

## NEW CIVILIZATION SOCIALISTS DEMAND

**Civilization of Capitalism Based on War—Every "Enlightened" Christian Nation in the World Supports it**

## CIVILIZATION OF THE SHOTGUN

**The Standing-Army Civilization of Capitalist Christendom is Doomed before the Onward March of Socialism**

By Max Melnard

Socialists demand a new civilization, or a better civilization. The civilization we now have may be good enough in spots, like a desert; here and there may be found an oasis, but generally, it is a conspicuous failure. The fact is universally recognized, and all sorts of remedies are proposed for glaring and humiliating defects. The church thunders its anathemas; the schools, from the kindergarten to the university, wrestle with the subject; the press, in a thousand ways, confirms the allegation. This has been going on until our civilization resembles a beggar's clothing—an unsightly mass of patch work.

The nations of the world have been classified as savage, barbarous, semi-civilized and civilized, the climax being "enlightened" or "Christianized." Hence the term, "Christian civilization," the best, the ultima thule of civilization. General Sherman is on record as saying: "War is hell." In our vocabulary there is no word more shuddering than "hell." It stands for all that is horrible in the imagination; and yet, our civilization is conspicuously a civilization of war, represented by standing armies—war machines constructed for slaughter and for the inauguration of hell upon earth.

The peculiar feature of this phase of the subject is that these standing armies, these human slaughtering machines, are constructed, perfected and equipped for the inauguration of hell upon earth by the most enlightened Christian nations in the world. The nations of Europe, excepting the Turks, claim to have achieved the most advanced position attainable in Christian civilization, and yet, beyond all controversy, it is a civilization which rests for security upon standing armies, numbering 5,000,000 officers and men, ready at the word of command to inaugurate hell in Europe or elsewhere, as emergencies may require.

Whatever may be the boast of European nations, in the way of advanced civilization, we of the United States entertain the idea that American civilization is superior to anything in that line the world has known. Nevertheless, we are confronted with the fact that the United States has caught the European contagious craze for standing armies as a means of achieving largest results in Christian civilization, and we are to have more soldiers and more guns and a more perfect and better equipped war machine. Notwithstanding this, Socialists maintain that a civilization dependent upon guns for support is beyond all the power of hyperbole the most satanic conceivable.

The grand old poet prophet, Isaiah, from his mount of vision, saw a time when "the nations would beat their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning hooks and learn war no more." It is not required to eulogize God's most renowned prophet. He was not a crank, nor a victim of delusion. With him it was "thus saith the Lord." He sounded the keynote of Socialism—a civilization without a standing army to support it. His vision was clear. In due time Jesus Christ came and laid the foundations of a new and a better civilization, preached it and fell a martyr to his mission. It was a good thing. The devil saw it at a glance, adopted and corrupted it, and has got it where, aided by standing armies and other satanic devices, he controls it for his own glory. But the devil, with all the assistance he can command from his co-laborers and colporteurs, has not been able to destroy man's faith in himself, his faith in God, nor God's faith in man. The foundation which Christ laid of a new and a better civilization remains intact.

Socialism sees and grasps its opportunity. It comprehends conditions and possibilities. It believes that all things right and just, and of good report are attainable. The obstacle in the way of success is error. To tear it up by the roots and destroy it, Socialists know is a herculean task, which they do not

underestimate. It is a work they have undertaken and its magnitude creates neither dismay nor demoralization. Wherever they find a upas tree, spreading poison, they will hew it down. They will accept all the responsibilities of their sphere of influence. They will send forth a never ending army of iconoclastic ideas, commissioned to tear down the idols of error, regardless of who erected them or who worships them. They believe that Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise panoplied for ceaseless war, and that the "eternal years of God" are pledged for his victory. When the Czar of Russia, the most powerful autocrat in the world, called a convention of the nations to discuss arbitration instead of war, for the settlement of controversies between nations and the disbandment of standing armies, he heralded a colossal stride in the advancement of the principles of Socialism. Such was not the czar's intention. He simply yielded, without knowing why, to Socialistic ideas abroad in the world, more potent than all the autocracies, aristocracies and plutocracies in all the earth combined. The convention of the nations called by the czar, is conclusive to men who have the presence to see coming events, that the standing army civilization of the present and the past is doomed. That Isaiah saw it with Godlike vision, and that Christ laid the foundations of a better civilization deep and strong in the minds of men is conceded. Upon this foundation Socialists are now building a new and a better civilization than the world has hitherto known—a civilization from which standing armies, human slaughtering machines, shall be eliminated, and the nations "learning war no more" shall be redeemed from the multiplied curses of the past and the present civilization to enjoy the fruitions of universal peace and happiness.

### Sincere, They Say, But Erratic

The Indianapolis Journal (Rep.) has the following reference to Eugene V. Debs. It is well that the Journal has Comrade Debs' words on record in its own office, as it will thus be able readily to recall them when they come true: "Eugene V. Debs, Social Democratic candidate for president, received about 100,000 votes. This does not count much in a popular vote of 15,000,000, but it represents a phase of current thought. In 1824 Andrew Jackson was elected president by a popular vote of 155,872, and even with that small vote had a plurality of 50,551 over John Q. Adams, the next highest candidate. Mr. Debs need not be ashamed of his vote numerically. As for his principles, the Journal believes he is a sincere but erratic man. He says that the Republican party having triumphed, the 'trusts will run riot in the spoils of conquest,' and he predicts that when the development of capitalism reaches its greatest momentum in the second McKinley administration consumption will not keep pace with production and a crash will come. 'Then,' says he, 'the working class will get in full measure what they voted for.' There will be glutted markets, paralyzed factories silent mills, deserted mines, enforced idleness, reduced wages, strikes, lockouts, injunctions, soldiers and the funerals of workmen in rapid succession. There will be no work for the hand, and the brain will have a chance." This is a dark view and the Journal thinks a very erroneous one. The general opinion among the most sagacious business men of the country is that it has taken a new lease of prosperity and is entering on a longer period of good times than usual. Mr. Debs is too bright a man to become a chronic croaker. He should join the procession of prosperity."

### Millerand's Bill on Strikes

The bill on strikes, which M. Millerand, the French Minister of Commerce, has been preparing, has just been presented to the Chamber of Deputies. It provides that in every factory employing fifty or more men a printed notice shall be posted which shall state whether or not arbitration is one of the conditions of employment. In case of the affirmative—and all state contracts will require this—the men are to elect delegates, who will submit any complaints or demands to the employer, and, failing an agreement, both sides may nominate arbitrators.

If, on the other hand, the employer should refuse to do this, the men may resolve by secret ballot on a strike, but the votes of a majority of those present and one-third of the men employed are necessary. There must also be a weekly vote to decide on the continuance or cessation of the strike.

Here comes the New York Times with a reference to the "new" Socialism and the Chicago Chronicle declaring Socialism is not "new." These capitalist pressmen should be given a lay-off with an injunction to post up.

## MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Charles W. Casson of Revere, Mass.

### THE COMMONWEALTH OF MAN

Our humanity's expanding  
Into truer, higher life,  
Causes now mankind's demanding  
Freedom from the slavish strife.

It is not by idle chancing  
That the present path is trod,  
But the steady, sure advancing  
Of the fact against the fraud.

'Tis the gradual fulfilling  
Of life's highest wish and aim,  
And by mighty Labor's willing  
To be free in more than name.

For the sequel to life's pages  
Is a nobler human plan;  
The fruition of the ages  
Is the Commonwealth of Man.

### SOCIALISM IS INEVITABLE

So many learned fools are constantly referring to Socialism as though it were a quack medicine or a political invention or a fool fad.

