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## CONFUSION OF RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR SOCIALISM

Socialists Distrust Churchmen Who Seek to Use Socialism to Make it Acceptable to Muddle-Headed "Non-Partisan Partisans"

By Isador Ladoff

Religion is a philosophy of life based on intuition, on subjective evidences of our inner consciousness and conscience; a philosophy of life in which emotion and imagination prevail over reason. Religion, like any other philosophy of life, may be considered as composed of two principal disciplines. One of these disciplines is ontological and presents some theory of the non ego, the not ourselves, the outward world at large, its origin, existence and future and the mutual relation between this world at large and men. The other discipline is ethical or moral. It embraces some theory about social institutions, and contains rules and regulations of human conduct corresponding to this theory. The first discipline of religion—the ontological or cosmological—is at present supplanted by scientific philosophy based upon an endless array of facts, observations and experiments—the monistic philosophy, in which neither emotion nor imagination play any conspicuous part. The monistic philosophy is gaining more and more ground among scientists and thinkers of all shades of religion and thought, and all religious cosmogonies are classed with myths, as products of the imagination of barbaric or semi-barbaric tribes.

The second discipline of religion, its ethical part, is still of great and vital importance as a social power, modifying and regulating human inter-relationships and con-sociations for better or for worse, according to conditions. Science has not succeeded so far in supplanting entirely the subjective, intuitional, emotional and imaginative elements of religion by results of objective reasoning and impartial observation and investigation. The so-called humanitarian sciences, the sciences concerning the past, present and future of the human race, as history and sociology will for obvious reasons be the last of all natural sciences to be freed from subjectivity and deductive methods of reasoning. Scientific utilitarianism, as preached by Jeremia Bentham and John Stuart Mill, and Meliorism propounded by George Eliot, are attempts not crowned with singular success. It does not appeal to human nature.

It is therefore clear that religion may be of great assistance to secular Socialism by arousing the human passion for righteousness, by appealing to race instincts and noble emotions, by directing imagination to a grand vista of future human bliss and happiness, of heroic deeds, of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, of fame and glory, of immortality. It is this sense that the greatest agnostic of the past century and scientist, Huxley, said:

"I can conceive the existence of a church in which, week by week, services should be devoted, not to the iteration of abstract propositions in theology, but to the setting before men's minds of an ideal of true, just and pure living.

"A place in which those who are weary of the burden of daily cares should find a moment's rest in the contemplation of the higher life which is possible for all, though attained by so few.

"A place in which the man of strife and of business should have time to think how small, after all, are the rewards he covets compared with peace and charity."

Socialism of today is sorely in need of such a church with a great religious prophet at its head.

There is, however, a vast distinction to be made between such an ideal and idealistic religious movement as con-

ceived by Huxley and the institutional churches of today.

Against "churchianity" we must be warned for another reason than its hollowness and soullessness; its petrification and false pretense; its fostering of prejudices, superstition and narrow sectarian exclusiveness; its intolerance and bigotry; its tendency to side with the powerful and strong and preach slavish virtues to the "humble and lowly" proletarians, its blasphemous attempts to sanctify the crying injustices of the social institutions of their time and country. This reason is the policy of the institutional churches to take hold of irresistible popular movements in order to keep them in check and control them in the interest of the ruling classes. Such an attempt to divert the Socialistic movement into channels desired by the institutional church is represented by the so-called Christian-Socialistic party of Germany, the Socialist-Catholic party and others. Church Socialism in Europe is the worst enemy of secular, political Socialism, especially in Germany and Austria. All kinds of small political tricksters, Jew-baiters and demagogues of the worst kind find refuge in the so-called Christian-Socialist parties, and turn the term Socialism into a by-word and reproach. This is the reason why Socialism in Europe is outspokenly anti-churchian, and, as far as church and religion are identical, anti-religious.

There is besides this a historical foundation to the antagonism between the church and the proletarian class in the old country. This foundation is the traditional attitude of the institutional church toward all attempts of the so-called lower classes of society to better their condition. The church in Europe was from time immemorial the handmaid of the state, that means the servile tool of the ruling classes. Not only the Catholic church, but even the most advanced Protestant churches, were inimical to popular revolutions. Even the great German religious reformer, Martin Luther, thundered anathemas at the peasants engaged in riots against their oppressors—the landlords.

The American proletarians may reproach the institutional church of the United States with staunchly supporting negro slavery in the south (and that in the name of the Savior!) and with showing marked indifference to the great problems of the ages, the struggle of wage slaves against economic slavery, social subjection and actual political bondage. American Socialists are therefore justified in their distrust of the attempts of some churchmen to use Socialism to such an extent as to cover all kinds of opinions and absence of any opinions on social and economic problems, to emasculate Socialism to such a degree as to make it acceptable to muddle-headed "non-partisan partisans" of silver-plated, back-number reformers. To the preachers of such "blissful social unions" we say: "We fear the Greeks even when they offer presents."

Social Democrats are, however, by no means prejudiced against sincere and honest religious Socialism as such. They welcome every sincere and honest attempt to spiritualize the dull masses of the people and present to them high ideals and noble precepts of conduct; every sincere and honest endeavor to clarify the vision of the unthinking crowd, obstructed by the intellectual rubbish it is lavishly supplied with by the subservient pulpit and press; every sincere and honest attempt toward broadening and diffusing Socialism itself into a modern world-redeeming gospel of the human race.

### The Tendency to Socialism

It is now admitted by all inquirers worthy of the name that history, including economic history, is a succession of orderly phenomena, that each phase in the line of succession is marked by facts and tendencies more or less peculiar to itself, and that laws and principles which we now condemn had formerly an historical necessity, justification, and validity. In accordance with this fundamental principle of historical evolution arrangements and institutions which were once necessary and originally formed a stage in human progress, may gradually develop contradictions and abuses and thus become more or less antiquated. The economic, social and political forms which were the progressive and even adequate expressions of the life of one era become hindrances and fetters to the life of succeeding times. The existing arrangements of landlord, capital-

ist, and wage laborer, are burdened with contradiction and abuse. The life of society is being strangled by the forms which once promoted it. The really vital and powerful tendencies of our times are toward a higher and wider form of social and economic organization—towards socialism.—Encyclopedia Britannica.

### Sheep and Wage Slaves

A sheep is a timorous animal, but valuable to its owner. When sheared its fleece is as valuable as its carcass. The sheep is totally destitute of courage, nor is it endowed with any self-protecting instincts. It will follow a "bell-wether" anywhere regardless of consequences. It accepts what it can get in the way of substance uncomplainingly and at the same time grows wool for its owner. There is a class of wage slaves very much like sheep.

### A SONNET OF DEMOCRACY

Deep in the hollow caverns of the night  
I heard the moan of ocean, and the sigh  
Of wave retreating upon wave; the cry  
Of burdened seas that call from deep to height  
In pain. I saw the tossing of their white  
And helpless hands; the winds that wandered  
By  
Crowned to the sea's unrest a low reply;  
Still heaved his bosom vast and infinite.  
So in the night I saw; and lo! the sea  
Was labouring Demos with the knotted  
hands  
And brow deep-furrowed with the tidal sands;  
Half-conscious of his wrongs; yet with his  
knee  
Crooked to his toil. Half-longing to be free;  
Yet all in fear to loose his age-long bands.  
—Allan Sinclair.

### The Ethics of Business

In a discussion of ethics of business in the Chicago Woman's club last week, the statement was made by Miss Ada Sweet that "the story of the ethics of business in this city would read much like the famous chapter on snakes in Ireland: 'There are none.'" Other women, arguing the contrary, cited cases of the personal ethics of some business men, which, as Miss Sweet pointed out, did not prove ethics in trade. Mrs. G. W. Plummer said she asked a business man what he thought about the ethics of business. His reply was the same as a friend of his when asked about the Hottentots. "The Hottentots," he said, "have no morals, and their customs are not to be talked about."

