## THE NEW JERSEY PLAN FOR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

N. J., has sent out the following circular outlining what is known as the New Jersey plan for national organization. We hope it will be well considered by the comrades at large, especially by those who may be chosen as representa-tives of the Social Democratic party at the Indianapolis convention. It is impossible for us to agree with Comrade Strobell's conclusion that "the strife and ill feeling among us are the result of something radically wrong in our system of organization." Prior to the Indianapolis convention of last year and the inauguration of the union project, there was no "strife" in the Social Democratic party; there has been none since, except what was directly and wholly traceable to certain well understood results of the attempt then made to unite. The form of organization was not responsible for the strife. A better form is undoubtedly desirable and we hope it may be found; but if delegates go to Indianapolis with the notion that all that is necessary to promote harmony is to strike down a form of organization that was pre-eminently successful up to March, 1900, and harmonious, too, they will commit a blunder. We can not feel otherwise than that this is a superficial view; it entirely ignores the procuring causes of discord. It is not in accord with the facts in the case. The form of organization is not as important, after all, as the question whether it can be so constituted that individuals will not be able to de-

#### THE NEW JERSEY PLAN

Dear Comrades:-I have thoroughly at heart the welfare of the Social Democratic movement. The divisions of the last few years deeply grieved me, and I have tried to study the causes that produced results so ill. It always seemed to me that if we can with justice hold the capitalistic system responsible for the evils existing around us today, there is equal reason to think that the divisions, the strife and ill feeling that existed among us are the result of something radically wrong in our system of organization.

Anyone conversant with the history of the past dozen years can point to a number of such crises, the fragmentary remains of which have come down to our day. This is the more curious as we remember that Socialist principles have not changed, neither has the method of their application to the present capitalistic society, for all believe in the historical evolution.

It is hardly necessary to point to the different conditions prevailing in the United States from those existing in Germany, from which our form of Socialistic organization has been copied. We have not to confront the same ob-

Our American political organization is different and really is an evolution from a vague and uncertain form to an instrument of utility. It meets the need of the American voter and he is used to using it. We need more Social Democracy in the organization of the Social Democratic Party.

I, therefore, offer the following form United States, with the hope that it will be thoroughly thought out and put in shape by the discussion that should ensue, so that when the convention meets all objections will be removed:

We, the Social Democratic Party, in convention assembled, in order to secure harmonious and united effort among the Socialists of the United States, submit plans to all National Socialist organizations, independent Socialist State organizations, and unaffiliated Socialist bodies.

1st. That the respective Socialist organizations elect a National Commit-tee, said National Committee to consist of one member from each state and territory, except as hereinafter pro-

2d. Where in any given state there shall be two or more independent Socialist parties, they shall be entitled to one member each upon said National Committee.

3d. Each state shall have one vote. 4th. Where there are more than one representative from any given state, the one vote of that state shall be cast in a fractional part by each representative, based upon the number of members in the organization represented by them.

5th. Upon the election of such representatives, their names and addresses shall be forwarded to the secretary of this convention, and upon twenty or more states complying herewith, a meeting of the said National Committee shall be called at such time and place as the committee may determine.

Oth. The said Socialist parties so represented shall make to exist as in-

dependent National organizations, and become merged into this organization, representing the Socialist Social Dem-ocratic movement in the United States. 7th. Complete state autonomy is hereby guaranteed.

The duties of the National Committee shall be to call National Conventions and fix basis of representatives; to maintain national headquarters, exercise general supervision over the national movement and conduct a general propaganda. They may maintain an official national paper, to be sold by subscription. The expense of national headquarters to be met by per capita tax of 25 cents per year from each member of the organization represented. The term of office of the members of the National Committee to be determined, and the expense incurred by them in attending meetings of the National Committee to be met by their constituents in the states represented. Special meetings of the committee may be held upon a call of five states, in which the place of meeting shall be named. A quorum to consist of states represented, not members present. This call is issued to all organizations who definitely subscribe to Social Democratic principles.

I went to the Chicago Convention in January with the sincere determination to do all in my power to end the present miserable disunion, ready to offer this plan as an alternative should the desire of Socialists for a Union Convention be defeated. I found a most harmonious gathering which was determined that unity should be accomplished. My plan met with the most cordial reception and favor, and nothing but the conviction that in the present tension it might be looked upon as a device for blocking unity prevented its acceptance.

Most of the delegates besides, having come instructed by their constituents. voted for a convention, after having passed a resolution unanimously endorsing the plan and recommending its adoption by the Unity Convention for the future organization of the Socialist

It will be well to add in conclusion that we, who favor this plan of national organization, would heartily assist in the adoption of any plan of still greater promise. It is time, high time, that division and consequent weakness should cease, not for this time only but for the time to come. Let us establish that real Democracy in our ranks of which our present political system is but the shadow and we will place upon an enduring political foundation the conquering hosts of the co-operative commonwealth.

G. H. Strobell. Newark, N. J.

#### Tenement Dwellers in Chicago

From an exceedingly interesting report just published on the conditions of tenement life in Chicago, by a committee of the City Homes Association, headed by Robert Hunter, we extract the following facts:

The density of population per acre in the Polish quarters of Chicago is three times that of the most crowded portions of Tokio, Calcutta and many

One "double-decker" has forty tenements, each of which rent for \$4 to \$7 monthly. There are 127 people living

A "double-decker" is built in front and rear tenements, which are joined by a covered passage, shutting out the sky and darkening rooms in both buildings, sometimes to a pitch blackness. And in these rooms people live. In one tenement house there are seventy

dark rooms. The average number of persons to an apartment is 4.8, while of 571 apartments classified only five had rooms, 21 had six rooms, 44 had five rooms, 194 had four rooms, 181 had three rooms, 116 had two rooms and 10 had only one room.

The sunless bedrooms are crowded to the point of suffocation; 41.9 per cent of the people have less than 250 cubic feet of air space per occupant, which is 150 cubic feet less than is required by state law for each homeless and vagrant man in the down-town lodging-houses.

One-tenth of the apartments in three districts are in basements and cellars, and in the Polish quarter the number exceeds those in the other two sections combined. In this Polish district 4,185 persons live in 2,068 basements and cellars, leading the writer to say that "the Polish people are the most wretchedly housed of all the people investigated.

The worst of the facts shown are that 424 people live in 101 cellars.

In the Italian district 161 bathtubs were found in 1,598 front houses, which had a population of 21,612; only three

tubs were found in the 408 rear houses, which sheltered 3,200 persons.

In a rough estimate about 960,000 people in Chicago are without bathing facilities. The choice for most laborers in Chicago is to pay the 25 cents com-monly charged for the use of a bath, or to bathe at long intervals at home. In their own overcrowded and narrow homes it is difficult to obtain privacy for bathing. If a bath be taken, the water must be brought from the faucet, and at best the bath is unsatisfactory. Generally the people do not take baths, especially in winter, and upon children dirt often accumulates in what might be called scales.

Intemperance is caused by bad-housing in much the same way as pauperism. The saloon is attractive. It is warm in winter; it is cool in summer. It is clean, not overcrowded, and is well lighted. It is in marked contrast to small rooms, overcrowded, badly ventilated, and lighted. The "homeless" tenement causes the greatest amount of intemperance. It is almost unbearable while awake to stay in a close and disagreeable apartment. To leave the home is to go to the only "common" in the neighborhood. For the saloon preaches the lesson of hospitality. No one is denied. Intemperance, therefore, is often the cost of a cheerful place to spend the evening.

#### Plute Vindication of Socialism

Chauncey M. Depew in an address recently delivered before the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, deplored the reign of capitalism. "It works," said the speaker "by closing the factories and stores, the transfer and concentration of labor, the ruin of towns and in dividuals, and causing widespread Histress among the worthy people whose means of living had been suddenly taken away."

"Fifty years ago," said the speaker, "there was not a man in the world worth fifty millions of dollars; there was only one man in the United States worth five millions; there were not five worth a million. A hundred thousand dollars were counted a fortune on which to retire, and five hundred thousand was thought to be the mark of a supremely rich man. Today, in Pittsburg, which is one of our minor cities, are seventy men worth over a milhola dollars apiece. When Commodore Vanderbilt died in 1876 his fortune of a hundred millions had passed the mark ever before reached, while now there are in our country several who are worth between two and four hundred millions, and a large number who have reached the hundred million limit."

