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**IMPERIALISM FROM A** SOCIALIST STANDPOINT

Capitalism, Has Reached that Point of Development in the United States Where it Must Expand or Burst

# THE REACTIONARY DEMOCRACY

Interests of the Class Represented by the Social Democracy Can Not be Served by Either of the Old Parties

### By Charles H. Vall

We are again in the midst of a national campaign and every man is ask-ing himself, or should be asking himself, to what party he should give his allegiance. Unfortunately, however, the majority accept without question the policy of the party to which they happen to belong, and instead of endeavoring to ascertain if the party represents their interests, are rather endeavoring to find arguments to bolster up their partisanship. It is to those that are will-ing to think that I would speak.

### THREE CLASSES, THREE PARTIES

The political situation is exceptionally clear in this campaign. The three parties are distinct and stand equally for the interests of the classes into which modern society is economically divided. The Republican party repre-sents the interests of the large capital-ist class, the plutocracy; the Demo-cratic party represents the interests of the middle class, the small capitalists, small producers, and traders; and the Socialist party represents the interests of the proletarian class, the class of wage and salary workers. A careful examination of the platforms of these parties will show the class interests they are intended to subserve. The populist and Silver Republican parties are virtually in accord with the Democratic party and so do not need special consideration, while the Prohibition party has only a moral base, and so need not be consid-ered in an examination of the political situation from the economic standpoint.

The rapid economic development of the last few years has resulted in the concentration of capital, together with the outcome of the Spanish-American war, has given rise to new issues. The Democratic platform declares imperialism or expansion to be the paramount issue of the campaign. Conditions have been forming for years which were bound sooner or later to bring this question to the front. To understand the underlying causes for this, we need to comprehend the nature of capitalist industry.

# FLEECING AND OVERPRODUCTION

Under the wage syystem the product created by labor is divided into two nearly equal parts; one goes to labor in the form of wages, the other to capitalists, landlords, and other gentlemen at large in the form of rent, interest, and To be exact, the laborers reprofits. ceive in this field but 47 per cent of the

are becoming more gigantic and are turning out an ever increasing product, while wages, if not remaining stationary or declining, at least do not increase in proportion to the increased product. Laborers are less and less able to buy back the product of their toil.

# FOREIGN MARKETS

The only outlet, then, is in foreign markets. Capitalism has reached that point of development in this country-a point of development in this coursewhere it must expand or burst. We must teach heathen peoples the blessings of civilization and compel them to mgs of civilization and compet them to wear "pants" so they will, buy them— and "pants" with pockets, too, else how can we pick them? To show that this is not merely the theory of a Socialist, but a cold and solid fact, let me quote from a few capitalists

and their representatives. Chauncey M. Depew said at the Philadelphia Republican convention :

"What is the tendency of the future; why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Pekin? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why these parades of peo-ple from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus production of the civilized country of modern times is greater than civilization can consume. It is because this over-production goes back to stagnation and poverty.

The American people now produce \$2,000,000,000 more than we can consume. By the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates we have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Porto Rico, we have our market in the Philippines; and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 people with the Pacific as an American lake, and American artisans producing better and cheaper goods than any other

country in the world." It could be shown, if space permitted, that the shrewdest of the capitalist class have realized for some years the necessity for expansion. At the banquet of the American Manufacturers' Associa-tion, Jan. 27, 1898, Hon. C. E. Smith, McKinley's postmaster-general, said:

"The past century has been the age of internal upbuilding; we approach now the age of external activity. From 1840 to 1890 the population of the Unit-ed States more than tripled, but the mighty tide of its manufactures expanded eighteen fold. A greatly increased capacity of consumption has followed this magical advance, but it has not kept pace with the magnified power of production, and the economic problem of the world today is the distribution of this surplus. Under this stress the great nations of Europe are struggling for empire and trade. They are scanning the whole horizon for new fields to con-quest, colony and commerce. In this strenuous rivalry are we to stand with folded hands and let the prizes slip? High national policy and broad commercial expansion go hand in hand. Trade follows the flag the world around. We have come to a point in our national development where we must decide. The end we aim at is clear; the means within our reach. We must have among other things, a navy that shall command respect for the voice of our authority. China and Japan are the surpassing and magnificent revelations of these latter days. There around the Yellow sea and the adjacent waters is a population of 500,000,000 and a potential trade of



Their Desires and Faculties are Sharpened, Turned and Directed to Protect and Preserve Their Existence

# THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

Conditions that Could Not Prevail Under the Beneficent Reign of Socialism are Inevitable Result of Capitalism

# By Paola Lombroso

In the last two years I have frequented the sessions of what we call in Italy a "family school," where the poorer children from the elementary schools were gathered, and have had the opportunity to constantly observe a great number of children, to hear them talk and see them act.

One of the things which struck me most forcibly in comparing them with the children of the wealthy classeswhose instinctive egotistical tendencies are marked by a certain charm, piquancy and subdued good breeding-was to see their struggle for their own self-preservation reduced to a simple eagerness and free from any artificiality and var-nish. Unconsciously they are dominated only by one instinct-to drink, to eat and to lay hold of existence; their desires, affections, tendencies and faculties are sharpened, jurned and directed to protect, preserver and fill their empty little stomachs.

For example, I asked about fifty of the smallest children: "Whom do you the smallest children: "Whom do you love the most?" 'My mamma and papa." And why?" "Because they earn the pennies to support me." "Be-cause they work and buy me something to eat." "I love my mamma because she makes pottage for me." "Because she gives me something to eat." "Be-cause she makes potenta." etc.

cause she makes polenta," etc. And to the question, "What do you like to eat best of all?" one child gave me this answer, which contains the whole of a philosophical principle: 'Pottage, because I always have it to eat."

One infant talked about the hospital where he had undergone an operation for the rickets as if it were a most delightful place, because he got good things to eat there. Two little brothers, eight and nine years old, told me that what they liked to do best of all was to look in the windows when going for a walk. "But what windows?" I asked. "The bakers' windows," they answered, "where there are so many beautiful loaves of bread."

The little proletarians group all their desires around bread, pottage and cloth-They love whoever gives them ing. something to wear; their most ambitious dreams are to eat pottage and sweet omelettes, and their most brilliant recollections are of full stomachs. The most noble and shining faculties, desires and affections are thus reduced, under the pressure of misery, to an almost brute-like instinct of the survival of the fittest. But something truly admirable in these children is their ingenuity, their quickness and comprehensive knowledge of practical life. There is not one of them who does not know the price of food, salt, farinaceous foods, rice and kidney beans; who could not do the marketing with discretion, bake a cake, light the fire, prepare the soup, make the polenta, clean the room, make the beds and mend the clothes. It is especially pleasing to note their desire to be useful and not depend entirely on their parents, as if they considered the cost of every mouthful of bread which they ate and tried to make themselves useful in a thousand different ways. In the winter the larger children sweep the snow; in spring, during va-cation and sometimes during the school term, they go out into the fields around the city to look for greens and eatable roots. One little fellow of eleven, who came to school, got up in the middle of the night three times a week in order to drive a cartful of herbs to market, earning a few cents each time; he was not forced to go by his parents, but did it of his own accord and for his own satisfaction. But a more common industry, and a rather comical one, is that of going to church with a great show of piety. In each parish there are a great number of chapels, mission-houses and schools where the catechism and doctrine are taught. Each attendant receives a I'll save a shilling," and putting his fin-ticket, and according to the number of tickets which a child may present at the two holes into one.

end of the season he receives either a coat, a pair of shoes or a small amount of money. One little fellow told me that in a single Sunday he went to two masses, one at 5 in the morning and another at 9, to the school catechism, and to a benediction and to hear two sermons; each one of these functions represented a tiny emolument in money or its equivalent. For instance, the parish of St. Anna gives each tiny devotee a pair of shoes at the first communion; the chapel of Don Bosco gives a coat or a hat, according to the regularity of the attendance.

