

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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FAVORABLE COMMENT ON WORK OF THE CONVENTION

**A Rational Method Adopted for the
Purpose of Securing Final
Union of All the
Socialists**

WILL ALL PARTIES ACCEPT?

**Attitude of the Social Democratic Party
Towards the Socialist
Labor Party**

By Margaret Hall

The Social Democratic party, in convention assembled, has in a very practical manner declared itself in favor of a real unity by inviting all organized Socialists to meet in convention at Indianapolis on Sept. 10, 1901, for the purpose of endeavoring to agree upon some basis of unification which shall be satisfactory to all parties concerned, and this action now awaits only the ratification of the membership by referendum vote.

The invitation is extended by the original Social Democratic party to the other two national parties and the three or four state and territorial organizations now in existence. In order that the strictest justice may be done to each of these bodies and that the best interests of the Socialist movement as a whole may be conserved, ample time must be allowed for deliberation, so that each party may come freely and voluntarily into the general convention with a clear knowledge of what features in its present organization it desires to perpetuate and what it can with safety or advantage concede, in the interests of a larger and stronger movement. The date was therefore fixed for next September. The intervening time is divided into three periods. As the resolutions passed the convention unanimously, it was considered that one month was ample time for a ratification by our membership, and they are requested to make their returns by Feb. 25. As soon as this has been done the call will be certified by our national secretary to the proper officials of the respective parties, say by March 1. From that date a period of three months (until June 1) is allowed for each party to ascertain whether it wants to take part in such a convention, and to make its reply. Then from June 1, after it is known which of the parties will participate, three months more are allowed for discussion and consideration of what, under the circumstances, it is possible and desirable to do at this important convention to bring about the desired result.

We believe that this is the only rational way to proceed in an attempt to bring about "unity," a condition which is primarily and essentially a matter of free will and unbiased judgment. People cannot be "compelled" into unity by "benevolent despots" nor "starved" into it by despots other than benevolent, any more than they can be manipulated into it by politicians, without their consent and without choice as to terms. The Social Democratic party stands opposed to such methods, as being unsocialistic, irrational and calculated to defeat the very object their advocates purport to seek.

If we are to have Socialist unity, let us have the genuine article. It is not "Socialist unity" if two of the three national organizations combine and a third is left outside, unbidden. (If the third remains outside, at least it should not be our fault.) Furthermore, it is a mockery for any leaders of two of the organizations to seek to unite them for the avowed purpose of "tearing the entrails out of" the third, or of "bringing giants to their knees" or "putting them down once for all." There are nobler reasons for unity than these, reasons which appeal to the highest and noblest sentiments of the Socialist heart, such reasons as impelled the convention of the Social Democratic party to issue its call for a general convention of all the Socialists of the United States.

Will the different Socialist parties respond to this call? There is little doubt that the Springfield Social Democratic party will do so. They have already given proof of their willingness, inasmuch as, within a week after they learned that such a plan was to be presented to our convention and that Eugene V. Debs was in favor of it, they had submitted it to referendum of their own membership, thus practically withdrawing the demand they had two weeks previously made upon our national executive board to cancel our own convention and call a joint convention of the two Social Democratic national parties, and impliedly retracted their not very kindly words. We are willing to accept this tacit apology and shall be glad to have them participate in the general

convention, along with the Socialist Labor party and the independent state organizations.

Next the various state parties may safely be expected to respond, inasmuch as their sole avowed reason for withdrawing from all national organizations was that "Socialists could not get together and agree among themselves" and they wished to remain neutral until such time as they should get together. It would seem to be incumbent upon them, as a duty and a privilege, to come into the convention with all the others and help us all to get together.

There yet remains the Socialist Labor party. From an impartial standpoint, it seems to me that we are in a position to extend and they in a position to accept this invitation, without loss of dignity as a party. We have never tried to break up their party nor to appropriate their name. We have gone calmly on our way as a party, with the intention of demonstrating that certain methods of propaganda and of party procedure were better adapted to American conditions than those in vogue in the Socialist Labor party, surely a perfectly legitimate course for Socialists to pursue. In our earlier days some of our party members occasionally broke out into attacks upon the Socialist Labor party, but a stop was promptly put to this by a vote of the national executive board, published in The Social Democratic Herald of Jan. 28, 1899, closing the columns of The Social Democratic Herald to any further attacks upon the Socialist Labor party or its leaders. In addition to this, before our own organization was formally launched as a political party, Eugene V. Debs, in our official organ, urged our party members to vote for the Socialist Labor party ticket wherever they had not a ticket of their own in the field. We are not anti-De Leonites. We are not "anti" any individual or any organization that works for Socialism according to his or its own light. We recognize the good yeoman service the Socialist Labor Party did for the cause in the days when it was not so easy or popular a thing to be a Socialist as it is now. For all of these reasons and many others, the principal of which is, after all, that they are Socialists and we are Socialists, we can, with a clear conscience and in absolute good faith, extend to them the invitation with a reasonable hope of its being accepted.

The recognized differences between Socialists are not at the present time great enough to call for different parties. The Socialist movement in this country is as yet in its early infancy. Two or three, or half a dozen parties, may properly exist in the same country, if they are founded upon different schools of thought. Looking over the whole field, I see among our most prominent workers representatives of at least two distinct schools of Socialist thought. The movement has not progressed far enough yet, however, to bring out the differences so that they may be palpable to the majority of American Socialists. And our parties are not divided, by any means, along the lines of these fundamental differences. I believe they will be some day, though even then there would be no reason why we should not co-operate politically, at least in national campaigns.