Speaking of the ambition of these millionaires, Depew said: "They seek to make all except the possessors of exaggerated incomes socially second class. The result is seen in the resentment which well informed people are discovering to exist and to be growing among those who educate, who form and who guide public opinion and whose teachings ultimately crystallize into laws against the holding or devising of great wealth."

Mr. Depew's address was a vindication of the contention of Socialism.

#### Trusts Playing Socialists' Game

Awaiting the outcome of our dealings with the trust, stands Socialism, says Charles J. Bullock in the June Atlantic. The "billion-dollar trust" seems to furnish a practical demonstration of the possibility of organizing the largest industries upon a national scale, and the Socialist applauds the efforts of Mr. Morgan and his associates. The concentration of all the railroads into a few groups, controlled by a single set of interests, is a brilliant triumph for the policy of centralization; and for this too, Mr. Morgan has the gratitude of every Socialist. The popular discon-tent caused by the monopolization of one necessary of life after another pre-pares the soil in a manner ideally perfect for the sowing of Socialistic seed and it is a significant fact that American Socialism has first become an appreciable force in this era of trusts and combinations. \* \* If thinking men ever become convinced that in manufacturing and other industries competition is impossible and monopoly inevitable, only two possible alterna tives will then present themselves, public or private monopoly; and those who are/now occupied with the formation or justification of trusts will be chiefly responsible in case the balance finally swings in the direction of Socialism.

Pass That the Third Annual Picnic of the the Social Democratic Party in Word Chicago—to eclipse all others—will be held at Hoerd's Park on the Fourth of July. The part is at Western, Belmont and Clybours avenues. It is one of the most beautiful reserts in the city. Get sickets now for your family, and make so other

## THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN THE NEW ORDER

No Chinese Wall Can Be Erected Between the Women of the Laboring Class and Their Bourgeois Sisters-Woman's Economic Emancipation

By ISADOR LADOFF

men" without the corresponding sister-hood of women: the so-called "rights of men" will remain a dead letter until the rights of women shall have been attained. There can be no equality among men as long as the equality of women with men is not recognized. A "free man," in the true sense of the term, can be born of and brought up only by a free mother. A man cannot be actually free as long as his sisters. his wife and daughter are slaves. He cannot be a good citizen as long as his mother and sisters are deprived of the rights of citizenship.

A true democracy is unthinkable without the full and unequivocal recognition of the civic rights of women. Reason, justice and practical considerations are on the side of the champions of women's rights. Ignorance, superstition and aristocratic tendencies are against the emancipation of women from their subjugation to the so-called stronger sex.

Can there be any doubt as to the attitude of the Social Democratic Party of America towards this problem? There may be some diversity of opinion as to the ways and means of solving the problem. The Socialists of the old school would like to erect a Chinese wall between the women of the laboring class and their bourgeois sisters, adding to their general theories of class-consciousness that of class-exclusiveness. The orthodox Socialists forget, however, that women have their own class-interests apart from the interests of the class to which their fathers and husbands belong.

Engel said: "In the family, man is the bourgeois and woman represents the proletariat." The woman of the bourgeois class is a slave, while her pro-letarian sister is a slave of a slave. Why, then, in the name of common sense, should the proletarian woman refuse to struggle with her bourgeois sister side by side as far and as long as their interests as a class, as women, are identi-

The proletarian woman can not expect her emancipation before the entire sex is emancipated. The proletarian woman has a double burden to bearthe burden of a woman and the burden of a proletarian. She belongs at one and the same time to two exploited. downtrodden and disinherited classes. To demand from her that she should forget her sex class-interests for her social-economic interests is the climax of absurdity. We might as well ask a negro slave to forget his double chains of social and economic slavery and renounce any attempt to free himself from the yoke of the white slave holders in order to reserve all his energies for the general struggle of the laboring class against their exploiters?

Is not the political disfranchisement of women in all civilized countries actually identical with political slavery? without political rights? That the male proletarian is an exploiter of the female proletarian is an undeniable fact. there any sense in demanding that she devote all her energies to improve the condition of her exploiters in expectation that her own fate may improve indirectly, instead of uniting with others of her class in demanding political freedom. Only by gaining political rights will the proletarian woman become a political power, and then she will be able to help more effectively in the struggle of the proletariat class against capital-

Another objection to the co-operation between women of all classes for the purpose of conquering political rights advanced by some orthodox Socialists is that the emancipation of women cannot be accomplished under our present social economic system. This objection is, however, hardly true. If the women of the United States, for instance, will seriously demand political rights, there is no person on earth to prevent them from obtaining them. If the women of the United States have no political rights it is not wholly because men oppose it, but chiefly because the women themselves have not become conscious of their class needs Superficial observers may think lightly about women's clubs and sneer at the club-woman. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that these scemingly insignificant institutions perform quietly and unostentatiously a useful missionary function in developing a class-conscious political woman movement. That this movement is bound in the

There can be no "brotherhood of | near future to crystallize in a direct demand of civic rights for women is certain.

What the effect of the political emancipation of women on the prospects of Socialism in the United States would be is a very interesting question. It is true there are fewer women Socialists in the country than men. Even the wives of many Socialists are indifferent or outspokenly opposed to Socialism.

The propaganda of Socialism among them has been neglected. Furthermore, women have not had the development which comes from working with their peers for a common master. Each woman has been trained to look out for her own exploiter on whom she is to be doubly dependent. It has, therefore, been more difficult for them to recognize their common interest. The recognition of Socialism comes from a consciousness of class interests and organization is promoting that conscious-

Women are as easily interested in the new social economic theories as men, but their mode of reasoning is different, and the spurs to their interest must be made to their feminine needs.

It ought to be easy to prove to women that the transformation from a capitalistic system to a collectivist one will be to her gain. As a child, a girl, a wife, or a mother she is at a great disadvantage in this industrial age. Her training is such as to fit her for an inferior position in society. She is expected to appear at the best advantage in the matrimonial show-window as a waiting commodity or ware. As marriage is considered to be her final destination, all the qualities and graces calculated to please her future sovereign are carefully developed, all likely to repel him are as carefully repressed. The approval of man is her objective aim. and her economic dependence stimus able women and degrades them.

Nothing is more pitiable than a girl hunting for a husband. The bourgeois woman in such case is more pitiable than her proletarian sister. Accustomed to a certain ease of life, unfit to compete industrially, she is entirely at the mercy of the fluctuations in the matrimonial market.

This market, with all its humiliation and indignity, is being contracted by the disintegrating influences of industrial life, which are bearing also upon family life. The standard of a single life among men is advancing in inverse ratio to their ability to earn a living; the uncertainty of employment, the demoralizing influence of constant contact with the lower types of the proletarian woman in shop and factory lead to his dis-inclination to marry. The economic bondage of capitalism weighs more heavily on the proletarian woman than on the man. Her lower physical stand-ard, her legal disability, her political disfranchisement make her an unwelcome and dangerous riv chine production is introduced, so that unenviable as is the life of the married proletarian woman the life of the single woman is more so. A lonely life filled with monotonous toil, cramped by insufficient wages leads to a miserable old age. The solution of the woman problem must follow the revolutionary lines of the man problem. Her economic emancipation must follow her political emancipation. She is now entering upon the class-consciousness of the latter; that attained, her recognition of the next step will quickly follow and all effort to keep the proletarian woman apart from the bourgeois woman until after their political enfranchisement is. the work of a remnant of capitalisticinstinct dormant in proletarian man,

A dispatch from Paris, dated May 31, says: "The split in the ranks of the Socialists caused by the defeat of a resolution in the license congress de-claring M. Millerand, the Minister of Commerce, had placed himself outside

the party by accepting a portfolio in a Bourgeois cabinet, is bearing fruit. "Eight deputies, including M. Vail-lant, who retired from the congress on lant, who retired from the congress on the defeat of the motion to expel M. Millerand from the party, have amnounced their withdrawal. The Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies intend to organize a new group, this weakening the government, lattern supported by these deputies. Other Socialists are expected to follow the example of their codengues and draw from the party.

# ocial Democratic Deralo

DEVENT SATURDAY BY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

isader Ladell, Secretary, Illineis ger, Wisconsin own, Illineis n, Kansas G. H. Goebel, her, lewa L. E. Miller,

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126 Washington St., Chicago. 153 is the number of this paper. If the num-ber on your wrapper is 154 your subscrip-tion expires with the next weeks' paper. Floase runew premptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1901.

