

## EUGENE V. DEBS' SPEECH AT CHICAGO JULY FOURTH

### "THE MISSION OF SOCIALISM IS AS WIDE AS THE WORLD"

Ladies, Gentlemen and Comrades: It is our good fortune, if we can boast no other, to live in the most marvelous age of all the centuries, not contemplating the material progress of our time, which overwhelms and bewilders by its extraordinary achievements. Improvements have been accomplished as if by magic and we behold with wonder and awe the march of human conquest. The forces of nature which terrified primitive man, and before which the ancient world bent in superstition, have to a large extent been conquered and we are the subject servants of man's desire. In this march of progress the brain and heart have been expanded, the one shedding light and the other life, without which civilization would turn back upon its axis. Fortunately for man, everything is subject to change, and all change tends to the development of the race and the advancement of human institutions. Institutions crumble in this march of time. All of them have their periods of gestation, of birth, of development, maturity, decline, decay and death. All of them come in their order. They fulfill their mission, they give birth to their offspring and they pass away. A little over a century ago the inhabitants of this country were not citizens. They were subjects. They were ruled by a foreign king. They petitioned for relief. Their petitions were disregarded. They objected to taxation without representation. Their protests were scorned. Finally they revolted. They issued the declaration of independence and enunciated the proposition that men are created equal. But the founders of this republic had only vague conceptions of democracy. The working class as we understand it today were not represented in the constitutional convention. The founders of the republic in declaring that men were created equal evidently meant themselves alone. They did not include the negro, who had been brought here against his will and had been reduced to a state of abject slavery. The institution of chattel slavery was already securely established at that time. It was founded in iniquity, yet it did not seemingly disturb the consciences of the founders of the republic. This institution was in conflict with the spirit of the declaration, with the genius of free institutions, and yet it was incorporated in them. It steadily grew in power, and in course of time it controlled the country and the courts and the life of the people.

On this day, commemorating the 4th of July, 1776, the declaration of independence was issued. Thousands of orators all over this broad land will glorify the institutions under which we live. In pride they will point toward Old Glory and declare that it is a flag that waves over a free country. In these modern days we hear very much about that flag and about the institutions over which it waves. I am not of those who worship the flag. I have no respect for the stars and stripes, or for any other flag that symbolizes slavery. It does not matter to me what others may think, say or do. I propose to preserve the integrity of my soul. I will give a transcript of my mind and tell you precisely what I think. Not very long ago the president of the country, in the attitude of mock heroics, asked who would haul down the flag. I will tell him. Triumphant Socialism will haul down that flag and every other that symbolizes capitalist class rule and wage slavery. I am a patriot, not in the sense that I love my country, but in the sense that I love all countries. I love the sentiment of Wm. L. Garrison. "All the world is my country and all mankind are my countrymen." Thos. Jefferson once said: "Where liberty is, is my country." That was good. Thos. Paine said: "Where liberty is honored, that is my country." That is better. Where liberty is not, Socialism has a mission, and, therefore, the mission of Socialism is as wide as the world.

The framers of the constitution of this country had no faith in the people. They did not suffer them to see the proceedings of the convention. The insufferable institution of chattel slavery was compromised in the American constitution. It was at this time a perfectly legal institution, but it was founded in iniquity. It was doomed to finally disappear and the agitation against it began in a feeble way. Lovejoy was one of the pioneers of the revolt. He went to New England and then to Illinois, and with all the vigor of his intellect began to attack slavery. A committee called upon him. He said to them, "I can afford to die at my post, but I cannot af-

ford to desert it." I take pride in paying to such a man the humble tribute of my gratitude and love. It is such men as he who have made it possible for me to enjoy some degree of liberty. I can only discharge my duty to him and to them to try to do something for those who are to come after me. In 1837 the mob took his office and destroyed it by fire, his printing press was thrown into the Mississippi river, and he was murdered.