In the meantime, however, the opportunities that are opening before us, the demand for workers in the field, the needs of the movement as a whole; call upon us, with clarion tones, to rise to the occasion and do our duty towards our common cause. That duty demands that we forget our differences, lay aside our personal prejudices and sit down together in a deliberative assembly, not as De Leonites and anti-De Leonites and Social Democrats, but as Socialists, and as Socialists grapple with some of the big questions that the rapidly rising tide of the American movement is thrusting upon us for solution, questions of Socialist tactics and questions of Socialist policy, important now as never before, because we now have some Socialists to organize and to dispose in order for action.

Tribute to Socialism

Cesare Lombroso, a professor in the University of Turin, Italy, is known throughout the civilized world. His study of criminals has attracted universal attention and he is famous as a keen student of human nature.

In a recent issue of the Independent he has declared that Socialism was the only regenerating and educative influence in Italy. He says that it is destroying "the microbes of militarism and monopoly."

Here are his own words:
"If we look deeply it is to the action of the Socialists that we owe everything,

as it is to them also that we owe in great part, the industrial and economical renaissance, and, in fact, those parts of Italy whither it has not penetrated are among the most backward in Italy; and if we cast a glance at Europe we shall see a repetition of this phenomenon.

"Germany, the country which has shown the greatest commercial advancement during the past few years, is the one where the Socialists are the best organized; Spain, which has not much more than a nucleus of Socialism, has not risen a single degree above what it was a century ago; France finds herself lowered in her intellectual, commercial and political level, and has hardly been saved from enslavement to the Jesuits, who have almost completely undermined her, by a small Socialistic nucleus; England, where it has no influence, finds herself astray in the fogs of imperialism, which will engulf her in the end.

"While, therefore, Socialism may be a Utopia (which time must show), in the meanwhile it is the most potent leaven for the progress of a people."

Liebkecht on Socialism

Pity for poverty, enthusiasm for liberty and equality, the recognition of social injustice and the wish to end it, is not Socialism. The denunciation of riches, the appreciation of poverty, such as we find in Christianity and other religions, is not Socialism. Primitive Communism, as it existed before the institution of private property and as it has loomed up before earnest and enthusiastic men in all periods and among all peoples as their goal, is not Socialism. The forceful equality-making of the followers of Babeuf, is not Socialism.

In all these the real basis of capitalist society with its class antagonisms, is lacking. Modern Socialism is the offspring of capitalist society, and of its class antagonisms. Failing these it cannot exist. Socialism and ethics are two different things. That must be thoroughly understood.

Whoever regards Socialism in the sentimental sense of philanthropic striving for equality, without having a firm grasp of the essence of capitalist society, is no Socialist in the sense of the class war, without which modern Socialism is inconceivable. Whoever has arrived at the full consciousness of the essence of capitalist society and the foundation of modern Socialism knows well that a social movement which quits this ground may be anything it pleases to call itself, but is not Socialist.

Socialism an Industrial Democracy

There is not now in any civilized country one statesman of note who would acknowledge that the laissez faire theory could be applied to existing conditions nor is there a political economist of note, except Herbert Spencer, who now advocates the economics of the Manchester school.

Given an industrial system under which the means of production can be privately appropriated, and it follows, inevitably, that the disinherited, the propertyless class will be reduced to economic bondage. What is the remedy? There is but one. The worker must again be put in possession of the means of production. How is this to be effected? We cannot go back to the small system of production, to the hand tool and individual ownership. No, the large system is here to stay. It is manifestly impossible for every weaver to own a cloth factory, but every weaver can be a joint owner in one. This is the only alternative. Society as a whole must own all the means for the production and distribution of wealth. This would be Socialism—an industrial democracy.

We must make it impossible for one man to live upon the labor of other men. When all own in common and are the equal beneficiaries of the enormous increase in productive power made possible by the thousands of machines and improved processes, to which we are all justly co-heirs and inheritors, involuntary poverty will be made impossible by a scientific system of co-operation which we choose to call scientific Socialism.—W. H. Stuart.

Mark Twain on Christendom

It was Mark Twain, the humorist, who gave a proper characterization of the closing years of the nineteenth century in a salutation to the twentieth. He said:

"I bring you the stately matron named Christendom, returning bedraggled, besmirched and dishonored from pirate raids in Kiaochow, Manchuria, South Africa and the Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of boodle and her mouth full of pious hypocrisies. Give her soap and a towel, but hide the looking-glass."

In Japan the prevailing religion is Buddhism and still in that country civilization averages fairly well with the best article of the kind known in Europe and the United States.

TO FACTIONS AN END— TO SOCIALISM INCREASE

SOME MISSTATEMENTS CORRECTED

The position taken by the Social Democratic party at the Chicago convention has lifted the unity question among Socialists from the bogs of factional strife between Springfield and Chicago—the adherents of the former, for nearly a year, striving by a crusade of discord to disintegrate and destroy what those of the latter have as strenuously endeavored to maintain and strengthen. At no time during the crusade did those who clamored loudest for union succeed in deceiving the great body of American Socialists as to the real animus that prompted them. In the light of all the facts bearing upon the unity question, prior to the Indianapolis convention and since, it is needless perhaps at this time to repeat, what Socialists generally have come to recognize, that from the moral vantage ground of a ceaseless and vehement clamor for union the Springfield people sought, by means both insidious and hypocritical, to discredit and destroy the Social Democratic party, which most of their number had only a little time before denounced as an aggregation of "frauds" and "fakers." Not only is this true as to their conduct before negotiations began and were broken off by a majority vote of our party, but the same endearing appellations have been judiciously mixed in with their protestations of love and unity since then.