### Government Ownership

The tendency of the present railroad movement is unmistakable. Consolidation of our great railroad interests, either by one method or another, is the policy of the times, and it has already been carried so far that today the joint control of three-fourths of the railroad business of the United States is vested in closely allied interests. The question is, what will be the effect upon railroad earnings; what will be the effect upon general business, and will this harmony of interest and "community of ownership" result in hastening the early agitation of that great and important subject.

We cannot but feel that in order to realize anything like a condition approaching government control, would mean a long and bitter fight, but we believe that such a contest is bound to come, and that while concentration of capital and management is becoming imperative, government control of our railroads may also become imperative.—U. S. Investor.

### Crazed by Worry

Misfortune and sickness have broken up the home of Michael Chorwitz of Chicago. Stricken with fever a month ago, he was taken to the County hospital, and unable to bear the burdens loaded upon her shoulders his wife's mind gave way and she was taken to the Detention hospital. Their two children—Francis, two years old, and Joseph, a year old—have been placed in St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum.

Neighbors relate a pathetic story about the Chorwitz family. The father, although a laborer, was industrious and two years ago he bought a cottage at 1896 Thomas street and was paying for it in installments. The family's plans for future comfort were progressing nicely when the father was suddenly stricken with fever. The mother was unable to provide for her little ones and at the same time meet the payments upon the home. Lately she had been fearful that they would lose the property and she worried until her mind gave way.

### The Society Vagabond

The statutes of our state provide that any person able to work and support himself in some honest and respectable calling who shall be found loitering or strolling about, frequenting public places or where liquors are sold, begging or leading an idle, immoral or profligate life, or not having visible means of support, shall be deemed a vagrant, etc.

The ordinances of the city of Denver provide nearly half a hundred definitions of vagrancy, which, if rigidly enforced, would include many members of our so-called good society, those who lead an idle, immoral and profligate course of life. With this phase I shall not treat in this discussion, because this so-called society has not sought the court over which I preside for an enforcement of the law against this class of offenders—the society vagabond.

My experience as a police magistrate of the city of Denver verifies opinions previously formed and justifies the conclusion that at least 90 per cent of this class of vagrants is caused by enforced idleness, making tramps of industrious men and women who have been unable at critical periods of life's struggle to obtain honest employment.—Judge J. M. Ellis, Colorado.

Labor gets 8 cents a yard for making a velvet carpet that sells for \$5 a yard.

## LAWMAKING IN BEHALF OF SOUTHERN CHILD SLAVES

Imprisonment of Children of the Slave Class in Capitalist Profit Mills  
The Pope's Encyclical Against Socialism

By Ben Atterbury

I want to call attention to a bill introduced in the legislature of a southern state in "behalf" of child labor. Having seen no comment upon the measure, either in the liberty-loving daily newspapers or the great Christian weeklies whose special function it is to promote peace on earth and good will among men, whose editors prate without end of the holy offices of religion—to succor the distressed, protect the weak, visit the fatherless and help the oppressed—it has occurred to me that, perhaps, after all, the only place where this last bit of capitalist legislation in the interest of the poor can be properly characterized, is in the columns of a Socialist newspaper. In abandoning any hope that so trifling a subject as child slavery, legalized by a state in the American union, can have any attraction for capitalist newspapers, too busy making money, or religious newspapers, so saturated with pious hypocrisies, that neither has the heart to feel or eyes to see the diabolical iniquities of the times, I cannot refrain from calling the attention of Christian people generally and especially Catholic Christians, to the unlimited opportunities existing in the United States to follow the advice of the pope of Rome and "devote their cares to the amelioration of the lot of the working class," and more particularly the working child class. I am quite willing to admit, with the pope, that "idle and useless questions ought never to be brought up in the press or public assemblies." But the question of child slavery, common as it is to capitalist Christendom, is neither idle nor useless—in my opinion. I propose to bring it up, too, in the Socialist press, whether the pope regards it as "seditious and revolutionary" or not; and, contrary to his injunction, I urge Mr. Dollar-a-day, who slaves for capitalist masters and exploiters in American mills, mines and factories, not to shun investigation, not to fear the light, but to "engage in dispute" every priestly or political apologist for a system that hunts down the weaklings like game and converts their life forces into profit.

This state in the south has in its legislature a bill proposing to limit the employment of children under ten years of age and the number of hours they may be employed to seventy-four per week! For their services these children will receive no more than barely sufficient to keep life in their frail and undeveloped bodies while they create profit

for their conscienceless masters. They will contribute of their immature strength to feed and clothe Christendom, while the owners of the mills and factories in which they are imprisoned will get wealthy on the sale of the products of their labors. The civilization with which we start the twentieth century is thus based upon the labor of tender children, and against such an outrage no protest arises except from Socialists and no effective program of relief is offered save that of Social Democracy.

Unspeakably cruel and unjust is the capitalist system of industry. Baserly hypocritical are its pietistic and political apologists. Not only does it rob the mature, able-bodied workingman of four-fifths of the values his labor creates, plunges women into the sweat-shop and despair, but by inhuman processes wrings out in its treadmills the lives of the children of the slave class. Laws and customs have established the "sacred right" of capitalists to ravage and destroy humanity and to this end all the power of the capitalist state and a religion which has lost its moral influence in the world is directed. Thus buttressed by law, government, custom and church, the capitalist, whose acts and methods of robbery are sanctified by a legislative enactment, appropriates profit from the labor of childhood for his own subsistence, for palaces and luxuries, art, travel, amusement, for his appetites and passions, and such portion of the child labor profit as, with all his profligacy, he is unable to spend, is converted into capital to create more profit and keep up the exploitation and damnation of the working masses.

Men and women of America, awake from your slumber and give the world your verdict on an issue that is real!

Abandon your political fictions and confront economic facts.

Your children are in peril! Save your linen and put an end to your unavailing efforts to keep clean the windows of that whitened sepulchre, the church.

Save your hatchets (and votes) to batter down the barbarous fabric of capitalism, rather than dull the one and waste the other on a single effect of capitalism.

Strike at the procuring cause of crime, degradation, insanity and industrial imprisonment with a ballot for Social Democracy and freedom.

## WHAT DO YOU THINK WOULD BE THE RESULT?

If by Universal Agreement the Entire Working Classes Should Cease Working for a Month

By Max Mienard

Workingmen could, without special inconvenience, accumulate and lay by subsistence for one month, such as meat, meal, flour, potatoes, sugar, coffee, rice, etc.

Having done this, they could, by universal agreement, cease working. It need not be a strike in the ordinary acceptance of the term. There need be no complaint, no demand for revised schedules of wages, neither grievance committees nor demands for arbitration, simply a cessation of work for a month of holidays.

What would be the result? Not a keel would cleave ocean, seas, rivers, lakes or canals; not a railroad train would thunder across the continent; not a wheel would turn in all of the factories; not a fire would blaze in all the forges; not a click of a pick would be heard in all of the mines. The employes of all the shops, joining the employes in all of the industries for a month of holidays, labor would don its holiday attire and inaugurate a national carnival of rest and rejoicing. The electric fluid would cease to traverse the telegraph and telephone wires—in a word, the busy world would cease from labor. There would be no suspension of nature's laws. The winds would continue to blow, the sun to shine, the tides to ebb and flow. The earth would continue to turn on its axis, the rivers to flow in silent grandeur, and the brooks to sing and dance and laugh on their way to the sea. The stars would continue to shine, the birds to sing and flowers to bloom.

