II.

Tolstoi loves the poor and seeks to better their condition; he has the courage of conviction; he fears no power on earth—church or autocrat; amidst trials and perils, having found his mission, he is equal to all of its demands regardless of the anathemas of the church or the savagery of power. The world needs more men of the Tolstoi type, and they are coming. They will not ask the nations to unlock and unbar their doors to admit the blessings of a new and better civilization. They will batter them down by the invincible power of truth, justice and law, and with these unconquerable forces redeem civilization from savagery and man from the curse of slavery.

BUMMER AND BANKRUPT ON ENGLAND'S THRONE

The People Have Been Entertained by a Show of Gold Sticks, Silver Sticks and Fiddle Sticks and Will Now Settle Down to Their Normal Piety

By Brummagem Button

A gambler, a black-leg, a libertine and bankrupt is now on the throne of Great Britain, and it is his duty to tell the Parliament that which is already known. To do this job, the imagination of the bullet-headed populace must be appealed to and properly aroused. So we are told graphically how this rotund horse race expert played his part in the ceremony. The great officers of state were there and he went into the "robing room" where all the flunkies made goo-goo eyes, felt like lords and looked like pigmies, and among those necessary to give this small character in a great show a proper send-off, there were ushers, grooms-in-waiting, sergeant-at-arms, lord of the privy seal (this guy performs the work of an office-boy for a notary public), lord chancellor, black rod, garter, king-of-arms, the earl marshal, the lord chamberlain (it is the duty of this fellow to regulate the etiquette of the court. He tells the flunkies how to bow, shift, shoulder arms, whether they should cross their feet when they sit down, or pick their teeth in public; a mighty important position, but he is improving constantly. In ancient times his duties were those of a domestic, without the chance to cook). Then the sword of state carried by the Marquis of Londonderry (the meaning of this is too deep for ordinary mortals). The sword of state should now be metamorphosed into a baccarat table or a cold deck. The master of the horses must be there also. It is his duty to see that the horses are properly

groomed, well shod, and to examine and report on spavins and other ailments of the noble horse.

Lord steward goes along, too. They must have a cook, and in fact of all attendants this lord stands supreme monarch, for if the food supply should produce indigestion, even the throne might become cantankerous. The lords in waiting, pages of honor, captain of the yeomen guard—they were on hand, too. Then comes the gold stick. Do you catch on? We searched in vain to find sixteen silver sticks. The captain of gentlemen of arms. Here there is a difference between yeomen at arms and gentlemen at arms. A gentleman is one who does no work, but at such a function as this he is at the head of the procession.

Then comes the silver stick in waiting. It is important to the ceremonies that there should be a silver stick in waiting, and the papers did not tell us how it would have appeared if it had been walking. Silver sticks, gold sticks, fiddle sticks, and then a dozen other officers and captains, etc., were all present and they walked with the Dukes of Argyll and Charlie of Denmark, and then came hobbling along Joseph H. Choate, United States Ambassador. He has a seat just behind the bishops, so that he could look on and see that the job was done right, so upon returning to America he could give us pointers on "brilliant pageantry."

When all this had been got through

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Social Democratic Party Vote
1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 96,878
1900 (S. L. P.) 34,191
TOTAL 131,069

Labor requires many tools, but capitalism has got possession of the entire kit.

Thousands of families under the sway of capitalism never get a square meal all round.

Under capitalism and imperialism the standing army in the United States, a la Europe, has come to stay.

To be good is commendable; to be good for something is better; to be good for nothing is not good at all.

Wind is said to be "air in motion." When the stock and bond market is active a stiff breeze is always blowing.

You can't make a Socialist out of a coward, a sluggard, an aristocrat, a corporation attorney, a railroad president, a thief or a fool.

Mrs. Nation, the Kansas cyclone, engaged in wrecking saloons, proposes to make it, as the governor of North Carolina said to the governor of South Carolina, "a long time between drinks" in Kansas.

If railroad and other corporation stocks and bonds unassessed for taxation on their wind and water valuation were taxed the state would soon have ample means to purchase the plants at their cash value.

The entire world product of gold for the year 1900 amounted to \$256,462,435. The United States leads all other countries, having produced \$78,658,735, with Australia a close second, having to its credit \$75,000,000.

It is a great misfortune to be blind, but scarcely more lamentable than to have eyes incapable of discerning the difference between Socialism and its opposite, capitalism. Such an unfortunate is a wage slave whom only death can relieve of his fetters.

Germany demands of China an indemnity of \$100,000 each for the soldiers wounded in a recent skirmish. But it is not stated that the wounded soldiers are to get the money, retire and live in opulence when they return to the fatherland. If China should pay the indemnity Emperor William will see to it that the government pockets the taels.

Prejudice is fatal to liberal thought. It effectually debar investigation and is the product of the worst forms of ignorance. It dethrones reason. It is not influenced by truth. It is blind to justice and deaf to reason, and bigotry is its final goal, in which it revels and finds its satisfactions. It attacks Socialism without reason and renders its verdict without a scintilla of evidence to support its conclusions. To overcome this obstacle to progress is a work of education and agitation. Socialism proposes to eliminate it from our Christian civilization in the interest of society.

Suppose upon an average the working day averages nine hours; that of the remaining fifteen hours, nine are given to sleep. In that case, six hours remaining of the twenty-four constituting a round day. What is to be done with them? Suppose of these six hours, three are given to physical exercise, recreation or amusement. In that case three hours a day remain to be employed in some way. Omitting Sundays and holidays, there are 300 days in a year. Three hours a day for 300 days equals 900 hours or 100 days of nine hours each, devoted to reading and study would enable any working man to become proficient in the science, theory and philosophy of Socialism and a leader in carrying forward the great work of creating better conditions.

Edward VII., king of Great Britain and Ireland and emperor of India, and William, king of Prussia and emperor of Germany, pledged Victoria that they would exert their influence to put an end to war. That is one of the planks in the platform of Socialism, and it is gratifying to see crowned heads coming into line under its conquering banner.

Reports have it that the people of the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland are enthusiastically in love with monarchy, and considering reports relating to the inauguration of Edward VII., it looks that way. The allowance of Victoria when she became queen was \$1,900,000 a year and Edward VII. wants an increase of salary and is likely to get it. It requires a deal of money to keep the king's "dinner pail" supplied, but "merrie England" will be all the more hilarious as it drops its pennies in the slot to make Edward VII. comfortable.