But to the greatest and noblest figure among those early pioneers was reserved the final act which culminated in the rule in which the institution of slavery disappeared from American soil. I need only mention his name, and although it is a very common one, you will at once recognize it—John Brown. He was educated in no college, he graduated from no university—he was simply a child of the people. He knew that his part in that struggle required the sacrifice of his life, and with a dozen men he attacked the so-called commonwealth of Virginia. He struck the immortal blow. He was dragged through a mob trial, he was sentenced to death. On his way to the gallows he begged for a negro child and pressed a kiss upon its black face.

He was strangled to death. His soul went its way to that bourne from which no traveler returns. John Brown was branded a traitor, a scoundrel and a monster of iniquity. The whole country applauded the crime. In just ten years, with the mellowing wings of time, John Brown was the hero of the people; enshrined in their hearts, he had won immortality.

Chattel slavery disappeared because in the development of machinery an improved form of slavery was required, and this new slavery must not be confined to the black race alone, but must embrace within its mighty folds all of the toiling children of men. Slavery in that form only became extinct and the people as such only rose against it when it became impossible, and just here it is in order to say that the development in every form is dependent upon economic conditions. We live today under a system that has the best code of morals and the best instruments of production and distribution. It has also the most destructive weapons of warfare. Commercialism not only requires the cheapest possible production, but it also requires the most murderous instruments of death, and in the full development of this system the world pays its highest tribute to that man who can devise ways and means that can murder the most men in the smallest space of time. If you go to the city of Washington tomorrow with some device that will enable you to kill one million human beings in the twinkling of an eye, your name will become famous.

When the war closed modern machinery was developing very rapidly, the small workshop was beginning to disappear, being supplanted by the larger factory. The individual worked no longer by himself, for his tool had been touched by the magic of industrial evolution, the shop began to expand and the modern industrial revolution was on. Up to this time production was carried on largely for use in separate communities. There was no demand for a foreign market because there was no surplus production, and the worker's ability to consume was equal to his producing capacity. But with the advent of machinery conditions were changed. If the workers had had intelligence enough to have retained the ownership and control of the tool—that is to say, of the means of production, there would have been no such problems as now confront us.

The women were formerly the queens of the homes, and the children were being sent to school and equipped for the battle of life. When labor began to supply so abundantly and the machine could be operated by the finger of a child, we had an intensification of the struggle—women competing with men and the child competing with all. No workingman is given employment that he may provide for himself and his family. It is only on condition that a profit can be extracted from his labor. If there is no profit he is discharged. His wife may suffer, his children may be on the street, no matter what the results, he cannot work.

I have said again and again in this system there is nothing quite so cheap as human flesh and blood. It is in the power of a single individual sitting in New York to press a button that will send a message over the wire that will doom 50,000 willing men, women and children. Concentration and co-opera-

tion are the master forces of this age. In the conflict that is going forward among the capitalists, the capital of the country is held in the hands of a few, and these few, though untitled and uncrowned, wield greater power than crowned kings and despots. The owners of the means of production are the real rulers of the American people and of all other people of other nations. Those who control the means of production, land and capital control all human institutions.

Now, there are a great many men who believe that they have a voice in government. You workingmen have as much to do with the control of this government as if you inhabited Mars or some other planet. (Cheers.) You regularly deposit your ballot and suppose it to be counted. The will of the people is supposed to be registered. But what your votes register is the will of the capitalist class. The capitalist class rules absolutely in every department of our government. It controls every legislature. It controls both branches of congress and the Supreme court is simply its convenience. Why, it is not possible for a lawyer, whatever his attainments, to find his way to the bench of the Supreme court unless he has given overwhelming evidence of his capacity to serve the capitalist class and his willingness to crook the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning. Every judge who sits on the bench of the Supreme court today is a tool of the capitalist class. I had an experience. (Great applause.) I think it was a good thing. I ought to have known better. The working class have no rights.