Albert H. Washburn, in debating a few nights ago in Brockton, said: "The kernel of historical and modern Socialism is the leveling down of the whole social area." In other words, Socialism is simply a great social steam-roller, crushing down all jutting ambitions and reducing everything to a dead level.

Instead, Socialism is the scientific sequel to present conditions. It is the full-formed fruit of the leaf of competition and the blossom of commercial combination. It is the inevitable outcome of industrial evolution.

All that Socialists can do is to prepare the people for its incoming. We seek to warn the blind conservatives who stand on the track of progress when the train is coming. We don't bring the train. We only try to keep the track clear.

### ALLIED FOES

Tonight's report of the opening of congress bears the headlines: "Political Foes Meet as Friends," "Hanna and Jones Shake Hands."

The outer form in this case was symbolic of the inner fact. That handshake was a true emblem of the class alliance of party foes. Hanna and Jones fight for the spoils, but unite in their kindred capacity as spoilsmen.

The republican and democratic parties are but the two mouths of the hydra-headed serpent of capitalism. One has gold teeth and the other silver, but the same stomach and after-election tail.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Austria.—At Gratz at an election for the municipal council seven Socialists received a large number of votes, but as they did not receive half the number of votes given, plus one, a second ballot is necessary.

At Marlburg all the Socialist candidates for the municipal council were elected.

Germany.—Three Socialists have been re-elected by an increased majority to the municipal council at Magdeburg.

The Socialists have gained seats in the municipal councils of Dessau, Frankfurt and Frankhausen.

The Socialists called attention in the Reichstag to the circular issued by the ministry of the interior, asking manufacturers for subscriptions in order to create an agitation in favor of the bill which proposed to prohibit workmen from agitating in favor of strikes. The chancellor was good enough to admit that this circularizing was not the thing, but he declined to punish those who had so acted; in fact, they were "not guilty," but they must not do it again.

Switzerland.—The Radicals and Socialists had a joint list of candidates for the election which has just taken place in the Canton of Geneva, and they have been able to secure their return. A Socialist is also a member of the governing body in that canton.

The Socialist Congress which has just been held at Olten, has just reorganized the party. The town of Zurich has been fixed on as the headquarters of the party. The following have been elected as representatives on the International Committee: Feuerholz, Fauquez and Reimann.

### The Feudal Barons of To-Day

In his preface to the "Capital," Marx describes England as the classic land of capital. When he wrote his great work that was undoubtedly true, and it was for that reason that for his masterly analysis of the capitalist system of production he took the conditions existing in this country, where that system had reached its highest development. But the balance has shifted somewhat since Marx wrote; the ideal of the old Free Traders, that England would always be the workshop or factory of

You lose your senses and take your choice.

The republican gander and the democratic goose, "in convention assembled," create and hatch out the foul bird of conspiracy against labor's rights.

Hanna and Jones have been shaking the political dice. Whichever had won in the recent election, we would have lost. To us it was a choice of masters.

### POCKETING THE PRIZE

And now that the game has been played, the winner forthwith proceeds to pocket the pot.

In the pre-election days the republican leaders were engaged in prizing the pockets of the poor, and suggesting that they should be lined with 100-cent gold pieces. But now these gamblers are engaged in pocketing the prize of the poor and levying tribute on them for the strenuous expenditure of campaign talk.

Prices are going up everywhere. On scores of articles prices have risen. The republicans promised to solve the bread and butter question. They have already solved the butter question by lifting the price out of sight.

And on the other hand, wages are going down. In a Brookfield shoe factory wages were this week cut 25 per cent.

As MacCartney said last Sunday, the full dinner pail has been put on the shelf for four years more.

### THE LABOR DONKEY

So long as an American workingman is an ass, he may expect to be ridden. Let him prune his ears, so that they may not be tickled by every capitalistic compliment on election week.

Let him cease his braying about liberty, so that every passing spellbinder may not detect his breed and buckle his harness on tighter. Let him refuse to eat the thistles of wage slavery, so that he may deserve and receive his rightful clover.

Let him remember, at least, that his father was a revolutionary mule, and had the courage to kick himself free from royalist traces when the tax whip bit too hard.

But better, let us evolve from the donkeyhood of old-party allegiance into the manhood of Socialist independence. Then, if McKinley wants his presidential donkey chariot, let him go to Sulu and borrow that of his fellow potentate there.

the world with all the other nations supplying her with raw material and taking her manufactured goods, has long been exploded. To-day all nations appear to be aspiring to make their countries into workshops and factories, and our customers have become our competitors. No longer can England be called the classic land of capital, for that proud name now belongs to the great Republic across the Atlantic, that glorious and triumphant democracy of the west, where all men are free and equal, where there is neither monarch, nor peer, nor prelate, but gold is god, and the almighty dollar rules the roost. In America to-day we see the development of capitalism at a higher point and progressing at a greater rate of progress than in any other country in the world. There we find the last stage of capitalist evolution rapidly being attained and free and unfettered competition working out its logical end and inevitable destruction in universal monopoly. In a recent article in these pages our comrade Hyndman pointed out some of the striking facts of industrialism in the United States, showing how every industry there is coming under the control of the trusts, and how through these mammoth combinations of capital a mere handful of individuals practically hold the whole wealth and wealth-producing power of the states in their hands and under their control. These men are the feudal lords of our time; they are the robber barons of to-day.—Justice (London, Eng.).

### Socialism and Trades Unions

The attitude of the Social Democratic Federation of Great Britain towards trades unions is the same as that of the Social Democratic party. The following resolution was adopted by the English comrades at the annual conference of 1897:

"This conference counsels all members of the S. D. F., as far as possible, to become members of their respective trade unions, and to work harmoniously with trade unionists and co-operators as representing organizations having for their object the improvement of the status of the workers, whilst nevertheless insisting upon the fact that in the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, lies the only hope of permanently bettering the condition of the wage-earners, and therefore claims the political support of all trade unionists and co-operators as a means towards this end."

## SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE SOCIAL EVIL

**Relation of Prostitution to Capitalist Production—The Female Proletarian the Slave of a Slave—An Ancient Guild**

## TASK OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

**The Modern Proletarian Magdalene is Driven to Her Fate by the Conditions Prevailing in Capitalist Society**

By Isador Ladoff

It is not easy to cure a deep-rooted organic disease, even when the patient is fully aware of his ailment and patiently submits to any treatment prescribed by the expert physician or surgeon. The task is indisputably harder, however, when the patient is happily, or rather unfortunately, unconscious of his own precarious condition and does not consider himself sick at all, and scorns the idea of any necessity for him to undergo a systematic course of medical treatment.

It is not easy to free slaves, conscious of their slavery; it is, however, an indisputably harder task to free slaves who were born, raised and live in the illusion of being free men.

And this is exactly the case with the American proletariat. An European workingman knows that he cannot always get or retain his "job"; that even if he is fortunate enough to have a steady job, he is compelled to consume margarine instead of butter, and consider himself happy to have meat on his holiday table. The average American workingman, however, is still imagining that the "jobs" are ready for him as soon as "prosperity" sets in, and that prosperity may be brought about by professional politicians of one or another of the old parties. He scorns the idea of being a slave because he does not see and feel his chains with his eyes and hands, like Thomas, the doubter, the wounds on the body of Jesus Christ. The American proletariat is still living in the illusion that he may by dint of perseverance and a turn of good luck become a capitalist himself and then treat his fellow workers just in the same way as he is treated by his master. He is himself a capitalist in spirit, his ethics and philosophy of life are those of his masters. If he objects to capitalistic rule at all, he does it on narrow, personal grounds. He would like to be the exploiter himself, and has little if any objection to exploitation itself. We know these are hard assertions. But truth is more important than the friendship of Plato.