Mr. Neely, who was sent to Cuba by Emperor Billy to help start the imperial machinery in that island, proceeded at once to business and stole \$100,000. He tells of opportunities imperialism afforded him to steal himself into the ranks of millionaires, having had at one time in his possession \$1,200,000 which he could have appropriated to his own use. When it is remembered that Neely was only a fifth-rate satrap, it is seen what splendid openings there are in imperialism to grow up with the empire by those in the confidence of the emperor.

A writer, a pioneer, a pathfinder through the wilderness from the Mississippi to the Pacific, pays a high tribute to the four-legged American hog, or, what is the same thing, to bacon, the product of the animal, but for which, in the way of "grub," he affirms the vast West could not have been explored and opened up to civilization. It would be gratifying to the average American if as much could be said of certain two-legged American swine such as Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, Carnegie and the rest of the herd.

Abraham Lincoln said the Union could not exist "half slave and half free." But worse than half slave and half free is the condition of the Union today. There are millions more wage slaves in the United States now than there were chattel slaves whom Lincoln emancipated by a "war measure" Jan. 1, 1863, and their number is rapidly increasing. There is no Lincoln now to proclaim their emancipation. If they are ever released from present conditions it must be by their own efforts, and Socialism points the way out of present environments.

Railroads are built, equipped and operated by working men, who make it possible for presidents, vice-presidents, general managers and attorneys to pocket vast sums of money annually in the way of salaries. Take a thousand of these railroad magnates and their aggregate salaries will foot up at least \$25,000,000, while a thousand men, employees of the railroads, say engineers, at best receive \$1,500,000. The difference, \$23,500,000, shows the extent of the spoliation to which labor is subjected. Under Socialism this iniquitous inequality would cease.

The agricultural bureau at Washington has discovered in the City of New York a colony of "Italian artists," who manufacture wine without grape juice, and whiskey without a drop of whiskey to the barrel, and give their vile combination of poison the appearance of age by training black spiders to decorate the bottles containing the death-dealing concoctions. This stuff, as fatal to life as an assassin's knife or bullet, is distributed throughout the country and is doing its murderous work under the protection of law. Evidently there is a demand for a regiment of Mrs. Nations armed with hatchets to exterminate this Italian black spider curse.

In the play a man is made to say, "Because I command but one ship I am called a buccaneer, but he who commands a fleet is commissioned an admiral and extolled by the people." That is the way of the world. A Wall street gambler, the spider who invigiles some blue-tailed fly fool into his den and sells him stocks and bonds made of wind and water, not worth a dollar a ton, and thereby robs him of thousands, is esteemed a gentleman, takes a front seat in the synagogue and the highest place at the table when educated and cultured rascality banquets on rich viands, while the poor devil who steals a loaf of bread to assuage his hunger is called a thief and hustled off to prison.

There is no more fatal delusion in the world than that wrong and injustice can escape the penalties which retributive justice inflicts upon those who perpetrate the crimes. The court which tries the cases is always in session. It cannot be bribed nor intimidated and its decisions are irrevocable. It matters not whether the party on trial is an individual, a corporation or a government, national, state or municipal, the law of retributive justice applies. If an individual, though robed in purple, he becomes an outcast, like a Gould or a Pull-

man; if a corporation or a trust, it is doomed to everlasting infamy; if a government, it declines and falls and is changed, swept out of existence by revolution. In every case retributive justice finds a way to inflict its penalties.

Social reformers hold in their minds the noblest knowledge that we can conceive of in our present stage of development. There is such a thing as ignoble knowledge, which does harm; but the noblest knowledge must be that which does good to the greatest number. Socialism would include and do good to the entire human race, for it is the science of just social relations and must, therefore, benefit every individual in society.

Persons inclined to live a hermit life should emigrate to Nevada, where less than an average of one-half of a person to the square mile was found by the census takers, or 42,334 persons on 110,700 square miles. It has been reported that the Boers of South Africa, or the remnant of them left after the British troops cease their slaughter, contemplate coming to the United States. Should they come they might find Nevada a country to their liking. It is justly celebrated for its silver mines, the most productive in the world, and the Boers might strike a new "Comstock lode" worth more than all the land they surrender to the British pirates.

Some wars are just and always in order. Victor Hugo, in his great eulogy of Voltaire, said: "To combat Pharisees; to unmask imposture; to overthrow tyrannies, usurpations, prejudices, falsehoods, superstitions; to demolish the temple in order to rebuild it; that is to say, to replace the false by the true; to attack a ferocious majesty; to attack a sanguinary priesthood; to take a whip and drive the money-changers from the sanctuary; to reclaim the heritage of the disinherited; to protect the weak, the poor, the suffering, the overwhelmed; to struggle for the persecuted and oppressed—that was the war of Jesus Christ."

Now, then, what is the character of the war waged by Socialists? Let Victor Hugo answer.

"Merrie England"

How do men grow rich? In these days the three chief sources of wealth are: (1) rent, (2) interest (3) and profits.

First, rent. Who earns it? We shall take two examples, ground rent and property rent.

The Duke of Plaza Toro owns an estate. The rent roll is \$150,000 a year. Where does the money come from?

The estate is let out to farmers at so much per acre.

These farmers pay the duke his \$150,000 a year. Where do the farmers get it from?

The farmers sell their crops, and out of the purchase money pay the rent. How are the crops raised?

The crops are raised by the agricultural laborers, under the direction of the farmers.

That is to say, that the rent is earned by labor—the labor of the farmer and his men. The duke does nothing. The duke did not make the land nor does he raise the crops. He has, therefore, no right to take the rent at all.

The man who gets rich on ground rent gets rich on the labor of others.

Mr. Bounderby owns a row of houses. The rental of the street amounts to \$2,000 a year. Where does the money come from?

The rent is paid by the tenants of the houses. It is paid with money they have earned by their labor, or with money which they have obtained from other men who earned it by their labor, and it is paid to Mr. Bounderby for the use of his houses.

How did Mr. Bounderby get his houses? He either bought them with money which he did not earn by his own industry, or he paid for the material and the building with money which he did not earn by his own industry.

Two things are quite certain. First, that Mr. Bounderby did not build the houses with his own hands nor make the bricks and timbers of which they are built—that work was done by other men; and, second, that the money with which those men were paid was never earned by Mr. Bounderby's own industry.

Mr. Bounderby has, therefore, no right to own those houses or to charge rent for them.

The man who grows rich upon house rents grows rich upon the labor of others.

But you will very properly ask, Mr. Smith, how do I prove that the money paid by Mr. Bounderby for his houses was not earned by his own industry?

This brings us to the second and third means by which men get wealth—interest and profits.