During this month of holidays, the toilers could have picnics and parades, hold conventions and quietly contemplate the effect of their cessation from drudgery upon society. There would be no manifestations of unkindness or ill-will toward the upper crust, the capitalists, the millionaires, heads of corporations, banks, syndicates or any other combine engaged in piling up big fortunes by denying to labor its just dues, its equitable share of the wealth it creates.

During this month of holidays these people of wealth and ease and luxury and idleness would have opportunities to estimate the supreme value of workingmen to the world. Mr. Moneybags would have to shine his own shoes, saw wood, curry his horses and feed them. Mrs. Moneybags would have to do her own cooking and washing and ironing. The Misses Moneybags would be required to sweep the house and dust the furniture—be maids of all work, while the boy Moneybags would be reduced to lackies.

After a day or two a meeting of the "best citizens" is called to consider the situation. They resolve to pile up an assortment of maledictions upon working people. They want the troops called out, but workingmen smile at these explosions of anger. Then they demand injunctions, and even a United States judge tells them he is "powerless." The churches are dumfounded. Science, philosophy, learning, D. D.s, LL. D.s acknowledge that the world is standing

(Continued on Third Page)

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEB. 16, 1901.

**Social Democratic Party Vote**

**1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 96,878**  
**1900 (S. L. P.) 34,191**  
**TOTAL 131,069**

There are wrong ways to do right things; but there are no right ways to do wrong things.

The United States senate has received another advance in progress and plutocracy by the addition of a four million senator from Utah.

We have the beatitude touching the "poor in spirit," but "blessed are the poor in pocket, for they shall receive all they earn by their toil," is yet to be spoken by Socialism.

Speaking of reputation and its rewards, any level-headed man would prefer the reputation of a faithful dog to the notoriety secured by a human animal who robs the poor.

The twin delusion that some persons are born with a "divine right" to rule, and that "might makes right," have been fruitful of more crimes than a thousand pens could record in a century, and they still prevail.

If "money talks," the \$334,000 approximately secured by the United Mine Workers' organization in one year by taxing its members, ought to make it as eloquent as Demosthenes and Cicero combined, with a brass band attachment.

Victor Hugo says that the "pen has the lightness of the wind and the power of the thunderbolt." It was the pen which brought about the French revolution, which he refers to as that "best and superb catastrophe," a catastrophe which shook to their foundations every throne in Europe.

Socialists are reminded that to convert the world is a herculean task. Admit it; but if the world is ever converted Socialists will have to do the converting. Chimborazo is the highest peak of the South American Andes, but with plenty of men and spades, it could be brought down to sea level.

Capitalism is proud and arrogant. Its pockets are as capacious as mammoth cave and are stuffed full of plunder and it has more slaves than Lincoln emancipated. But Socialism will eventually knock it out, and make it open its mouth as wide as Cumberland gap in its efforts to catch its breath.

A great many people think they think, but they are mistaken. Men who think govern those who toil. When workingmen think they will govern themselves. Men who profess to think but do not act for their own protection and welfare, whatever the operations of their minds may be called, it is not thinking.

Mrs. Carrie Nation is the heroine of rebellion, revolution and reform in "bleeding Kansas." She is a sort of a reforming cyclone with a hatchet. Every time she wrecks a saloon she soliloquizes: "There goes a thousand drunks, five hundred fights, fifty murders and twenty-five divorces." Then she kisses her hatchet, cries "next," sings "Hallalujah" and moves on.

Edward VII., king of Great Britain and Ireland, and Emperor of India, secretly made his nephew, Emperor of Germany, Knight of the Garter, and it is quite probable that Edward will do something in the way of knighthood for his old friend, Chauncey M. Depew. Chauncey can hardly expect to be made a Knight of the Garter, but may hope to secure the decorations provided for Knights of the Necktie, which are said to be gorgeous. Mark Hanna may be made a Knight of the Bootstraps, Lord Pianofote having informed his government that Mark is the American king of Pulls.

A second advent clergyman in a neighboring city is persuaded that owing to the prevailing wickedness in the country, that the time has arrived for the second coming of Christ, and all things considered, it does look that way. But since Socialism has come the necessity for the second advent is not as apparent as it otherwise would be, and will doubtless be indefinitely postponed.

In telling of the reasons why he sells out his business, Andrew Carnegie says it is not because the business was not prosperous, but that he "believes in developing a dignified and unselfish life after sixty." That sounds very much like the old orthodox idea of repentance and salvation after a life of sin. Andy believes in sixty years of plunder, to be expiated by ten years of prayer—although far from being orthodox.

A religious community down in Ohio has gone to pieces (or, more correctly speaking, went to pieces three years ago) and the claptrap Chronicle of Chicago cites it as another Socialist failure. As a matter of fact there has never yet been, nor is there at present, an illustration of Socialism in the entire country. The postoffice is an approach, but a long way from the goal. And even of that, his nibs of the Chronicle would not argue that it was a failure.

A New York paper says that many of the churches in that city have entered into a competition to see which shall obtain the most eloquent preachers, the most costly cathedrals, the finest singers, the most expensive chimes, and the largest membership among the wealthy and the leaders of society. That is capitalistic religion, a mixture of pharisaism, ostentation, pride and prunella, in which neither Socialists nor angels take any stock.

If working men understood Socialism they would be Socialists. It is simply a question of correct information to be secured by study. Fortunately, books are available. Books abounding in logic, common sense, facts, science, philosophy, touching the great question of work and the welfare of working men. As certainly as that water will run down hill, or lead sink to the bottom of a stream, workingmen, once they comprehend Socialism, will become Socialists.

One day last week in New York city twenty men, reputed to be worth a billion dollars, sat down to a sumptuous feast to talk over the question of making the Mexican people prosperous by establishing the gold standard.

On another day last week in Chicago a worthy family, too proud to have the world know its distress, sat down to a meal, with eight to eat, and only enough food for one.

The first was the initial billion dollar dinner of the twentieth century. The second was a spectacle of daily occurrence all over this land.

Socialists look forward to a time when three or four hours in twenty-four, devoted to labor, will be all that is required to supply every physical need, the remaining hours of the day to be devoted to rest, and rational pleasure of mind and body, education, reading, study, the mastery of science and philosophy, music and the drama, athletics and esthetics. Now, only the rich enjoy such satisfactions. Under Socialism all would be rich enough to have all the enjoyments derived from mind culture. This done, and there is no good reason why it should not be done, the world would have a new civilization, and life would be worth the living.

Socialism does not propose to accomplish the impossible, the impracticable, or the improbable. It does not propose to equalize men in height and weight, physical or mental power, but it does propose that all shall have equal opportunities to work, and that workingmen shall enjoy the largest possible measure of their earnings. It does propose to remove artificial obstacles to progress by the modification or obliteration of unfortunate environments. A study of Socialism will disclose the fact that what ignorance and prejudice have denounced as vagaries are in the van of the procession of verities for the redemption of society from manifold afflictions.

The warden of the Indiana penitentiary at Michigan City, having been designated as the executioner of all men sentenced by the courts of Indiana to be "hanged till they are dead," has contrived a plan by which the executioner will not know that he did the deed. The trap upon which the candidate for a broken neck is placed is to be sprung by an electrical contrivance. Three buttons, looking exactly alike, only one of which does the business, are to be touched at the same instant by three employes of the prison. The culprit is killed, but the honor is divided between the three employes, neither knowing which was the fatal button, and all hugging the reflection, "may be it wasn't me that did it." Why this squeamishness about killing a murderer at a time when William McKinley has 60,000 soldiers in the Philippine islands ordered to "kill the d—d niggers," whose only crime is defending their native land and demanding liberty and independence?