The task of Social Democracy is to open the eyes of the blind proletariat of the United States to its actual condition, to make it feel and realize the weight of its chains and to replace its capitalistic philosophy of life and code of ethics. Until this is accomplished, the Social Democratic movement cannot expect to be a power in the land. The best means to accomplish it is to prove that Social Democracy is not a theory but a condition, to use the hard facts of actual life as an illustration of the real condition of the proletariat, to allow the modern Thomas the doubter to touch with his hands the bleeding wounds of his own class, of his own brothers, sisters, wives and children.

If the male proletariat is a slave, the female proletariat is a slave of slaves. If the male proletariat is compelled to sell his working power, his muscles, nerves and blood to the capitalist or starve; if he is degraded to a simple machine producing wealth for somebody else, nay, to a mere appendage of a dead machine—his mother, sister, sweetheart or wife, under similar conditions, is frequently compelled to drop lower even than that, to lose even all the dignity of an animal and sell her affections for the privilege of leading the miserable vegetation (it cannot be called life) of a sexual slave, of a prostitute. Prostitution is the direct consequence of mercantilism, of a state of society in which human beings are considered as a mere commodity, salable and purchasable for money, like any other commodity. Prostitutes are proletarians in the first instance and prostitution is a phenomenon of social pathology due to the same causes that produce the proletarian class.

Let us now throw a retrospective glance at the development of the so-called social evil. At the period of decadence of Greece and Rome, the institution of slavery was shaken and mer-

(Continued on Third page)



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**FREDERIC HEATH** Chairman  
**SEYMOUR STEPMAN** Secretary  
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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 15, 1900.

### Subsidizing the Rich

The complete subservency of the American congress to capitalistic influence and domination is illustrated in the proposed subsidy bill for the benefit of mine-owners and ship-builders now before the senate. True to their class interest and that of their masters, the advocates of this enormity propose to mulct the people of the United States in the sum of \$9,000,000 annually for twenty years. The total amount of this colossal steal will be \$180,000,000. Not a single man could be named among the prospective beneficiaries who is not rich; not one of them but is an exploiter in some form sanctified by law, of the labor power of this country; not one whose patriotism is not of the highest and whose commercialism is not of the basest sort. Patriotism pays, especially when the patriot is in on the ground floor with plunder of \$9,000,000 a year. Patriotism for revenue, filched from the pockets of the producers of the land, is virtue of a high order.

One of the arguments constantly reiterated against Socialism is that the state should not do for the individual anything the individual can do for himself. Here we have an instance where the rich, able to build ships if they want them, with one hand throttle justice in the highest legislative body of the land and with the other rifle the public treasury for individual profit under the patriotic cry of "an American merchant marine."

Class distinctions and the class struggle, upon which Socialists insist as a necessary and inevitable condition of the capitalist system, are denied. Yet here we have legislation solely in the interest of a class; a proposal to give that class added facilities and power to what it already enjoys to exploit a people overburdened with the effects of infamous class legislation.

Subsidize the rich—the people will pay. After all, why shouldn't they pay? They believe in the rich and don't know how they could get along without them. The people have voted for state aid for the rich. Therefore, gentlemen of the senate, subsidize private interests, "the people be —!"

### Socialism and the "Democracy"

Again returning to the subject of Socialism and the democratic party, because it is at this time one of paramount importance, engaging the attention of large numbers of people and forcing itself into discussion by Democratic editors throughout the country, we desire to call the attention of our readers and through them that of so-called Socialists, who supported Mr. Bryan, to an editorial article in this paper which appeared in the Chronicle of Chicago, December 2. The Chronicle is a representative Democratic newspaper. The article will be found under the caption "Democracy and Socialism."

A careful perusal of this article must satisfy every Socialist, whether his support was given to the Social Democratic ticket in the late election or to Mr. Bryan, that all that has been said in the columns of the Herald in criticism of Bryan and his "socialistic" friends was entirely justified. Now that the alliance which, as the Chronicle editorial points out, was dishonest, between the place-seeking Democracy and those claiming to be Socialists is vanishing and there are signs everywhere of great acquisitions to Socialism, it is to be hoped that such frank confession as the leading Democratic organs are making will have proper and due effect where there is now much confusion.

Two passages in the Chronicle article call for special notice. "If the Kansas City ticket," it says, "had swept the country and carried with it a two-thirds majority in both houses of congress there would have been no 16 to 1 silver legislation. THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO STATE OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES." There would have been no initiative and referendum. There would have been NOTHING AT ALL IN THE LINE OF RADICAL OR SOCIALISTIC LEGISLATION, for the real Democrats would have been sufficiently numerous to defeat it."

To the real Socialist who gave a vote to Bryan—if such is conceivable—this declaration of a leading Democratic organ must come as a severe shock. To be told that the mild reform of transferring a few public utilities from private to state ownership would have been prevented by "real Democrats," reveals the utter insincerity of campaign claims and promises and stamps the journalists and politicians who made them as dishonest. When the Kansas City platform appeared containing quite an inconsequential and absurd provision for the initiative and referendum, everybody with a grain of political acumen and very slight knowledge of the capacity for deceit and trickery inherent in the Democratic party, understood that it was put there solely for the purpose of catching the votes of reform gudgeons.

It is well for an honest and uncompromising Socialism that the mantle of deception has dropped. There is no longer excuse for a Socialist to isolate himself from the Socialist movement by dallying with a capitalist party that holds out false and alluring promises of taking "first steps" towards Socialism.

The second point worthy of brief notice is the assertion by the Chronicle that Socialism is not new, has been tried by many people under varying conditions and has everywhere failed. All this is, of course, the veriest nonsense, quite worthy, however, of an organ of capitalism. There are some writers for daily newspapers who understand Socialism, but the Chronicle writer is not one of them. The latter shows an almost complete ignorance of the subject when he essays to predicate the failure of Socialism upon the disastrous outcome of isolated co-operative and communistic enterprises. None of these were examples of Socialism, few of them ever claimed to be. Socialism is inconceivable except as the evolutionary successor of capitalist production. It has never at any time existed anywhere in the world. It can not exist in a capitalist state.

### The Massachusetts Elections

A year ago, with unity in the ranks of the Social Democratic party at Haverhill, Mass., with the moral and financial support of comrades throughout the country, including the national executive board and the Herald, John C. Chase was re-elected mayor of that city, receiving a total vote of 3,543, or 1,250 more than at the election the year before and a clear majority of 215. The combination against the Social Democratic party a year ago was quite as strong as this year; that is to say, as Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists were united against the Socialists last year, so were they in 1900; the local conditions imposed upon the campaign and election by the old parties were nearly identical. There was no large increase in the general vote either. In 1899 the grand total was 6,930; this year, 7,073, only 143 more. Yet Chase is defeated. And this is not all. A year ago the united Social Democrats of Haverhill elected Comrades Flanders, Bean and Scates from their respective wards as members of the aldermanic board, the two former having then served one year in that body. This year not only is Chase defeated by 1,077 votes, but all the aldermanic candidates are beaten as well, and the fine representation our party had in the city council of Haverhill has been reduced to two councilmen. When it is remembered that the material conditions and old-party opposition influencing the election were practically identical in both years, that there was only a paltry increase of 143 in the total vote cast, the causes for defeat at Haverhill this year can be found only in the injection into the movement of a discordant and destructive element since a year ago.

There is nothing in the Haverhill defeat to discourage loyal Social Democrats. There is a cause the existence of which is to be deplored in this instance and avoided in the future elsewhere.