But it is neither our purpose nor desire to reopen the union controversy with a faction. Let the old wounds heal. One word of sober truth, which defies challenge because it is true, must here be said: The members of the Social Democratic party, temporarily forced into an attitude of hostility to a segment of the Socialist forces, have not for a moment been opposed to an ideal union of Socialists. As we have stood together to repel an unjust attack, we now stand prepared to do all in our power to bring the Socialists of the country together in one united party—closing the ranks, putting an end to factions and raising the movement to that position which, by the intelligence, devotion and courage of its adherents, it is entitled to hold.

The convention which inaugurated the movement for a consolidation of all organized Socialists, whether in national or state and territorial parties, did so with the high hope that it might be accomplished. It was a thoroughly earnest body of comrades that for four days grappled with the problem how best to promote the cause of Socialism in the United States. Misleading reports as to what was said and done in the convention appeared in the Chicago papers, and this surprised nobody. We will not say that we had a right to expect a fair report, if any appeared, in the People (Kangaroo); we are, however, compelled to say that the report printed in that paper was abortive and unfair. It is incorrect as to the number of delegates present, the proportion of delegates

"from Chicago," the membership represented and the vote on the adoption of resolutions for a joint convention of all parties. All this, in the face of an editorial assurance in the same issue that it will "go on telling the truth," is surprising. But it shall not be said that The Herald nor, we trust, any member of the Social Democratic party, was deterred from facing a duty to Socialism because of these last evidences of our Eastern comrades' good will. The Herald is for the convention, for the union of Socialists, for an advance of a movement untrammelled by strife and freed from the criticism of capitalist emissaries. The People, admitting that its information about the convention "is very incomplete," quotes for editorial comment a report—whether sent by its own correspondent or gathered from a press report does not appear—that in the discussion Comrade E. V. Debs said that after accepting the nomination of the Springfield committee he found himself in contact with "a nest of hissing snakes." This language was not used by Comrade Debs or any other speaker, and since there was no justification for printing it in the People we hope that paper will correct the false impression its incomplete and erroneous report may have created.

Another erroneous report has gained currency to the effect that nearly all the delegates at the convention were from Chicago. As a matter of fact, a majority were from territory outside Illinois and, as The Herald said last week, nineteen states were represented.

Of the proposed convention itself the People speaks approvingly. It says: "We could have wished that it had not been so long delayed; but that is a minor affair. We hope and believe that our comrades will respond to the invitation in all good faith and good fellowship. * * * We congratulate our Chicago comrades on the wisdom of their action."

With these explanations it remains to be said that while it may appear to some that the convention did not do the wisest thing in putting off the union gathering until September, nevertheless, since it is the earnest desire of our party that the convention shall not fail of accomplishing any part of the program as outlined, ample time was deemed necessary for the members of all parties to exchange views and determine among themselves what ought to be done to make a final agreement certain. It seems to us clear that had the convention been called for an earlier date, giving little time for consultation, the delegates could not have come together as well prepared for the important task they will have to meet. The interval between now and the second Tuesday in September should be employed not in raising new obstacles in the way of its success, but in removing those now existing.

ALL SORTS IN LINE-O-TYPE

There are four Social Democrats in the local diet of Liepzig, Germany.

Socialists have been elected to the Austrian parliament from Cracow and Vienna.

Commenting on the approaching census of the Italian people, "Le Petit Sou" remarks:

Socialists have been elected to communal councils at Herold in Saxony and in two towns in Wurtemberg, Germany.

Five hundred thousand men now do the work with the aid of machinery which needed 16,000,000 people to do a few years ago.

The number of halls in London where Socialist meetings can be held is growing less. The comrades are now barred from Memorial Hall.

Socialists do not sigh for the olden times to return. That would not be evolution, nor progress, nor revolution. Socialists deal with the present.

The preachers of Marshalltown, Ia., have struck against a reduction of the fee paid them for sermons delivered at the Soldiers' Home. They received \$5 and \$8 per sermon, but the state reduced that to \$3. They all quit.

Weary Willie—"Say, pard, what's all dis talk about Socialism, a feller hears nowadays?"

Pard—"It's some kind of a new fangled deal, wot makes everybody work."
"Den," replied Weary Willie, positively and with a determined look in his eye, "I'm agin it."

"Instead of occupying oneself in finding out the number of human beings in a country, would it not be better to find out if these people were happy or unhappy? Some good might perhaps result from it."

"The question of admitting women as members of the general and sectional committees of the British Association was brought up at the recent meeting," says Science, "and carried by a considerable majority."

According to an official report just issued, out of 100,300 workmen engaged in industrial occupations, 76,000, or about 76 per cent were members of trade union organizations. On the other hand only 21 per cent of the women similarly engaged belong to any trade union.

Report comes from the blast furnaces in Ohio of a cut in wages from \$1.90 to \$1.65 per day; another from the American Steel and Wire Company, Worcester, Mass., of 7½ per cent; another from the Gendren Wheel Works, Toledo, of 50 per cent. At many other places workmen who voted for prosperity are gazing into an empty dinner pail.