**Evidences of Prosperity**

In the fifteenth annual report of the Bureau of Labor and Industry of the state of Kansas, we find the following passage relative to the employment of railroad men in the state and the question of wages: "Of the whole number reporting (25,000), compared with 1898, 24.8 per cent say wages have increased; 21.4 per cent say wages have decreased, while 53.8 per cent say wages are the same as in 1898. As to the cost of living, compared with 1898, 51.2 per cent say the cost of living has increased; 5 per cent say decreased, and 43.8 per cent say the cost of living is the same."

**'No Interference Allowed**

In the perfection of the billion dollar trust by the consolidation of the Morgan-Carnegie-Rockefeller interests, the small or minority stock holders are to have nothing to say as to what disposition shall be made of their holdings. In behalf of J. Pierpont Morgan, Judge Gary, who is president of Morgan's Federal Steel Company, has given the minority stockholders fair warning in these words: "The method to be adopted in acquiring properties will not permit any minority stock interests to interfere even if such stockholders were so disposed." The business of competition must be gotten rid of in behalf of the "community of interests," and the middle class capitalists will not be allowed to interfere with their own. Comrade Morgan is succeeding admirably.

**The March of Combination**

It is unnecessary for the Social Democrat to look backward very far to recall distinctly the supercilious remarks of those who scoffed at his contention that the time was not distant when the transportation facilities of the country would be concentrated under the management of a very few men. This concentration has been going on without interruption and against the operation of every legal device to check it that the ingenuity of state legislatures and national congress, with their reform spasms, have been able to contrive. Last week we printed in The Herald a table on the consolidation of railroads, showing that not more than half a dozen individuals have succeeded in gaining the mastery over not less than 76,000 miles of steam railways. That report is an eloquent confirmation of Socialist foresight touching the march of industrial consolidation.

So rapidly does the inevitable happen in these days, that before the railroad combination is well understood, while, indeed, the short-sighted and befuddled public is ignorantly wondering what will happen next, another monster aggregation is effected and the metal trust—one of the most gigantic of the age—is supreme. Thus it is that what happens is what the Socialist expects and has predicted. The billion-dollar trust is in the saddle, and under heaven there is no other way of dealing with it except through Socialism.

**The Labor Commodity**

Admit, if you choose, that labor is a "commodity," like hides and hair, turpentine and tar, or other commodities, and that there is a market where this commodity is bought and sold. Having done this, you are confronted with the contention that prices are regulated by "supply and demand." If there are light offerings of the commodity in the market and the demand is active, labor is in demand, and if a strike is ordered a 10 per cent advance in prices may be secured. If, however, the market is overstocked, then, in that case, the labor commodity, obeying the law of supply and demand, declines in price, and the bears see to it that the price goes down to zero, or below that point of distress. That is bad enough, but it is not the worst phase of the situation. If this labor commodity was like other commodities, it could be stored in warehouses; but it is not, and as a result it starves—it gets sick, ragged and begs. Worse still, being married, having wife and children, it drags them all into the procession of wretchedness, and the heart of this labor commodity, like a muffled drum, beats a march to the grave, to the poorhouse, to the insane asylum or to the penitentiary. Socialism proposes to do away with the "commodity" heresy and with the labor market, where as now wage slaves are bought and sold. Under Socialism the procession of unfortunates, the victims of capitalism, will be disbanded. All who will work will have work and receive the full measure of their earnings; the wail of woe will be hushed to give place to acclamations born of plenty; men and women and children will live in houses, not huts, and the shout will be heard, "Old things have passed away, behold all things have become new."

**"Merrie England"**

Every workingman in the United States should have a copy of "Merrie England" because it will wake them up and set them to thinking. That is why a man has brains. If a man don't think he is of little use to himself—simply a domesticated animal who knows enough to obey orders and take such burdens as his masters place upon his

back. "Merrie England" will help him to think.

In chapter II of "Merrie England" the author discusses what he calls the "practical school." He submits the problem: "Given a country and a people, find how the people may make the best of the country and themselves."

The reader will find the solution of this problem as worked out by the author profitable and interesting reading. He asks: "Do men need nothing but food and shelter and clothes?" And then says that "a life which consists of nothing but eating, drinking and sleeping, and working is not a human life—it is the life of a beast. Such a life is not worth living. If we are to spend all our days and nights in a kind of penal servitude, continually toiling and suffering in order to live, we had better break at once the chains of our bitter slavery, and die."

To make life desirable, to make it what it should be, men's mental wants must be recognized. They must have education, knowledge, books and intellectual pleasures. These are enumerated and commented upon, and it is pointed out that under present conditions working people do not participate in such, mental satisfactions being absorbed in a ceaseless "struggle for existence." Under Socialism workingmen would have not only food, clothing and shelter, but would be in the enjoyment of "the best things of life"—those pleasures and satisfactions which spring from intellectual culture, the knowledge of books, art, music, etc. The author of "Merrie England" shows how such things can be obtained by workingmen for themselves and their families.

**United Mine Workers**

The fact is disclosed at the recent annual convention held in the city of Indianapolis that the order of United Mine Workers of America has a membership of 189,329, an increase during the past year of 98,310, drawn chiefly, if not entirely, from the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania.

For many considerations the most remarkable feature of the operations of the great organization relates to its receipts and expenditures.

It began the year 1900 with \$39,378.25 on hand, and its collections during the year amounted to \$333,945.17, giving it a "working capital" for the year of \$373,323.42.

Of this it paid \$154,676.82 to aid striking miners, \$62,622.91 for salaries and for organization, \$25,718.88 for miscellaneous expenses, leaving to its credit at the end of the year \$130,304.81.

This vast sum of money, in one way and another, was collected from the most wretchedly paid workingmen, as a class, in the United States—men who are everlastingly on the ragged edge of poverty and destitution, with no prospect of any permanent improvement.

Taxation, at the best, is confiscation, and overtaxation, whether by the nation, by the states or municipalities, is everywhere regarded as the most reprehensible extortion, not to say legalized robbery.

In the case of the United Mine Workers it is shown that the organization has \$130,304.31 for which it has no immediate use. To take such a large sum of money from the pockets of the most shamefully plundered workingmen in the country is totally indefensible; besides, the universal verdict is that to pile up money by taxation for which there is no use is corrupting and productive of malfeasancess.

It is reported that the United Mine Workers' Journal, the organ of the order, out of a membership of 189,329, has a circulation of only 15,639 copies; that is to say, 173,693 members of the organization do not take the paper, the result being that it is a source of expense rather than a self-sustaining enterprise to the extent of about \$4,000 a year.

If the publication is valuable, educational in any proper sense of the term, if it denounces capitalism, the great source of the woes which coal miners suffer, then with great propriety the \$130,304.31 which the order has on hand could be used in placing the Journal in the hands of every member of the order, and it would pay splendid dividends in increased intelligence.

The complaint is made that the coal mining machine is being extensively introduced and is pushing pick miners to the wall, and it is intimated that a strike will be the result. Possibly, and if it comes the machine, in alliance with capitalism, will win. The courts will issue injunctions, troops, with shotted guns, will be called out, sheriffs and marshals with pistols and clubs will see to it that capitalism wins. And after the "strike fund" is exhausted, coal miners, reduced to still lower degradation, will return to plutonian darkness and, more abject than ever, work like wage slaves to create wealth for their masters.