At Brockton a year ago Charles H. Coulter, candidate of the party for mayor, received 3,394 votes in a total of 7,111, and was elected. This year, with the same opposition and practically the same support, Coulter was given 2,922 votes in a total of 7,944 and is re-elected. In Brockton there was a large increase in the total vote over 1899, amounting to 833, and despite this and the additional fact that the Democrats gave considerable support to the Republican candidate, Coulter is again mayor of Brockton, much to the satisfaction of Social Democrats everywhere.

### A Correction

In the make-up of The Herald last week a line was dropped from the article by Comrade Eugene V. Debs on "Independent Socialists". The error occurred in the second paragraph. The paragraph should have read as follows: "The real struggle of Socialism is to DEVELOP THE POLITICAL PARTY THAT SHALL establish the co-operative Commonwealth". The words in capitals were omitted.

An employment agency sign in Chicago reads: "Wanted, two hundred men to go into the woods." And thousands of men in Chicago, as elsewhere, are struggling to get out of the woods.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

It is stated that when the census figures are compiled, it will be seen that the wealth of the United States aggregates ninety billions (\$90,000,000,000). If this wealth were equally distributed upon the basis of 75,000,000 population, each individual would have on an average of \$1,200. But the distribution is about as follows: Five per cent of the population, 3,750,000, representing the upper crust of capitalism, gets \$50,000,000,000, or an average of \$13,000 each; 10 per cent of the population, 7,500,000, representing the second degree of capitalism, gets \$30,000,000,000, or an average of \$4,000 each. The remaining 85 per cent of population, 63,750,000, gets \$10,000,000,000 of the wealth of the country, averaging \$150 each. Socialism contends for a more equitable distribution of wealth, and the time is near at hand when its mission of justice and fair play will be universally recognized.

Henry Clews, capitalist and the keenest stock gambler in Wall street, who has a mansion in New York and a chateau at Newport, says a college training is not likely to make a good business man, and that the "sons of independent gentlemen who have expectations make poor clerks." Stock gambling requires nerve. It is a game played by sharks and sharpers, in which loaded dice, marked cards and other cheating devices are introduced. Clews is the recognized leader of the gang in Wall street.

We have just received from the International Publishing Co. of New York, three more of the always well chosen booklets of that company. These latest are "Red Socialism" and "The Living Wage," by Blatchford, and "A Socialist's View of Religion and the Churches," by Tom Mann. The address of the publishing house is 23 Duane Street, New York.

An old dehorned ram, pleading the cause of sheep, before a syndicate of hungry wolves, fairly illustrates the folly of modern methods for abating the ravenous greed of capitalism in its pursuit of wage-earners. Socialism is the only power under heaven that can extract the fangs of capitalism or give the beast the lockjaw.

Socialists, more than any other party, sect or order, delves, explores and investigates the welfare of man. They do not "presume God to scan," but they scrutinize the devil, capitalism and other one-rules of man, particularly those who rob workingmen of their tools, and then rob them of one-half of their earnings.

There was never suggested a lower or more swinish estimate of workingmen than the "full dinner pail." It may be true that a man must eat to live, but the capitalistic idea is that a working-man lives to eat. His motto is, "Feed him and fleece him."

James Bryce, the noted English writer, author of "The American Commonwealth," includes in his selection of the ten greatest books of the century Karl Marx's "Das Kapital," and places it fifth in his list. Hegel's "History of Philosophy" is third.

For a country like the United States, in which according to figures, prosperity is overflowing in all directions, strikes are in the nature of rebutting testimony. The reason is that the boasted prosperity does not benefit those who create it.

Arrangements are being perfected in Washington to dedicate the new century to God at midnight, December 31, 1900. God may object to the dedication if the devil is to run the new century as those of the past have been managed.

Just think of it! For the sum of 50 cents a subscriber receives fifty-two numbers of the Social Democratic Herald, less than one cent a number. Socialists demand ideas, and the Herald keeps them in stock for its readers.

The Union, the organ of organized labor in Indiana, under the management of Ed. Gould, is of the opinion that the retirement of several of the officers of the American Federation of Labor would help the cause immensely.

Socialists contemplate men as having brains, intellect, ambitions and aspirations, for the gratification of which something more than a "full dinner pail" is required.

Just now, as an evidence of national prosperity, capitalists refer to workingmen as having "full dinner pails," as if that were sufficient compensation for a life of toil.

A "War Song Concert" in Chicago a few nights ago was given under the auspices of a Church of Christ.

Capitalism killed chivalry. Example: The treatment of the Boers by the "civilized" British.

## Tribute to Martin Irons

By Eugene V. Debs

It was in the year 1886 that Martin Irons, as the chairman of the executive board of the Knights of Labor of the Gould southwest railway system, defied capitalist tyranny, and from that hour he was doomed. All the power of capitalism combined to crush him, and when at last he succumbed to overwhelming odds, he was hounded from place to place until he was ragged and footsore and the pangs of hunger gnawed at his vitals.

For fourteen long years he fought single-handed the battle of persecution. He tramped far, and among strangers, under an assumed name, sought to earn enough to get bread. But he was tracked like a beast and driven from shelter. For this "poor wanderer of a stormy day" there was no pity. He had stood between his class and their oppressors—he was brave and would not flinch; he was honest and would not sell; this was his crime and he must die.

Martin Irons came to this country from Scotland a child. He was friendless, penniless, alone. At an early age he became a machinist. For years he worked at his trade. He had a clear head and a warm heart. He saw and felt the injustice suffered by his class. Three reductions in wages in rapid succession fired his blood. He resolved to resist. He appealed to his fellow-workers. When the great strike came Martin Irons was its central figure. The men knew they could trust him. They were not mistaken.

When at the darkest hour Jay Gould sent word to Martin Irons that he wished to see him, the answer came, "I am in Kansas City." Gould did not have gold enough to buy Irons. This was his greatest crime. The press united in fiercest denunciation. Every lie that malignity could conceive was coined and circulated. In the popular mind Martin Irons was the blackest-hearted villain that ever went unhung. Pinkerton blood hounds were on his track night and day. But through it all this honest, fearless, high-minded workingman stood immovable.

The courts and soldiers responded to the command of their masters, the railroads, the strike was crushed and the workingmen beaten.

Martin Irons had served; suffered for and honored his class. But he had lost. His class turned against him and joined in the execration of the enemy. This pained him more than all else. But he bore even this without a murmur, and if, ever a despairing sigh was wrung from him it was when he was alone.

And thus it has been all along—the highway of the centuries, from Jesus Christ to Martin Irons.

Let it not be said that Irons was not crucified. For fourteen years he was nailed to the cross and no martyr to humanity ever bore his crucifixion with manlier fortitude.

He stood the taunts and jeers and all the bitter mockery of fate with patient heroism, and even when the poor, dumb brutes whose wounds and bruises he would have swathed with his heart-strings, turned upon and rent him, pity sealed his lips and silent suffering wrought for him a martyr's crown.

Martin Irons was hated by all who were too ignorant or base to understand him. He died despised, yet will he live beloved.

No president of the United States gave or tendered him a public office in testimony of his service to the working class. The kind of service he rendered was too honest to be respectable, too human to be popular.

The blow he struck for his class will preserve his memory. In the great struggle for emancipation he nobly did his share, and the history of labor cannot be written without his name.

He was an agitator and as such shared the common fate of all. Jesus Christ, Joan of Arc, Elijah Lovejoy, John Brown, Albert Parsons and many others set the same example and paid the same penalty.

For the reason that he was a despised agitator and shunned of men too mean and sordid to conceive the lofty motive that inspired him, he will be remembered with tenderness and love long after the last of his detractors shall have mouldered in a forgotten grave.

It was in April, 1899, in Waco, Texas, that I last pressed this comrade's hand. He bore the traces of poverty and broken health, but his spirit was intrepid as when he struck the shield of Hoxie thirteen years before; and when he spoke of Socialism he seemed transformed and all the smouldering fires within him blazed once more from his sunken eyes.