Public Opinion and Socialism

From time to time much is said and written about public opinion. Not too much perhaps, nor enough. It is a subject that will bear a great deal of discussion before being cast aside as a worn-out topic. It is always up for debate and will not down at the bidding of any one, not even a court or a corporation. In a country where press and

school and speech, Bible and religion are free, there will be a great diversity of opinion, and it is well that such is the case, affording as it does some guaranty that truth and justice will always have a chance in the fierce battle waged by error for supremacy in human affairs.

Public opinion is supposed by some persons to be the honest, intelligent judgment of the people or a majority of them upon any subject whatsoever of a public character of sufficient importance to arrest attention and demand a verdict of approval or disapproval. That there are such commendatory instances of sound public opinion may be affirmed without fear of contradiction; instances in which truth and justice, conviction and the courage of conviction unite and render verdicts in consonance with the public welfare. Nevertheless, public opinion, being a manufactured article, purely artificial, is as often found to be shoddy as "all wool and a yard wide"—a combination of ignorance, prejudice, bigotry and kindred infirmities, in which reason, sound judgment, common sense, intelligence and comprehension of the right play no part whatever. It is a public opinion the product of vicious education and created as corporations are created, to promote personal ends; a public opinion designed to debauch intelligence, warp and distort judgment, dethrone truth, crucify justice and exalt error. This view of the subject is not pessimistic. It is supported by cumulative and overwhelming testimony.

In this connection it becomes prudent to refer to our election in general. A majority is supposed to reflect public opinion, but it has been shown a thousand times or more that the majority was secured by bribery, extortion, intimidation, perjury and corruption in every conceivable form; and yet, to the decrees of this vicious public opinion obedience must be rendered, because there is no appeal from it except to the people who are responsible for its existence; and in this appeal there is hope and the only hope of remedy, because, as Abraham Lincoln said, while "you may deceive all of the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, you cannot deceive all the people all the time."

It is just here that Socialism enters the arena of debate. An ignorant and vicious public opinion is arrayed against Socialism, because it is affirmed that "a majority of the people think it can only be founded and by compulsion," indicative of the profound ignorance of public opinion of the principles of Socialism, in which if there is an element of "compulsion" it is found in the free will and unbiased and unbiought judgment of the people. And the distinguished writer who thus refers to the error of the people relating to Socialism, Alfred Russell Walner, says for himself that he is "convinced that the society of the future will be some form of Socialism," because "in our present society the bulk of the people have no opportunity for the full development of their powers and capabilities."

After all, it simply comes to this, that Socialists have the task on their hands of creating a sound, healthy, intelligent public opinion relating to Socialism, its principles and purposes, and this it is doing with far greater success than is generally apprehended. In the processes of education and agitation the light of reason is streaming in with an ever increasing effulgence, and truth, not ignorance, is eternal.

Fundamental Truths and Errors

In the life of governments, as well as of individuals, success depends upon fundamental truths, failure upon fundamental errors. Truth lives forever; error has no guaranty of living, not even for a day. The "eternal years of God" are pledged for the survival of truth. Nothing but error is pledged for the continuance of error. Truth stands alone, immutable; it knows no change. Error must be forever propped with error, until at last the superstructure topples over amidst the anathemas of its deluded victims.

It is affirmed, and the allegation is true, that Socialists complain of existing error in governments and demand a change. This is to their credit. But it must be borne in mind that others than Socialists complain of existing error in governments, the distinguishing difference being that Socialists seek for and strike at fundamental errors and demand the enthronement of truth and justice in government. It is a new departure. History has been styled the "reverend chronicler of the grave," and all its pages bear irrefutable testimony that from the beginning governments have been founded upon the fundamental error of slavery, that one class of men might rightfully own and control another class of men—the universal curse, the "sum of all villainies," the one crime compared with which all other crimes sink to soundless depths of contempt.

The government of the United States recognized the colossal error, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, but the Constitution, the organic law of the government, recognized the right of one man to own another man, reduce him to a chattel, sell him as if he were a beast, or appropriate the profits of his labor for the accumulation of wealth.

True, the penalty paid by the nation

for this fundamental error in government has no parallel in the history of the world, but the war of the rebellion which broke the fetters of millions of chattel slaves made it possible, as Abraham Lincoln, with the vision of a seer, foresaw, for the introduction of another form of slavery, in which aggregated wealth would control the destiny of millions of men, and what he predicted has come to pass. Capitalism has come. It owns and controls every industrial institution in the land. It has secured the control of the wage workers, who are at its mercy. The facts are universally recognized, but only Socialists are in battle array against this fundamental error, this widespread and far-reaching curse. Socialists hold, and the proposition has axiomatic, invulnerable strength, that a man who does not own himself, who does not own his working tools, is, therefore, at the mercy of those who hold them in their relentless grasp. This is what constitutes wage slavery. To extirpate it, to enable workmen to regain possession of their tools and therefore own themselves, is the supreme mission of Socialism, and there can be no just government in the world when this fundamental right is disregarded and the curse of wage slavery is practiced and perpetuated. Nor can a government long continue, as God numbers the years, which tolerates it. Every proposition of Socialism for the extirpation of wage slavery is possible, as free from vagary as sunshine is from contagion. The foundation being truth and justice combined, a government with such basic corner-stones would know no decay, and no historian's pen would ever record its decline and fall. And, moreover, be it said, the new government, the co-operative commonwealth, is coming—peacefully, it is to be hoped, like the dawning of a new day—but come it will in spite of all the forces of error, and if resistance culminates in another war of rebellion—

"Then woe to the robbers who gather
In fields where they never have sown,
Who have stolen the jewels of labor
And bulldozed to mammon a throne."

Growth of Socialism

The growth of the Socialist vote in various countries is strikingly shown by the following figures, which are either careful estimates or actual polls. Germany in 1867 polled 30,000 votes for Socialist candidates; now it polls 2,500,000. France in 1885, 30,000; in 1898, 1,000,000. United States in 1890, 13,704; in 1900, 131,069. Austria has grown from 90,000 in 1895 to 1,000,000. Belgium from 334,000 in 1894 to 534,000 in 1898. Italy from 20,000 in 1893 to 137,500 in 1897. United Kingdom polled 55,000 for Socialist candidates for Parliament in 1895, a number of which will be very largely increased in the coming election. Servia polled 50,000 in 1895. Switzerland in 1890, 13,500; in 1897, 55,000. Denmark in 1872 polled 315; in 1899, 90,000. Spain in 1893, 7,000; in 1897, 28,000. It will be seen that all countries without exception show continuous increases. At present the total effective organized Socialist voting strength is estimated to be not less than 6,000,000.