#### Social Democratic Party Vete 1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 97.024

Stingless bees have been discovered in several islands in the West Indies. They belong to a class of toilers that never strike for better condition.

Single and double entry bookkeeping no longer answers the demands. Experts find that treble entry is required to meet the requirements of progress.

Kind woman to street gamin, trying to pull a mean dog along: "What makes him act so mean?" Gamin: Why, missus, it's just because he's a dog.

The United States during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, collected off the people the sum of \$669,595,-431.18. Of this vast amount labor paid every cent.

All the stars and suns and planets shine in co-operative harmony to beautify the heavens and bless the world. and the dog star isn't fool enough to bark at them

"War in the Philippines is over" is the report, but 40,000 soldiers and a fleet are to be kept on duty to teach the people the blessings of subjugation and the loss of liberty.

The natives of Porto Rico are leaving the island to escape starvation. They are selling themselves into peon slavery that they may secure food. The statement is authoritative.

Within the next ten years municipal ownership of public utilities-water light and transportation, under the influence exerted by Socialism, will be adopted by nine-tenths of all the cities in the United States.

An engraver of a \$10 greenback grasping conditions, in engraving the words "United States" placed them on the bill "upside down. As a marks-man he hit the bull's eye. The United States is often upside down.

The churches, generally, are down on gambling except in cases where the gamblers bet on grain and stocks, and many meddlesome people insist upon knowing why this is thus. They should study bread and butter philosophy.

ir 1900 the coal miners o the United States dug 274,872,779 tons of coal, valued at the mines \$321,792. 265, or \$1.27 a ton. Perhaps there is no one industry in which labor is more potential than in the coal mines or paid

The number of national banks now doing business is 4,050, with a capital of \$639.226.635. They are the "simons' in finance that "wigwag" business af-fairs, and "thumbs" and things go up or down as they order.

Immigrants by the thousand are arriving at New York from Europe, and other large ports are sharing in the business of receiving the guests—sig-fificant of the inevitable war storms soon to spatter human blood over Europe to gratify kings.

A writer on Socialism says, "laboring men are dealt with by managers as mere tools" and that "they are spoken of as tools and things." Under Socialism they will be spoken of and treated as men who, knowing their rights, dare maintain them.

A cablegram from London informs the American public that the Rothschilds had a family "smoker," to which Pierpont Morgan was invited and told if he continued to pursue a cutthroat policy in conveying stocks they, the Rothschilds, would retaliate, whereupon, Morgan seeing the point performed the crawfish act in a way satisfactory to the Jews. It was the first intimation that Morgan doesn't quite own the earth.

Science is unable to discern the reason why persons who fall great dis-tances lose their boots or other footcear. In the recent numble of stocks in New York a great many persons who went down with them not only lost their boots, but their heads, and their fortunes also.

A British earl, who has had to submit to adverse fortune and work for a living, has had the aristocratic nonsense knocked out of him to the extent that he admits "any employment is honorable which enables a man to get money without stealing it." That earl will now organize a trust.

It is predicted that during the twentieth century people will be found who will mind their own business. A little investigation will demonstrate that Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Jno. D. Rockefeller and Mr. George Gould are doing that very thing, which includes skinning working men.

The treasury department at Washington states that on Nov. 1, 1900, the various kinds of moneys in circulation in the United States amounted to \$2,-139,181,472, or \$27.82 per capita of population. The per capita of labor was, perhaps, 82 cents, the \$27.00 going to those who, like the lilies, neither toil nor spin.

Reports have it that a distinguished United States senator from Missouri, an old-timer, a democrat, concluded, during the late craze in New York, to do a little gambling in stocks. He first lost his head and then his money, and in the final round-up he was found high and dry, a nicer but a poorer United States senator-a financial wreck.

The state of New York in utilizing its lunatics in carrying forward a variety of industries is to a certain extent making amends for a civilization which produces lunatics. The New York in-stitution supplies all the labor required to operate a farm of 1,200 acres, besides its lunatics furnished nearly all the labor required to build a railroad six

The popular idea is that under plutocratic rule when an obnoxious measure is to be passed in congress or a legislature the entire menagerie has to be bought. This is a mistake, as only enough animals have to be debauched to pass the measure, and often a very small number answers the purpose, the larger number of the Zoo having been trained to obey the whip.

Several distinguished citizens appeared before the industrial commission recently, notably Edward Atkinson of Boston and Myron H. Holt of New York. They contended that the tariff is largely responsible for trusts and for the millionaires in congress. Mr. Holt affirmed that of the "\$1,279-000,000 stock and bonds of the United States steel corporation \$700,000,000 was water.

Old Russell Sage, a sage indeed, prelicted a "black Friday" in stocks. It came sooner than was anticipated and twenty-three different descriptions of stock declined \$732,239,075. The declined \$732,239,075. Standard Oil stocks declined \$142,000,-000 and the United States stocks suffered to the extent of \$269,000,000, and yet nothing like all of the water was squeezed out of them, and as soon as the machinery could be adjusted the water flowed in again.

In England and France the birth rate is declining to an item that is giving alarm. It is possible that the pro-letariat class which have furnished the food for ponder and the brawn for labor, have concluded to go out of the procuration business, and let the rich do the fighting and the building; in which case the two world powers named would go back to Hottentot civilization in a century.

Mr Schwab, president of the billion steel trust, does not favor the unionizing of working men, 250,000 of whom he has under his thumb. He thinks labor unions are a menace to the steel trust, the interests of which he is paid a million a year to promote. Right you are, Mr. Schwab, and hot water, lightning, nor Pinkertons will avail in arresting the organization of working men, and you will be wise in shearing them, not to cut too deeply.

Do you think that the man who sits in the office, lives in a brown stone house with oriental decorations, eats his dinners from a silver service and rides out in the evening behind a thousand dollar team with abbreviated tails, do do you think that man pays you your wages? Think a little harder, brother! Isn't it a fact that you pay your own wages by what you produce? Isn't it a fact that the capital of the man who claims to be paying you wages cannot produce anything? And isn't it a fact that besides paying your own wages by what you produce, you create the "in-come" of your employer? In other words, isn't it true that labor "pays the bills," whether in the form of wages to itself or income, rents, profits and interest to capital?

A New York paper, the Commercial Advertiser, discussing the stock and bond crash on 'change in that city, credits the whole business to "gamblers and robbers." It says: "Those who went into the crasy market to guess what the manipulators would do were gamblers. Those who knew what moves would be made and profited by their knowledge were robbers. Neither gamblers nor robbers are promoters of prosperity of useful members of so-

Capital is a tool that those who own it did not make. Neither do the owners keep it in repair after it is made. It is productive only in the hands of the laborer. It is labor and labor alone that makes all the capital in the world effective. Without labor capital would rust and rot. Capital is saved from decay and annihilation by human labor alone. And yet the laborer bears not only the burden of creating and preserving capital, with no part in its ownership, but suffers the hardship of being deprived of its use without permission from those who contribute nothing

We are often treated to a comparison between labor at the present and labor one hundred and two hundred years ago, and a vast improvement is shown. If there has been any improvement, much or little, the rich are not entitled to any credit. Labor, and only labor, has wrought the change, and a vastly greater change in conditions is to come. He who has not seen the signs of coming emancipation is blind. He who does not hear the slogan is deaf, and the working man who does not help on the new regime is a traitor to himself and to his fellow

There are some men who oppose Socialism, not knowing what Socialism is. Others oppose it on principle; but the curious thing about the latter is that they are all the time lending their influence and support to movements and legislation, which, if they result in anything at all, must inevitably give us more Socialism and bring us nearer the co-operative commonwealth. Why don't they start a crusade for the abolition of all laws and institutions that have the Socialistic taint or tendency? Simply because they know that would be going backward. They are unconscious Socialists, afraid to go forward or backward. They are waiting for the tide; that will move them, and move them forward, too.

R. N. Pollock of Cleveland, O., who looted the savings bank of which he was president, and then committed suicide, had his life insured for \$65,000. The insurance company will have to pay and the money thus secured may equal the stealings. The incident is suggestive. Depositors, particularly in savings banks, should insist that the custodians of their money shall not only have their lives insured, but their integrity also. The fact that they are members of a church, superintendents of Sunday schools and move in high social circles, no longer counts. Our Christian civilization demands giltedged bonds, indorsed by solvent insurance institutions.