Paul Lafargue writes English comrades as follows: "English Socialists will soon reap the reward of their courageous opposition to the war in the Transvaal. The difficulties which are beginning to manifest themselves will become formidable, and Chamberlain and Salisbury will be forced to declare that mighty England is impotent to destroy two little Republics of peasants. This will be the triumph of jingoism."

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEB. 2, 1901.

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

Those That Think Rule

"For just experience tells in every soil,
That those that think must govern those
that toil."
—Oliver Goldsmith.

Men talk of mysteries and seek to solve them. They are ceaselessly demanding of nature to surrender her secrets, and no little headway has rewarded their quest. But why it is that the great majority of the human family have always been the tools and slaves of the minority seems to have been past finding out.

Some attribute the condition of the majority to poverty, others to ignorance and others still to some occult law which determines destiny. Away back in the centuries it was written, "The poor shall never cease out of the land," and later, "Ye have the poor always with you." And still later, even now, the poor in the land, still with us, in the majority—and still serving the rich.

Why has it been thus in the past and why is it still the haggard fact that the thousands serve the hundreds, build their homes, clothe and feed them, fight their battles, win their victories and work for their own degradation, submitting to robbery, privation and humiliation? The answer is summed up in the one word—ignorance. As Goldsmith puts it, "Those that think must govern those that toil."

The remedy, therefore, for the ills which have in all ages afflicted the poor—the great majority—is the elimination of ignorance and the introduction of an age of intelligence, an age when the majority shall think as well as work. This done, as is proposed by Socialism, the problem is solved and the majority will rule.

Work will not cease. Progress will move at a more rapid pace, but its old-time satellite, poverty, will disappear. As labor provides enough for all, all will have enough, and the reign of equality and equity will begin in the earth.

The Outlook

It is not surprising that Socialists should discuss the outlook of the cause they advocate and inquire the probable progress it will make during the twentieth century. Here in the United States estimates are being made relating to growth in population, commerce, trade, finance, manufactures, agricultural and mineral products during the twentieth century. These estimates also include the building of railroads, the construction of canals, tunneling through mountains and under great rivers, until the mind is dazzled by the vast size of the schemes of progress. The telegraph is to be extended under the oceans and seas and over continents and islands, until all nations, tribes, kindreds and tongues, in ceaseless convention, may exchange views upon every conceivable phase of government—war, peace and civilization. The telephone wires are to stretch along all the highways and crossways of the country from the great centers of population to all the rural districts, until the whole country becomes a whispering gallery; and electricity, as a motion in alliance with steam, will add indefinitely to the speed of national advancement; and invention, now in its infancy, will lengthen the giant strides of progress and add to the conquests of labor-saving machinery. The church is planning to get nearer the common people; the schools and the colleges will revise their curriculums for more practical work; and the press, keeping abreast or in the lead of the advancing column of progress, will increase the candle power of its illuminating machinery and help to make the twentieth century notable for its conquests in every department of high endeavor.

In the arena where these mighty forces display their energies, Socialism

enters and challenges error to ceaseless and relentless war.

It is the one champion of the right for the sake of humanity. It contemplates with proud disdain—aye, abhorrence—physical progress, if it does not emancipate the unfortunate from poverty, ignorance and degradation. With equal vehemence it anathematizes church and school and press if found in alliance with duplicity, fraud, extortion and kindred crimes to perpetuate the power and the spoliation of capitalism.

In the lexicon of Socialism "progress" has a higher, wider, nobler significance than the increase of population, the extension of commerce, the control of markets for the products of farm and field, forest, mine and factory, the building of railroads, ships and canals and the accumulation of wealth. It proposes a ceaseless crusade against ignorance, superstition, bigotry and their co-ordinate curses interwoven in the woof and warp of our civilization and the uplifting of the unfortunate victims of degrading conditions and environments; and to Socialists, the twentieth century dawns under auspices which presage victory. Fearless as truth, tireless as the pendulum that tells of the passing hours, Socialism has nothing to fear as the years of the twentieth century afford it opportunities to solve problems of human welfare. With hopes as bright and glowing as the stars in the heavens above, with faith in man's redemption from selfishness and groveling animalism as strong as the forces which hold the planets in their grasp as they run on their shining circuits, with a devotion to its mission forever warming in the sunlight of truth and vitalized by the breath of justice, Socialism welcomes the twentieth century, believing that before its close the verdict will be that it has won victories for humanity more renowned than all the victories past centuries have placed to the credit of sanguinary war.

HERALD FLASHLIGHT

Cincinnati has caught on to socialistic idea and enacted an ordinance that tenement houses shall have bath rooms.

Socialism is not sentimentalism. It does not weep over human woes. Its mission is to banish them from the earth.

Investigation has determined the fact that thousands of people die annually from overeating, but the list does not include a single wage slave.

The rumor that Emperor Billy I. labors under the hallucination that there are Filipino blood stains on his hands, is creating anxiety in court circles.

Philippian Bill is conducting a bigger show than Buffalo Bill ever dreamed of, and what is interesting about it is that it is costing the spectators \$200,000,000 a year.

For some time past, the Boers of South Africa in fighting for liberty and their native land, have not contributed largely to the hilarity of the people of "Merrie England."

Michigan boasts of manufacturing last year about 5,000,000 barrels of salt and a year or so ago capitalism advanced the price of the commodity about 100 per cent on the barrel.

The old Egyptians, 4,000 years or so ago, embalmed their dead. They builded better than they knew. These old mummies now make excellent fuel for locomotives. After all, superstition may have its uses.