Executive Board Meeting

At a meeting of the resident members of the national executive board, held at Chicago Thursday evening, Feb. 14, it was decided unanimously to extend the period for taking the referendum vote on new constitution two weeks beyond Feb. 25, for the accommodation of branches meeting only once a month. The next meeting of the board will be held Sunday, Feb. 25.

Isador Ladoff, Sec'y.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

C. S., Iowa.—Bernstein was editor of the Social Democrat in the eighties. He was driven out of Germany by the government and has since resided in London.

S. C., Pennsylvania.—A very good list would be the following: Hobson's "Evolution of Modern Capitalism"; Marx's "Wage-Labor and Capital"; Belfort Bax's "The Ethics of Socialism"; Bellamy's "Equality"; Marx's "Capital."

C. M., Missouri.—The situation in Chicago is briefly just this: The Social Democratic party, with over twenty active branches in the city, has nominated a city ticket and has no other intention than placing the ticket on the ballot. It is absolutely and unqualifiedly false that any change has been made in the party name.

B. S., Ohio.—The elections next fall are neither so numerous nor important that they should be made an excuse for a convention earlier than September. The essential thing is to accomplish union; that can easily be defeated by making mountains of mole-hills and discussing minor matters. The question is in the hands of the rank and file of the party.

H. A., Wisconsin.—Any man who will sit down and deliberately write, as the person you mention does in the last issue of the People, that he knows the N. E. B. of Chicago "and its adherents" do not desire a union of Socialist parties and are only making a "grandstand play for union," is too contemptible for any extended notice. Your letter will, therefore, not appear in The Herald.

J. S. C., New Hampshire.—There is no reason whatever why you should be surprised at the action of the Chicago convention. The Social Democratic party has never been opposed to a union of Socialists. All that its members have at any time opposed was the sort of union, and the methods adopted to accomplish it, of the past twelvemonth. No man with his eyes open and proposing to be honest with his comrades and himself, ought to have any difficulty in understanding the unity puzzle. No individual in our party has ever stood in the way of a real union of Socialists.

VAIL'S ACCEPTANCE OF NOMINATION

Will Make the Run for Governor of New Jersey—His Letter of Acceptance a Campaign Document

George H. Strobell, Chairman New Jersey Campaign Committee, Social Democratic Party.

Dear Sir and Comrade:—Your letter of recent date, advising me of my nomination by the Social Democratic party for the office of Governor of the state of New Jersey, received. I wish through you to thank the members of the party for the honor thus conferred upon me. It is, indeed, an honor to receive such a nomination from the Social Democratic party—the party that stands for the interests of the proletariat class.

The economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalist and the proletariat. The interests of these two classes being diametrically opposed, a class struggle is inevitable—it is the necessary outcome of class distinctions which involve class interests. The Social Democratic party is distinctively a party for the working class and is based upon the class struggle. It emphasizes the necessity of class consciousness on the part of the working class, for only as laborers become conscious of their class interests will they unite to secure their freedom. While Socialism represents the class interests of the proletariat, it also represents the higher interests of every member of society, because it will realize a higher and nobler civilization.

We thus call upon the working class, and all others in sympathy with its historic mission to abolish wage slavery and establish a higher order of society, to unite their efforts to this end. It is only by the workers' united efforts along the line of class interests that their emancipation can be secured. The first step is mastery of the public powers. Political power is necessary to any class which desires to better its economic condition. Political power is the key to economic emancipation, and political action, on class conscious lines, will secure to the working class possession of the key.

That the working class is sorely in need of a betterment in its material conditions none will deny. The disgrace of the century just closed, is that with the hundred fold increase in our power of wealth production, sufficient to supply many times over the needs of all the people, we have only succeeded in adding chiefly to the individual wealth and luxury of the few. The great mass of the people, when we consider all their circumstances, are no better off today than they were thirty years ago and many are worse off, and this condition will remain until we make the fundamental principle of social justice—equality of opportunity—a realized fact in our social organization.

In the present class organized society the great bulk of the people have no opportunity for the full development of all their faculties and powers. We have attained the material basis for the abolition of all poverty, but its realization is prevented by our perverse economic system. Poverty today has no excuse for existence, and would be impossible were the industrial system such as to compel every man to live by the fruit of his own industry. The distinctive feature of every system of social injustice, chattel slavery, feudalism and capitalism, is the power of the non-producers to appropriate the wealth of the producers. Slavery is abolished only in name; the fact still exists. No man is free so long as he is dependent upon some other man for an opportunity to earn a livelihood. If a man owns that which I must have he virtually owns me. If he owns my bread or the means by which I get my bread he owns my physical and moral being. The very fact that all people in common depend upon the resources of nature and the tools of production, evidences that they should be owned in common. There can be no liberty, peace, or social harmony so long as a few own that upon which all depend.

These facts must be brought to the attention of the people in this campaign as never before, also the fact that our economic relations are the foundations of society and of our civilization, while morals and religion are their flowers and fruit. It is our material conditions that precede our mental and moral development, just as in a garden the flowers and fruit are conditioned, as to existence and quality, by the roots underground. We emphasize the material side of life, because we realize that it is impossible for the masses to be moral and intelligent in their present insecurity, dependence, and exposure to all kinds of temptations. The law of love and service can never be the fundamental law of either the individual or social life, so long as the present industrial system of antagonism exists—all attempts to regenerate society under such conditions must necessarily fail. Competition brutalizes men and negatives the higher instincts and aspirations. It turns the naturally kind and sympathetic into moral monsters. The spirit of love, fraternity and brotherhood grows out of common interests and mutual dependence. Socialism would realize the conditions for a noble life by making the interests of all identical. The solidarity of mankind would then be realized and with it the lofty dreams and noble ideals of the ages.

The Social Democratic party demands

the abolition of the present planless, anarchistic and immoral system. We propose to substitute co-operation for existence in place of the present struggle for existence. The application to society of the law of all organisms—co-operation—would transform and ennoble humanity. We want every man, woman and child to be well housed, clothed and fed. When industry is scientifically organized this can be accomplished by two or three hours daily labor, thus giving time and opportunity for mental and moral development.

Let us resolve at the beginning of this new century, that we will more completely consecrate ourselves to our beloved cause. It is worthy our enthusiasm and zeal, for it presents to the world the only solution to the vexed problems that confront modern society. Let us who have seen the light proclaim the gospel of emancipation in season and out of season. Carry to those of our fellows sitting in darkness the light of Socialist teachings. Point out to them the cause of their servitude and oppression, and fearlessly proclaim the remedy—the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Show them that the old political parties represent the interests of the capitalist class. The petty political issues which the Republican and Democratic parties raise are only for the purpose of fleecing the laborers on the one hand and throwing dust in their eyes on the other, lest they see the only real issue—Socialism versus Capitalism. The old parties defend the present system of wage slavery and exploitation; the Social Democratic party proposes to abolish it and substitute therefor a social democracy in which the industries will be owned by the people and carried on for use, not for private profit. A vote for either old party is but putting another rivet into the chains of economic servitude.