Another day I went to inquire for a child who had been absent from school for some time, and found him in bed with the measles, together with .two younger brothers. They had all taken it from nursing a little sister nine years of age. Their father was in prison, their mother worked from morning till night in the factory, and could not come home to nurse the little baby girl, only four months old, except at noon. Thus the little creature was completely aban-doned during the whole day to the care of a nine-year-old sister, who took charge of her, fed her, etc. But what made me really tremble was to see her with a sort of terra-cotta warming-pan full of coals, which she handled with the greatest possible nonchalance, shoving it between the mattress of straw and the sheets, causing constant danger of fire. This child could neither read nor write, for she had been able to go to school only five or six months.

Is it not an indication characteristic of our age to find a little school of children (who, it seems, should be protected by their very youth from the contrasts of fortune) the phantom of the social question in one of its most miserable forms? When one studies this lit-tle world, doomed to an infancy of misery, to which a life of suffering, passive labor and submission must necessarily succeed, and find so many germs of enterprise, courage and human dignity, one feels in truth not only pity for the injustice of blind fate, but also regret that the accumulation of this precious energy must remain useless and be wasted on account of a vicious social condition.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Simon Dereure, who was a member of the Commune and an old member of the International, is dead.

The Belgian chamber of deputies has been electing its officers, and Defnet-a Socialist deputy-has been elected one of the secretaries of the chamber.

The bakers at Madrid have gone on strike for higher wages and better inspection of bake houses. The govern-ment is very unfairly throwing impediments in the way of the strikers and is also facilitating the employment of blacklegs.

The Chinese troubles are already seriously affecting the state of industry in Germany. Many factories have closed, and more are expected to follow, and the emperor apparently thinks that he will improve matters by instructing his soldiers not to give quarter to the Chinese.

A meeting was held at Brussels to open the campaign in favor of universal suffrage in Belgium. Vandervelde proposed and carried a resolution in favor of granting the vote to women. This is quite a new departure in Belgium. It would, however, given the power of the clergy, be a very hazardous experiment.



An Examination of Some of the Fundamental Factors in Modern Capitalism-Private Ownership of the Means of Life

# THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY

The Solution of the Trust Problem is Found in the Facts Themselves --- Socialism the Only Solvent

# By James Oneal

It is a sad mission to cut through and destroy with the scissors of analysis the delicate and irridescent veils with which our proud mediocracy clothes itself. Very terrible is the religion of truth.-Prof. Lombroso. Thus speaks the great Italian crimi-

nologist in an instructive volume entitled 'The Man of Genius," in which he has compiled a mass of facts to prove that the giants of the past were to a certain extent mentally unbalanced. However, whether we agree with Prof. Lombro-so's conclusions or not, it is certain that many of the "giants" in the political arena today come under his classification, judging from the methods which they advocate in dealing with the modern trust problem.

The Socialist realizes with Prof. Lombroso that "it is a sad mission to cut through and destroy with the scissors of analysis" opinions and doctrines held by the orthodox world, especially concerning the trust problem. Nevertheless he is equal to the task, even though it runs counter to "public opinion," for he is well aware that this same public opinion is in itself vitally connected with the problem.

Now what is the problem before us? I shall try and state it in as few words. as possible. A trust is a combination of a number of capitalists or corporations who combine their wealth in a common fund for the joint purpose of securing larger returns and destroying competition in order to exploit the market to their hearts' content. It is evident to everybody that this vast centralization of economic power in the hands of a small class is disastrous to those outside of it. Hence a cry comes from the middle class to destroy these combinations, for they are the ones who first feel their crushing force. This class does not question whether they can be destroyed or not; they take that for granted. On the contrary, the Socialist not only questions the possibility of destroying the trusts, but also denies that it is desirable to do so. The difference of opinion lies in the divergent class interests which each party to the controversy repre-This will be brought out later. sents. The first requirement in the solution of any problem is the examination of the fundamental factors involved. Let us examine some of the fundamental factors in modern capitalistic society, and see if we can find a solution of the trust problem from the facts themselves. We

The workers can, then, buy back but 47 per cent of the product. Nor even that, for the value here given is the factory price. But workingmen do not buy at factory prices but at retail. To the factory price is added the profits of a long series of middlemen and retailers which results in doubling the factory price. The laborer, then, when he goes to the markets to purchase the things he has produced, finds that instead of purchasing 47 per cent, he can only purchase about 23 or 24 per cent of the things he has made, and even this estimate is perhaps excessive. When we take into consideration money spent for rent, doctors' bills, insurance, pleasure, etc., it is evident that he cannot purchase over 15 or 16 per cent of the goods he has produced.

The capitalists on the other hand, being comparatively few in number, are by their best efforts, to consume "their" portion of the product; and thus a large surplus is left on their hands for which there is no commercial demand.

How to procure an outlet for this surplus product which they have compelled laborers to give up is the great ques-tion of the capitalist class. The use of machinery has so increased the proluctivity of labor, that unless some outet can be found, production must cease at intervals until the excess is consumed. The question, then, is for the capitalist to turn this surplus value into cash. How can they secure purchasers?

The laborers would gladly consume more, but their wages will not permit them to do so, and all the while the tools

WF thousands of millions. wn not play for our legitimate share of the great stake?'

Representative Bromwell of Ohio, recently spoke to the same effect. He said:

"If the (Chinese) empire has to be divided, I am certainly in favor of getting the proportion of territory that

### BELONGS TO THIS COUNTRY

The fact that we have the Philippines will not insure us full economic advantages if China goes into the hands of Europe. We may be sure that those countries are not risking everything to get some Chinese territory for the fun of the thing. It is commerce and trade they are after, and we cannot afford to be a minute behind in the same course, except that ours can be done under restrictions, and in keeping with our policy of going alone and independent of other nations."

Preparations have been making for this "expansion" for some time, and the Spanish-American war merely gave the capitalists an opportunity for which they had been looking. It gave them an ex-cuse for seizing the Philippines which they were not loathe to accept. It is often suggested that Dewey should have sailed out of Manila bay after destroying the Spanish fleet. But the administration knew the interests it was there to serve-the Philippines were needed as a base of operations in China, and they were retained. Anyone who knows of the doings of the American China Development Company knows why the islands are kept and also the hypocrisy

(Continued on Third Page)

The Swedish government has voted a large sum of money for the purpose of enabling intelligent workmen to proceed to the French capital, and there glean new ideas from an inspection of the manufactures and goods exhibited. As a result, some scores of mechanics, draughtsmen and engineers have been granted traveling ' allowance varying in amount from fifteen to thirty guineas, and have been dispatched to the exhibi-

According to the annual report on the railways of the United States, there is much less risk for a man in a twelve months' campaign in South Africa than in riding about on American trains. In 1899 7,123 persons were killed and 44,-620 injured. The casualties in South Africa are: 3,463 killed, and 11,905 wounded. This does not include those who have died of disease or by accident.

At a certain cloth factory in Scotland it was the custom to fine the workpeople for turning out bad work. One day a workman brought a piece of cloth to be examined, and the manager found two little holes about an inch apart. He then showed these to the man and demanded two shillings fine, a shilling for each hole. "Is it a shilling for each hole?" asked the man. "Yes," said the manager. "And is it the same for every hole, big or little?" "Yes," exactly the same," said the manager. "Well, then, have:

1. Private ownership by the capitalistic class of the resources and instruments of wealth production, that is of lands, mills, factories, railroads, etc.

Competition between these own-2. ers of land and capital, resulting from a desire to sell their products or services in order to secure profits.

3. A great class-the working class who own but one commodity, their labor power, which they are forced to sell daily to the capitalistic class in order

to secure a living. 4. Competition between these workers for jobs.

5. A class struggle between the cap-italist class and the working class over the division of the product into wages and profits.

These are fundamental propositions that stare us in the face every day and cannot be denied. Let us take up the propositions in their order:

### PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

Private property implies the right of the individual to acquire or accumulate as much as he can or wants. It implies sole dominion over the wealth in his possession and also the right to keep or dispose of it in any manner he sees fit. No one can interfere with his accumulations, for to allow such interference it would cease to be private property. If an individual desires to go partnership with another individual, that is his business; he is exercising his right as a private owner of property to do with it as he pleases. Bearing this in mind, let me give an illustration. Jones

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### WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

With Socialists the world over we learn with deep regret and sorrow of the death of Wilhelm Liebknecht, the "soldier of the revolution" and great leader of the Social Democrats of German

Liebknecht was born in Giessen on March 29, 1826. He studied philology, theology and philosophy at the Giessen University, with a view to becoming an advocate, but became interested in Socialism through the writings of St. Simon, and in 1848 dropped his studies and went to Paris to take part in the revolution. He had already, in 1846, been charged with having a hand in the Polish revolutionary movements and had been expelled from Austria.