Quay of Pennsylvania, a distinguished all-around political corruptionist and scamp, has been again elected a United States senator of the Keystone state—a recognized triumph of bunco and boodle.

It has been discovered that the will of the late Philip Armour makes no provision for charitable institutions. Perhaps it was because Mr. Armour lived long enough to learn something about the charity "grafters."

It is a remarkable fact and worthy of the widest recognition that Socialism is denounced for what it is not, rather than for what it is. The science and philosophy of Socialism command the highest approval of wise men, and the opinions of fools need not be considered.

Pious senility never went further in its wordy and senseless vaporing than the undemocratic, anti-Socialist and irreligious encyclical of poor old Pope Leo. It is staggeringly inharmonious with the spirit of the new century and the purest aspirations of enlightened minds everywhere.

An article in the Chicago Tribune says the tramps of this country cost annually over \$25,000,000. But it does not tell who pays the bill. This is an annual charge against the labor of the country; but the class which performs the labor would rather support an army of men in idleness than vote for Socialism, which would make every man economically free.

It is fair to assume that an intelligent working man does not want a standing army to increase taxation; that he does not relish seeing a labor leader (?), like a spaniel, with a collar on his neck, trotting under a capitalistic band wagon, and dancing when the band plays the "Devil's Dream."

Socialism in its curriculum includes science, theory, experience, knowledge and will power. Born to battle for the right, its weapons are truth, justice and reason. It is more than a voice crying in the wilderness make straight lines to higher elevations; it is hewing out its own pathways to victory.

There are people who don't believe that Socialism will amount to much. Old Noah preached about the deluge for a hundred years, and kept on building the ark at the same time. The people regarded the old admiral as a visionary, and even those who climbed to the top of the highest mountains, where the water reached their chins, didn't believe it would be much of a shower after all. See!

When the autocrat of Russia sends to his penal mines in Siberia men and women as a penalty for demanding liberty, patriots of all lands cry out "shame," and coin new maledictions to hurl at his head. But nowadays when a trust shuts down a factory and consigns hundreds of men and women to idleness and to the iron of idleness and poverty, we call it "industrial evolution."

There is probably to be seen in the country no rural scene more attractive than when Mark Hanna corrals his herd of trusts for the purpose of milking the animals. One by one, or in groups, they enter the inclosure with distended udders, chewing their cuds, demure as sheep, while Mark proceeds to milk them for the welfare of the empire and the glory of Billy I. and he keeps at it until they bellow.

When Emperor Billy I. was attacked by the grip, epizooty, influenza, or what not, and Mark Hanna heard him sneeze, he remarked that it was the most leveling down disease he had ever witnessed. "Hear that!" he said to a courtier; "The emperor sneezes like a poor devil who works for a dollar a day; worse, he sneezes like an old mule I drove hitched to a dray before I got rich." "Yes," replied the courtier. "It is unfortunate that our most distinguished men come up from the ranks of the working class, and it requires several generations to get the proletariat out of them and educate them up to the real aristocratic and capitalistic sneeze."

"The law of the survival of the fittest" is a catch phrase, vastly overworked in discussions relating to human conditions. If the term "strongest" be substituted for "fittest," the subject becomes more explicable—but even with this amendment it is difficult to find a law that suits the case. With reference to principles and ideas there is doubtless a law which operates in perpetuating the "fittest," or the best, but it is not a self-operating law. "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again," says Bryant, that may be the law, but someone is to help truth to rise. That is where Socialism comes in and grasps and holds aloft the truth and molds it to crush error, and help on "the survival of the fittest."

Poverty has come weeping and moaning down the centuries since the tribes had their first co-operative undertaking in building Babylon broken up. But poverty, and want, and woe, is not, therefore, to be regarded as an everlasting condition. If so Jesus Christ might as well never have been born. The earth produces a plenty for all; no one need go hungry or naked or shelterless. The trouble is, the world has a class of relentless robbers who deprive the poor of their rights. Can this stealing be stopped? Certainly. The day the toilers resolve to unite and have justice the problem will be solved. Socialism is putting forth its energies to secure this measure of justice to the victims of robbery, and all social forces are pledged to the ultimate success of the undertaking.

Irish Socialist Paper

We learn that the newly formed "Workers' Publishing Company" has taken over the business of printing and publishing the Workers' Republic, the official organ of the Irish Socialist Republican party. For some time back the journal in question has been produced by the voluntary labor of the members of the Dublin branch of that body, and has in consequence appeared after a somewhat irregular fashion, but it is now established on a strictly business basis, and will, we understand, be published regularly on the first Saturday of every month.

It will be a twelve-page paper, and each issue will contain besides its usual features, a complete work on Socialism which will afterwards be published in pamphlet form. The price of the paper will be one penny per copy, or two shillings per annum, post free to any part of the postal union. Address, 138 Upper Abbey street, Dublin, Ireland.

VARYING VIEWS AND THEORIES OF PROPERTY

COMMUNISM AND COLLECTIVISM

By Isador Ladoff

La propriete c'est le vole—property is stealing—according to radical thinkers like Proudhon. Private property is the very foundation of our culture and civilization, according to conservative thinkers of all ages. Communism is the higher ideal attainable, according to the first, and the very incarnation of evil, according to the last. There is, however, a third view on the subject of property, and this is represented by so-called collectivists. It is of vital importance for each and every Social Democrat to gain a clear conception of all these views and theories on private and common property. As in all cases, the best way of arriving at strictly scientific conclusions is to go back to the first principles of natural sciences and use strictly naturalistic methods of reasoning.