As Socialists we have a great responsibility resting upon us. Into our hands has been committed the new gospel—the good news for the world's disinherited. A danger confronts the twentieth century—the danger of an unintelligent resentment of wrongs that are not distinctly understood and which could only result in anarchy and disintegration. Socialism, by educating the masses on the economic question, is the only power that can avert such a catastrophe. It is ours to be missionaries of progress and civilization. All over our land, and, in fact, the whole civilized world, the proletariat is organizing under the banner of the Social Democratic party into class-conscious bodies, having for their aim the mastery of the public owners to the end that the present system may be supplanted by the co-operative commonwealth.

Conditions are now ripe for the transformation. The nineteenth century was distinctively the evolutionary period of Socialism. At first, during the germinating period, evolution proceeds slowly, but it gains in rapidity and finally the decisive step is usually accomplished at once and is termed revolution. Revolution is the decisive event in evolution and is generally the last step in a period of slow growth and preparation. Christianity in the Roman empire, the Reformation, the French revolution, the abolition of chattel slavery, are notable examples of the working of this principle. Every careful discernor of the times realizes that we are nearing the decisive point. The trust is the immediate forerunner of the Social revolution. The sun of the co-operative commonwealth is already beginning to redden the eastern horizon, bringing promise of the glad-some day. Let every man who desires the betterment of society, a nobler and truer civilization, cast his vote in the coming election for the party that stands for its realization—the Social Democratic Party. Speed the day of its triumph and the dawn of a nobler humanity. Every ballot cast for Socialism brings nearer the day of human emancipation. Socialism is the evangel of human brotherhood. It will realize the golden age of peace, justice and plenty for all. All hail the kingdom of Social justice—the co-operative commonwealth! Let us take new courage and press onward. The future is ours.

With a deep sense of the great responsibility implied in becoming the standard bearer of the Social Democratic party in the gubernatorial campaign, I accept the nomination tendered me and again express my gratitude for the confidence thus reposed in me.

Yours fraternally,
CHARLES H. VAIL.
Jersey City, N. J., Feb. 19, 1901.

Machine in the Mines

In President Mitchell's voluminous report to the Indianapolis convention is found a paragraph that shows the tremendous change that is taking place in coal mining. "In 1899 there were approximately 44,000,000 tons of coal won out by mining machinery," he says. "This is 12,000,000 tons in excess of the amount produced in machine mines in 1898. Of the total output of bituminous coal in the United States in 1899, 23 per cent was produced in machine mines. If this rapid increase is continued a few years longer, the skill now required by those will not be necessary, and instead of being a body of tradesmen or skilled workers we shall become simply coal shovelers."

The trades council of Alpena, Mich., has declared for Socialism.

The Public Postoffice

The Scientific American recently contained a long article concerning the postal system of this country from which we take the following:

"The postal establishment of the United States is the greatest business concern in the world, handling more pieces of mail and employing more men and women than any other government or corporation. The immense size of the country, the lack of concentration of the inhabitants in a few large cities, all help to make the post-office service of the first magnitude, and, as a matter of fact, only one corporation, a combination of railways, earns and disburses as much as the post-office department. Probably no branch of the government service comes into as close contact with the average citizen as the post office.

"Some idea of the wonderful perfection and system which makes the service possible may be obtained when it is stated that a letter can be sent from Florida to the Klondike, a distance of over 7,000 miles, for 2 cents, thirty days being consumed in its transmission. If it were carried by courier the time would not be lessened and the cost would be increased to something like \$300. It is this remarkable cheapness which makes the service so interesting, for, of course, on this hypothetical trip of the letter, its delivery in the gold fields costs much more than was received for its transmission, but the government makes a handsome profit on much of the first-class matter, enough in fact almost to make good the deficit caused by transporting inferior classes of matter."

Profitable Socialism in California

Pasadena has a sewer farm of which she is justly proud, both in regard to the satisfactory manner in which the sewage is disposed of and the profit derived from the farm over the expense of handling the sewage.

The sewer farm consists of 300 acres, on 180 acres of which only is the sewage used at present.

On the farm there are ninety-four acres of English walnuts, sixty-two acres of old trees and thirty-two acres newly planted. The balance of the property is used for alfalfa, corn, barley and other farm products. This year the walnut crop brought in \$3,500 and the farm will probably produce about \$5,000, besides furnishing the city street and fire departments with hay and feed. The probable disbursements will aggregate \$2,500, leaving a profit on our city sewer farm of \$2,500. The total length of sewers is 22.15 miles, of which 4.5 miles is located outside of the city, as part of the outfall system. The portion built by the \$162,000 bonds, including purchase of the sewer farm, was 10.6 miles. The portion built under the Vrooman act was 11.55 miles, at a cost of only \$44,135. The portion built under the Vrooman act during the present year is 30,101 lineal feet, or 5.7 miles, at a still reduced ratio of \$21,715.—Pasadena News.

Socialism Not Visionary

Socialism can no longer be regarded as a scheme for reorganizing society—as an Utopia, a fancy, a dream of some doctrinaire philosopher. It is the theory of social evolution; it is the statement of an historical process that is actually taking place before our eyes. The recognition of this fact is the source of the newer literary in regard to it.

Men are beginning to study Socialism rather than the speculations of Socialists. To present an original Socialism would be like presenting original history or an original theory of gravitation, because Socialism is not a dream or a scheme, but a theory based on actual facts.

As long as Socialism was conceived as a scheme of a visionary there were as many forms of Socialism as there were visions, but when Socialism is regarded as a theory of a developing historical process, an acquaintance with the facts leads more and more to unanimity in theory.

Socialism, then, in a word, is the result of the application of the theory of evolution to human affairs, and its value consists in the fact that, since, as Comte said, "to see is to foresee" it is able to point out what will be the next stage in the development of the production and distribution of wealth.

Counts on the Church

"When I was in New York," says Mr. Hanna, "just after election, a thoughtful man said to me, 'Well, we've saved the country again, but I tremble for the future. Sooner or later we're going to have a tremendous struggle in this country between the forces of conservatism on one side and Socialism on the other, and I am afraid Socialism may carry the day.' I am not afraid of that," replied Mr. Hanna, "and I'll tell you why. There are two things that will prevent it. One is the American school system; the other is the Roman Catholic church. That great church is just as much against Socialism as the Protestant churches, as I happen to know in the last campaign appeals to class hatred were frowned upon by the highest dignitaries and most influential men of the Catholic organization. As long as this restraining force continues to operate you need have no fear of Socialism dominating America."