He took part in the attempt to establish a republic in Germany and was confined in jail for nine months. On his release he went to Switzerland and was escorted to the French frontier by the Swiss authorities for preaching Social-France sent him to England, ism. where he remained until 1862, when the German amnesty proclamation allowed him to return to Germany. Three years later he was again banished from Germany for a period of several years.

While a candidate for parliament in 1867 he was arrested and imprisoned for three months, but was nevertheless elected.

In 1870 he, together with Bebel and others, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for attacking the government's policy in the Franco-German war.

The passage of Bismarck's anti-Socialist law in 1878 deprived Herr Lieb-knecht of a sight of his family until 1890, when the law went out of operation with Bismarck's retirement. In 1896 he spent four months in prison for lese majesty in not rising when the em-peror entered the hall of parliament. He cared little about a term in prison, and on this occasion returned from England, where he had been lecturing, to serve his sentence.

According to a German writer, Emperor William feared Herr Liebknecht more than all England. He represented Berlin in the reichstag, his honesty was considered incorruptible, and he was a power with the people. He was a profound student of social and political questions and an eloquent speaker. On a lecturing tour in the United States a few years ago he was greeted by large

audiences everywhere. He had been a journalist since 1862, and for a number of years, and up to his death was editor of Vorwaerts, the

leading Socialist paper of Germany. The funeral occurred Sunday last, and 80,000 men marched through the streets of Berlin to the burial place. All traffic was stopped and the streets were packed with thousands of sympathizing onlookers. Nearly all the mourners wore the red carnation. American Socialist organizations were represented. No disturbance occurred.

such enthusiastic unanimity. But with your united voices ringing in my ear, and your impassioned appeals burning and glowing in my breast, and your eyes searching the very depths of my soul, I was soon brought to realize that in your voice in behalf of Socialism there was the supreme command of Dutythat I could not disregard it and decline the nomination without proving myself wholly unworthy of the confidence which inspired it. I felt that I could not decline this nomination, tendered me under such circumstances, without being guilty of treason to the cause we all love so well; and so I come to you this afternoon, obedient to the call voiced by your committee, to say that I accept your nomination, and with it all of the responsibilities that the great trust imposes; and with my heart trembling upon my lips, I thank the comrades, one and all, for the great honor you have conferred upon me."

From that time to the present there has never been a shadow of doubt among Social Democrats that he was a provisional or temporary candidate of the party; from that day to this there has never been a single moment of confusion in his mind as to what organization tendered him the nomination, and his course since then has been one of dignity and loyalty, entirely becoming to the position in which he was placed. His acceptance of the nomination of the Social Democratic party of America was given in March last and at no time has there been any question that, so far as the party was concerned, that act was final and determined his relation to the party until the polls close next November.

A high sense of duty to the cause of Socialism would admit of no other course at this time than the acceptance of the endorsement which came to him last week from Springfield, Mass. He was already the candidate for president of the strongest Socialist party in the country; for the sake of the cause in which we are all concerned, his acceptance of an endorsement from any other body of Socialists was incumbent upon him as a duty; his course is justified by the political situation and if other endorsements come from Socialist organizations we shall be glad to hear of them.

### **ALLEGED BARBARITIES IN CHINA**

The part which has so far been played' in the Chinese tragedy by the capitalist press of America has been one of the most ferocious and disgraceful which the present generation of men have been called upon to witness.

That press stands convicted of manufacturing and publishing absolutely false and misleading reports of the situation in China, reports conceived in a spirit of brutal disregard for truth or decency, and spread, out before the American people with a frenzied abandonment quite characteristic of a social factor which has no sense of shame and has become morally impotent under the hypnotism of capitalism which controls it.

Ministers of the gospel employed, or alleged to be employed, as "special staff correspondents," men whose influence for good in the world long since ended. have sent reports couched in the most 'solemn" terms of the awful acts of brutality committed by the Chinese and a few days later from other sources has come an express and authentic denial.

At one time reports from the missionaries and others had all the foreign ministers and their families butchered in cold blood. We were told how the diplomats

(who, with the missionaries, are responsible for the Chinese trouble) stood against the murderous Chinamen in a "hollow square," their wives and children within; how they fought hand to hand and, finding escape impossible, how they turned and with their own hands slew their own offspring. All this was given out in minutest detail, and all of it proved to be absolutely false. We were told how the Russian minister and his wife were butchered, chopped up into convenient chunks for boiling and the pieces consigned to a huge kettle and cooked.

### STUDY IN SOCIAL AND ECONONIC HISTORY AND THEORY

The outline for Socialistic study, prepared by Prof. Ladoff, which is introduced in this paper, seems to be worthy of more than mere passing notice. One great result of the present presidential campaign will be that Social Democracy will show itself so formidable that from this time forward capitalism, through its press and other means for the molding of opinions, will drop its old tactics toward us (that of either ignoring our existence, or of treating us with ridicule) and treat with the subject of Socialism seriously. When it once gets down to business on this line, the mere mumbling of set phrases on our part, much as one would use some witch's charm or "potent sentence," will only render us ridiculous. The mere assertion that the fathers of Socialism said this or that will not avail us at all. It will only make us appear superficial and sectarian.

Ask a republican or a democrat what are the principles of his respective party, and he will either show his ignorance or confess it, and we will expect nothing better. But it is different with the Social Democrat. The burden of proof is on him. If he shows himself an actual student of social science, he will be respected, even if not agreed with. He will command respect secretly if not openly. And it is his duty to command rescept. Phrases were perhaps all right when we were working in obscurity, but we are now out in the open. The foe sees us and is coming at us with true capitalistic ferocity. He will try hard to make mince meat of our contentions and postulates. We must be prepared to defend them.

We long ago disproved the claim that our party was a mere rival of the older Socialist party in this country. We showed that theirs was dogmatic Socialism-narrow, bigoted and hidebound. Ours we showed to be pro-gressive, broad-minded, dynamic. They wanted only such facts as agreed with their iron-clad formulas. We want all the facts. Their faith required a catechism; ours an unflinching investigation of present-day society, as well as that of the past.

The outline of study presented by I'rof. Ladoff will be of great service to our branches. From it they can draw endless suggestions for discussions at their meetings. Better yet, they can actually, by its guidance, carry on a course of self-education, which cannot but make the members wiser men and more formidable antagonists of the great enemy, the capitalist system of exploitation. Certainly, there is greater danger ahead for our party than there is for a dogmatic party. We cannot is for a dogmatic party. We cannot tie up to certain phrases, and as we grow to nation-sweeping proportions we can only save ourselves from scattering our fire by impelling our more active members to be actual students of society. Knowledge is indeed power, and we will find it so when we have to look into capitalism's battery of guns. Chief among those guns will be the great and influential newspapers. 'All their craftiness, all their powers of subtle persuasion and artifice will be employed with ceaseless energy in the great effort to confound us. Educate is the watchword.

Don't be deceived when you read that branches of the Social Democratic party are "falling in line" with the repudiators of the East. They are "falling in" only for political co-operation and nothing more. In scores of places where organic union has been announced, no such condition exists.

"Open a school, you close a prison," says the Chicago American, quoting Victor Hugo. And, says the paper, education is the issue paramount to all others. This is all well enough, provided the education closes the mill, the factory and the mine to capitalist exploitation and socializes all the means of life. Teach children the right-useness of land and productive capital, upon which all life depends, or education will be a continuous failure.



# Eugene Debs' Great Tribute to the **Great Commoner and Social** Democrat

## HE BELONGED TO ALL MANKIND

When Emperors and Iron Chancellors Have Passed to Dust, this Man's Name Will Shine with Lustre in the Firmament of the Ages

A Titan has fallen. Liebknecht, the scarred warrior of the social revolution, lies pulseless on the field of battle. He fell in full charge, his face to the re-treating enemy. For forty years he fought with dauntless valor, and where the fight was thickest the plume of Liebknecht like a banner, waved defiant. Great captain of the revolutionary hosts, his only title was the divine right of genius to lead, and the only arms he bore were truth and justice.