I was pained but not surprised when I read that he had "died penniless in an obscure Texas town." It is his glory and society's shame that he died that way.

His weary body has found rest and the grand-children of the men and women he struggled, suffered and died for will weave chaplets where he sleeps.

His epitaph might read: "For standing bravely in defense of the working class, he was put to death by slow torture."

Martin Irons was an honest, courageous, manly man. The world numbers one less since he has left it. Brave comrade, love and farewell!

## DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

[From Chicago Chronicle]

The various factions of radicals and extremists which were affiliated more or less closely with the Democratic party during the late campaign are preparing to hold conferences for the purpose of arranging for independent action.

The sign is an exceedingly wholesome one. If it be accompanied by similar indications in the right quarter that the Democrats also appreciate the importance of appearing before the people in their true colors there will be a distinct gain for honesty and candor in politics.

It is an instructive fact that the leaders of the radical factions who have called these meetings express themselves without reserve as quite as hostile to the Democratic party as they are to the Republican party. The Socialists of the West, the new radical party of Boston and the middle-of-the-road Populists have spoken already, and there are others yet to be heard from.

All of these organizations, by whatever name designated, are socialistic and, therefore, naturally antagonistic to the Democratic theory of government. In matters of principle they are much more in harmony with Republicanism than they are with Democracy. Their quarrel with Republicanism is not as to principles, but as to their application.

The Republican party is Socialistic in its protectionism. The true Socialists would extend the same idea to many other classes of society, particularly to the poor and the idle. The Republican party declares it to be a proper function of government to stimulate and encourage manufacturers. The true Socialists hold it to be equally the province of government to relieve the people of the management of most of their activities, to conduct them in their name and to do for the individual many of the things which he has been in the habit of doing for himself.

While there is some resemblance between the economics of the Republicans and those of the Socialists, there is absolutely no common ground on which Socialists and well-trained Democrats can stand. They are at the two extremes. Their differences are irreconcilable. If one conquers the other must go down, whether they chance to be acting together for the moment or not.

The recent alliance between these parties was dishonest, because even if the fusion had been successful at the polls it would have fallen to pieces as soon as it attempted to legislate. If the Kansas City ticket had swept the country and carried with it a two-thirds majority in both houses of congress there would have been no 16 to 1 silver legislation. There would have been no state ownership of "public utilities." There would have been no initiative and referendum. There would have been nothing at all in the line of radical and socialistic legislation, for the real Democrats would have been sufficiently numerous to defeat it.

Probably it is the recognition of this fact which is causing the present movement on the part of the radicals. They know that oil and water will not mix. It is not due to any fault on the part of the Populists or to any fault on the part of the Democrats that they are not cohesive. They are going in different directions. The fault is on the part of their leaders, who for purposes of success merely brought together elements which by all the laws of God and man are destined to remain apart forever.

There are enough Socialists and other radicals in this country to form a political party. They may find it difficult to agree as to any well-defined line of action, for they embrace men whose views are benevolent and men whose views are destructive, but the necessities of political action should enable them to come together in a common cause much more easily than they can arrange fusions with parties which agree with them in nothing.

It does not seem to be the law of Socialism to grow. If it were we should have had a Socialistic world long ago. The doctrine is as old as civilization. It has not been improved upon. It has been put into practice in many places and by many widely different people and classes of people, but everywhere and always it has been abandoned as a failure. It has constructed nothing which has endured. It has exalted government. It has debased the individual. It is, therefore, at war with a principle which is almost axiomatic that the elevation of the race cannot be accomplished as a result of legislation by wholesale, but must come about through the toilsome processes of individual improvement acting upon the body of the people and through them upon the state.

If it were not for this record of failure—failure which of late years has been confined chiefly to attempts to effect political and other organizations—it would be supposed that a Socialistic party of some magnitude might be a possibility in this country. Perhaps there may be such a party for a campaign or two, and it may for a time be able to make a respectable contest for supremacy. If such a party should appear it is to the Democratic party that the people must look for its overthrow.

Most of the Socialistic elements now in evidence here are offshoots of Republicanism. This is emphatically true of the Populists, 99 per cent of whom never voted a Democratic ticket. It is very largely true of the Socialistic forces in the great cities. If the movement is to grow it must draw its strength from the Republicans, whose excesses in the line of governmental favoritism are well calculated to make Democrats out of some of their followers and Socialists out of others whose Americanism is not so well grounded.

Judged by its history Socialism is not likely to become formidable. If it should develop strength and purpose sufficient to make it a serious menace to our institutions the Democracy should be the organization to give it battle. It carries the banners of personal liberty and individualism. It has the principles which, if honestly and bravely set forth, must triumph over the delusions of Socialism as they have triumphed over the power of tyranny.

The separation of these radicals from the Democrats, which has been so well begun, should continue to the end. It was inevitable from the beginning.

Weylerism in Cuba helped to bring about the war with Spain. Weyler corralled Cubans, men women and children, and starved them to death, and with his army tried to kill Cuban patriots who wanted to be free and independent. Weylerism is now popular in South Africa with the British, and is suggested as a good thing to civilize and Christianize Filipinos. Christian civilization in time may hope to equal that of the Chinese boxers, or the Apache Indians.



# GROUND WORK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

## Various Distinct Eras in the March of Human Progress Noted—The Development of Capitalist System of Production

### THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

#### Evolution of Capitalism and the Goal to Which it Inevitably Tends—Unerring Forecasts of Marx and Engels

By James Oneal

When the subjection of the formerly independent producer to the position of a wage laborer is accomplished, the surplus value wrung from the laborer is capitalized for the purpose of crushing other capitalists. To quote Marx: "As soon as this process of transformation has sufficiently decomposed the old society from top to bottom; as soon as the laborers are turned into proletarians, their means of labor into capital; as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet; then the further socialization of labor and further transformation of the land and other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, take a new form. That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the imminent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital." These "imminent laws" are inseparable from capitalist society. The capitalist, like all others in modern society, is engaged in the struggle for existence and endeavors to secure for himself and family wealth for their enjoyment. No limits are set to the amount he may accumulate, for to do so would be to strike at the very root of the system—that is, private monopoly. Allow the state to interfere, and it ceases to be PRIVATE property. Hence they are engaged in the struggle for control of the markets, and the weaker ones go to the wall and fall into the ranks of the laborers. Competition forces them to combine and gives those in the combination added strength and, by reducing expenses to a minimum, enables them to produce cheaper and to undertake enterprises which would be impossible prior to the combination. This combination renders the subjection of the laborers complete. Their labor power is reduced to the plane of merchandise, whose value is determined like the value of any other commodity, its cost of production and reproduction.

At this stage of development the classes are very sharply defined. On the one hand the capitalist class with the means of production (raw materials, machinery, etc.) in their possession; on the other hand the laborers with their vital force for sale. One buys it, the other sells it. Owners of tools and users of tools. One receives profits, the other wages. Exploiters and exploited. Rulers and ruled. With this quantitative increase of capital at this stage came also a qualitative change in its form. The former independent, isolated and individual method of production is supplanted by social production and co-operative labor in the factory. The centralization process continues. To quote Marx again: "Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalist regime." These words, written in 1867, sound more like a prophecy than the deductions of a man engaged in analyzing the development of capitalist society. As this centralization of the wealth productive forces of society continues the condition of the laborers grows worse. They have but one commodity for sale, their labor power, which is sold in advance by the day, week or month, and as it is inseparable from themselves they are sold with it. Its price fluctuates around the subsistence point and is held there by competition for jobs. The sale is not a voluntary one, but a forced one, due to their position in society. Unlike other commodities, they cannot send samples of it to the prospective buyer for his inspection, nor can they hold it from the market and await a raise in price; they are "free men" (?) who MUST sell, for on its sale depends the life of themselves, wives and little ones. As Prof. Davidson well said:

"The laborer must sell today; the employer need not buy until tomorrow. To the master it is only a question of profits; to the laborer it is a question of LIFE."