New Book by Tolstoy

Another work on social problems by Tolstoy has just appeared in Paris, entitled "Where is the Issue?" In it the venerable author establishes the fact that a social revolution by violence would be not only useless but impossible to realize in the modern world, and that it suffices to cause the disappearance of capitalists exploiting labor to abolish military service in every country in the world. This refusal to carry arms, Tolstoy thinks, would soon bring about the fall of governments and peace the world over, simplicity in life, happy, free labor, and the enjoyment of the products of the earth. No need, Tolstoy thinks, to preoccupy one's self with replacing the ancient order of things by a new form of government equally despotic, which would regulate the relations between men. Charity, good will, inspirations of conscience, communion with God, knowledge of good and evil, will be sufficient to maintain universal concord, for, like Rousseau, Tolstoy believes in the natural goodness of man, and believes that if mankind raises itself to God and conscience none of the violent passions would exist.

Abolition of the Capitalist

Here, then, to start with, are two tasks for the twentieth century: The abolition of the capitalist.

The use instead of the abuse of machinery. It may be that a terrible and bloody revolution will be needed to accomplish these changes, or they may come about peacefully by the broadening of the general intelligence, the humanization of public opinion, and the growth of moral conscience in the multitude, which shall realize the cruelty of wealth and the criminal nature of monopoly. Not only the cruelty but the vulgarity of wealth. I hope that early in the twentieth century the world will begin to realize that it is bad to be rich.

From this realization will necessarily follow the abolition of organized poverty. I say "organized" advisedly, because, while poverty occasionally follows from personal inadequacy or unworthiness, a man, as a rule, socially

speaking, has no more right to be poor than he has a right to be rich. As one man is rich because he cannot help it so another is poor because he cannot help it. Both need help from the twentieth century. Abolish "organized wealth" and we shall have no more of "organized poverty." There will be even enough left over in the world for the failures and the ne'er do wells!

In the twentieth century no man shall flatter himself that because out of sheer luck he happened, one summer day, to sit down upon an oil well, that oil well belongs to him. He shall have a commission for his luck, in token of the gratitude of his fellowmen for his discovering something that belongs to them; a small and adequate commission and no more—just as we pay a reward to some one who has found our purse.—Richard le Gallienne.

Labor and Machinery

An interesting fact shown by the report of Labor Commissioner Wright, recently issued, on the subject of labor-saving machinery is the enormous reduction in the cost of various kinds of manufactured articles. The labor cost of making 100 pairs of men's cheap boots, which was formerly \$408, is now \$35, a reduction at a ratio of 12 to 1. The labor cost of 100 pounds of sewing cotton, which was formerly \$86.85, is now said to be only \$1.89, a ratio of 46 to 1. The commissioner holds that the labor cost is not decreased as rapidly as the time saved and argues that labor is paid at a higher rate compared with the time expended under the new system than the old.

A Socialist Priest's Book

"Socialism and the Labor Problem: a Plea for Social Democracy," by Father T. McGrady of Kentucky. The boldest arraignment of capitalism ever penned. Send 10 cents for a copy to the address below. Unexcelled for propaganda. 100 copies sent postpaid for \$3.50. Address Debs Publishing Company, Terre Haute, Ind.

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LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening at 8 p. m., at Woodmen's Hall, 125 1/2 Spruce St. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 3, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 125 1/2 Spruce St. B. Bruner, 427 N. Hill Street.
Branch No. 1, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday each month, at 10 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1408 Folk street.

COLORADO

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut Socialists meet the last Sunday of each month at 8 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 102 Main St. Hartford. Louis Schlat, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall, C. Volmer, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and third Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Green's office, 23 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth Ave.
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m., at Nagl's Hall, 335 Blue Island Ave.
Branch No. 3 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m., in Dundar's place, 1090 W. 18th place. Joseph Dundar, Secretary.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Hochstein's Hall, corner Market and Noble st.; Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Cation, 506 Warren av.
Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at Uhhorn's Hall, corner 63d and Center Avenue, first and third Saturday. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6245 Center Avenue.
Branch 43 (Stratoplakoch) meets every third Sunday in the month at Finger's Hall, cor. Michigan and 11th Place. Camil Kabat, Secretary, 137 Stanwood Ave.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 51 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 128 Feste ave.
Branch 5, Newport, meets first Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p. m., and third Thursday evening at 8 p. m., at Southfield Hall, northeast corner Seventh and Central ave. Address A. H. Nagel, 29 W. Second st.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 3, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 3 Jackson St.
Branch No. 5, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m., at 117 Main St. Gladys Hall, Gladys Hall, corner Main and Center Sts. Every candidate is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Berwick, Secretary, 21 Prospect st.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. Q. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurin Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel.

One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election. PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50

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MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 p. m., at 19 W. Main Street, in the International College Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

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

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankal, Sec., 15 E. Park Street.
Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chino, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Scher, 87 Livingston st.
Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2nd Wednesday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1205 E. Park Street.
Branch No. 3, Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Eberling, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Heilwies Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 346 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 418 Grand street, Windsor Hall.
East Side Branch No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 125 St. Mark St.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 46 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Committee desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 150 Boorum St.
Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 222 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 54 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 8 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Thos. McKern, Secretary, 429 Laurel St.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flinders Sts. Every Wednesday of each month in E. of L. Hall. Chas. Kaiser, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Coddington, Treasurer.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.
Branch No. 4, Connersport, Meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatie's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Aves. Frank Liebisch, secretary.
Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, Meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 1011 Michigan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 1702 N. 11th street.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.
Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatie's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Aves. Frank Liebisch, secretary.
Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, Meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 1011 Michigan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 1702 N. 11th street.

WEST VIRGINIA

Branch No. 1, Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at Trade and Labor Assembly Hall, 1515 Market St. H. A. Leeds, Organizer.

THE HERALD FORUM

*Communications intended for this department must be brief, legibly written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the real name of the writer. No attention will be given to anonymous letters. The editor is not responsible for the views of contributors.

Blunder of the Middle Class

The middle class is at present helping the plutocrats to disfranchise the proletariat. This class does not seem to understand that such laws as it helps to enact will react on its own members. There are each year thousands of middle-class men thrown into the ranks of the poor, with the privilege to "take their medicine."