#### Capitalist Supreme Court

The confused and confusing decisions in the insular cases by the Supreme Court are a disgrace to that bench of national arbiters. They are in the interest of the capitalist class. The Supreme Court is a tool of capitalism and the party in power. One of the justices, Henry B. Brown, has put himseli and the court on record by saying:
"In one case we decided that Porto

Rico was a territory of the United States. In the other case we decided that Porto Rico is not a part of the United States, under the revenue clause of the Constitution.

Any man, though a fool, should be able to see that a court decision to the effect that after the Foraker act Porto Rico ceased to be part of the United States, though before the Foraker act it was a part of the United States, is a court that is ready to juggle with the rights of the people and under the malign and despotic influence of capitalist interests to destroy the people's lib-erties. An irresponsible despotism is all that the American people have in the form of government.

#### Crime and Its Cost

Estimates, carefully prepared, show there are 500,000 known criminals in the United States, 250,000 of whom belong to the "habitual" list. The "earnings" of the "habituals," that is to say the amount of their stealings, is placed at an average of \$1,600 each, or an aggregate of \$400,000,000. The other 250,-000, who are "occasionals"—bank presidents, cashiers and tellers, embezzlers, forgers, etc.,—get away with an amount equal to the "habituals," say \$400,000,000—a grand aggregate of stealings of \$800,000,000. And when such unclassed criminals as railroad wreckers are considered, such as place great corporations in the hands of re-ceivers under court jurisdiction, the amount of stealings wells to dazzling of the world.

agnitude. The governments, state of national, are ceaselessly trying less habitual and occasional criminals, and the annual loss is estimated at \$000,000,000—a colossal aggregate of \$1,400,000,000 a year. Such figures are not flattering of our civilization, or our religion. But the compiler of the figures does not take into consideration the robberies practiced by the "captains of industry" who prey upon labor and confiscate a portion of the earnings of every working man on the continent. Once take this crime into consideration and no extravagance of language meets requirements. If working men would unite and wield their ballots for the right, the much-used proverb, "Labor omnia vincit," would have more significance than at present.

#### Ye Gods, What a King

Mr. William O'Brien takes no stock in the "divinity" that "doth hedge a king" and in his paper, The Irish People, he goes for King Edward VII. rough shod. O'Brien denounces the king as an "old and bald-headed roue, lover of every woman of fair features who has appeared in English society for forty years, including titled dames and actresses—the English gentleman perjurer of a historic divorce case, the polluted hero of one of the malodorous scenes in Zola's rotten novel-Nanathe center of a score of the most dis-graceful scandals of the most contemptible type, and an old and worn-out descendant of a race of scoundrels and practical professors of hideous immo-

rality."
Mr. O'Brien could have added that the British king and emperor is a notorious gambler, and otherwise decorated him with titles. But his work at once set the nobility on fire, and as far as possible The Irish People was confiscated—that is, every stray copy that could be found. And this is the sort of a king that English working men are required to pay an annual salary of more than \$2,000,000. Reports have it "the king is silent"—not so the world. It is talking, and King Edward is the target for more flings and jeers than falls to the lot of any other ruler, not excepting the sultan of Turkey.

#### The Crank

What of him? Very much. Define him, please. Well, to begin, the crank is a reformer, an agitator. Jesus and all of his apostles—excepting Judas Iscariot—in the opinion of scribes, pharisees, Heodians and high priests, were "cranks" because they were agitators and reformers, who wanted better conditions and an improved civilization. Judas was not a reformer-he was a thief and conservative. He was out for the stuff and when he had secured it, like some level headed thieves now-adays, performed the very rational act of killing himself-"cranks" are always advanced thinkers, have ideas and ideals. They will not "let well enough alone." You see that in the opinion of plutocratic conservatives the slave trade was "well enough," but the cranks would not let it alone, and, finally, the United States, by the fiat of public opinion, molded by "cranks," 1808, abolished the slave trade and in 1820 declared it piracy.

Chattel slavery in the United States

by a great majority of the people, north and south, was declared to be enough," but the "cranks" would not let it alone. It had grown in numbers from 20, in 1620, to more than 3,000,-000 in 1860, and from the first had been opposed by "cranks." After the aboli-tion of the slave trade the "cranks" took courage. The storm of agitation increased in fury. There was no let up. Then came the war of the rebellion and Lincoln's emancipation proclamation and the fetters fell from the limbs of more than 3,000,000 chattel slaves-the 'cranks" had won a victory such as the ages had never beheld since the deluge.

In 1770, or thereabouts, the British concluded to exploit their sovereignty in their American colonies in a way that aroused all the "cranks" from Maine to Georgia. There were thousands of conservatives known as tories, who insisted upon letting "well enough" alone, but the cranks, the reformers, the agitators, the true American patriots, such as Washington and Adams, Hancock and Jefferson, including all the "cranks" who signed the Declaration of Independence," were not conservaof Independence," were not conserva-tives but radicals of the most pro-nounced type. They would not "lis-ten to reason," they would not compromise, they would not arbitrate. They demanded liberty and independence These "cranks" fought at Concord and Lexington and Bunker Hill. They plunged their country into a war that lasted eight long years. Half-naked, and half-fed they froze and starved at Valley Forge, and fought the British as naked as they were born at Eutaw springs and Kings mountain, and at Yorktown unfurled to the winds the Flag of Freedom and saw a nation born.

The "cranks" are the pathfinders. Find them where you may and they are striding onward to higher elevations, and they are of that noble type of manhood which dares all things and suffers all things to lift up the oppressed and lighten their burdens. They are their brothers' keepers. They are the sait of the earth and the light

Do you say Socialists are "cranks"? Admit it—and what of it. They have come of a noble race, Their vision is microscopic and telescopic. The eter-nal clamor about things being well enough' does not deceive them; instead at the best, they find them bad enough and steadily growing worse. They scan the field—telescopes are not required to disclose conditions. The naked eye suffices.

Throughout the broad land the press heralds increasing corruption, and the church proclaims the overmastering power of the devil-but neither suggests any practical remedy or change of pro-gram; only "cranks" do that. The world needs more "cranks"; men whose faith in humanity prompts them to do and dare; who, as they advance hold their ground, fortify their posi-tions and then move on. In such re-gards Socialism is in its dawn, and its sun is steadily rising to meridian glory.

#### Representation in the Convention.

A report published in New York Volkszeitung, relating to the matter of representation in the approaching national convention of Socialists, is calculated to cause a misunderstanding and lead to confusion and strife. It is to the effect that the Social Democratic party (Chicago), through its national executive board, had agreed to a proposition that all Socialist societies and organizations recognizing the "class struggle" would be entitled to representation by delegates.

Speaking for the party and its executive officers, the Herald wishes to correct this erroneous report. The call adopted by our January convention expressly provided that the organizations which shall be invited to participate in the convention are national, state and territorial Socialist parties only. There is no provision whatever for the admission of delegates from clubs or societies; no such organizations have been invited; the call was so worded as to exclude from the convention all but the national, state and territorial "parties." It should be clear to everyone that mere clubs or societies do not come within the provision of the call, and, therefore, cannot be admitted to the convention. This is the general and correct understanding. We hope the Volkszeitung, and possibly one or two other papers whose erroneous reports may have misled a few people, will correct the mistake.

Another matter which has already been referred to in these columns with a view to a correct understanding, again calls for a word of explanation. The call adopted at our January convention provided that the "results" of the proposed convention "shall be submitted to our branches and a referen-dum taken upon the same." This has reference solely to our own organization and can not be construed as imposing the same procedure upon any other. Yet the executive board and the party has been appealed to not to insist upon a reference of the acts of the convention to a vote of all organizations taking part. This the executive board has not thought of doing and the January convention did not provide for a referendum except to the party which that convention sented.

No changes whatever have been made in the provisions of the call, except as to the time for the convention to meet, and this was done through the initiative of the executive board complying with a very general desire for an earlier date. With these explanations, and understanding that the national, state and territorial parties in accepting the invitation of our party also accept the provisions accompanying the invitation, we again urge all members of the branches throughout the country to prove their zeal for Social Democracy and a unified move-ment by an enthusiastic discharge of their individual duty.