As capitalism develops, the small capitalist is gradually forced into bankruptcy by a more powerful opponent, and these gradually swell the ranks of the workers, and the introduction of more improved machinery, the further division and subdivision of labor play their part in increasing their numbers and consequently the ranks of labor play their part in increasing their numbers and consequently the ranks of the unemployed. Thus the number of those of whom capitalist MUST BUY labor power is decreased, while the number of the laborers who MUST SELL AND NO MARKET FOR ITS SALE INCREASES. This competition between the unemployed for jobs, between those who MUST sell and NO BUYERS, drives wages to the subsistence point. The assertion that they should save up something for a rainy day and go into business is mockery when thousands with years of experience constantly fail. How, then (granting that they could save), could they hope to succeed with no experience at all? The constant introduction of machinery transfers the skill of the workers to the machine and reduces them to a common level. This reduction and the massing of them in the large factories promotes a fraternal bond of solidarity among them. A spirit of class consciousness is developed, a consciousness of their subserviency to the class who own the means by which wealth is produced and by which the surplus values of their toil is wrung from them. Meantime the development of industry produces periodical crises and the workers are thrown aside like squeezed lemons. They are told by the "learned" that they have produced too much, and they go home to see if it is true. They find the larder empty and are at a loss to determine which is correct, their failure to save or the production of too much. Some ascribe it to the absence of white metal instead of yellow, as a means of exchange, while Prof. Jevons in England had to leave the domain of earthly things to seek an explanation of the paradox of want and misery amid abundance, and thought he found it in the spots on the sun. Yet none of these could answer the simple problem propounded to them by the Socialist, which is, how can industrial crises be avoided when the purchasing power of the greatest class in society, the laborers, is less than 17 per cent of the products on the market? Wealth is centralized at one pole of society and population at the other. This centralization revolutionizes the industrial basis of capitalism and contains within it the elements for the solution of the problem. Industry has been socialized through capitalist organization, but its benefits are appropriated by a class. The instruments are of such a magnitude and character that they are only capable of being used in common by great masses of laborers co-operatively arranged. In other words, the industrial basis necessary for the Socialist society—that is, socialized production and co-operative labor—have been developed by the warring forces in the bosom of the capitalist society, and the new order is struggling to burst the capitalistic garment in which it is enveloped.

The old order is no longer adapted to the productive forces which it has evolved. It must be annihilated, it will be annihilated. Marx describes this period in the following passage: "Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too, grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." In other words, capitalism is pregnant with a new social order. It has entered the stage of decay and dissolution, which always presages the destruction of an old and the birth of a new society.

(To be continued.)

The Herald, in proportion as its subscribers increase in numbers, will be able to do more and better work in promoting the cause dear to every Socialist. Think of it, comrades, and send along the names.

Every new branch of the Social Democratic party indicates the growth of the cause of Socialism. It is a landmark in the march of new ideas, a monumental expression of faith in man.

A new subscriber for the Herald is a new force in the battle for better conditions.

### The Taproot of Crime

Bishop Potter of the Episcopal church spoke at a meeting in New Haven, Conn., Dec. 6, his subject being "Wealth and Commonwealth." "I choose this subject because of its paramount importance," he said. "Divorce, crime, corruption in all our cities have one root, the lust of money. The one eager, dominant hunger which salutes us from one end to another of our broad land is the passion, the hunger, the greed of gain."

"Go where you may, talk with whom you will—with clergymen estimating the promise of field for spiritual labor, with women rating the claims of other women upon their social recognition, with the heads of great universities paralyzed with fright lest the indiscretions of some plain-spoken professor who tells his age the truth in an hour when it sorely needs to hear it shall cut down the revenues of the college—it is no matter, the commercial question is at the bottom of it and decides usually all the others."

"We read the other day of a woman at the horse show whose attire was a dress made of the skins of unborn lambs. What do you think of such a thing? Is not this a relic of barbarism?"

"What would be the effect of a company of men and women of recognized leadership should bind themselves together to illustrate in their habit of life simplicity of attire, inexpensiveness in their dwellings, and should further bind themselves to discourage the habit of excessive accumulation? For myself, I believe that such a suggestion would attract far greater numbers than most of us believe."

### A Guiding Hand Needed

While a man so able and impartial as James Bryce of England includes in the ten greatest works of the century Karl Marx's "Capital," the importance of Socialist literature in general calls out the following from the New York Times:

"There is need for a competent examination of the teachings of the new Socialism. Most of those who teach it fail to carry out their theories logically to their consequences. Perhaps they lack the gift of scientific imagination to picture forth what would happen if their doctrines should come to be controlling. Students of the science, however, would be grateful for the help of a strong hand to guide them in the maze of new and untried theories that confront them at every turn."

The school of writers who have been happily described as professional friends of man have taught the world some truths that it could ill afford to ignore. One of them is that human labor can no longer be considered as a mere commodity to be governed by the ruthless law of demand and supply. But along with the truths there is much matter that we do not know to be true. Many thinkers hold it to be quite untrue. The body of this economic literature is now sufficiently great to repay a systematic examination and review."

### SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE SOCIAL EVIL

(Continued from First Page)

cantilism first in the history of the west raised its head. Indigenous women appeared who were dependent for their existence on their sexual nature. The first professional prostitutes were "freed slaves." Prostitution or sexual slavery was at once recognized as a social institution. In the middle ages the class of prostitutes was organized into a guild or trade union, and enjoyed legal recognition in the person of a yearly elected "queen" of prostitutes. This queen was duly sworn in by the government and empowered to prosecute all "scab" prostitutes. At that period the rule of the male over the female in human society was in full sway, and even the fathers, brothers and sons of proletarian women looked with complacency on such institutions as jus primae noctes. The alleged infidelity of a wife was punished by compulsory prostitution for life. Municipalities engaged in the business of running houses of ill fame. Even some of the popes of Rome kept houses of ill fame, from which they derived a part of their princely income (Sixtus IV., for instance). Rome never was especially scrupulous about the source of the money flowing to it, as may be best illustrated by the proverb "non olet" ("it does not smell")—that means the ill-gotten money.

The rapid spread of protestantism and syphilis put an end to the, so to speak, institutional period of sexual slavery. The discovery of America and the general development of international commerce ushered in the most typical and perfect form of commercialism—our modern industrial or capitalistic era. More perfect methods were applied to the trade with human flesh called prostitution. Sexual slavery turned into a regular branch of international trade. Hundreds of thousands of "free proletarian women" are enticed by professional agents into dismal abodes of vice, standing under the official or secret protection of the police, and kept there in order to eke out a miserable existence for themselves and create fortunes for their "employers." These professional agents travel from one end of the globe

to the other in search for fresh sexual slaves, destined to take the place of the rapidly used up old ones. The demand for additional bands of slaves in some localities where there is a prospect of an increased influx, even if temporarily only, of people is eagerly watched by these agents and met by them promptly, as in the case of army manoeuvres or fairs.