If the negroes are illiterate the right way is to remove their illiteracy. Instead of being degraded, they should be elevated; instead of being pressed down to conditions of greater inequality, they should be lifted up and given a chance. Utah. Peter Johnson.

That Newsboy Again

I want to say to Comrade Biester of Philadelphia that I think his Social Democratic campaign speaker made a mistake in answering in the way he did the man who asked whether he would abolish the profit of the poor newsboy on the street. He should have answered that most certainly he would, and that he would also abolish the poor newsboy himself. It makes no difference whether what the newsboy receives is technically profit or wages, we intend to abolish both profit and wages. And we would put the boy in school or on the playground. We can get all of the news of all the world that any of us may want and have it delivered at our homes before we start out for our two-hour day's work or anywhere else we may want it without keeping poor newsboys on the street as a means of transmission. Sam Berry.

Socialism and Religion

With Mr. Andrew Forsythe of Chicago, whose letter appeared in The Herald of Feb. 2, I should be glad to see more such men as Professor Herron join the Socialist ranks. I should be glad to see every "ordained minister of the gospel" in the country join the Socialist ranks; not, however, in order that they might, as Mr. Forsythe desires, impart to the Socialist movement a quasi-religious character, but rather that Socialism might impart to the religious movement a genuinely practical character, might give it an opportunity for the concrete realization of some of its ideals.

We Socialists make a straight proposition, and we make it in plain English. It is not a quasi-religious proposition, it is an economic one. We propose to

establish a different kind of industrial system. We want to substitute a co-operative system of industry for the present competitive one. We say that industrial evolution is hurrying us toward the point where the transition from capitalism to Socialism is possible and necessary. We say that we must educate and agitate unceasingly along these lines, so that the workers of the country may learn that their poverty and privations are due to our system of industry and not to their wicked hearts nor to the will of God, and that they can be ended by changing the system. We say that they must be organized into a great Socialist organization, which shall conquer the political power and peacefully and systematically bring about the transition to the new industrial system.

We purposely and deliberately lay the stress upon the economic side because we believe that the economic system in vogue at any period forms the foundation upon which the superstructure of society is built, and permeates and dominates the prevailing legal, political, religious and moral institutions of the period; and that to radically change any of these institutions we must change the economic basis. Upon such a broad economic platform men of all creeds and of no creeds can stand. Professor Herron and Father McGrady could work together with Ingersoll for Socialism. Men of all denominations and nationalities can focus their efforts upon the one point of bringing about this industrial change.

Socialism may be the will of God for aught I know to the contrary, but I am prepared to maintain the proposition that it will never be realized until it becomes the will of man. Nor could the will of man bring it about until the economic evolution, by developing, concentrating and systematizing industry, had prepared the way.

The call to arms has sounded and if our Christian brothers hear it and respond we are glad. Let all the ordained ministers or all the Christians leave their differences of creed outside and unite with us, motley group as we are, made up of Jews and Gentiles, learned and unlearned, godly and otherwise—unite with us, I say, and with all whom our combined efforts can reach, in the mighty struggle to establish a just industrial system, to secure collective ownership and operation of all the means of wealth production and distribution, and upon this foundation their eyes will yet behold the raising of a glorious superstructure of society, permeated and cemented by such brotherly love, justice, kindness and mercy as all the preachers in Christendom, preaching from now till doomsday, could not call into being without this fundamental economic change having first been made. G. M. Dart.

of lectures to be held every second and fourth Sunday at Good Templars' hall was well attended, February 10. Comrade J. W. Brown's lecture on the historical development of the wage system was a masterpiece. As a result three new members were enrolled into Branch 2. On Sunday, February 24, Comrade H. G. Wilgut will speak on 'Social Conditions Under Capitalism.' These lectures are free and everybody is invited.

No change whatever has been made in the name of the party in Chicago. The candidates nominated by the party for the city election were chosen in a mass convention and will run under the name Social Democratic party. They are: Gus Hoyt, for mayor; Charles Tyl, for city treasurer; C. T. H. Westphal, for city treasurer; Chas. H. Soelke, for city attorney. Petitions are now being circulated and their names will appear on the ballot. Comrades of all Chicago branches will allow no opportunity to pass to make these facts known to Socialists and the voters generally.

The speakers for the party in the Chicago city campaign are Charles H. Soelke, candidate for city attorney; C. T. H. Westphal, candidate for city clerk; Charles Tyl, candidate for city treasurer; Philip S. Brown, Seymour Stedman, F. J. Hlavacek, Isador Ladoff, Jacob Winnen, Peter Knickrehm, Frank Mudra, W. J. McSweeney (when in town), and A. S. Edwards. Incidentally, and just to help the campaign, we don't mind saying that one of the very best in the list is the modest comrade whose name is at the top. However, you pay no money and take your choice. There will be others to announce later.

Fund for National Organization

Since The Herald of last week went to press Branch 1 of Newark, N. J., has sent \$25 cash to the national organization fund. This makes the total amount paid \$162.50 and raises the fund to \$815.50. The payment of all sums pledged at the comrades' earliest convenience is desirable.

West Town Ticket

The Social Democratic party will hold a West Side convention next Saturday night (Feb. 23) at Nagl's hall, 535 Blue Island avenue, Chicago, for the purpose of nominating a West Town ticket. It will be a mass meeting of members of all West Side branches, and a full attendance is desired.

Connecticut Comrades, Attention!

The Social Democratic party of Connecticut will hold a state convention at Hartford Sunday, Feb. 24, at 10 a. m., for the purpose of electing a state board and transacting such other business as may be proper. All branches affiliated with the Chicago board are requested to send delegates (one delegate for every ten members, or major portion thereof). By order, Louis Schlaf, Sec'y. 26 Spring Street, Hartford, Conn.

Chicago Ward Nominations

The following nominations have been made by the Social Democratic party in Chicago: Alderman, Twenty-ninth ward—M. H. Babka. Alderman, Thirtieth ward—S. W. Morrow. Alderman, Thirty-first ward—Charles Wistrand. Alderman, Thirty-second ward—Henry Uhlhorn.

NEW BRANCHES

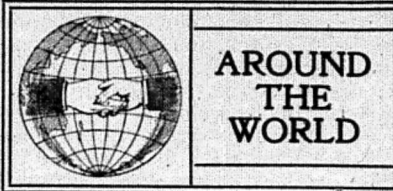
Illinois, three.