I am not fond of denouncing the capitalist class. I am more inclined to find fault with the working class. Now, do you know that for every capitalist, large and small, in the United States there are about ten workingmen? That is to say, you workingmen are in the majority, are in the clear majority of ten to one, and as long as you suffer the capitalist class to rule, you do not deserve to fare any better. As Lincoln said, "If that is what you want, that is what you want," and as long as you are satisfied with the capitalist rule or misrule, you will have to submit to it.

Now, a few workingmen realize that the old political parties are simply two wings of the same capitalist vulture, and that every reform party is a straggling tail feather in that same bird. Socialism is after that bird, and if you look at it you can see the light between the wings. Some of that light is beginning to reach gradually the working class. They are beginning to realize, first, that their interests as workingmen are absolutely identical, that what is good for one is good for all, what is equal for one is equal for all. They are beginning to realize that there are trade unions in the year 1901 which fall short of requirements; that while organization is a necessity upon the economic field, it is vastly more important on the political field. There was a time when there was some efficiency in the strike. What difference does it make to you to go out on strike, even if you win a raise in your wages of fifteen, twenty or twenty-five cents per day, if the same class that employs and pays your wages has also the power to raise the cost of the commodities?

In the wage system you and your children, and your children's children, if capitalism shall prevail until they are born, are condemned to slavery and there is no possible hope unless by throwing over the capitalist and voting for Socialism. Now, what you want to do is to quit every capitalist party of every name whatsoever. What you want to do is to organize your class and assert your class interests as capitalists do the interests of the class that is robbing you. It will not do for you to go to the polls and vote for some good man on some of the tickets and expect relief in that way. What can a good man do if he should happen to get into congress? What could he do? Why, he simply would be polluted or helpless, or both. What we want is not to reform the capitalist system. We want to get rid of it. (Tremendous cheers.)

Now, it is a curious thing to me that a great many workingmen will vote for a thing that will do them no good, a thing that they do not want, because they are dead sure of getting it, and they will vote against the thing they need, against the thing they want, because they reason that if they all vote for it they might get it. Every workingman in every community should assert himself on election day, total, regardless of

what others do. Suppose you are the only Socialist in the community. Now, that might require a little more courage on your part, and if you lack it we cannot win. But if you have a little more courage and if you cast a Socialist vote, you will give some evidence of the final redemption of your community. If you cast that vote, some day you and your children will be proud of it; you will make a beginning and you will soon have company. Now, I would rather vote my convictions and vote alone than to vote against my convictions and be with the majority. What good is it to be with the majority of cowards, anyway? As a matter of fact, in the history of all great principles, men everywhere have been wrong outside the minority. All of these great changes depend upon minorities, and in the march of time a minority becomes a majority and everybody applauds. In ten years from now it will be very difficult in the city of Chicago to find a man who was not a Socialist twenty-five years ago.

There has never been any democracy in the world. Political democracy in the United States, so called, is a myth. A single capitalist, upon whom twenty-five workingmen depend, has political power more than equal to the slaves in his employ, simply because he owns and controls the means upon which their lives depend, without which they are doomed to idleness and starvation. What good would it do you if it were in my power to shut off the supply of life and heat; you would all vote my ticket, would you not? Your lives depend upon the control and ownership of the means of production and distribution.

The owner of the slaves had to provide for them, he had to feed them and he had to care for them in a way. It is not necessary to own slaves bodily today in order to exploit their labor. You simply have to own the tool, then they are completely at your mercy. To begin with, a slave cannot buy the modern tool. They are gigantic machines of great cost. The great mass of workingmen cannot buy them. They are compelled to present themselves at the door of the giant and humbly petition him for the privilege of using the tools they made for a share of what their labor produces. They are at his mercy, and not only this, but in the regular periods of depression that always follow periods of activity, it is even a privilege to be a slave, and thousands of so-called free American citizens are denied that privilege. (Cheers.) If they go on voting the republican ticket and the democratic ticket, either party perpetuates the system that keeps them in fetters and their wives in rags and their children in hunger.