This immortal man was not Germany's alone. He fought for and belonged to all mankind. His name was known and honored in all the zones that belt the globe, and seven million socialists uncover and unite as one in reverent tribute to his memory.

With Marx, Lassalle and Engels, he plucked from fate the fadeless laurels of immortality.

"Thou art Freedom's now, and Fame's; One of the few, the immortal names" That were not born to die."

At the bier of Liebknecht, Socialism bows and weeps. For her he was bruised by the contumelious stone; for her he languished long in prison cell; for her he bore the sacrificial cross.

Bismarck in the zenith of his autocratic power could not daunt him. With resolute mien and flashing eye he stood erect; he dared to challenge the king himself though death had been the penalty.

Intrepid soul, thou coulds't proudly say:

"Out of the night that shelters me, Black as the pit from pole to pole, I thank whatever gods there be For my unconquerable soul.

When the Williams, Bismarcks and all the titled tyrants of all times have passed to dust, or are remembered only for their crimes, our Liebknecht's name will shine with lustre in the firmament of the ages.

Of Wilhelm Liebknecht, too, some Hugo of the future may say: "He disappeared, but left us his soul, the Revolution." \*\*\*\*\* and when social-ism is triumphant, "I affirm it, up there, in the stars, Liebknecht will smile.

The worn and weary children of toil scarce know their benefactor. But their children, and their children's children, emancipated by the genius of Socialism he so truly typified, will weave garlands for his grave and sing sweet anthems to his memory. And we who follow him will seize

the standard he held aloft unsullied through all the years, until death relaxed his hold, and bear it on and on until it symbolizes humanity disenthralled, the Universal Commonwealth. EUGENE V. DEBS.

# TRUSTS AND SOCIALISM

a trust is formed the "sacred" principle of competition tends to be obliterated. Just why competition is sacred any more than any other economic factor I cannot understand, but as this question brings us to the second proposition which deals with this very principle of competition, I will now consider it.

### COMPETITION

2. Competition is, to give the definition of Prof. Ely, "the struggle of conflicting economic interests on the basis of the existing legal and social order." Let us give an illustration of the work-ing of this factor in modern capitalistic society and see where it leads us. Jones and Smith are each capitalists seeking to dispose of commodities on the market. Each desires to increase his wealth as much as possible, and to do this each one strives to secure the market for himself. Here we have "conflicting eco-nomic interests." Jones tries to drive nomic interests." . Jones tries to drive out Smith and Smith tries to drive out Jones. Now the best method of driving out a competitor is to cut prices and hold them at a level so low that your rival must either meet those prices or go out of business. This is the "sacred" principle of competition. Let us carry the illustration a little further. Let us say Jones drives his rival out of business. He then turns his attention to other competitors and the same struggle begins over again. Some survive the struggle while others go to the wall. But this same struggle soon teaches these capitalists a lesson that they are not very slow to grasp. They reason somewhat in this fashion: "This competition is foolish in the long run. We capitalists, as a class, have a common interest to further. Each of us desires to gain wealth, but in fighting each other a whole lot of energy and wealth is wasted which, if properly utilized, could be used for the realization of our common purpose, the control of the markets and the enrichment of ourselves. If we can secure an agreement of some kind by which we can exploit the markets in harmony instead of fighting one another we can in time do away with a lot of advertising, traveling salesmen, etc., thus doing away with this useless expense and by so doing increase our wealth at the same time." In a short time a meeting is called and after many failures the combination is effected. This combination is a powerful weapon for those who happen to be members of it, as the smaller capitalistic interests which are still competing soon come to know. The combination is able in time to drive the smaller competitors to the wall, owing to its more economical management and the elimination of useless waste of energy. The combine has demonstrated its "fitness to survive." These combines do not stop at this stage of development. Having once learned the lesson that co-operation pays more than competition they are sensible enough to carry the development to its logical conclusion which is seen in the modern trust and monopoly. Thus we see that in private ownership of the instruments of wealth production and competition there is a monopoly force that cannot be prevented, and those who believe in both these factors can make no objection to trusts or monopoly. Let us proceed.

### THE WORKING CLASS

3. We now leave the capitalists; their private property, competition and monopoly of the tools of wealth production, and take up the third fundamental factor in modern society, the working class. This class is entirely divorced from the ownership of the tools of wealth production and have but one commodity for sale and that is their labor power. It is a commodity because the venders of it have to take it to the labor market and sell in order to live, much the same as a merchant sells his wares in order to secure a profi on sale. But it has this difference: The laborer cannot send samples of his commodity to the prospective buyer because it is inseparable from himself. When he sells his commodity, whether by the day, week or month, he sells himself with it. But this is not all. The laborer cannot hold his commodity for a raise in price, for on its sale depends the life of himself and family. As Prof. Davidson says: "The laborer must sell today; the employer need not buy till tomorrow. To the master it is only a question of profits; to the laborer it is a question of life." Thus we see that the sale of labor power is not a voluntary act on the part of the laborer, but a forced sale due to his position in modern society. His wants act as a lash just as effective as that formerly wielded in the hands of the southern slave owner a few years ago. If the laborer cannot find a market for his commodity there are only three alternatives left for him. He must either beg, starve or steal. He cannot become a capitalist because the wealth necessary to successfully compete with the large combines of capital is so large that it excludes the possibility of him be-coming a capitalist. He is bound by circumstances and environment which are just as effective as though he were riveted by chains of steel to capital. Once a wage slave always a wage slave.

Comrade E. V. Debs sent the following cablegram to the German comrades:

Terre Haute, Ind., Aug. 8, 1900. "Vorwaerts, Berlin.

"American Socialists mingle their tears with the Socialists of an 'ands at the bier of Liebknecht, the apostle of Social Democracy. "EUGENE V. DEBS."

### **DEBS IS ENDORSED**

Comrade Eugene V. Debs, it will be recalled, accepted the nomination of the Social Democratic party at Indianapolis, March 9, 1900. His speech of accept-ance on that occasion appeared in the Herald of March 24. In that speech he

"A few moments ago your committee advised me of the great honor conferred upon me by this convention in making me one of the standard-bearers of the party in the great campaign upon which we are now entering. Never in all of my life was I so profoundly impressed with the conviction that there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will. Yesterday I left this hall under the solemn belief that I could not, under any possible circumstances, accept the nomination tendered me with

This was put in a "box" front-page display and heralded as the most fiendish crime of the age.

At the same time the talk at home was of more soldiers and guns and transports-for "revenge." But the Russian minister was never

murdered at all, and some days after a message from him declaring himself alive and well was given an inch of outof-the-way space on an inside page.

Conger was "dead" a dozen times, and horrible reports, written usually by diplomats of the cross, were printed narrating the awful barbarities practiced upon him and his family.

All of it was untrue like the rest, and the American people have thus been imposed upon to a degree that one may well question the sanity of the impostors of the press, the "missionaries," and the people, too.

The latter have before had abundant proof that the press of these times is little more than an instrument to promote capitalist schemes of aggression and plunder and excite the people themselves to hatred and revenge of wrongs that were never committed, as in this Chinese incident.

The Chicago Union Stock Yards have a scheme for plucking the employes by the use of scrip paid to the men instead of "money," in exchange for which goods are obtained at the company's store and board at the company's hostelry. Prices of everything are, of course, regulated to yield a profit, and the men who "value their jobs take the scrip"! Meanwhile, the small merchants in the neighborhood realize the hopelessness of competition with such a scheme and are being driven out of business.

What will Bryan and his following do with the new device in the iron and steel industry that dispenses with the services of 260 men who have heretofore been able to earn a small wage and support a family in a niggardly fashion? Will he "smash" the device? And if not, how does he propose to deal with this constantly recurring problem of discovery and new invention upon which the trust rests and by which it is strengthened? Don't you see that the trust is the modern method of dealing with labor-saving devices, and that Bryanism is thoroughly reactionary?