Taken in time, these coal miners, while they are able to raise \$1,000,000 a year, if all were taxed like the members of the United Mine Workers' organization, could organize co-operative mining. Co-operation is the shibboleth of Socialism. It would solve the problem with which coal miners are wrestling. It is eminently practicable. Instead of contributing a third of a million, or a million dollars a year to be practically thrown away on strikes, it could be in-

vested in coal lands and coal mines to be owned and operated by miners. Then miners would have steady employment; they would be no longer the wage slaves of capitalism, swindled and robbed on every side, but would receive their earnings in full and be in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

**A Clarion Club**

We welcome every evidence of awakening to the truths of Socialism and every practical endeavor to further the propagation of the truth. Emulating the example of the "Clarion Fellowship" of England, there has been organized at Cincinnati, Ohio, the Clarion Club, a social club and school of Socialism. A copy of the club's Booklet No. 1 (which is an expression of the artistic aspirations of the "Clarionettes"), has just been received. It tells of the purposes of the organization, chief among these being the promotion of the cause of Socialism. Study and the promotion of good fellowship will be a means to the end. Political action is endorsed, and while the club, as such, will in its political endeavors be free and untrammelled and subject to such reservations as are deemed necessary to conserve its principal objects, its prospectus says: "We declare ourselves at present informally allied with the Social Democratic party, whose present headquarters are at Chicago." We recommend Herald readers to send for a copy of the booklet. Its price is 5 cents (for plain edition), 10 cents (for the art edition). We are quite sure that you will consider Comrade Robert Swift's "Why We Should Study Socialism" a full equivalent for the money. Address The Clarion Club, Odd Fellows Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio.

**New Publications**

Two exceedingly interesting booklets have just been added to the literature of the movement in the United States by the International Library Publishing Company, New York. Both are by the well-known French Socialist, Gabriel Deville. "The State and Socialism" is a lecture delivered at Paris in 1895, and gives the Socialist view of the state. The other, entitled "Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism," is an able treatment of the evolution of Socialism from facts and should be given a careful reading by American Socialists. The price is 10 cents each.

**A Calumny Noticed**

The following letter, written by Comrade Debs, appeared in The People of February 10, and is reprinted for the information of Herald readers:

"Comrade: In your issue of the 27th (January) you have an editorial captioned 'The Chicago Convention,' from which the following is an excerpt:

"We hope for an authoritative denial of the widely published report that Comrade Debs said that after accepting the nomination of the comrades represented by the Springfield Executive he found himself in contact with a nest of hissing snakes."

"For obvious reasons I break over a rule to notice calumny. Every delegate who sat in the Chicago convention knows that the statement above quoted is an unmitigated falsehood, and so does the anonymous person who penned it. How 'widely published' it has been I do not know, as your paper is the first and only one in which I have seen it."

"In a capitalist paper such a paragraph would be perfectly acceptable, but in a Socialist paper it is quite inexcusable. The editor is satisfied the statement is false, practically admits it, then proceeds to circulate it as widely as possible, and finally, in all charity, pleads with the victim to exculpate himself from the calumny he helped to fasten upon him."

"Mr. Editor, it is easy to guess what party your informant belongs to, and it is safe to assume that he is an evangel of 'unity.' This is of small consequence, but allow me to suggest that the next time such a palpable slander comes under your eye you give the victim a chance to explain before, instead of after, crucifying him."

"The recent Chicago convention in its clearly defined attitude voiced my sentiments in regard to Socialists of all parties. I rejoice that my comrades went on record by acclamation, and am confident that they will labor with becoming zeal to have the joint convention accomplish fully the purpose for which it is intended."

Yours fraternally,  
"EUGENE V. DEBS."

**ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS**

D. T. J., Arizona.—The statement you report is a pure fabrication; there is no truth in it.

C. R. J., Montana.—For copy of the report write Carroll D. Wright, Labor Commissioner, Washington, D. C.

Branch 4, Ohio.—The meaning of clause 6 in the call for convention is that the referendum will be participated in only by members of the party in good standing and that all questions will be decided by the majority vote of such members. No other course has been followed in any question ever submitted to the members.

A. J., Missouri.—The facts concerning the convention call are (1) returns on referendum to be reported Feb. 25; (2) convention to be approved by at least one other national party or by at least three state or territorial parties on or before June 1; (3) convention to be held on the second Tuesday in September (if approved as before mentioned) at Indianapolis; (4) the object is union of all Socialist parties.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Eastern correspondents are requested so to time the mailing of their communications that they may reach Chicago not later than Monday morning.

A Social Democrat, Comrade Joseph O'Brien, is confined in the jail at San Jose, Cal., where he is to remain for thirty days for the heinous offense of assembling on the streets to consider questions for the public good.

THE STIMULUS FOR ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

An Elucidation of the Much Discussed Lack of Incentive Under a Socialistic Order of Things

By Prof. R. O. Sjoell

Economists generally teach that the prime, supreme and governing stimulus for working under the prevailing conditions is selfishness or self-interest, which is clearly egotism, from the Latin ego meaning I.

Self-interest or selfishness asserts itself positively through the sense of acquisitiveness and negatively in penuriousness. Both degenerate into greed and avarice.

A high standard of art and science cannot be realized under conditions pervaded by selfishness as the motive. It does not lie in the pecuniary recompense but in the impulse of a creative spirit and the source of satisfaction derived from the approbation and from the encouragement of interested co-workers.

The state encourages higher education by establishing free universities, thus striving to make higher education available to all, although but few, and the large majority of these, amply able to pay for their education, are in a position to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded by the state.

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MUNICIPAL ELECTRIC LIGHTING IN CHICAGO

From a report of City Electrician Ellicott of Chicago, just published, the following interesting abstract is taken.

This total valuation of \$921,000, less the amount invested in excess of the cost of renting lights, represents a clear profit to the city of \$452,050 during its thirteen years of municipal operation.

For instance, during the year 1900, the city operated an average of 3,867 arc lamps at a total cost of \$265,129, which includes \$18,750 interest charge and over \$10,000 on account of depreciation, while to have rented these lights at the lowest price quoted to the city would have cost \$458,020, leaving a total net saving of \$192,891 for the year 1900.

In two years more the city of Chicago should not owe itself one cent on account of the plants that it has built, or valuable property it has acquired in constructing the plants, for it will have saved enough over and above what it would have paid for rented lights to build and operate the plants as they now exist.

This is a practical business statement of the results obtained by the city and should receive more consideration than the theoretical statements of private corporations which have never, in one single instance, published the figures showing the itemized cost of producing an arc light under private control.

equal the price which they charge. Their arguments should have no further weight with the general public until they produce for inspection and criticism the items that make up their actual cost of producing light of a similar kind and on the same basis.

The Pope and Socialism

The Pope sets out to make clear the principles of truth and justice; but he darkens council with a multitude of words; confounding justice with expediency, truth with sophistry, and offering the people a pauper's dole instead of a rightful due.

I say that the religion and the culture which demand riches and blazonry while vice and misery are at their side, are like painted harlots hiding their debaucheries with rouge, and their shame with satin and spice.

I say that the cant and affectation of piety and culture which lisp sentiment and chant hymns in drawing-rooms and chapels while flesh and blood are perishing in the streets, and while the souls of our sisters creep shuddering to hell—I say that this religion and this culture, these maudlin, sickening things, with their poems and sonatas, their chants and benedictions, are things false and vain, and nothing else but lies.

I do not attack the pope; I attack his foolish arguments and unwholesome sentiment. I dare say he means well. I have no doubt he is a good deal better than the Encyclical. I do not attack religion, but only the pretense of religion.

The World-Making Motive

The following is an extract of Prof. Herron's Central Music Hall address, Sunday, February 3:

Many of our specific problems will not be solved; they will be swept off the road by greater issues. Before we have passed upon the question of public ownership of certain utilities, the utilities will be obsolete. If we listen to the academic caution of the economist, and have as little sense of truth or of humor as the religious newspaper, we may be traveling to other planets in air ships before we have spiritual nerve to decide whether the people shall own their public highways.

Nor can we of today construct systems that will solve the problems of tomorrow; and we ought not to if we could. We have no right to impose our will upon those who come after us, as our fathers imposed upon us their will. The government of the living by the dead is the citadel of social follies and tyrannies.