Arouse, ye slaves! Declare war, not on the capitalist, but on the capitalist system, and if it should be your fate or your fortune to suffer in years to come that suffering will not be the result of your own deliberate act. I am for the freedom of the working class. Though my heart yearns for the freedom of men, I am powerless. Only the working class itself can achieve its emancipation. The workingman who is not yet awakened, who has not yet realized all his class interests, is the blind tool, the willing instrument of his own degradation, and thousands of them on this Fourth of July, when reference is made to the capitalist flag that symbolizes the triumph of capitalism only, thousands of these wage slaves will applaud their own degradation. What is wanted is not a reform of the capitalist system, but its entire abolition.

Notwithstanding the boast that is often made that this is an era of prosperity, notwithstanding the statement that is made by capitalist politicians that the wages of workingmen are higher than ever in the history of the country, I do not hesitate to declare, and I challenge refutation, that there never was a time when wages were so small in proportion to the products as now. Politicians assure us that we are extremely prosperous because our exports exceed the exports of all other nations of the world. What have you got to do with the exports? I think if you held a little interview with your stomach you are more interested with your import than export. Much money goes into the pockets of the capitalist class out of the product of your labor. You never receive notice from the government to get your share of the dividends, and as a matter of fact, in this system the more you produce the worse you are off. If you could produce as much tomorrow as you could in the next six months, you would be out of a

job the day after tomorrow. (Loud applause.)

I wonder how many of the workingmen of Chicago are enjoying today at the sea coast this summer, or how many of them are toying with the icicles in the arctic region, and next September how many will go down to Florida and stop at the Palmetto hotel? Not many of them. Only the man can afford these luxuries, can afford these enjoyments, who has nothing to do with the producing of them. No man that has anything to do with building a Pullman car can ride in it. You show me a man who has to make a Pullman car, and I will show you a man who walks when he travels.

If you have calloused hands I will show you precisely what degree you mark on the social thermometer. I will locate you close to the zero point.

A man has to be a master or a slave. He will have to either wield a lash or hold the plow. Socialism proposes to free them both and level them both up to the plane of manhood. Whatever walk of life constant struggle is going forward, man is arrayed against man, nation against nation, and all due to the capitalist system. The survival of the fittest is a survival of cunning over conscience. Business means doing somebody else, and in the struggle the middle class loses in economic power. Men are driven to dishonesty in the system; they suspect each other, not because they do not know each other, but because they do. It is a mock civilization. Socialism will give civilization a new birth and humanity a new world. (Great cheer ing.)

Business men attend the same prayer meeting, but they keep a business eye on each other. Business is business, and each one knows that the other is trying to do him. In the capitalist system we cannot give expression to the noblest sentiments of humanity, all success is born of failure and he who achieves the largest success succeeds in destroying the largest number of his fellow-men.

The revolution is under way, but, like all revolutions, it is totally blind. It is in the nature of great social forces that they sometimes sweep humanity down. Let us work so that this revolution may come in peace. Socialists are organized to pave the way for its peaceful culmination. We appeal first to the working class to come together in one class conscious solidarity. We likewise appeal to the middle class who will day by day be forced down in the crowded ranks of the working class. We are asking them to open their eyes and see the new light. Their class is doomed and this debauched civilization is doomed to disappear with them. If I were in the middle class today, I would be a Socialist. I would be a Socialist from a perfectly selfish motive. I would say to myself "My class is to be crowded out, and my only hope is in the new social order; and although I may not live to see it, I may be doomed to die a slave, I will cast my lot with the man that proposes to make it possible for my children and the children of my children to enjoy life." But there are a great many who say that is all well enough, but we will not see it in our time. When a man talks so to me I am inclined to think that there is something seriously wrong with him. Very often the case is that it is impossible to reach the intellect of such a man as this. It is questionable whether he has a thing that we can properly call by that name.

So far as I am concerned it does not matter in the slightest whether it comes next year or next century, or in a thousand centuries, that is not a question that concerns me. I simply know that the change is bound to come some time and I know that it is my duty to do all I can to hasten its coming and although I feel and indeed I know, that I will be here to help celebrate its coming, to ratify its triumph, whether I am or not is a matter of the slightest consequence. I simply say that the capitalist system has almost fulfilled its mission. On every hand we behold the signs of change. It is disintegrating. It is to dissolve and pass away and you can prolong it if you wish and that is what you are doing if you are supporting the old parties.