### (Continued from First Page

is a capitalist and an owner of several large mills-iron mills, let us say. Smith is also an owner of iron mills and desires to quit the business. Jones makes a proposition to Smith which is satisfactory to him and the mills pass into the hands of Jones. Neither does anyone deny that Jones has a right to form a partnership with another capitalist who also controls some iron mills. No one denies Jones the right to buy the property of Smith, and nobody denies the latter's right to sell his property to Jones. Neither does anyone deny that Jones has a right to form a partnership with another capitalist. Presently it is found that the partnership has bought out many other firms and combined with other capitalists. And so it goes. Buying out some and combining with others -not only iron mills, but cotton, silk, lumber, sugar, etc., until we have the trust, or possibly a complete monopoly. It is evident that the rights of private property have not been infringed upon by the gradual development from the small mills first owned by Jones to the trust of which Jones is now only a part. They have simply taken advantage of the right to buy what they pleased, and in combining with others they have simply exercised the right that two peanut-venders on the street corner have in joining together for mutual advantage. The same principle is involved in both cases. The law has no power to step in and say Jones shall not buy or Smith shall not sell, for should it do so private property ceases to exist.

Leaflet No. 2 is a converter. Its cost should ensure for it a circulation of one million. One Dollar a thousand.

Portraits of Debs mailed to any ad-But someone objects and says that when dress at 3 cents each in lots over ten.

# SOCIAL DEMOCRÀTIC HERALD, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1900.

# A GIANT BANK TRUST FORMING IN NEW YORK

It Will be a Muster of the City Banks and Crack the Whip of Domination of Two Billions of Dollars

# THE STANDARD OIL ITS CORE

### It Will Stand at the Spigot of Loans and All Other Businesses Will Set Like **Beggars at Its Gates**

### From the New York Verdict

Here be true news. This is a grave It is one of even near concern to all and great. Let it come unshod of imile, unbusked of imagery or rhetoric, nclouded of any mists of metaphor. In Wall street as this is read the giant trust of all is forming. It is to collect within itself the banks of New York city. Its core is to be Standard Oil. Its moving spirits are John Rockefeller and Pier-pont Morgan. With them in full and close association are the Rothschilds and their American agents. It was to link the Rothschilds to the scheme that of late took Morgan Europeward and brought him back again. This trust, at its consummation, which is close, will ill the reins of guidance and crack the whip of domination over two billions of dollars. It will, as stated, be a muster of the New York city banks. They are to he made into one, force-unified and brought under one word and one command. Thereafter they are to say "No" together or "Yes" together, or together stand motionless and mute. This trust of the banks is to be the dictator trust; to overlord all other trusts. The great-est among these latter will be dwarfed as they stand beside it. We, the people, are to become the subjects of bank conquest and suffer the feudalism of money. This bank trust is to be our William of Normandy. New York city is to be its Hastings without a blow. It will have, as it were, a Doomesday book, and the country is to be parceled among its followers.

This is a true tale. There is neither guess nor fancy in its telling. Naught but the bald facts are set forth. This trust expects to hold the nation in the hollow of its hand. Their plan is to be the grand bank of the United States; issue at the last its money and have custody of its credit. In a cruder day Jackson defeated a parallel conspiracy; crushed beneath his stern heel the head of a similar serpent. With this differ-That was a python of seven and ence : one-half millions, a baby and a plaything to the one in hand. Now are we to con-front a serpent of two billions, or one two hundred and fifty times as large. At a time, too, when the Jacksons seem gone from our midst. For a century and a quarter Europe, pointing to America, whether in hate or love, was driven to say with Job: "There the wicked cease from troubling, there the weary be at rest! There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor! The small and the great are there, and the servant is free from his master !" Once, this trust of the banks, and Europe will say this no more. There will be none to give tongue to it. The fact of freedom will have departed, the song would be a lie. In that day of gilded narrow fetters the spirit of true Americanism will be crippled, bent and broken. A sightless Samson, it will

grind in the mills of the Philisti will long for destruction and dig for death as for treasures that lie hid.

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST In northern zones the raging bear Protects himself with fat and hair. Where snow is deep and ice is stark, And half the year is cold and dark, He still survives a clime like that By growing fur, by growing fat. These traits, O bear, which thou trans-

mittest. Prove the survival of the fittest.

To polar regions waste and wan, Comes the encroaching race of man: A puny, feeble little lubber, He had no fur, he had no blubber, The scornful bear sat down at ease To see the stranger starve and freeze But, lo! the stranger slew the bear, And ate his fat and wore his hair! These deeds, O man, which thou com-

mittest. Prove the survival of the fittest. In modern times the millionaire Protects himself as did the bear. Where poverty and hunger are He counts his bullion by the car.

Where thousands suffer still he thrives. The wealth, O Croesus, thou transmittest,

Proves the survival of the fittest.

But, lo! some people, odd and funny, Some men without a cent of money, The simple, common human race, Chose to improve their dwelling place They had no use for millionaires They calmly said the world was theirs They were so strong, so wise, so

many-The millionaire?-There wasn't any! These deeds, O man, which thou committest.

Prove the survival of the fittest. -Charlotte Perkins Stetson.



### A Suggestion to Socialist Societies and Branches of the Social Democratic Party.

By Isador Ladoff

"Human progress were a weak thing, could not its speed be acclerated somewhat, and the moral and material happiness of the majority be multiplied at a rate beyond that of the past.'

### N. P. GILMAN.

"A time arrives in the progress of social development when societies of men become conscious of corporate existence, and when the improvement of the conditions of its existence becomes for them an object of conscious and deliberate effort."

PROF. J. E. CAIRNES.

There was a time when the mental equipment of a Socialist in the rank and file consisted in a few ill (if at all) digested and parrot-like repeated shiboleths and maxims, borrowed on credit from some of the fathers and prominent leaders of the movement. These shiboleths and maxims were regarded somewhat in the same light as texts of the Bible by church people. For doubt, criticism and original thought there did not seem to be any demand among Soci 1 sts -Orthodoxy and dogmatism of the most rigid pattern were considered as essential qualities of a Socialist. Anybody who dared to think for himself and have his own ideas was considered either a fool or a knave, or more frequently as a fool and knave at once. Intolerance and heresy hunting were connected with great narrowness of mind. Some of these old-time Socialists were, to use the picturesque slang of David Harum, "so narrer in their views that fourteen of 'em c'n sit, side an' side, in a buggy." It was the golden age of self-appointed Socialistic popes, a la De Leon, and in un erable arrogant small bosses who "run the whole thing," while the rank and file said "yes and amen" to any antique capers of their scientific leaders. The Socialistic move-m instead of pro sing, spreading and deepening, was retrogressing, petrifying and arousing more prejudices against the cause it pretended to represent than sympathy for it among outsiders. It was a time of petty quarrels and mutual abuse in choicest billingsgate among the "leaders," so-called, of useless hairsplitting and sectarianism.

the human body is the condition sine qua non of a good physician, the knowledge of all the qualities, properties and laws of human beings is necessary for every Socialist, who deserves to be called so. Socialism is not an idle dream any more, it is not a panacea, a specific cure against a certain disease; it is not a science by and for itself-it is indefinitely more than all that-it is the application of all the results of human thought and noblest feelings to the problems of social life. Great is the dignity of a healer of the afflictions of the human body, and preserver of the health, but great are also their responsibilities. To be called a Socialist is the highest compliment that can be paid by one man to another. To be a true Socialist is the highest distinction a man can attain to on earth. But how many deserve to be called so, and how many pretend to be Socialists, without any shadow of right to be counted such? It is not enough to repeat thoughtlessly certain ready-made maxims and sentences in order to be a Socialist. It is necessary to study society in all its aspects and phases, to read, think and investigate much and long in order to have the right to call oneself a Socialist. One independent thinking man is worth thousands of thoughtless repeaters of other people's ideas. It is a great and noble thing to "make Socialists," but the proper way to do it is to make them study, think and judge for themselves, to put them on their own feet. Feeling alone, sincere and deep as it may be, is not a secure foundation for a soldier of Socialism. Knowledge and conviction coming from knowledge and independent thought, are the most precious qualities of a healer of social evils and a true reformer. The so-called leaders who are opposed to academic study, because they want "fighters," are false prophets. Socialism, in order to succeed, has to start an educational crusade. German Socialists owe their success to the systematic education of the masses, started by the genial F. Lassalle and kept up to our day. The Socialists of England try to do the same. The American Socialists have to adopt the same policy. An ignorant soldier is a poor fighter."