"Socialist Songs," a collection of well-written and inspiring songs of labor and the revolution, is an admirable addition to the means provided for Socialists to reach the people.

FOR NATION TO OWN RAILROADS

A remarkable bill providing for national ownership of railroads has been introduced in congress. Some of the provisions of the bill will no doubt interest readers of the Herald.

First—The government is to purchase, own and operate the steam railroads of the country, taking possession of them January 1, 1902, under the power of eminent domain, based upon its constitutional authority "to regulate interstate commerce" and "to establish postroads," but giving the present stockholders of the railroads a fair commercial value therefor, in railroad debenture bonds at 2 1/2 per cent interest and payable in eighty years.

Second—Passenger rates are at once to be reduced to 1 cent a mile and under certain conditions to one-half cent per mile, while freight rates are to be uniform and as low as will meet all charges of the service and the interest on the bonds and the increase of the sinking fund.

Third—Eight hours of labor for all railway employes are to constitute a day, and forty-eight hours a week; the wages of track laborers are to be raised from \$1.16 a day to \$1.35.

Fourth—It provides for accident insurance for shippers, employes and passengers.

Fifth—It provides for postal express. Sixth—It provides for railway civil service and promotion by merit, thus insuring only one way to obtain a position and that is to work up from the ranks.

Seventh—It provides for the expenditure of \$50,000,000 annually to build new roads after the payment of all current charges, etc., have been met. This money is to be expended, not as now so often in useless competing lines, but according to the needs of communities, and where the right of way shall have been donated by the local government, whether county, district or state.

This plan, if carried out, will, say its advocates, cause no addition to the burdens of the taxpayer, as the purchase money will all come from the earnings of the railroads and not from the government treasury.

The Only Remedy

Few persons who are given to mouth-ing apologies for the present system of industry understand the tremendous effects of the modern use of machinery in production. Most of them purposely ignore the true attitude of the Socialists toward machinery.

Mother of Wealth and Culture

The mother of social wealth of all culture, is labor. Whatever we are and have, we are and have through labor. We have labor to thank for everything. Not our personal labor, at least only to an inconsiderable degree, but the general social labor. It is very possible, indeed—and we see it frequently enough—to enjoy the blessings of culture without personal work; but it is also absolutely impossible for the most industrious and efficient worker with the most strenuous toil to live as men of culture live, without the general social labor that first created culture and without which we were beasts, not men.

Labor gets \$7.19 for making a farm wagon that sells for \$75. The material costs \$15, leaving a profit of \$52.81, labor receiving less than one-seventh of what it produces.

VICTORIA'S DEATH She has left this little mud-ball, And has gone—way "over there," To join the million billions gone before; She may wear another crown, Find old subjects white and brown; But her hand shall grasp the sceptre nevermore.

Chicago Labor Lockout Ended The lockout that has existed for more than a year in the building industry in Chicago has ended and an agreement running to April 1, 1903, arrived at.

Becomes operative after carpenters withdraw from Building Trades council. Provides for Saturday half holiday. Wage scale till April 1, 1902, 41 1/2 cents per hour; after April 1, 1902, 45 cents per hour. Weekly pay day. No restriction in use of machinery, tools, or material, except prison made.

A Socialist Priest's Book "Socialism and the Labor Problem: a Plea for Social Democracy," by Father T. McGrady of Kentucky. The boldest arraignment of capitalism ever penned. Send 10 cents for a copy to the address below.

BRANCH SUPPLIES Membership Cards (per 100)..... 1.00 Membership Applications (100)..... .25 Constitutions (each)..... .03

LOCAL BRANCHES

- LIBERTY BRANCH, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Social Democrat I would free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk Street.
- BRANCH No. 3, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 120 1/2 Spring St. J. S. Bruner, 427 N. Hill Street.
- 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.
- 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, 789 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schlauf, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.
- BRANCH No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.
- BRANCH No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Tara Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.
- 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 Kirwig, Secretary, 284 Westworth Ave.
- BRANCH No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Biss Island Ave.
- BRANCH No. 3 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.
- BRANCH No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Fiskirk's Hall, cor. Centre Ave. and 12th St. James Rehak, Sec., 515 Throop St.
- BRANCH No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 802 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 164 Wood Street.
- BRANCH No. 9, Chicago, meets at Uhlhorn's Hall, corner 63d and Center Avenue, first and third Saturday. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center Avenue.
- BRANCH 13 (Svatoplukoch) meets every third Sunday in the month at Pinger's Hall, cor. Michigan and 111th Place. Camil Kabat, Secretary, 157 Stanwood Ave.
- BRANCH No. 6 (German) Chicago, meets every other Saturday, 8 p. m., at A. Jankowski's Place, 584 W. 21st St., bet. Leavitt & Oakley. A. Geisler, sec., 726 W. 20th-st.
- INDIANA. BRANCH No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble sts.; Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 504 Warren av.
- IOWA. BRANCH No. 2, Hiteama, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 131.
- KENTUCKY. BRANCH No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m.; and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 21 Fairfield ave. We will use to make it interesting for all. Henry Lieberman, Sec., 128 Peete ave.
- BRANCH 5, Newport, meets first Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p. m., and third Thursday evening at 8 p. m., at Southfeben Hall, northeast corner Seventh and Central ave. Address A. L. Nagel, 22 W. Second st.
- MASSACHUSETTS. BRANCH No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Tanager Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.
- BRANCH No. 3, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialists Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center sts. Every candidate is expected to attend. Address all communications to Mrs. Annie Sawyer, Secretary, 21 Front st.

WHAT DO YOU THINK WOULD BE THE RESULT?

still. But labor is serene. It soliloquizes: "The rich, the powerful, the employers have overwhelmed us in poverty and degradation; and now they are learning a school of experience which ought to do them good."

After a few days the rich, the powerful, the men who own the land, the factories, the mines, the railroads and ships and all the tools of labor begin to see things in their proper light, and affirm if a change does not come, and that right away, the business of the country will be ruined and all the accumulations of wealth will disappear as if by fire.

Labor listens, and then asks: "If we resume work, will you continue to rob us of our earnings? Or will you adopt and maintain the principles of Socialism and deal justly with the men whom you now confess are supremely essential to the world's progress and prosperity?"

It is a bitter pill, but with one voice they accede to the demands of labor, and are as thoroughly contented as was old Nebuchadnezzar after he had been disciplined and made to eat grass like an ox or a wild ass.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

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. One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election.

- BRANCH No. 23, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 2d and 4th Fridays of each month. Public invited.
- MICHIGAN. BRANCH No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 8 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 Gosswain, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.
- MONTANA. BRANCH No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday at 8:00 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankal, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.
- BRANCH No. 2, meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.
- NEW JERSEY. BRANCH No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st. BRANCH No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1206 Kaighu's Avenue.
- BRANCH No. 5, (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday at 8 p. m., at 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.
- BRANCH No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 64 W. Hooten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 146 1/2 Mount St.
- NEW YORK. The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 418 Grand street, Windsor Hall.
- East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 128 St. John St.
- BRANCH No. 5, Brooklyn, N. Y., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 54 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Trades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.
- BRANCH No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 54 Henry st.
- OHIO. BRANCH No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Thos. McKern, Secretary, 429 Laurel St.
- OREGON. BRANCH No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 2d and Federal Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. F. Fortsch, secretary.
- PENNSYLVANIA. BRANCH No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 B. 3rd Street. See notice.
- BRANCH No. 4, Coudersport, Meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in E. of L. Hall. Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary; Ben. Geddes, Treasurer.
- BRANCH No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 B. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 B. Third St.
- BRANCH No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 28 East St. G. E. Smith, chairman; Jas. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.
- WISCONSIN. Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewer's 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 Liebisich, secretary.
- BRANCH No. 3, Sheboygan, Meets every second Thursday of the month at Elm Street Hall, 1011 Michigan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichsaberger, 130 N. 11th street.
- BRANCH No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday of each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Morschel, Secretary, 21 1/2 3th St.
- BRANCH No. 8, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. Reed's Hall, southeast corner Oakland St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.
- BRANCH No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 21 and Center st. 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Losenmann, 1126 1/2 3rd St.
- BRANCH No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, at 234 Clark st. Herman Schneider, secretary, 23 Third st.
- BRANCH No. 29, Milwaukee, Wis., meets first and third Friday of each month, at Gaetke's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Avenue. Jos. Roesch, Secretary.
- WEST VIRGINIA. BRANCH No. 1, Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at Trade and Labor Assembly Hall, 1515 Market St. H. A. Leeds, Organizer.