The legislation of Minnesota, in its last session, passed a law making wife desertion a felony, punishable by im-prisonment in the penitentiary, from one to three years. Thirty of these rascals have been located and requisitions for their return to the state have been issued. The Minnesota idea is that a man shall support his wife and family. Now, then, suppose these runa-ways are captured and returned to the state and cannot find employment? The law provides they shall give bond to the state to support their families. Who will go on the bonds of a workingman out of employment? If the law provided that the state should supply emploment, then in that case, the husband and father who would not work should go to the penitentiary. Under the reign of capitalism thousands are forced into idleness who cannot sup-port themselves, to say nothing of wife and children.

McKinley is reported to have announced that he will not receive President Kruger, the patriotic exile of the South African Transvaal republic, either officially or otherwise. If the report is true, then McKinley deserves everlasting reprobation. When Kruger visits the United States his reception will arouse such a storm of enthusiasm that McKinley and every other lickspittle of imperialism will pray for the devil to fly away with them.

## GREAT SOCIALIST DEBATE

#### JEAN JAURES' FAMOUS SPEECH

The Socialist party is a party of sustained, profound opposition to the whole capitalist system. That is to say, that all our actions, all our thoughts, all our propaganda, all our votes must be directed towards the suppression, as rapid as possible, of capitalist iniquity. But from the circumstance that the Socialist party is thus fundamentally, essentially, a party of opposition to this whole social system, it does not follow that we are not to make any difference whatever between the several capitalist parties and the several capitalist governments that succeed one another.

Oh, yes! Modern society is divided into capitalists and proletarians. But, at the same time, this social system is threatened by the offensive reaction of all the forces of the past-by the offensive reaction of feudal barbarism and of the omnipotence of the church. It is thus the duty of the Socialists, whenever republican liberty is in danger, when freedom of conscience is menaced, when the old prejudices that race hatred resuscitates, together with the atrocious religious quarrels of centuries ago, threaten to be rekindled,-it is then the duty of the Socialist proletariat to march with that fraction of the bourgeoisie that does not want to remain behind.

I am truly astonished at having to recall these elemental truths, that should be the patrimony and the rule of conduct of all Socialists. It is Marx him-self who wrote these words: "We, revolutionary Socialists, we are with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and with the bourgeoisie against the feudal lords and their parsons." (Loud applause.)

A Voice-That's not true.

Chairman Delory-Citizens, it is to be regretted that such an interruption should take place.

Jaures-Citizens! I recognize the comrade who addressed those unkind words to me. I limit myself to telling him this: You will verify with your friends, we shall verify together the accuracy of the quotation that I made; and if it is correct, I shall demand of you only one thing in reparation, and that is that at one of our next meetings, you loyally attest the fact from this very platform. (Cheers.)

In the same way that it is impossible for the Socialist proletariat-unless it is untrue to all its duties, all its traditions and all its interests,-to fail to distinguish between those bourgeois fractions that are most violently reactionary, and those that at least wish to save some vestige or some element of freedom, so likewise is it impossible. particularly to the Socialists elected to office, to fail to distinguish between the several bourgeois governments.

#### THE DREYFUS AFFAIR.

There are hours when it is to the interest of the proletariat to prevent a too violent intellectual and moral degradation of the capitalist class itself. That is why, on the occasion of a military crime, there arose among the several bourgeois fractions the struggle that you know of. Accordingly, when a small minority of the capitalist class, despite the combined force of unbridled calumny, sought to raise the cry of justice and to cause truth to be heard, it was then the duty of the proletariat, not to remain neutral, but to go over to the side where truth was suffering. to the side where humanity was crying. Guesde said in Vautier Hall:

those who admire capitalist society busy themselves with redressing its wrongs; let those," said he, "who admire the sun of capitalism, apply themselves to wipe out its spots." (Great and prolonged applause.)

Very well, let him allow me to tell him: The day when a crime is committed against a man; the day when that crime is committed by the hand of the capitalist class, and the proletariat, by intervention, could have prevented the crime, it would not then be the capitalist or bourgeois class alone that would be responsible. The proletariat itself would then share the responsibility for the act. It would be the proletariat, that, by failing to arrest the arm of the butcher, ready to strike, becomes the butcher's accomplice. It would not then be a spot that veils, that darkens the declining sun of capitalism, it would be a spot that would blur the rising Socialist sun. We have not wanted to see this blur of shame on the dawn of Socialism.

What is singular in all this, what the whole Socialist party of Europe should know, is that at the very start of this great drama, it was the revolutionary Socialists who encouraged me most, and who pressed me most to enter the

You should know, comrades, how the question was raised before the Socialist group in the last legislature.

When that question rose for the first time, when we had to ask ourselves what position we should take, the Socialist group found itself about equally

On the one side, there stood those whose names you will allow me to mention,—these were then called the "Mod-

erates." It was a Millerand, it was Viviani, it was Jourde, it was Lavay who then said: "Here is a ticklish question, one that we should not mix in.

On the other side, there stood those who might then have been termed the revolutionary left wing of the Socialist party. On that side were Guesde, Vaillant and myself. We said: "No, that is a battle that must be fought."

Oh, I recall the admirable accents of Guesde when Zola's letter appeared. Our moderate comrades of the Socialist group said: "But Zoła is no Socialist; Zola, after all, is but a bourgeois; is the Socialist party to be placed in the tow of a bourgeois writer?"

And Guesde, rising as if he were suifocating at the sound of such language, went and opened the window of the room in which the Socialist group was deliberating, saying: "The letter of Zola is the most revolutionary act of the century!" (Applause.)

And, subsequently, when, encouraged by his words as well as by my own convictions; when I went to testify in the Zola trial; when, in the presence of the assembled colonels and generals, whose crimes began to be suspected, before they had been thoroughly explored, I began to testify, to depose, and I returned to the Chamber, Guesde spoke to me these words, which I shali remember as long as I live: "Jaures, I love you, because, with you, the act always follows the thought." (Prolonged sensation.)

And, seeing that the cannibals of the general staff continued whetting their fangs in the flesh of their victim, Guesde said to me: "When the day shall have come, what shall the Socialists do with a humanity so debased and And he continued with bitter vile?" eloquence: "Is it that we shall arrive too late? Will the human elements be rotten when it will be our turn to build our house?"

Now, then, why, after such words, why after these declarations, did the National Council of the Party, a few months later, in the month of July, seek to cause the proletariat to withdraw from that great battle?

Perhaps-I so sought to explain it to myself more than once-the revolutionists thought that we tarried too long in that struggle, that we spent there too much of our strength, and of the strength of the people.

But let them allow me to tell them: Where will the revolutionary energy be found in man on the decisive day, if, after a battle like this is engaged in against all the powers of calumny, against all the powers of oppression. we do not keep on until the end?

As for me, I wished to continue, I wished to persevere until the venomous beast was compelled to spew out its venom. Yes. It was necessary to pursue all the falsifiers, all the liars, all the butchers, all the traitors. It was necessary to pursue them at the point of Truth, as if at the point of the sword, until they should have been compelled to confess their crimes, the ignominy of their crimes, in face of the whole world. (Loud applause.)

And note well, the manifesto by which we were told to abandon this battle appeared in July. It preceded by a few weeks the confession, which by persevering, we forced from Colonel Henry.

Well, then, allow me to congratulate myself for not having heard the bugie call to retreat that was sounded at our ears; for having placed the mark of the Socialist proletariat, the mark of the Revolution, upon the discovery of one of greatest crimes that the military caste ever committed against Humanity. (Applause.)

It was not lost. While those crimes were being uncovered, while you were learning to know all its shamefulness. all its calumniousness, all its machinations, the prestige of Militarism declined day by day in the spirits of men. Keep in mind that Militarism is dangerous only by reason of its being armed guardian of Capital. It is dangerous also in that it seduces the people by a false image of grandeur by I know not what fraudulent pretense of devotion and self-sacrifice.

When this idol, so gloriously painted and so superb, was seen to demand for the service of its constrous appetite that whole generations be sacrificed when it was found out to be rotten; and that it contained only dishonor, treason, intrigues and calumnies,-then Militarism received its death blow, nor did the Social Revolution lose thereby. (Loud applause.)