With this purpose in view we have worked out a three years' course of study of topics touching upon all social and economic problems which confront us today. This we will proceed to outline in the next issue of The Herald.

# WHERE DO PROFITS GO?

Inquire of statisticians who are the beneficiaries of this alleged prosperity? Listen to the report by Hon. Carroll D. Wight, United States commissioner of labor, in his Thirteenth Annual Report,

Vols. 1 and 2: 4 "A 3<sup>1</sup>/4-inch farm wagon is made in 48 hours and 17 minutes, i. e., it equals the work of one man for 48 hours and 17 minutes. This man receives for making this wagon \$7.19. The same wagon costs the farmer \$75. Let some wise politician tell us how the farmer can afford to swap \$75 on the farm for \$7.19 earned in the factory.

A nice buggy made at a labor cost in time of 39 hours and 8 minutes; the laborer receives \$8.09 for his service. This buggy is sold in our market for \$100 to \$125.

A good substantial hack is made at a labor cost of 53 hours and 28 minutes, at a money cost of \$8.48. This hack is marketed at \$100.

A clock, mahogany, veneered, 26 inches high, 8-day movement, labor made it in 1 hour and 23 minutes, and received 251/2 cents for making it. This clock costs the user \$12.50.

A common straw carpet costs the housewife forty cents per yard, while it costs only nine cents per yard to make the best grade of Brussels carpet. The nt cents a r in the factory gets eig yard for making velvet carpet, and six cents a yard for making ingrain carpet. The one costs us \$2 per yard and the other \$5. Where is the profit and who gets it? Let some laborer who voted for Mc-Kinley's prosperity or Bryan's 16 to 1 answer it.



### CALIFORNIA

CALIFORNIA Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday even-ings, commencing at &. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thurs-day evening. Membership, Social Democrat c Harald free to each member, Sceets per mouth. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

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# COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, mests every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. t 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Htre Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp. Secretary.

CONNECTICUT.

cticut State Committee meets the last ch month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville, L. Schaf, Secretary. Branch No.3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday overing, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Vulmer, Sec. Branch No.4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

# ILLINOIS,

ILLINOIS. Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dear-born St. Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Weat-

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p.m. at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Scoretary, 664 West Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Scoretary, 664 West Islah Street.

Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 694 West Bith Bireet. Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 pm. in Donder's place, 1080 W. Branch No. 3 (Dicago, maets second and fourth Sun-days of each month at Pisarit's Hall, cor. Centre ave. and 19th st. Jos. Cerny, Sec 7, 530 W. 18th St. Branch No. 6 (Glerman), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave, near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St. Branch No. 5, (Gbemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday, at 9 a.m., at 5002 Line Street. J.A. Ambroz, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street. Branch No. 6. 0. Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first<sup>6</sup>

Branch No. 9. Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first uid third Sundays at 3 p. m. Gus. Larson, Secretary,

INDIANA.

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

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

### KENTECKY

Branch No. 4, Belleview, meets ist and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m.; and 3od and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Disterman, Sec., 132 Foote ave.

MABYLAND. Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Bultimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Wenzel's Hotel, 228 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Levin T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre st. MASSACHUSETTS.

MASSACHUSETTS. The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Spring-field St., Boston. All other corresponding Sec-retary, Margaret Halle, 5 Glenwood St., Roz-bury. Branch No, 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tassdays of each month at Springfale Tu aer Hall. Gus. Geisler, Organizer, 413 Main St. Branch No, 5, Lyan, permanent headquarters, 11 Muarce St. Business meeting every Monday night 5730. Openhouse, Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 423 Esser St.

11 Musroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 421 Essex St. Branch No. 9, Brockton. meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, cor-ner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Boeworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect st. Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Mon-day at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Secral, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St. Branch No. 29, Rozbury, Mass, meets at 24 Warren st., 24 and 4th Fridays of every mouth. Public invited Hersnoh No. 31. Chelsea Neuronaet Neuronaet No. 29, Rozbury, Mass.

Branch No. 31, Chelses, permanent bradquar ters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers Secretary.

### IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM

(Continued from First page)

of the administration in its professions. The whole foreign policy is the result of greedy commercialism. It evidences the criminality of capitalism which does not hesitate to sacrifice the life and lib-erty of a people in the interest of private profit. The capitalist class must have markets and opportunity to invest their St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Put-nam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address. Branch -No, 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St. MONTANA.

MINNESOTA

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

MISSOURI.

3

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street. Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

### NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1. Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Liv-Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1206 Kaighu's Avenue. Branch No. 5, (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at international Hall, Tedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J. meers first and third Mondays as 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Ed-mund St. NEW YORK.

mund St. **NEW YORE.** The City Contral Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grandstreet, tare of \* Hall. James Allman, Sceretary, 23 Sudfolk et. East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Cliaton St. A. Guyer, Sceretary, 168 Buffolk St. Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wedneedays of the month as 1069 Second Av., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secre-tary, 324 E. 60th St. Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 99th St. Eliss-beth H. Thomas, Secretary. Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Satur-rades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Presuma, 160 Boerum St. Branch No. 1, New York, meets every Friday, at 8p. m, 200 E. Broodway. Lectures and discussions. Pub-lie invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.; OHIO. Branch No. 2. Cleveland, meets in Ohisen's Market Nork St. Centers and St.

OHIO. OHIO. Branch No. 2. Cleveland, meets in Ohisen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at \$ p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meet-ings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m. Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohisen's Hall, **G York St.** Lectures and discussions Disauch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelien Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sundays at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue. Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Briday Greening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Conneil Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. J. U. Schawe, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 294. Branch No. 5, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, IBB Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Frint St. Branch No. 1, German, Columbus. Tuomas May, Jr. Secretary, 505 Sard St. **PENNSYLVANIA.** 

PENNSYLVANIA. Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice. Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sassafrass St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets 2nd and last Wednes-day evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 8, m. and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 244 Ad-dison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 215 Jane St

Branch No. 4, Coudersport. Meets every second and iast Wednesday of each month in K. of L. hall. - Chas. Enispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretar, Ben. Cod-ington, Treasurer.

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

M. GHIBS, 1007 S. 1 BITG St. Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday atternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 26 East 3d St. G. S. Smith, chairman; Jao. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WASHINGTON Branch No. 5, Tacoma. Meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 413 11th Street.

WISCONSIN.

WISCONSIN. Milwaukse Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner, Fourth and Chestnut sta. Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kailer's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening. Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatks's Hall, corner Green Bay and fourth Friday in Geatks's Hall, corner Green Bay and fourth No. 3, Sheboygan. Meets every second Thurs-day of the month at Emil Hendschel's place, 1011 Mich-igan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Kichenberger, TON N. 11th street.

Ilth street. Branch No. 4. Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each moath at Meller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, S21 25th St. Branch No. 9. Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, south east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secre-tary.

east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild Secre-tary. Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every Arei and third Thursday of each month at Kraus' Hall, 21 and Center St., at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Losech-man, 1125 Zird St. Brauch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth

man, 1126 23rd St. Brauch No. 23, Milwankee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

Have your card inserted in the

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position on the money question is also

THE SOCIALIST POSITION

has to say on the question of expan-

sion. Socialism is not anybody's ready-

made scheme or device; it is a scientific .

philosophy, and rests upon a historical,

economic, and scientific basis. The mis-

Now let us compare what the Socialist

in accord only with middle class aims.

in your locality.