A Judge's Advice

A lenient judge said to a penitent young man who had committed a petty larceny, his first offense, "Learn a trade." The judge did not know the numerous obstacles in the way of "learning a trade." He probably thought all the young man would have to do was to apply for work in the capacity of an apprentice and at once enter upon his task. Far otherwise is the fact. The doors admitting boys to the mysteries of trades are vigilantly guarded. They do not stand wide open like the doors to the learned professions, law, physic and theology; and it is becoming a serious question in industrial affairs, and one in which Socialism is profoundly interested. If young men are debarred the privilege of learning a trade, they must become common or unskilled laborers, receiving scant wages, saving nothing, and live the life of ceaseless destitution, for which relief will come only when Socialism dominates industrial affairs.

Frank G. Carpenter, the great traveler of the Orient, points out that China and the Philippine islands offer capitalism opportunities for investments which make its eyes bulge out like lobsters. As soon as enough Filipinos have been murdered to insure pacification and the establishment of Christian civilization a thousand industrial plants will be organized, and with wages ranging from 7 to 17 cents a day mountains of wealth will attest the superiority of bullets over Bibles in bringing the heathen to a knowledge of Christ as taught by rapid-firing guns.

During December, Socialists in Germany were sentenced to one year nine months and three weeks' imprisonment and £60 fine.



The governor of Montana has signed the eight-hour law for miners and smelters. The law goes into effect in three months.

The comrades in Poland are organizing and carrying on an active propaganda. The land of the czar is becoming honeycombed with Socialist sentiment.

The city of Heidelberg has just purchased and begun to operate the street car lines in that city, as well as the electric light plant. The latter cost \$62,500.

The German bottle makers' trust has decided to introduce glass blowing machines in their factories and thus displace hand labor. Reason—the machines do not strike.

The law raising the age limit of child labor and abolishing night work for women and children, which was hammered through parliament by the Socialists, has gone into effect in Germany.

Charles Longuet has published the preface, in Le Mouvement Socialiste, written by him for a new edition in preparation of Karl Marx's work on the Commune of 1871.

In L'Humanite Nouvelle is an article by M. Hamon on the Paris International Socialist Congress, illustrated by thumbnail sketches; also an indictment of justice by Enrico Ferri.

The Revue Socialiste gives the place of honor in its January number to a short story by Tolstoy. It shows the brutality of war and expounds the common anarchistic views of the author.

There has been recently great activity in organization of the workmen in the province of Asturias, Spain. The Socialist groups now number 13, an increase of seven since 1899, and there are no less than 6,000 members.

Vorwarts states that Bernstein and Motteler will shortly leave London and return to Germany, as the German government has decided not to prosecute them for the old press offenses of issuing the Social Democrat in the eighties.

A New Hampshire farmer sold a barrel of apples for \$1.50. In the barrel he placed a note asking the purchaser to inform him of the price paid. In six weeks he received a letter from a Nebraska farmer informing him that he had paid \$4.75 for that barrel of apples.

A new cotton ginning machine has been invented that enables two men to gin 4,000 pounds per day, a hundred times the amount two men could do the old way. What a benefit this would be to the workers if the machinery of production were owned collectively!

Van Kol, the Dutch Socialist deputy, has been giving a lecture in Paris on the Dutch East Indian colonies. He formerly lived in Java, and he gave a terrible picture of the extortions of the Dutch government in Java. In Java famine flourishes, and taxation is heavy. Van Kol urged the duty of not exploiting the natives.

Mass-meetings called by the Socialists throughout Germany last week passed strongly worded resolutions against the proposed prohibitive agricultural duties, branding them as a most unjust and most onerous burden for the working part of the nation, and dictated solely by the "brutal class of the empire and the lowest agrarian selfishness."

In a Chicago office a process has been put in operation to print and rule bill-headers, statements, etc., in two colors at the rate of 10,000 to 20,000 an hour. A new folding machine is being put in large book offices that enables two men to do the work of twenty-four, and a new rotary press, operated by three men, does as much work as thirty-eight with ordinary presses.

Striking metal workers marched through the town last Saturday compelling other factories to close, forcing open the doors, and bringing out workmen until the strikers numbered about 800 men. The gendarmes and troops were summoned and the rioters were dispersed with fixed bayonets, after the reading of the usual proclamation. Fifty arrests were made. Nobody was injured seriously.

"Domaine," a Socialist play in three acts by Lucien Besnard, presents a village where there is a chateau and a factory in hostile juxtaposition. There is a death struggle between social collectivism and decayed feudalism. All the Socialists are heroes; all the noblemen are idiots or blackguards. The final act ends in the sacking of the chateau while the aristocrats escape in an automobile to the shouts of "Les Derniers Emigres."

Recently there was an election pending in one of the arrondissements of Paris and there were several Socialist candidates. Fortunately, however, they agreed to submit their names to arbitrators, and these have unanimously decided that Allemane should be the candidate. This decision reflects great credit on all concerned; if battles are to be won discipline is essential; too often seats, which ought to have been won, have been lost through disunion.

[Later.—Allemane was elected last Sunday, polling 4,255 votes against 3,347 for his opponent.]

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NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Sedalia, Mo., comrades have a full city ticket in the field.

Municipal tickets have been nominated at Nanticoke and Newcastle, Pa.

Riverside, Cal., Social Democrats have opened a free Socialist reading room.

Seymour Stedman spoke to a fine meeting under Branch 9 auspices last Saturday night.

Social Democrats of Rutland, Vt., have a full city ticket nominated to be voted on March 5.

Trenton and Jersey City, N. J., Social Democrats have nominated candidates for the spring elections.

The city committee of Boston has arranged for a course of lectures at Unity Hall, 724 Washington street.

Another comrade, F. C. Malkmer, has been sentenced to thirty days for speaking on the streets at San Jose, Cal.

Prof. Herron was greeted by another audience last Sunday at Central Music Hall, Chicago, that went beyond the seating capacity.

A meeting of the executive board was held Thursday night of last week. Secretary Isador Ladoff tells in this issue what was done.

The New York People (Kangaroo) has opened a discussion in support of unity by printing a number of long (and windy) letters against unity.

Every branch in Chicago is requested to make arrangements for as many meetings as possible in March and apply to the city campaign committee for speakers.

Our candidates in the Chicago city election will appear under the name Social Democratic party. There has been no change of name; no change has been thought of.

Charles H. Soelke, Social Democratic candidate for city attorney of Chicago, addressed a large audience at Odd Fellows' hall, Milwaukee avenue, last Tuesday night.

National Secretary Debs made a long-promised visit to his parents at Terre Haute the early part of this week. As the Herald goes to press he is occupied with a three days' accumulation of mail.

Comrade Gus Hoyt, Social Democratic party candidate for mayor of Chicago, has been one of the victims of grip for the past two weeks. He has recovered, and his growing popularity as a candidate shows that he has a grip of his own.