The first question suggesting itself is the origin of property. The conception of private property we meet in the animal kingdom in a quite distinct form, especially among the beasts of prey. The motive of property in this case is the instinct of self-preservation and the means of its attainment and preservation—brute force. Might and right are identical for the "individualists" of the animal world. Common utilization of pastures by animals living in herds may serve as an illustration of the opposite type of use of property. The elements of common use of property—resulting from the co-operation of the members of an organized group of workers—we meet in studying the social life of bees. In that case the foundation of property appears to be a higher principle than brute force, the principle of work. It is true that the community of a bee hive will attack any of its members not willing to contribute towards the common property, and try and keep away any intruder from outside by force and sting. "But force and sting are in this instance only a means of self-defense, while the justification of this defense lays in accomplished work. Might is in this case only an adjunct to right, a means to enforce and maintain it. This element of work is of far-reaching importance. In the instance of the individualistic tiger—the mere act of killing an animal weaker than himself can hardly be called work, from the economic point of view at least. The consuming of grass on the pasture by herd animals requires still less exertion on their part. In both cases nature provides the food in a condition ready for immediate consumption. It is quite different with the honey accumulated in a beehive. The raw material out of which honey has to be formed must be collected by patient workers from many flowers, transferred to the beehive and transformed into new products of a certain shape, quality and quantity. It is a quite complicated operation, demanding a great deal of exertion on the part of the co-operating bees. This exertion forms the ethical moment of property rights.

Work means the overcoming of a resistance. The overcoming of a resistance may be accomplished only by an expenditure of bodily energy on the part of the worker, an expenditure of their very substance. The resulting wax and honey represent, partly, at least, the transformed bodily substance and energy of the co-operating bees.

Turning our eyes to human society we find that only on the very first stages of civilization and in exclusively favorable conditions men could exist on what nature furnished them in the shape of fruits of the field and animals of the forest for food, in the shape of a cave as a shelter from the inclemency of the elements and seasons. The element of labor entered more and more extensively into the life of man as he advanced on the evolutionary ladder, shaped his ideas about possession of property and determined the form of property at the time. The mode of production, the method of applying labor to the products of nature, in order to produce commodities for consumption and use, determined the mode of use and consumption of these commodities—the system of property. When, for instance, a tribe of Indians killed a buffalo in a joint hunting expedition the buffalo was considered the common property of the hunting party. On the other hand, in stages of culture when individual production prevailed, the form of property holding was individual. We cannot, therefore, decide for all times and conditions which form of property is the most just and rational, as our friends the Utopians do.

Social Democracy objects to the present strictly individual form of property in general and the tools and materials of production in particular, not from any abstract and arbitrary point of view, not on sentimental grounds, but because the present system of property is in direct contradiction with the present mode of production and distribution of commodities. The present system of production and distribution is co-operative and becoming more and more socialized with

every year, while the system of property holding and use remains (and is kept so artificially, in violation of all the laws of nature and society, reason and justice) individualistic. This incongruity can not, ought not and shall not exist much longer. The masses suffer under this incongruity materially, while the classes degenerate into useless parasites and drones of society.

Social Democracy works in the direction of removing this incongruity and restoring equilibrium between production and consumption in the name of reason and justice. Social Democracy demands the socialization of all the industries in the interest of society at large. This co-operative commonwealth does not mean necessarily communism, or consumption in common of the commodities produced in common. Utopian Socialists indulged in dreams about soldier-like life in barrack-like phalansteries, where everything was in common. Social Democrats take into consideration human nature with its pronounced individualistic tastes and proclivities, with its yearnings towards the sanctuary of home and privacy of family life. It takes into consideration the fact that these individualistic tendencies are the natural outcome of the evolution of the human type. Social Democrats know that the evolution of the human individuality can and ought to be turned into channels where it would become an inexhaustible source of constructive and organizing power for society. That humanity may in the distant future prefer communal life and consumption of commodities we do not feel justified to deny. But Social Democracy is more inclined rather towards collectivism than communism of the Utopian pattern. Collectivism is favorable to the full development of the human individuality without encroachment upon the interests of other members of society. Under collectivism liberty (we prefer the term freedom), fraternity and equality may for the first time turn into a reality instead of an empty sound. Among these the term equality from the collectivist standpoint needs some elucidation. Opponents of Social Democracy love to insist that collectivism and communism are identical terms and must necessarily lead to the dead level of slavery. This assertion is by no means justified. Under collectivism the equality of chances for all the members of the community will be assured, while there will be left the largest opportunities for the development and utilization of individual talents.

Far from leading to a dead level of slavery, collectivism would make people really free to live the fullest, many-sided, deepest and sublimest life, a life worth living.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

J. S. McD., Pennsylvania.—Arrange for a course of lectures; if speakers are not available, start a course of reading followed with conversation on the subjects read.

"Kangaroo," Illinois.—Your opinion of the platform adopted by the Social Democratic party for the municipal election in Chicago is shared by Socialists generally in this city. Glad to know that it has your cordial approval.

R. S. Missouri.—The speeches of Eugene V. Debs and Prof. Herron, delivered at the opening of the national campaign in Chicago, can be had in pamphlet form from this office. The price is three cents per copy; one hundred, \$2.00.