Standard Oil is to be the heart of this There is one known thing bank trust. of Standard Oil. Its minimum profits are at least forty millions yearly. How much more they be is the jealous secret of Standard Oil, and none may pierce it. As stated, as captain-constructors of this bank trust are Rockefeller, Morgan and the Rothschilds. They will go to New Jersey for organization. That state has grown the Morocco of America. Its statutes are the merest shipyards to build and launch and outfit these trust pirates of commerce. New Jersey, to be consistent, should adopt the black g as its banner. It should float the Jolly Roger with skull and cross bones from the dome staff of its capitol. Once this trust of the banks is afloat, it will have beneath its pennant every bank in New York. They must join or be de-stroyed. The old killing Standard Oil method will suffice for this. Then it will extend itself. Every bank in the coun-try will become its gillie. There will be no limit to its sway. Its powers will find their last extension in the frontiers of the possible. It will fix the price of y and censor the markets to the last item of value. It will pick up the national debt and hold the country beween its thumb and finger. It will deand bonds and get them, or it will bree payment for them. It will stand at the spigot of loans. It will flow money nor off at its selfish interest or caprice. I other businesses will set like beggars at its gates.

Fortunately this time is rapidly passing away never to return again, and Socialism, rational and pure Socialism, is broadening and deepening with every day, sending its roots deep into the national soil, and spreading its vigorous branches far beyond the limits of one small class.

The marvelous growth of the S. D. P. is the most convincing proof of this change for the better. The time is approaching fast when the S. D. P. will be a great national power in the United States, a power to be felt and respected, a power before which all the old and new-fashioned tricks and crafty designs of the enemies of the toiling classes will prove of no avail.

This triumph of the cause of Socialism, however, has to be brought about by the persistent endeavors of the members of the S. D. P. And in order to be able to accomplish it the members of the S. P, have to prepare themselves for D. the battle royal against all the sinister powers of selfishness and ignorance. In connection with this grave problem, the writer of these lines takes the liberty to repeat here what he said long ago in his article, "Socialism and Sociology. "As the knowledge of all the parts of

It costs 11 cents to tan a side of leather, and labor gets 18 to 75 cents for making a pair of shoes.

A farmer sells his bale of cotton for \$25. The same bale of cotton turns out two thousand yards of calico ginghams, for which the same farmer is forced to pay \$100, or more to get his own bale of cotton back, while the labor in the factory gets only \$22 for converting the raw cotton into manufactured cloth.

Labor gets 31/2 cents for making hose; gets 211/2 cents for the use of the machine to make them with.

Labor gets \$10.33 per dozen for mak-ing ash bedsteads 6 feet 4 inches high and nicely finished, while you have to pay more for one bedstead than labor gets for making the dozen.

The labor cost of making a 41/2 pound axe is 4½ cents; selling price is \$1. Labor cost of making pitchforks is 5

cents each; selling price 50 cents. Cassimere pants costs in labor and material 78 cents, while a Prince Albert

coat costs less than \$3.

Labor gets 75 cents for making a bu-reau with four drawers; this bureau sells for \$8.'

Subscribe for "The Herald" 26 weeks for 20 cents.

surplus capital, no matter at what cost to others. All that is needed to enlist the blind support of the people in carrying out their nefarious schemes is to cover them with the cry of "patriotism." Such great wrongs have always been perpetrated in the name of "humanity," 'civilization," and "patriotism," It is only thus that the ruling class can gain the moral support of the people.

### REACTIONARY DEMOCRACY

The republican party, in declaring for expansion, is but voicing the interests of the class it represents. The democratic party is opposed to the republican expansion policy, not because it is more virtuous, but because the material interests of the class it represents would not thus be subserved. The industrial activities of the middle class are very limited and its surplus capital still more so; consequently they are not interested in the policy of the trust magnates, but rather opposed to it, for they know that the growth of the trusts means ruin for-them. With but little or no manufactured products to export and no capital to invest abroad, it is not strange that they should oppose this policy, and it is less strange when we take into consideration the result of this investment on the stability of the middle class. I will refer to this again presently.

The democratic party, in representing the interests of the perishing mid-dle class, has become thoroughly reac-tionary. It faces backward on every great question of the day. Its middle class anti-trust program is absurd. Its

sion of the Socialist is to point out the truth regarding the working of economic laws, and show that the present system is destined to work its own downfall and usher in the co-operative commonwealth. The Socialist points out the necessity of modern capitalism to expand-it must have foreign mar-The Socialist is not an expansionkets. ist like the republican nor an anti-expansionist like the democrat-he merey points out the facts. The interests of the class he represents cannot be served by either policy. Socialism, as I have said, represents the interests of the working class. It also represents the true interests of every member of the middle class (and I might also say the true ultimate interests of the capitalists, not, of course, as capitalists, but as men); but, like the slaveholders of old, they are blind to their higher interests.



You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If yon want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royaity for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no szenes. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass

The Herald will be sent to any ad-dress in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA THE PARTY. The Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. It is the party that elected the first Socialist mayors of American cities, at Haverhill and Brockton, Mass, and in different sections of the country not less than thirty members of the party have been elected to public positions. ITS METHOD. Fire or more mere here can orrenzize a branch **CAMPAIGN OF 1900** NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ITS METHOD. Five or more members can organize a branch of the Social Democratic Party. Any reput-able person subscribing to the principles of the organization is eligible to membership. Desiring to organize a branch, application should be made to the national secretary for copies of the constitution, which should be placed in the hands of prospective members. In these will be found the declaration of prin-ciples, as also the laws of the organization. ITS OBJECT. First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists. Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a nation. I system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the complete emaccipation of the socially use-ful classes from the domination of capitalism. TRADES UNIONISM. The trades union is the arena where all

ful classes from the domination of capitalism. TRADES UNIONISM. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to par-ticipate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the strug gle for emancipation.



COMMITTEE ON PRINTING JOSEPH WINNEN......Chairman PHILIP BROWN.....Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION SEYMOUR STEDMAN......Chairman ARTHUR DENNISON.....Secretary

**COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS** OSCAR LOEBEL......Chairman SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary



**EUGENE V. DEBS** 

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD FREDERICK HEATH.....Chairman SEYMOUR STEDMAN....Secretary, EUGENE V DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER CORINNE S. BROWN

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER THEODORE DEBS No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

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	5.00
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Jno. Hartwig, Sec'y W. S. and Death Benefit	
Fund, Newark	5.00
Sidney Temple, New Glans	1.00
William Wilkinson, New Glans	1.00
Previously reported	883.90
Total	901.90

Campaign Committee to Seymour Stedman, Secretary, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

ITS PLATFORM.

ITS PLATFORT. Tervision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of ser-Public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. Public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities. Public ownership of all gold, silver, copper lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells. Meduction of the hours of labor in propor-tion to the increasing facilities of production. Inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose. Ustor legislation to be free, the inventor to be renumerated by the public. Tational insurance of working people against accident, lack of employment and want in oid age. - \* Tequal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discrimin-tions of the abolition of all laws discrimin-tion and international insurance of working people against accident, lack of employment and want in oid age. - \*

The adoption of the initiative and referen. The adoption of the initiative and referen. dum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by voters. Abolition of war and the introduction of in-ternational arbitration.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY: The Social Democratic Herald 50 CENTS A YEAR. 126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

# NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workingmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

Comrade Debs is announced to speak at Van Horne, Iowa, Sept. 5, the occasion being the firemen's celebration.

Comrade E. Val Putnam is announced for a series of meetings at Webb City, Mo., beginning about September 1.

Albion E. Geisler has been substituted for Chas. Haase as the Social Democratic candidate for the State legislature in the Ninth District.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

Get your barber to allow you to hang the Debs portrait on his wall. And, by the way, how many small stickers, say two inches square, could you use?

The Social Democrats of Los Angeles, Cal., by a large majority reconsidered their former action and declared allegiance to the National Executive Board.

A Michigan comrade orders 250 of seen a much better leaflet than this." Keep "No. 2" going and it will do its work.

Comrade Debs speaks at Canton, Illinois, on Labor Day, and not Canton, Ohio, as announced last week. The meeting is under the auspices of the Central Labor Union.

The encouraging report comes from Florida that our comrades will succeed in getting a place on the official ballot in that State; the work of filling up petitions is well under way.

All loyal members of the Social Dem-

has passed the \$600 mark. The amount required is \$1,250. The specific object of the Appeal's enterprise is to keep it before the people that Debs is a candi-date "to the finish."