Where do all the professional prostitutes come from? This is a highly interesting question. Any one knowing the nature of women, not from the point of view of a man whose mind is poisoned with ideas belonging to the pestilential atmosphere of sexual profligacy, but from the point of view of a son, brother or husband, will admit that no innocent woman will take refuge in professional prostitution, even under the pressure of the direst need; that an honest woman, brought up in the pure atmosphere of love and devotion, will prefer suicide to sexual slavery. Actually, the professional prostitute has fallen gradually on the inclined plane of professional vice till she reached a stage where there is no hope for her to a decent life. Economic conditions compel the proletarian to send his own daughters, mostly before they reach maturity, into the industrial field, where she competes with him. She succeeds in lowering his earnings, but gets herself wages that are ridiculously insufficient to cover her most urgent needs. The young girl knows little of the perfidy of life, nothing of the beastly meanness of the male animal lurking in almost every man. She is young and beautiful. She wants to live and enjoy life as her more fortunate sisters do. Her earnings do not allow her even to dress herself decently. Her cousin proletarian, with whom she works, cannot afford to marry her, although he loves her dearly. Suppose she works in some of the mammoth department stores. The manager notices that she is poorly dressed and thinks that this may hurt his trade. He tells her that she must dress better or quit the job. "But I do not earn enough to pay even my board," answers the girl in despair. "Have you no man friend

who will help you?" is the cynical suggestion of the manager, who is maybe himself not disinclined to be for awhile this friend in need. But then, there is a whole class of professional and unprofessional young men who want to live and enjoy life, but cannot afford to keep up a family on a standard corresponding to their ideal of living decently. The proletarian girl has no trouble to find a friend, and get along for a while in the bliss of the "first love," at least on her part. The friend betrays her. She loses faith in human nature, turns cynical, and after a few such experiences engages in prostitution as a "side line." Then, little by little, the "side line" turns into a regular profession, and she is lost.

Who will dare to throw a stone at the modern proletarian Magdalene? Did we not, as members of the present society, deliberately drive her to her fate? Is the prostitute not punished enough by her fate to need our phariseic compassion and charity? This unfortunate daughter of the proletariat wants justice, not charity! Is the capitalistic class any more moral than the class of proletarians? Is not commercialism permeating all the philosophy of life of the middle class? Does not the matrimonial market of the "higher classes" bear a purely commercial aspect? Do not young men or women of the so-called "respectable families" look chiefly for pecuniary advantages in their matrimonial affairs? Are not many matrimonial unions sanctified by law and church more than prostitution, because there is no element of dire need as an excuse, eliminated?

Proletarians! Is your sister, daughter and sweetheart in danger under the present economic system? Save them from sexual slavery by abolishing the system enslaving your own class.

During the past ten years the United States has coined 122,783,050 standard silver dollars, making a clear profit of about \$61,000,000, and on the face of every dollar stamped the motto: "In God we trust." Rockefeller's motto engraved upon his tanks and pipes is similar.

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

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#### CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Dem. Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. France, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 2, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday each month, at 1 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 Polk street.

#### COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

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

#### CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m. at P. Schaffer's, 103 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaff, 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., 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1408 Polk street.

#### ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 53 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m. at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island St.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dundler's Hall, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dundler, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Pisk's Hall, corner Centre and 19th St., Joe. Cherny, Sec., 730 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at Adolph Jankowski's place, 984 West 21st street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Geislor, Sec., 726 W. 20th street.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday, at 9 a. m., at 8022 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4840 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd St., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus. Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center avenue.

#### INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

#### IOWA

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

#### KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellers, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., at 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 81 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 132 Foote ave.

#### MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

Branch No. 3, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark corner, near Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect St.

#### 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.

#### MINNESOTA

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

#### MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1309 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St.

#### MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 1:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block, G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

#### NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.

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Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3rd Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1206 Knight's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first Monday of each month, at Halveta's Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

#### NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Thursday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 158 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 36 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 150 Soerum St.

Branch No. 8, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join this branch will call or communicate with Tom Fitton, 119 Congress street.

Branch No. 19, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

#### OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelien Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Joe. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

#### OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and 4th Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

#### PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Condersport, meets every second and 4th Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall. Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Cadlington, Treasurer.

#### 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 Kailer'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 Gaetke's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Ave. Frank Liebsch, secretary.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 1011 Michigan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 102 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Muller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moersch, Secretary, 301 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at St. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary, 1126 9th St.

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**The Haverhill Defeat**

Nothing so plainly betrays the secret fear which preys on the capitalistic politician as the eagerness with which he seizes on any apparent defeat of the Socialists. Hence the satisfaction with which the capitalistic press announces the election of a republican mayor of Haverhill. As if a few aldermen and a mayor could retard the steady march of our vote, increasing as it does on an average 50 per cent every year. Or, as if one small provincial town bore any larger proportion to the cause of international Socialism than a ripple on the Merrimac bears to the Atlantic ocean.

However, since in the near future we are likely to have many Haverhills in different parts of the country, it may be useful to analyze the causes which led to the loss of this first American town, except Sheboygan, Wis., that ever elected Socialist officials. The writer enjoyed the privilege of taking some part in the stirring municipal campaign of 1899 in Haverhill. At that time the republicans and democrats put up a united ticket against the Social Democrats. Money was freely used. A railway corporation sent the anti-Socialist campaign committee a contribution of \$30,000. Yet, in spite of all their efforts, the S. D. P. won the day and Mayor Chase was re-elected by a majority of 215.

This year the two old parties did not combine, but the republicans and democrats ran separate tickets. The conditions apparently were more favorable than ever for a Socialist victory. The Socialists of Haverhill, no doubt, worked as earnestly as in last year's campaign. Yet Mayor Chase is defeated by a plurality of 1,077, and not one single Socialist is returned to the board of aldermen.

How, then, can we account for such a sudden change? There seems to be but one explanation.

The most flourishing branch, it it cut from the parent tree, withers in a few hours: The sturdiest arm, if amputated from the body, loses its strength forever.

One year ago the whole Social Democratic party stood behind the comrades of Haverhill. From Wisconsin, from New York, from the most widely scattered places, contributions poured in to the campaign fund, till it reached over \$1,200. This is a large sum to be expended in a small town upon a Socialist campaign, in which all the work is voluntary, and therefore the total proceeds can be used for literature and to defray the expenses of public meetings.

But, the mere value in dollars and cents was a small part of the benefit derived from this fund. Its moral effect was a thousandfold greater. Never can I forget the thrill of comradeship and brotherhood which these contributions carried with them, coming some from the tenements of the east side of New York, some from the labor unions of Milwaukee, and all freighted with the spirit of loving self-sacrifice.

In other ways the members of the S. D. P. testified their sympathy. Eugene V. Debs, with one of his thrilling speeches, turned the whole course of the campaign and changed it from a defensive to an aggressive one. The whole party was watching Haverhill. Who could not work well and hopefully with such comrades behind?

But in 1900 Haverhill saw fit to cut herself off from all these sources of moral and material aid. By severing her connection with the Social Democratic party she asserted her ability to rely on her own resources, with such little assistance as she might receive from the small body at Springfield, with which she allied herself. The result has been disastrous to her and needs no comment.

We say this in no spirit of criticism of the Haverhill comrades, who, we may concede, acted according to their best judgment. But there are other localities which stand aloof from the national organization, and for their sakes the warning and the lesson should not pass unnoticed. For if Haverhill, which had twice elected Social Democratic mayor, aldermen and councilmen, proved so weak as soon as she dissevered herself from the central organization, how can younger and smaller branches expect to flourish without the support of the parent stem?

In selfish isolation, or in affiliation with a small faction, can never come the strength the magnetism and the courage which belong to a large and enthusiastic organization. Those Socialists who persist in standing apart will surely see their efforts fail and their little organizations pine away or perish in an enemy's country when they have lagged behind the rest of the army.

Come, comrades! Come, brothers! Join hands with us. Singly we are the laughing-stock of the world. Singly we are the sport of the politician and the foals of an idle dream.

But welded together in the bonds of comradeship, we shall feel the vital impulses, the energy and the confidence emanating from our national center and from each other; and our true and tried organization will march on conquering and to conquer. E. H. T.