D. F. J., Arizona.—The statement was made in a public address, reported at the time (about three years ago) in the daily press. Hertzka's careful estimate which, by the way, no one has attempted to refute, is conclusive on the point in question.

Co-operator.—Your proposition, as we understand it, is that Socialists shall co-operate their purchasing or consuming power "to escape the tolls or profits levied by monopolies." But where are you going to buy the necessary supplies for daily consumption without paying tribute in some form to a monopoly?

E. H. S., New York.—The report of the representatives named to the Paris congress contained several misstatements concerning the S. D. P. It is inconceivable that the authors did not know them to be such. Assuming that they did not, then they were unfit persons to send to an international congress of Socialists.

Christian Socialist.—When those who write and talk about a "sweeter" Socialism, a "sane" Socialism, a "spiritual" Socialism, a "Christian" Socialism of "love," are themselves united in "the spirit of Christ," then, and not before, will they be qualified to preach with effect of a "love binding all into unity." That unity will NOT come that way is strikingly indicated at the very outset of the Herron-Wilson crusade, which is charged by a "Christian Socialist" (who says that "Socialism, to be successful, must be Christian"), with being a "narrow and a heretofore Socialism"—an opinion, by the way, from which we entirely dissent—thus giving us the spectacle of Christian set against Christian in the Socialist movement. We trust that "the infusion of the religious spirit" will not result in the intrusion of the sectarian Christian spirit into Socialism. There is quite as much need for Christian Socialists to get together as for Social Democrats; nay, there is far greater need, if their contentions are sound, but that is a matter we do not now care to discuss. There is, so far as we have yet discovered, no broader spirit of toleration and love among "Christian" than "non-Christian" Socialists.

THE HERALD FORUM

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

Custom-Made Men

From its birth the child is subjected to an artificial molding, varying with the class or cast into which it is born. Hence man, as at present constituted, is the most unnatural animal that exists on this little mud ball.

How Can the Farmers be Won?

I am aware of the value of your time so I will try and be brief as possible. I live in a strictly agricultural and mining district. Both classes seem averse to Socialistic ideas.

Is Socialism of "Divine" Origin?

I think the time has come for Socialism to advance and occupy much higher ground than any that it has yet occupied. If I am not mistaken, Professor Herron is an ordained minister of the gospel.

are the Socialists of today that their fathers and mothers were Socialists at this time.

Whether it comes in a peaceable Christian manner or whether it comes after the horrors of a violent social revolution, Socialism is inevitable.

Brief Answers Wanted

I have a few questions which have occupied my mind for weeks and would like to know the correct answers:

- 1. During the last campaign a Social Democratic speaker was talking about abolishing profit, etc., and a man asked him would he abolish the profit of the poor newsboy on the street.

The Armour Fund

"The evil that men do lives after them the good is often interred with their bones."

The death of Philip D. Armour is a text for political economists. The fortune he left is estimated at one hundred millions. He took none of it away with him.

Had Mr. Armour been contemporary with Adam, struck a job at the wage of one dollar a day and his keep, and held that job continuously, working three hundred days each year, six thousand years down to the present time, he would have had one million eight hundred thousand dollars, without the trick of interest.

A Socialist Priest

"Socialism and the Labor Problem: a Plea for Social Democracy," by Father T. McGrady of Kentucky. The boldest arraignment of capitalism ever penned. Send to cents for a copy to the address below.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Table listing contributions to the Brockton city campaign committee, including names like Branch No. 1, Hartford, Conn., Branch No. 10, New York City, etc.

We receive many applications for back numbers of The Herald, but cannot supply them, as each issue is almost immediately exhausted after publication.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Eugene V. Debs lectured at Two Rivers, Wis., Jan. 31.

Words of unqualified approval of the work of the convention are beginning to come in from different sections and from different parties.

The Social Democratic party of the twentieth ward, Milwaukee, will hold their fourth annual masquerade ball on Saturday, Feb. 9, in Volkman's hall, corner Twenty-first and Center streets.

George H. Gibson is out with a new magazine named "Social Ideals," at Elgin, Ill. Gibson was formerly connected with the Commonwealth colony in Georgia.

The statement in last week's Herald that the convention call would be sent to other parties in a few days was premature. The call itself provides that this shall be done when the members have ratified the action of the convention.

Comrade Heath, who has been present at every convention held by the Social Democracy and the Social Democratic party, just saved his record by being in Chicago evenings during the late convention.

Since the convention the work in Massachusetts has taken on new life and energy. Nothing but the best that is going will satisfy those Bay State folk.

They are now making arrangements for courses of lectures by Eugene V. Debs, Professor George D. Herron and Father McGrady. Professor Herron will be there three days a week for three weeks, beginning with April 8; Father McGrady goes next, about the middle of April, and Eugene V. Debs the first of May.

What are you doing for Socialism?

Chicago Campaign Jottings

The Chicago city platform will be printed in leaflet form in four languages.

Branches desiring speakers will communicate with Philip S. Brown, 126 Washington street.

Blanks for contributions to the city campaign expenses can be had at the office of The Herald.

Every member of the city central committee is urged to be present at the next meeting, Feb. 13.

Let no opportunity to make known the fact that your party is in the field with a city ticket escape you.

Show the city platform to your friends in the trade union, the shop and the store, and make them acquainted with your candidates' names.

The next meeting of the city campaign committee will be held Wednesday evening, Feb. 6, at 52 Dearborn street. A full attendance of the committee is desired.