Social Democrats of Iowa in conven-tion August 10, made the following nominations: Secretary of State, C. Worth; Auditor, W. T. Beals; Treas-urer, Madison Warder; Attorney Gen-eral, B. W. Wilson; Supreme Judge, L. M. Winger, Bailroad, Commissioner, M. Winn; Railroad Commissioner. M. D. Earnest. A full electoral ticket was also nominated.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

Any branch not having received collection blanks for the Campaign Fund by the time this copy of the Herald reaches them, should immediately notify the National Campaign Committee, 126 Washington St., Chicago, 111. This is the most important work for the month of .August; to see that every branch and individual member learns the necessity of a Campaign Fund and what it is to be done with it. We won't have as much as the capitalist parties, but, in proportion to the amount, we' will make a greater showing.

Comrade James Oneal writes us: "I want to say that I received the leaflet by Ben Atterbury, "An Open Letter to the Average American Workman,' and I think it is splendid thing to spread all over the country. We will send for a big lot shortly." A day or two later the order came for 5,000 copies. This order cost the comrades of Terre Haute \$5 delivered. The leaflet (it is No. 2) is highly spoken of by comrades from Maine to California. "Spread it all over the country" and it will make converts -and votes.

# **DEBS DECLINES**

To the Social Democratic party Comrades: I respectfully decline the nomination as a member of the National Executive Board. I have served my time in that capacity and now step aside to make room for another. My decision is unalterable, and the secretary will please strike my name from the list of nominces.

In severing my relations with the board it is due my colleagues to say that during the two years of our incumbency I found them always loyal to the party, steadfast in their devotion to Socialism and true to every obligation, official and personal. Each of them has my thanks and all of them I hold in affectionate esteem.

The new board will have my unqualified allegiance and support. After the campaign, to which I owe, and shall contribute, my best energies, I shall have time and opportunity to organize and otherwise work in the interest of the party, and this I shall do, although in an unofficial capacity, with all the zeal and ability I can command.

Thanking my comrades for the honor intended, which is appreciated quite as." much as if it had been accepted, I remain,'

Yours fraternally, Eugene V. Debs.

### **TO COMRADES OF NEW YORK**

All branches of the Social Democratic party in New York are urgently requested to send delegates to a state convention which will take place at Seminole Hall, 414 Grand street, New York city, on Tuesday, Aug. 26. The basis of representation will be that each delegate may represent as many comrades as may care to select him, but no delegate shall represent less than five. The convention will be called to order at 10 a.m. All interested in the wellbeing of the S. D. P. are urgently requested to see that they are represented, and thus demonstrate once for all that, despite false statements to the contrary, the S. D. P. remains intact in this state. All locals, even those which are openly in favor of unity, are frankly

# NOMINATIONS FOR NEW NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

The constitution adopted at the Indianapolis convention, and since approved by a referendary vote of the branches, provides for a national executive board of nine members, "five of whom shall be chosen from territory convenient to the national headquarters and shall be called 'resident members,' and the remaining four shall be chosen, as far as possible, from other parts of the country." The present executive board on July 21 requested the members to make nominations for the new board. In response the following have been named up to this time:

and. In response the followin en named up to this time: Allman, James, New York Brown, Corinne S., Illinois Berger, Victor L., Wisconsin Clemens, G. C., Kansas Cox, Jesse, Illinois Foreman, A. B., Wisconsin Farmer, W. E., Texas Gordon, F. G. R., Massachusetts Heath, Margaret, Massachusetts Heath, Frederick, Wisconsin Horgan, W. C., Illinois Keliher, S. Indiana Ladoff, Isadore, Wisconsin McCartney, F. O., Massachusetts Miller, L. E., New York Miller, L. E., New York Miller, L. E., New York Miller, Hugo, Indiana Roderus, Frank, Illinois Ricker, A. W., Iomas Ricker, A. W., Iowa Riley, Geo. W., Illinois Strobell, Geo. H., New Jersey Sweetland. G. A., Connecticut Uhlhorn, Henry, Illinois Vaclay, Mudra, Illinois

It is hoped that every Branch will contribute \$10 to the Campaign Fund; some can do better; some have done so and will make a canvass for individ-ual subscriptions as well. What is your Branch doing? Send all money to the treasurer of the National Com-mittee, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Balamore & Ohio railway, through some blunder committed by an enterprising but unwise official, has itself quite ridiculous by issuing



LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains infor-mation concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2-"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman, by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable convincing



ocratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth ave-nue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Look out for an announcement in next week's Herald of our Postal Propaganda, designed so that every Socialist in the United States can engage in quiet and thoroughly effective campaign work. It will meet with your approval on sight.

A memorial meeting will be held Saturday evening, August 18, at Gar-field Turner Hall, Larrabee street and Garfield avenue, in honor of Wilhelm Liebknecht. There will be speaking and the Socialist Sangerbund will render appropriate songs.

It is of the highest importance that every possible means be adopted by the comrades to correct the lie now being industriously circulated that Debs will withdraw" in favor of Bryan. The leaflets at one dollar a thousand afford a cheap way of doing this. Send in your orders

There will be a Social Democratic lawn party at the Socialist Club Rooms, 1541 Central Boulevard, next Sunday evening, Aug. 19, to which members of all branches in Chicago and their friends are invited. Tickets, 10 cents each. Ice cream and cake served.

The Appeal to Reason fund for the purpose of sending the paper to 10,000 officers of labor unions for six months

Leaflet No. 2, issued by the National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party, is a genuine "hit," the first of the campaign. The first run of 20,000 copies was exhausted in 20 days after the first announcement; the second run was 100,000 copies, of which 30,000 have already been shipped to comrades and branches in different parts of the country. The price of the leaflet is One Dollar per thousand, carriage prepaid. For prices on smaller lots see advertisement. It is four pages, 41/2x7 inches, just what you want to give to a friend on the street or insert in a letter. Other leaflets are being prepared, but No. 2 should have a circulation of One Million. Send orders to Campaign Committee, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

**Contributions for the National** Campaign Fund of the Social Democratic Party should be sent to the treasurer, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. Acknowledgment will be made in the Herald.

# **BRANCH SUPPLIES**

Membership Cards (per 100)..... 1.00 Membership Applications (100) ..... .25 Constitutions (each) ..... .03 Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

Twenty-six weeks for 20 cents

and fairly invited to attend and an opportunity thus be provided to all genuine Social Democrats to settle all differences within the ranks of our own party.

JAMES ALLMAN, Secretary.

# TAKE NOTICE

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

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

The national secretary of the party is Theodore Debs, same address. The national official paper of the party is the Social Democratic Herald.

The National Executive Board con-sists of Frederic Heath, chairman; Sey-mour Stedman, secretary; Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger and Mrs. Corinne S. Brown.

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

committee for the campaign was elected as follows: Edward Zeigler, chairman; Joseph R. Finn, treasurer; James Wright, secretary.

Acknowledgment of all contributions received will appear in this paper.

The National'Committee will meet Sunday morning at 10 o'clock at 55 No. Clark Street.

a circular to its employes in which it says: "The triumph of Socialism in this nation would mean the downfall of all the institutions upon which its strength and permanence depend." We say this is a blunder because it is really good Socialist propaganda for which Socialists do not have to pay. It is just such mistakes as we may look for from the bull-necked managers of railroads in this country. It will do good. More power to 'em! They are assisting the movement which "harasses and endangers" the brutal but tottering cause of capitalism. Incidentally they might tell us what interest the employes of the B. & O. or other workingmen have in the "institutions" whose "downfall' is threatened. Socialism threatens only the interests of the private cormorants of capitalism, the plunderers of labor and debauchers of politics. This they know. Hence their great concern for "this nation" and its "institooshuns." A number of Chicago lumber dealers,

who think their stocks have been assessed at large figures, have come out with a representation to the board of review that the Pullman company's personal property tax, shown by the books to be only \$961,700, should be nearly \$10,000,000. The lumber dealers should study closely the Pullman company's methods, and then instead of kicking because they are successful, adopt them.

**Montana Socialists** All unattached Socialists in Montana please communicate with J. F. Fox, 71 E. Park street, Butte, for the purpose of furthering Social Democratic propaganda.

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