THE HERALD FORUM

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

The Meaning of Clause Six

Some of the members being in doubt, branch 4 has requested me to write for fuller information as to the exact meaning of clause 6 in the "call for a joint convention," adopted by the S. D. P. in the recent convention. The clause reads that "the results of proposed convention shall be submitted to a referendum vote and if approved by a majority vote of the members of the party shall be the verdict of the party, etc."

Does that mean a majority of the members in good standing, supposing that a percentage do not vote, or a majority of the votes cast?

The branch desires that this information be published in the Herald. [See "Answers to Correspondents."—Ed.] Thos. McKeone, Secretary, Cincinnati.

Activity in Milwaukee

Branch 43 of Milwaukee is holding a series of lectures this winter, which are doing good work for Socialism. Those yet to follow are Feb. 11, S. Richardson, "War from a Socialist Standpoint"; Feb. 25, Howard Tuttle, address; March 11, Henry Smith, "Municipal Ownership"; March 25, Louis Wieman, "Trades Unions and Politics."

Open meeting every second and fourth Monday each month. Everybody invited.

Branch 43 is unanimous in complimenting the convention in the start it has made for unity, and we hope that the comrades all over the country will be enthused and work to the end that all will be represented at the coming convention at Indianapolis which we believe will be one of Peace, Harmony and Unity. Willis E. Acker, Sec'y.

Socialism is Practical Christianity

I desire to commend Andrew Forsythe in The Herald Forum column of February 2 for his sensible and courageous words. I am a minister of the Gospel, a Christian and a Socialist—a Democratic Socialist. I believe that I endorse all that Comrade Forsythe says. There is no doubt in my mind that Socialism is of God—a divine movement—and as such I preach it. I regard Socialism as Christianity applied to man's social relations, and the Social Democratic party, as a practical means for peaceably bringing about the incorporation of Socialist principles into our national and international life.

Three years ago I was led to study Socialism by a member of my church, who loaned me Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Having tasted, I could not rest satisfied until I had devoured a good deal of Socialist literature—and I am still eating. I soon saw it to be my plain duty to advocate Socialism, and to identify myself with the movement. Less than two months ago we organized a Branch in our neighborhood, largely composed of members of my church, and through it we have entered upon a campaign of education. I think that most of my brethren in the ministry would be Socialists if they understood what Socialism is and what it really stands for. The slurs, the invectives, the wholesale denunciations of some Socialist writers and speakers against ministers is not likely to help the cause of Socialism. Comrades, don't! It does not drive me from the ranks, I am too well rooted and grounded, but all such utterances are stumbling blocks in the way of the weak beginner. Socialists can best give character to, and speedily advance, the movement by being broad-minded, charitable and tolerant. Philadelphia. Aaron Noll.

Brief Answer to Wm. Bristear

First Question.—The fact that the amount of wages per day or hour depend upon the newsboy's ability to meet competition, or his energy, or that he refund to the employer only the per cent of product exacted by the employer, is no proof that what the newsboy gets is profit, as some may suppose. The word wages (with rare exception) is used to express that portion of the earnings or product of labor which the employe is allowed to retain as his own. Wages is the remainder of labor's earnings not taken as profit.

Those billions of dollars held by capitalists who perform no useful service to society, represent just that much unpaid for useful labor, but the useless labor which competition causes to get to perform the useful labor was wasted at the expense of the laborers, for the sake of profit for capitalists who produce no capital. Under a just system laborers would be the only capitalists, as they alone produce capital.

Profit is then the unpaid part or remainder of the just earnings of labor, and if added to wages, it would abolish both wages and profit in constituting the exact and just share of the employe and leaving an exact proportion for the employer. Whether or not the boy received any profit depends entirely upon whether or not he received a larger per cent of the product than the per cent of labor required of him.

But as this is a system which nourishes competition between laborers and

co-operation of previously earned billions by capitalists that they may be all forms imaginable, it would be very absurd and unreasonable to suppose that the boy was paid more than just enough to induce him to perform the task; therefore, what the boy got was wages.

The amount retained by the employer over and above an equal pro rata of the product for the pro rata of labor performed by him was profit, and no doubt he absorbed all the profit obtainable.

Bear in mind that the just remuneration managing the transaction from beginning to end by the employer is not profit, but all he retains over and above that is profit.

If all profit were added to wages the word wages would no longer suffice to express that portion received by employes, nor would the word profit be used to express any part or portion received by the employer, but all parties engaged would simply be co-operating in the labor required and receive the full value of their labor, as would be the case under a Social Democratic form of government.

Texas. Dan C. Crider.

National Organization Fund

The executive board and the custodians of the fund for organization beg to remind the comrades who contributed to the fund for national organization that a month has passed since the pledges were given, and in order that the work may not falter, request all who can do so to redeem their pledges during February. While some contributors may not be able to pay before next month, sufficient money should be coming in this month to carry on the work without embarrassment.

Paid since last report: Mrs. Anna Weeks, \$2.50.

Delightful but Delusive

The Two Rivers (Wis.) Chronicle, in a notice of Comrade Debs' recent lecture at that place, says: "We are told that Mr. Debs is not college trained, yet no one can discover the fact through what he says or how he says it. His enunciation is musical and faultless and his rhetorical flowers are as beautiful as though created and culled by any one of our most famous and gifted orators. He is graceful and self-possessed but rather monotonously musical in delivery, for he attempts no dramatic or elocutionary effects, but he talks right along, and the interest he awakens is due to the pleasantly plausible theories he sets forth that enrapture those who fall victims to them through inability to discern their impracticability. He is a dreamer of delightful dreams, a painter of pleasing, but delusive scenes. In his lecture at the opera house the other evening he described in glowing terms the glories of the co-operative commonwealth where all effort is joint-effort, and the brotherhood of man is to be perfect. In such a commonwealth greed, envy and malice would have to be eradicated and justice and equity as well as contentment would prevail everywhere.

The Herron Lectures

Prof. Geo. D. Herron spoke again to a full house at Central Music Hall last Sunday on "The Will to Love." An extract from the address follows:

"The Socialist stage of development is a necessary training of men in mutuality of responsibility and of service. Socialism is the body in which the soul of love must learn to express and liberate itself, and the kingdom of heaven can no more pass by the co-operative commonwealth than the spirit of man can dispense with his physical body while fulfilling the functions of earth life and labor. Putting it on no other grounds, Socialism is a spiritual necessity to the race. Men have got to learn how to live together, how to work together for a common good, how to combine for free and creative ends, and not under mere stress of defense.

"Even the class struggle at which so many ignorant take offense is at bottom a love struggle. The class consciousness of the Socialist movement is a profoundly spiritual revelation, a most significantly Christian experience. The conscious solidarity of the working class is an indispensable prelude to the ultimate solidarity of the world. For Socialism to give up its class-conscious philosophy would be for it to sell itself out—to sell out not only all that makes Socialism potent and possible; but to sell out as well that experience which alone can train labor for the leadership of the will to love and prepare society for the kingdom of heaven.