Accordingly, I held that the proletariat fulfilled its duty doubly towards itself. It is because, in this battle, the proletariat fulfilled its duty towards itself and towards humanity; it is because the proletariat carried its class action so high that, instead of taking the bourgeoisie for its guardian, as Louis Blanc proposed, itself became at that crisis the guardian of capitalist liberty, which the capitalists were incapable of defending; it is because the proletariat filled ton at that decisive role in that great social street.

drams that the direct participation of a Socialist in a capitalist cabinet was made possible.

THE MILLERAND QUESTION.

In whatever way you may judge the entrance of Millerand in the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet; in whatever way you may judge the tactics thus inaugurated and the results that flowed therefrom, you are all agreed, that at all events, the entrance of a Socialist in a bourgeois, a capitalist cabinet, is a striking sign of the growth, of the pow-er of the Socialist party.

You will remember that that is what Citizen Lafargue himself said barely a year ago. Opposed from the start to the entrance of Millerand in the Cabinet, he, nevertheless, declared that there was in fact a conclusive symptom of the growing force of our party.

I remember that a few weeks ago, at the close of the International Congress, when despite the stupid display of the police by Prefect Lepine, the delegates of International Socialism were about to carry a wreath to the wall of the Federes (victims of the Commune butcher), the German Socialist Singer, he who represents the extreme left wing of the German Movement, and who alone among his fellow delegates voted against the conciliatory Kautsky Resolution-said: "The entrance of a Socialist in a bourgeois cabinet cannot be approved. As for me, as all the world knows, I blame the entrance of Millerand in a bourgeois cabinet. Nevertheless, I can not refrain from saying that, in view of the fact that thirty years ago the bourgeoisie shot down the profetariat, the Socialist party has grown so tremendously that, in an hour of peril, in order to save elemental freedom, the bourgeoisie finds itself compelled to appeal to one from our

There cannot then be any doubt upon that point among us. Whatever judgment we may pass upon the formation of the affair, we would be found unanimous in proclaiming before all the bourgeois parties that the event attests the growing force of our party.

Is it, then, just; is it wise: is it in keeping with principle that a Socialist participate in a bourgeois government?

Citizens! The hour has come, it seems to me, to discuss this question with calmness. Until now we have not discussed it but in the heat of tempests. As far as my experience goes-do not take me ill if I recall the fact,-when I think of the convention of December, a year ago, or of the more recent Congress, end of September. I remember, true enough, to have heard arguments. but also constant cries of "Gallifet!"
"Chalon!" "Martinique."

I suppose we have stopped discussing in that way. Remember, such procedure in a discussion by means of which it is thought to strike us, might wound your friends themselves. You wound your friends themselves. have thrown the word "Gallifet" at our faces to imply that, by approving of Millerand's entrance in the Cabinet, we became, so to speak, responsible for all the past acts of Gallifet.

Be careful, comrades, you who are making to me a silent sign of interruption, for which I thank you, because it warns me, without disturbing the order of the meeting,-be careful

You, here in Lille, the working men of Lille, two months after the entrance of Millerand in the Cabinet, you received him here, you feasted him here, you cheered him here. I reckon that whatever the colleague of Gallifet was at that time, you did not mean thereby to cheer Gallifet himself. Consequently do not shoot an arrow at us that must rebound upon yourselves. (Cheers.)

And, now, I wish to say but a few words touching the painful events of Martinique and of Chalon. But before doing so, let me remind those of our comrades, who allow themselves to be carried away so far as to constitute those events into a charge against us. that they incur an act of grave confu-

When a cabinet is sustained in bourgeois society, even a cabingt where a Socialist is a member, that does not imply that one has the childishness of expecting of that Cabinet, or of any bourgeois cabinet, full justice and full deference to proletarian interests. We know full well that capitalist society is the hot-bed of iniquity. We can get out of iniquity only by getting rid of capitalism.

But we also know that there are in bourgeois society some enemies more hateful and more violent than others. In sustaining a cabinet, we do so, not because we love such a cabinet more, but because we love the others and worse ones, that would replace it for sinister purposes, less.

(To be concluded next week.)

#### National Organization Fund

Since the last report the following amounts have been paid on the fund: Kate Johnson, \$2; Corinne S. Brown,

Get Social Democrats, for the Third Your Annual Picnic of the Social DemoTickets cratic Party, to be held July 4, at the finest picnic park in Chicago—
Hoerdt's, Western, Belmont and Ciybourn avenues. Make no other engagements for that day. There will be a big program; there will be no better place to spend the Fourth. Get your tickets at the Herald office, 126 Washington street; Spravedingst office, 700 Loomis street.

#### THE PROGRESS AND PROGRAM OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and its program has recently been the subject of much intelligent, though generally heated and hostile, comment, in the European press, much of it called out at the time of the May holiday. The hand of the Socialist is recognized in the student and other social disturbances in Russia, many of the German papers charge Socialists with responsibility for the re-cent attacks on the Kaiser, and the widespread strikes and other labor troubles which are still keeping the French Government on the rack are laid at the door of Socialism-Socialism exultant, says M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in the Economiste Français (Paris), because of the presence of the Socialist Millerand in the cabinet of the republic. France is honeycombed with Socialism. declares M. Leroy-Beaulieu, and she must beware. Municipal Socialism is likely to become a great menace to the stability of the republic. To which M. Millerand (in his paper, the Lanterne, Paris,) responds that when the workingman has once learned what his rights are, he can be trusted to look after the government of cities. Alcide Ebray, writing in the Journal des Debats (Paris) declares that the French Socialists are gradually bringing about a return by France to her old-time role of criticizing and meddling with the affairs of other nations, as she did in the days of the Revolution. He cites the criticism by the French press of Russia's domestic troubles as a case in We have an international role, says M. Ebray, but we must be exceedingly careful how we play it. France is not now in the position to act the part of a leader in Europe—that is, of a leader in great political and social movements. The Italian people, declares Prof. Alessandro Schiavi (in an article quoted in The International Socialist Review, Chicago,), are too miserably poor and ignorant for any effective propaganda or education along Socialistic lines. Between taxation and militarism, "financial and economic progress in Italy is in a bad way." that has been accomplished in the way of political advancement in Italy during the past few years, he continues, has been due, in the main, to the Socialist deputies in the Parliament. He says on this point: "It is no exaggeration to say that

since the sad days of May, 1898, there is not a fight against the forces of reaction, not a contest in the Parliament. but was led by the group of Socialists that form the extreme left, assisted by republicans and radicals. Even the solution of the late cabinet crisis in an almost democratic sense is due to the energy of the Socialist deputies. After the spirited campaign of obstruction maintained by the extreme left for the purpose of defeating the attacks of the reaction, we finally arrived at the Saracco ministry, on which devolved the duty of removing the sad debris of the reactionary period. But like all such transitional governments, this cabinet was ever balancing itself, without bringing any actual results, between the pretentious demands of the still reactionary majority of employers and the alertness of the extreme left, that was always ready to obstruct a backward move-

The Saturday Review (London) hopes that Socialism will not always be-'so unfortunate as it is at present in its advocates." There is very little future for it as now constituted. Socialism as an organization has always gone to pieces because its various parties were extremists and would not compromise. Justice (London), the leading Great אר מבל clares that the modern financial "panic" is directly traceable to "the incapacity of the capitalist class to handle the great instruments of modern produc-Every section of the world, it continues, has "suffered in one way or another from the results of a system which dictates that production must be dimited to the purchasing power of the customers whom the capitalist can discover."

H. M. Hyndman, the well-known English Socialist, writing in Justice, declares that, as long ago as 1880, while on a visit to the United States, he prophesied that "within a generation huge trusts and combines would completely control American industry, and would render the antagonism between capital and labor more bitter in the United States than anywhere else." For this he was ridiculed, he says, in both this country and England. But, he continues, "my prophecy has come

Mont Blong of the London, Eng., Clarion, the great organ of Socialism, paints a pen picture of our British cousins, blending as many contradictions as fact and fancy could suggest, and then, as a climax, avers that in heaven the English language, made up of Celtic-Roman, or Latin, German, Dutch, Danish, Sweedish and Norman, is exclusively spoken. If Mont Blong is to be accepted as authority he should inform his readers what language Jay Gould and millionaires who have handed in their "chips" are speaking.

## LOCAL BRANCHES

#### CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meet, age every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, com-nearing at 8. Administrate. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday translate.

evening. Membership, Social Democrat Herald free to each

Membership, Sucial Democrat Herald free to each member, Sc cents per month,
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 2, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 30'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 126% Spring street. J. S. Bruner, 427 N. Hill street.
Branch 12, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday in each month, at 10'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1608 Polk street.