At a meeting of the city campaign committee, held Saturday evening, Jan. 26, Philip S. Brown was elected chairman, Arthur Dennison secretary and Dr. A. D. Hill treasurer.

Seymour Stedman spoke on the municipal platform of the Social Democratic party last Sunday night at Newton's hall, Fullerton avenue, Chicago, under the auspices of Branch 48.

The city campaign committee appointed a sub-committee to raise funds to meet expenses connected with the campaign. This committee, of which Dr. A. D. Hill is chairman, will prepare blanks for the use of comrades in raising the fund. Let no man escape from helping the Socialist campaign of 1901.

Here is an illustration of what the subdivision of labor will do: If every Social Democrat in Chicago will procure fifty names on the local nominating papers, we will have plenty of signatures. Not so much of a job, is it? Let us get it done quickly, and so be prepared for ward and district agitation.

THE BOOK YOU NEED PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

Table listing contents of the book, including 'The Industrial Evolution', 'The Advantages of Socialism', 'The Evidences of the Moral Strength of Socialism', etc.

SEND ORDERS TO THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Table listing books in the library such as 'Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth', 'F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution', etc.

PAMPHLETS

Table listing pamphlets such as 'L. Lassalle—What is Capital', 'H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery', etc.

New Ready! 135 Pages!

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY RED BOOK

Edited by Frederic Heath. Printed on Plate Paper. Handsomely Illustrated.

This is an annual publication for Social Democrats who will find it indispensable for reference purposes. This first issue is of especial value because of the historical character of its contents.

Table listing various sections of the Red Book including 'A HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA', 'A TRIP TO GIRARD', 'MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR', etc.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO. TERRE HAUTE, IND

TWO GREAT SPEECHES

Should be Read by Socialists Everywhere and Put into the Homes of Non-Socialists

Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 29, 1900, by

EUGENE V. DEBS

AND PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

A Splendid Campaign Document

Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Three Cents One Hundred, \$2.00 Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

Appeal to Reason

Socialist Weekly with 100,000 subscribers and the number growing with every issue

Is Unique—Nothing else like it

Will be sent to your address fifty-two weeks for fifty cents. Girard, Kansas

Watch this space for appeal announcements

THE CHALLENGE

A Weekly Paper Published by H. Gaylord Wilshire. LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA. 50 Cents per Year.

The second annual entertainment and ball will be given by Branch No. 6 of Chicago (German), for the benefit of a proposed weekly paper, at Hoebel's Lower Hall, 710-714 Blue Island avenue, Saturday, Feb. 16, 1901. Tickets, 10 cents each, may be obtained at The Herald office.

CHICAGO CITY TICKET

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

- For Mayor GUS HOYT
For City Clerk C. T. H. WESTPHAL
For City Treasurer CHARLES TYL
For City Attorney CHARLES H. SOELKE

MUNICIPAL PLATFORM

The Social Democratic party of America is the American expression of the international movement of the modern wage workers to better their condition through the collective ownership and the democratic administration of all the means of production and distribution, the abolition of capitalism and the entire competitive system.

The founders of the republic declared for political freedom, but we call attention to the fact that since the birth of this nation a revolution in industry has taken place. Formerly hand labor and individual effort produced the necessities of mankind.

We hold that by the natural development of society this nation has outgrown the old system of government and must throw it off. Political liberty alone is inadequate; we must have both political rights and economic freedom. To secure these conditions is the aim of the Social Democratic party.

We call attention, however, to the distinction between our method of municipal ownership and that suggested and sought for by capitalist parties, who clamor for city control and ownership for the purpose of cheapening gas, reducing street car fares or using the large dividends and profits accruing from these enterprises to lighten the taxation of wealthy capitalists.

The Social Democratic party contemplates the use by the city of Chicago of profits now accruing to private corporations (for example, the more than Ten Million dollars annually of the street railway companies) in the inauguration and achievement of a magnificent system of municipal improvements, the providing employment for the unemployed under conditions impossible to the existing order, insuring shorter hours and larger pay and generally raising the standard of life of all engaged in the public service.

In the light of the above facts, we proclaim the following as the program of the Social Democratic party for the city election of 1901:

- 1. Such changes and amendments in the state laws and city charter as may be necessary to enable the people of the city of Chicago to give practical effect to a municipal program in accordance with the objects and principles of the Social Democratic party.
2. Public construction, ownership and operation of all subways and underground conduits.
3. Public ownership and operation of all street railways, gas and electric lighting and power plants, telephones and all other public utilities.
4. Public construction, ownership and maintenance of modern homes for working-men on land acquired, or, when necessary, to be acquired, by the municipality, to relieve overcrowding and provide healthful environments for the people.
5. Public construction, ownership and maintenance of municipal hospitals, commodious and of modern equipment, free dispensaries and homes for the aged.
6. Public bath houses and natatoriums, playgrounds and gymnasiums in each ward of the city; also public lavatories.
7. The erection, ownership and maintenance in each ward of the city of ward clubhouses and assembly halls.
8. The equipment, ownership and operation of a municipal printing plant.
9. The establishment of municipal schools of music, art and industrial training.
10. School books and educational facilities of every description to be furnished free to all children of the community, and, when necessary, clothing and food; also the popular election of members of the School Board.
11. The establishment of a department of free legal advice for the prevention of costly and harassing litigation.
12. Abolition of the private contract system on public work; all enterprises affecting the public to be conducted by the city with direct employment of labor on a six-hour day and a minimum daily compensation of Three Dollars for ordinary laborers.