"There is no such class-conscious movement in history as that which Jesus initiated. First and last and all the time the disciples and friends of His idea were told to stand together; to be true to one another with a love that would never be beaten and a loyalty that would never fail. 'By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another, even as I have loved you.' By this shall all men know that ye are Socialists, if we stand together as workers, true to one another, with a comradeship that cannot fail or betray, asking not your freedom from any masters, but finding freedom in your own unity or interest and faith in devotion."



AROUND THE WORLD

In Milan, Italy, a Socialist candidate has been elected to Parliament.

The Socialists of Austria have gained a seat at Korneuberg. This makes ten members of the Reichstag.

On March 29 the Socialists of Germany will unveil a monument to William Liebknecht in Berlin.

The Social Democratic Federation of England will issue a special manifesto on the coronation of Edward VII.

The Socialists of Brussels have organized a technical and artistic exhibition at the Maison due Peuple, which is a great success.

The central bureau of the German trade unions, which is at Hamburg, is collecting subscriptions for the striking lace-makers of Calais, France.

In Marburg, Austria, ten seats in the municipal council were captured by the Socialists, and in Graz seven seats, a gain of six, with a good chance of securing three more on second ballots.

A committee of the New York Central Federation Union, which waited upon Governor Odell to agitate aggressive measures for abolition of the sweatshop system, was ignominiously snubbed.

Students in University of Cincinnati formed a club to investigate Socialism. Wilbur C. Benton, who has been connected with that institution for a number of years as registrar, has resigned and will put in much of his time in speaking and organizing for the S. D. P.

Four Socialists have been elected to municipal council in Dessau, Germany, and for the first time in Frankfort. In Offenbach the Socialists secured control of the council and established a municipal drug store and will also start a coal yard and deliver fuel at cost to citizens.

A republican congress of municipal councillors is to be held at Bologna. The subjects for discussion chiefly refer to the powers of municipal councils. These bodies have very little power, as they are in nearly all cases liable to have their decisions vetoed by the central government.

There are ninety-four street railway companies operating in Pennsylvania. For the past fiscal year the total receipts of these roads were \$24,447,181. Only twenty paid any dividends. The total disbursements were \$23,976,312, of which 14,796 employes received \$8,043,589, or an average of \$543.63 each.

Mark Twain presided at one of Winston Churchill's lectures on the Boer War in America. In introducing the lecturer, he referred to the friendly relations existing between England and America. "The English and American peoples," he said, "have heretofore been brothers in everything but crime; but now their kinship is perfect."

Says the late Thorold Rogers, member of parliament and professor in Oxford university: "I have stated more than once that the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century were the golden age of the English laborer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessities of life. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high, and at no time was food so cheap."

The founding of the American aristocracy has for some time been a matter of dispute between the codfish and the shark families of Boston and New York. In Boston the verdict is that the codfish family laid the foundations for the aristocracy in that city, aided somewhat by rum and stealing niggers from Africa. While the shark family has achieved equal renown in New York, Chicago and some other great cities.

Spain is in the throes of what appears to be an industrial rebellion. Strikes have taken place in nearly every district, trade is paralyzed over wide areas, and the government is being pressed by reactionaries, lay and clerical, to intervene in the struggle between capital and labor. The Socialists appear to be controlling the struggle, and events seem to be tending, moreover, to a working alliance between the Socialists and Liberals, which may change the whole present face of Spain.

A congress was held at Berlin in December last representing various delegates of municipalities of the province of Brandenburg. They have drawn up a minimum programme for municipal matters. They ask that all work done by the municipality should be done without the intervention of contractors, that baths should be free, that disinfection after illness should be gratuitous; that all private slaughter-houses should be abolished, and that all meat should be inspected before being offered for sale. All elections to municipalities should be by universal suffrage, and all votes should be equal. At present the voting is open, and the rich have more votes.

NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, four. Kansas, one.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrade Jack London has been nominated for mayor of Oakland, Cal.

A Clarion club has been organized at Cincinnati for the study of Socialism.

The Social Democrats of Portsmouth, Ohio, have nominated a complete city ticket.

Rev. Milton R. Kerr of Westerville, Conn., has lost his job. The cause was a strike against capitalism.

Social Democrats at San Jose, Cal., are asserting their right to free speech against police interference.

John Whitaker, a former prominent populist, is out for the Social Democratic party in Washington.

There is great activity among the Bohemian branches of Chicago and the greatest enthusiasm for the city ticket.

Branch 4, Chicago, met last Sunday and added another member to its roll. The branch will hold a series of public meetings.

Chicago comrades will please bear in mind the contributions for our city campaign. Give your dollar and induce others to give.

Comrade E. E. Carr, of Danville, Ill., is the manager of the Chautauqua at that place, which he successfully conducted last year.

Comrades P. S. Brown and Jacob Winnen spoke last Sunday afternoon at a meeting held by Branch 43, in the 33rd ward, Chicago.

Central Music Hall was filled last Sunday afternoon to hear Comrade Prof. Herron on "The Will to Love." It was one of his finest efforts.

Every Social Democrat in Chicago should provide himself with nominating papers for the city election and secure from twenty to fifty signatures.

The Chicago Bohemian comrades at a meeting last Sunday raised \$170 to meet expenses incidental to doubling the size of Spravednost next month.

The enlargement of Spravednost, the Bohemian Social Democratic weekly, to eight pages will be effected early in March and beginning with the second volume.

Comrade Seymour Stedman spoke last Sunday afternoon under Branch 10 auspices at Chicago. A number of new members were admitted and the meeting was a pronounced success.

Branch 14 of the S. D. P. at Fitchburg, Mass., has elected officers as follows: Chairman, Francis D. Tuttle; vice-chairman, Thos. Laney; secretary, E. S. Dennon; treasurer, H. C. Bartlett; organizer, Andrew Davidson.

Comrade W. E. Farmer, of Texas, publishes the call in full in The Farmers' Review, and says editorially, "That such a convention should be held there can be no doubt, and all Socialists should give consideration to the call."

Public Ownership, of Erie, Pa., with a suggestion that the date be changed, endorses the convention issued from Chicago, and says "to remain indifferent now would be treason to the cause."

Branch 8, Chicago, has nominated Comrade Babka as alderman on the Social Democratic ticket for the 29th ward. Comrade Babka is a good, earnest worker and we trust he will receive the full Socialist vote of his ward.

To Protect Bribery

A member of the Illinois legislature read on the floor of the house yesterday the following letter from the general attorney of a railroad:

"Your letter of the twenty-second to President Ripley requesting annual over the railroad of this company has been referred to me. A couple of years ago, after you had been furnished with an annual over this line, you voted against a bill which you knew this company was directly interested in. Do you know of any particular reason, therefore, why we should favor you with an annual this year?"

Two facts in connection with this letter stand forth for the painful reflection of the average citizen that does not desire to see his country ruled by absolutism in the form of corporations, nor by greed in the form of hardened and insatiable legislators.

1. The man that read this letter had no compunctions about making it public. He did not think it was disgraceful for a member of the legislature to be a mendicant and proffered slave before a corporation.

2. None of the legislators that heard it thought it was remarkable or important that a railroad company should so brazenly avow its bribery of legislators.—Chicago American.

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List of books in the Social Democratic Library with prices, including 'Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth', 'F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revolution', 'The Co-operative Commonwealth', 'The Laborer', etc.

List of pamphlets in the Social Democratic Library, including 'P. Lasalle—What is Capital', 'H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Anarchy', 'F. Lasalle—The Workingman's Program', etc.

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