#### COLORADO

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:20 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. LaKamp, secretary.

#### CONNECTICET

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main street, Hartford. Louis Herrup, secretary, 6 Kinsley street, Hartford. Branch No. 4. Rockville, meets second and fourth Fridays at Link's Hall, up-stairs. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 780.

#### ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 22 Dearborn street.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m., at Nagl's Hall, 328 Blue Island avenue.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets accord and fourth Tuesdays at 8 p. m., in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 33th place. Joseph Dunder, secretary.

Branch No. 3, Chicago, meets accord and fourth Sundays of each month at Pisarik's Hall, corner Center avenue and 18th street. James Rehak, secretary, 315 Throop Street.

avenue and 19th street. James Rehak, secretary, 315
Throop street.
Branch No. 8 (Bohemian). Chicago, meets second and
fourth Sundays at 9 a. m., at 3002 Lincoln street. J. A.
Ambroz, secretary, 450 Wood street.
Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at Uhlborn's Hall, corr.
ner 63d street and Center avenue, first and third Saturdays. Gue Larson, secretary, 630 Center avenue.
Branch 43 (Svatopiukcech) meets every third Sunday
in the month at Pinger's Hall, corner Michigan and
111th place. Camil Kabat, secretary, 127 Stanwood
avenue.

avenue. Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every other Saturday at s p. m., at A. Jankowski's place, 884 W. Inst street, between Leavitt and Oakley. A. Geisler, accretary, 728 W. 20th street.

Branch No. 22 (11th ward), Chicago, Ill., meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at Hildebrand's Hall, a.e. corner of Paulina and 21st sts. Secretary, P. J. Kuhn, 791 Blue Island ave. INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month, at Reichweni's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets. Address all communications to the secretary of the State executive board, Thomas Cation, 306 Warren IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Baxter, chair, man; Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

#### RENTUCKY

Branch 5, Newport, meets first Thursday evening at 8 p. m., and third Sunday afternoon, at Sauftleben Hall, northeast corner Seventh and Central avenue. Address A. L. Nagel, 22 W. Second street. MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2. Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, organizer, zyJackson street. Branch No. 2. Roxbury, meets at 24 Warren street, second and fourth Fridays of every month. Public invited. MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1. Battle Creek, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 1.p. m., at 10 W. Main street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, secretary. MINNESOTA Branch I. Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswein, on Main street. A. Kingsbury, secretary.

MISSOURI Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Mondays, at 8 p. m., at Haldermann's Hall, 2001 South Seventh street.

#### MONTANA

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

NEW JERSEY Branch No. 5. Camden, meets every third Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 128 Kaighn's avenue.

Branch No. 5 (German). Paterson, meets first and third Mondays at 8 p.m., at Helvetia Hall, 14,25 Van Houten street. Karl Lindner, secretary, 286 Edmund street.

NEW YORK

#### NEW YORK

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater
New York meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand
street, Windsor Hall.

East Side Branch, No. 1, meets every first and third
Thursday at 29 East Broadway. L. Rothman, secre
tary, 131 Norfolk street.

Branch No. 3, Brooklyn, meets every Saturday at 8
p. m., at 36 Moore street. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with
Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Boerum street.

Branch No. 10 meets every Friday at 8 p. m., at 200 E.
Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited.
Organizer, Joseph Williams, 36 Henry street.

OHIO

# Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelleu Hall, southeast corner sth and Plum streets, every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Thos. McKerne. secretary, cp. Laurel street. Branch 4 (Bohemian) meets every second Sunday at 1 p. m. in T. J. Cook's Hall, cor. Bridge and Belmont streets. Secretary, Frank Holub, Bellaire, Belmont

ORBGON Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night it Washington Hotel, corner ad and Flanders streets.

erybody invited. T.C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs N. E. Fortisch, secretary. PEWNSYLVANIA Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Thursday, t 8 p. m., at 423 S. Third street. Rose Slobodkine

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at 422 S. Third street. Rose Slobodkins. Branch No. 3, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month-executive meets every Sunday morningat S. D. P. Club Rooms, at 422 S. 2d street. Organizer, M. Gillis, 814 Reed street.

Branch No. 10. Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. in Social Labor Hall, No. 22 E. 2d street. G. B. Smith, chairman; Juo. Lyon, secretary, 762 2d street. Public invited.

#### WISCONSIN

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner 4th and Chestnut streets.

Branch No. 1. Milwaukee, meets at Kafler's Hall, 4th street, between State and Prairie, every fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 1. Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Gaetke's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay avenue. Frank Liebisch, secretary, Branch No. 1. Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Concordia Hall. Chas. Plans', Secretary Treasurer. 21 Lincoln avenue.

Branch No. 4. Milwaukee, meets every first and third Fridays each month at Meller's Hall, corner md and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, M mith street.

Branch No. 4. Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Orchard street and whavenum street, secretary.

Branch No. 1. Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 104 Clark street. Branch No. 13. Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 104 Clark street. Herman Schneider. secretary, Eds.

Branch No. 1. Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Saturday at Fremont House. Edgar F. Lindner secretary.

WEST VIRGINIA

Branch No. 1. Wheeling, meets every third Sanday.

#### WEST VIRGINIA

Branch No. 1. Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at Trade and Labor Assembly Hall, 1815 Market street. H. A. Leeds, organises.

# SUCCE

#### THE HERAL D FORUM

A STATE OF THE PARTY.

#### A PERPLEXED PHILOSOPHER

In my article on the man with hoe, I compared the ultra-Markists with bright and industrious high school boys. Comrade Oneal's reply to it seems to indicate that some ultra-Marxists are below their reputa-tion at least as far as brightness is concerned. My critic made a frightful mess of my writings in the S. D. H. concerning race and class consciousness, blissful Socialism, etc., and refuses to comprehend the most obvious things. Any unprejudiced reader will concede that my theory of race-consciousness and race-interests applies to the human race in its entirety and is conducive to the peaceful co-operation of all nations on earth for the attainment of the highest ideals of humanity. Class consciousness of the prole-tariat I recognize as a means for the emancipation of society from class rule, but not as a goal by itself. In this sense there is no antagonism between race and class consciousness whatever. In stating that the farmers' program was voted down by the members of our party, Comrade Oneal affirms my contention. I did not mean to state that Marx entirely ignored the rural proletariat, but that he did not make an exhaustive study of it and my explanation of the causes of this fact are practically identical with those of my critic. As to my appreciation of Marx and his works, I have little to add to what was many times stated by me in the S. D. The statement that Marx's capital has been happily termed the bible of the working class, may be disputed for the simple reason that the working class so far know mighty little about it and understands it less than Comrade Oneal does. The terms "simon purists, ultra Marxists," etc., are used by me not as petty quibbles, but as an indication of Socialists of the old school in distinction from the new, if you please. Bernsteinian school of Socialism. The habit of my critic to reread Des Capital is certainly highly commendable. If I would dare, however, I might advise Comrade Oneal to read some of the Socialist literature of the period after Marx, as, for instance, Kautsky, Bernstein and others. He would then, may be, lose some of his pride, but gain some useful information. He would then, may be, not draw such amusing logical inferences as he did in his last article in the Herald.

I. Ladoff.

#### LABORERS ON THE FARM

(From the WISCONSIN VORWAERTS)

The last census shows that there are at present 5,700,000 farms in the United States, with thirteen inhabitants each on the average. In 1850 the number of farms was only 1,150,000. In the last ten years the number of farms increased by 1,500,000 and their value raised to \$650,000,000. In the eleven states, Missouri, Illinois, Kansas, Iowa. Nebraska, Ohio, Wisconsin Minnesota, Michigan and both Dakotas the number of farms increased since 1890 from 1.923,882 to 2,220,000. Such a tremendous increase of farms and the increase of farm values connected with it is so far without precedent. It is the more remarkable that such a change should occur in the decade, 1893-1897. during which a great crisis raged in the economic field. Nowhere do we notice any concentration of landed property in farms. The number of bon in the Dakotas suffered a shrinkage. because they did not pay. The Sherley estate in Pennsylvania is divided into small parcels and rented. Only in California some large farms remained intact, owing to the peculiarities of the local irrigation system.