The "Study of Mankind" stands first in the curriculum of the University of Socialism.

# SPECIAL CONVENTION

## OFFICIAL CALL

To Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party, Comrades:

**R**ESPONDING to suggestions from all parts of the country and a demand from many branches, a special National Convention of the Social Democratic party is hereby called, to take place at the national headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Tuesday, January 15, 1901, and continuing in session until the work of the convention shall have been completed.

The purpose of this convention will be to make such changes in the laws of the party and to make such other provisions as may be deemed necessary to meet the growing demands of the organization. It is our purpose to enter at once upon a vigorous campaign of agitation, education and organization, so that the party shall be fully equipped to meet the capitalistic enemy on the political battle-fields of the future. Now that the presidential campaign is over, our work is fairly begun and must be carried forward with all possible energy without the loss of a single hour.

The basis and other conditions of representation will be the same as at the Indianapolis Convention, and are here incorporated as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

Unaffiliated Socialist clubs or societies whose members may desire to connect themselves with the Social Democratic party, are cordially invited to communicate through their proper officials with the Secretary of the National Executive Board, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

This call is issued to all branches of the Social Democratic party in good standing, as shown by the records at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and organized prior to December 15, 1900. The time and place of meeting and other details will be given in the Herald as soon as arrangements are completed.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

### NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Two new branches of the S. D. P. were organized in New Hampshire in November.

Branch 4 of Utah is arranging for a masquerade ball on Christmas eve, the proceeds to go to the lecture fund.

A new Socialist paper comes to our table from Evansville, Ind. It is named Justice and is bright and attractive.

A delegate convention of the Socialist party of Oklahoma has been called to assemble December 26th at the City of Guthrie.

Comrade Guy H. Lockwood is planning to take the road next spring for Socialism with an automobile. We wish him success.

The official vote credited to the Socialists of Oklahoma is 815. That is the nucleus of what will develop into a conquering army in a few years.

Comrade Krieger, Rockville, Conn., writes that the vote at the city election was 171, distributed in wards as follows: Second, 22; Third, 29; Fourth, 120.

Branch 4, Cincinnati, at a meeting held November 25, adopted a resolution favoring the calling of a national convention and encouraging an effort for "union."

Hyde Park, Mass., showed an active interest in the Socialist cause by polling 73 straight votes for presidential electors, 86 for congressman and 146 for state senate.

A contribution of 25 cents to the campaign fund has been received from Comrade Center, New York, which added to the amount already reported, makes a total of \$2,176.50.

In the Tenth ward last Saturday night, branches 3, 6 and 19 of the Social Democratic party nominated Comrade Rudolph Pusch for alderman. Comrade Pusch has been a faithful worker in the movement.

Branch 12 (German) of San Francisco is in a flourishing condition and doing effective work. At every meeting new members are enrolled. The comrades are gratefully at the interest shown in meetings since the election.

Tuesday evening, Dec. 18, at the Bohemian hall, corner Twelfth and Vine streets, the Bohemian Social Democrats of Milwaukee will hold a meeting to be addressed by Comrade Jaroslav Fousek, a member of the Racine branch.

The city elections in Washington have served again to accentuate the growth of Socialism. At Fairhaven John Cloak, Social Democratic candidate for Mayor, received 267 votes against 302 for his Republican opponent supported by Democrats. At New Whatcom, E. Lux (S. D.) polled for mayor 441 votes against 560 for the Republican, who also got Democratic support.

The regular Social Democrats in the Eight ward, Chicago, nominated Comrade Nerad for alderman Monday night. The nominee is well known and highly respected, and the comrades have done themselves credit in the selection.

The growth in membership of our branches since the election is remarkable and significant. A number of large increases have been reported, and all tend to show the healthy state of the party and to insure its rapid development. Among the late reports is that of one branch at Burlington, Iowa, where forty-one new members were admitted in two weeks. The year about to begin is to be a record-breaker for our party.

### Fitchburg Forges Ahead

Branches all over the country are active and adding to their membership rolls. Since the 5th of November the loyal branch at Fitchburg, Mass., has taken in 34 new members. The comrades are greatly encouraged; they are united and harmonious, conditions which are manifest in the splendid vote, 547, cast in favor of Comrade Rice for mayor.

### Correction

Referring to the item in the campaign committee report "for advertising, etc., in the Appeal and Herald," it should be noted that the campaign committee had exclusive control of the entire fourth page of the Herald. It should also be mentioned that the total bill contracted with the Appeal to Reason was \$258, of which the Appeal threw off \$213.50, receiving from this committee \$64.50 in full payment.

I wish also to acknowledge omitting the valuable services to the committee of Mrs. A. S. Edwards, which were gratuitously furnished it during the campaign. Seymour Stedman.

### Action of "Unionists" Repudiated

The course now being pursued by regular branches of the Social Democratic party shows resolution and a clear understanding of present conditions in the movement in Chicago. Last Sunday afternoon a meeting of Branch 4, Illinois, was held at Comrade Conrad's, West Ohio street, and the following resolution unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this meeting of Branch 4 of the Social Democratic party takes cognizance of a call for a meeting in the Thirteenth ward under the name "Social Democratic party," for the purpose of nominating an alderman; said call appeared in the Chicago Evening News and the Workers' Call, was issued and signed by F. G. Strickland and J. B. Smiley and claimed to represent the Social Democratic party; it was not issued by the Social Democratic party and the persons who attached their names to it had no authority or right to use the name; we, therefore, repudiate, in the name of the Social Democratic party, any and all action taken at said meeting and order this resolution printed in the Social Democratic Herald.

The next business meeting of Branch 4 will be held at the same place in the afternoon of the first Sunday in January, when a full attendance of all members is desired.

### NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, three.  
Missouri, one.  
Montana, one.  
Total, five.

The Social Democratic party, with 100,000 men good and true, is invincible.

In the lexicon of socialism the cowardly words "fear" and "fail" do not appear.

Nothing succeeds like success. The way to have a new branch of the Social Democratic party is to go out and organize it.

The Social Democratic party has a flag. It is the "Flag of the free heart's hope and home By angel hands to valor given."

Now is the time for soldiers of the Social Democratic party and army to plant it on highlands and lowlands and the plains of the country, in city, town and village, rally around it, fling it to the breeze and standing by it, ask: "Who shall haul it down?"

A good place to get the Herald is in your barber shop. It will be seen and read. It is just what Socialists want and non-Socialists will subscribe for. Give them a chance to see it.

C. L. Shamp, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen has come out for Socialism. He has had his ear to the ground and is through with old party politics.

A branch of the Social Democratic party is something in the nature of a dynamo to light and keep burning the lamp of Socialism. Increase their size and you add to the illuminating power of the lamps.

The Herald wants 20,000 subscribers as a Christmas gift.

### Are You a Crusader

A subscriber to the Social Democratic Herald becomes at once an active soldier in an army of crusaders pledged to remedy the deplorable conditions which our civilization has planted and cultivated. Unlike the crusaders who organized armies to rescue the Holy Land from the grasp of Mohammedans, he does not enlist to rescue a tomb, a shrine nor a temple, but men, women and children from present and impending misfortune.

The Socialist who subscribes for the Herald will not be dazed by the spectacular exhibitors of wealth nor will he be cajoled by its siren song.

He is not to be classed with cynics of the Diogenes school of philosophy, with pessimists nor with optimists, holding that some higher power than man orders things. He believes that Socialists can order things by the over-mastering genius of truth and the commanding power of reason.

He believes the Social Democratic Herald is helping the cause of emancipation from degrading environments. He is right. We hail every subscriber to the Herald as a helper in a cause which calls into action the noblest attributes of human nature.

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