It is obviously futile to count upon a concentration in agriculture similar to that in city industries. Socialists will. therefore, have to revise their faith in respect to agriculture as far as our country at least is concerned. Without a Socialistic farmer's programme we may win occasionally a few victories in small industrial cities—in large towns it is already harder on account of the presence of a considerable element sid-ing with the stronger party. We can-not expect to gain any tangible prog-ress without the aid of the farmers of this country, or at least without their good-will. Otherwise we ought to be satisfied with the Socialistic reforms. fathered by the capitalistic parties. And this will never amount to much. We need, therefore, in this country unconditionally an honest Socialistic farmer's programme, if we want the Socialist movement to be a success as a proletarian class-conscious movement.

No one will deny that in the application of labor to land there is no possibility of getting any values from its possession. To those who doubt it we may address the advice to take some parcel of land, put their hands in their pockets and wait for a harness. Every child knows that there can be no harvest without a considerable previous expenditure of labor. The farmer who

cultivates his own farm is at any rate laborer as few are. Consequently, ten Socialists talk of expropriation. they do not mean the taking away of land from the farmer. Just the reverse of it. The fundamental idea of Social-ism is to restore the tools of production to those who use them in order to work with them. This restoration of the tools of product in the productive city industries can be accomplished only on a collectivistic basis. In agriculture, however, collective production is for the present an impossibility. Consequently, not only the farmer but also the owner of small manufactures in general have nothing to fear from the conquest of the proletariat.

A Socialistic regime will try to create the most favorable conditions for the farmers in consideration of the interests

of feeding the population.

A proletarian regime is also highly interested to increase the productivity of farm labor, and, consequently, in furnishing it with the best technical appliances. Social Democracy, instead of expropriating it, will furnish it the most perfect means of production that were out of its reach during the capitalistic

We want, however, that the land should belong to the people and not to the capitalist; that the title to its possession should actually belong to the people and not nominally as at present.

#### THINGS AS I SEE THEM

By BEN ATTERBURY

Every man sees what he DOES SEE not with another's eyes, but with his own. My friend and I, we will suppose, are looking upon a landscape, both of us from the same physical standpoint. He may, possibly, take in all the landscape in its varied and majestic beauty. But is it not more likely that both of us will see only a portion of it? And if we really see a portion only, how much better for us both than stalking through the world like ghosts, having "eyes to

see" but seeing not!
Ruskin says that "The greatest thing a human soul ever does in this world is to see something, and tell what it sees in a plain way.

I have seen the poor made miserable and degraded by the heartlessness and selfishness of a privileged class, a class made rich by fraudulent titles to land and legalized larceny of wealth which labor alone produced and is rightfully entitled to enjoy, and I have said that the poor are poor because they have been robbed; that poverty is not due to the idleness of the poor, but to the greed of the rich; that if the poor are degraded, it is because the rich are unduly exalted; that if the poor are ignorant, they are so for the reason that opportunities for development have been denied them; that if the poor are vicious, it is because they have been born into a social and industrial system which, in itself vicious and brutalizing, the rich,

for their own benefit, wish to maintain. This social prospects differentiates itself into two groups of cold and stubborn facts. Looking at one of these groups, I look over and beyond what I see, if possible to discover the reason for their existence. The prospect is not unlike a natural landscape. There are Alps of affluence and glory, and abysses of misery and want; there are peaks of plenty bathed in sunshine, and morasses of privation steeped in night; there is honor and reward for the idle and cunning; there is hopeless slavery for the industrious and the skillful; there is power and place for the brutal and unscrupulous and bitter days and nights with sorrow and want for the worthy and the useful.

I do not see that all the virtues belong to those who revel on the social hilltops nor all the vices to the poor who go through the dark valley of undeserved but enforced poverty. And you cannot persuade me, my friend, that the vices of the poor exceed the vices of the rich; I know better than that, so much better, indeed, as to say that the virtues of the rich do not equal the virtues of the But suppose that were not true, would it be surprising?

When landlords monopolize the earth and capitalists monopolize the means of production, saying to every son of man who feels in his soul that he has some rights here of which he has been de-prived, "Pay me rent!" or "Work on my terms!" what chance is there left for the development of man's higher nature. Deprive the working people of their natural rights, deny them an opportunity to gain a livelihood, compel them to pay rent for the privilege of occupying land, wring profits from them over the counter, burden them with debts for the benefit of usurers, force them to pay taxes to feed and clothe politicians and support a government which gives them no protection, confer power on the rich to hound them from the cradle to the coffin, and then exclaim, "Now if you are not good and contented while we enjoy our special privileges on our preserves, we shall have to teach you how to appreciate the blessings of being poor and the felicity of being free from respon-sibility for the administration of wealth."

And that, by way of dismissing a capitalist contention so provocative of contempt in any honest man, is a sample of the "virtues" of the rich!

#### 320年11日李介(夏)5日。

the representation be general and as large as possible; therefore, members are requested to pay past dues and assist the secretaries in putting every branch in good standing on the records.

#### Attend Bohemian Picnic

The Bohemian comrades of the Social Democratic party in Chicago will hold a basket picnic next Sunday, June 9, at Neher's grove, Riverside, to which all comrades are cordially invited. The grove can be reached by the Ogden avenue car to West Fortieth avenue, then by trolley line to within two blocks of the grove.

#### Suggestions from Massachusetts

The branch at Holyoke, Mass., sends the following suggestions for publication in the Herald, with the request that other Socialist papers copy the same:

(1) That all obligations of the different parties be assumed by the united

(2) That all parties give up all papers printed in the English language: the united party to publish one daily paper which shall be the official organ.

(3) That all factions and all individuals shall be compelled to accept the rulings of the convention and act accordingly.

To be active from now on to the Fourth of July to make the Third Annual Picnic of the party in Chicago s big, decided and memorable cago spig, decided and membrane success. Tell everybody about it and hustle the sale of tickets. Hoerdt's Park is one of the favorite union resorts of Chicago. Big program—big crowd—big time for everybody.

Comrade M. Gillis has been made representative of the New York Vorwarts in Philadelphia. The choice is a good one, Comrade Gillis being an untiring worker.

The German branches of Chicago of the Social Democratic party will give a joint picnic at Becker's Grove, Twentysecond street and Richland avenue, July 29. There will be music and sports and a genuine good time for everybody.

The International Socialist Bureau in a circular just received suggests a conference of the members for the purpose of considering subjects of interest to Socialists, to be held at an early

All cross-town lines north of Car Twenty-sixth street transfer to Lines Western avenue, and the fare to Hoerdt's Park, Western, Belmon and Clybourn avenues, will be five cents; from North Halsted street transfer to Lincoln cable, then to Roscoe street line, for five cents. Roscoe street line will take you within two blocks of the park.

#### Nebraska State Convention.

To all organized and unorganized Socialists of Nebraska: A state convention will be held at Omaha, Wednesday, July 3, 1901, at 10 o'clock A. M., to which all Socialists believing in Social Democratic principles are invited to be present for the purpose of nominating (1) one Supreme Judge, (2) Regents of the University, and to do other business proper to be done at said at 1517 Jackson street.

F. H. Alexander, State Sec'y. and Treas.

And give them a day's outing at the Annual Picnic of the Social Children Democratic Party, July Fourth. It will be at Hoerdt's beautiful park, will be at Hoerdt's beautiful park,
Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues.
There will be lots of fun for the boys and girls,
and they will be admitted free up to the age
of twelve, accompanied by parents.

The ingenuity and skill to produce things is in the people; when the clock strikes the hour the tether of ignorance will break and then it will be found that a determination to enjoy the things produced is also in the people.

The followers of Zoroaster, the fire worshipers, had priests who stood at the altars to keep the sacred fire forever burning, and Socialists are the priests who are to guard and keep burning the sacred fires of liberty. They constitute the standing army whose mission is to vitalize love for humanity and enthrone

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## MAKE NO OTHER ENGAGEMENTS FOR THAT DAY THE FOURTH OF JULY

The proceeds of the picnic will be used for benefit of 126 It will be the first benefit the Social Democratic Herald has had in three years. Further particulars will be given in later editions. Get your tickets (25 cents as a) cents each) and put your shoulder to the wheel. We call upon every comrade to do his duty. All children under twelve, accompanied by parents, admitted free. REMEMBER THE TIME AND PLACE

## THIRD ANNUAL PICNIC COMMITTEE

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