There are two fundamental principles that are in conflict with each other—individualism and co-operation. Now there is perfect individualism among the beasts of the jungle. They do not co-operate, they compete, and the stronger competitor devours the weaker. You see a girl in the sweet shop only able to see

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

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Some people are so good they are good for nothing.

An inveterate labor leader is what Lincoln would have called a "bad egg."

We are now importing the plague from the orient—one of the penalties of imperialism.

New Hampshire pays a bounty of \$1 a bushel for grasshoppers, and the pest is about exterminated.

The great trouble in Christianizing the heathen world is found in leaving Christ out of the business.

The glorious old Fourth, 1901, entered upon the twentieth century with a serious attack of heart failure.

In writing biography it is well to tell about the faults of the subject. They are often the most interesting parts of his history.

George A. Pullman is dead. Judge William A. Woods is dead. But Eugene V. Debs is still living and pleading the cause of workmen.

The Pennsylvania railroad has made arrangements to manufacture its own rails, regardless of J. Pierpont Morgan's billion dollar steel trust.

Uncle Sam employs 7,637 clerks in his various departments in Washington, and of the number more than 3,000 are women. 'Rah for the women!

Chauncey M. Depew wanted McKinley to be a third-term candidate for president—a case in which servility has been rewarded by universal contempt.

Mormon preachers, in making converts, say they treat all "denominations of Christians as heathens," and are doing a large business.

With the declaration of independence dead as a pre-historic knit in Cleopatra's golden tresses, the Fourth of July isn't worth a shooting cracker.

To show how our civilization solves problems, it is estimated that the cost of crime is not less than \$3.50 per capita of the entire population of American cities.

We do not know to what land Judge William Woods has migrated, but doubt if the corporations furnished him with a private Pullman sleeper in which to make the journey.

Among the blessings conferred upon China by the "world powers" is a widespread famine, where human flesh is daily sold and parents slaughter their children to end their misery.

Those who have land might secure fortunes for their heirs and assigns by planting walnut trees, one of which, grown in North Carolina, was sawed into veneering recently, which sold for \$60,000.

Reports have it that railroads in England cost \$200,000 a mile, \$100,000 in Germany and \$55,000 a mile in the United States. Such figures serve to show the great cost of water in building railroads.

United States Circuit Judge William A. Woods retired suddenly June 29, 1891. He was distinguished as political partisan judge and check-by-jowl with corporations whose interests he watched with lynx-eyed devotion.

An Indian chief, in whose lodge a missionary had left some valuables while going out to hold a religious meeting, was asked if his property would be safe in the lodge. "Yes," said the chief, "there is not a white man within a hundred miles of my tepee." "Poor lo" understood Christian civilization.

The trusts have notified Mark Hanna that no tariff reduction will be tolerated. They paid their money to elect McKinley and propose to get back their stuff, as was promised, and their pronouncements will be heeded.

Average wages in Japan is 27 cents per hour for ten hours work. Upon this the Japs live and save money. They are the Yankees of the orient, and up to date in skill in all departments of manufacturing they have tried so far.

There are only ten millionaires in the United States senate, but there are numerous close seconds, thirds and fourths, and the entire mount of racers for the stuff are getting there by leaps and bounds that would make a kangaroo blush.

It is announced that on July 1, 1901, all those having money in banks may draw it out without placing a stamp upon their check. Workingmen are expected to rejoice over this evidence of prosperity and continue to vote the Mark Hanna ticket.

When recently the czarina gave birth to a royal baby the czar was so pleased that he went into the Russian pardoning business with a rush. Doubtless the unfortunate victims of Russian tyranny pray that the empress may live long and continue prolific.

"Name this child," said a Boston clergyman to a codfish aristocratic couple. The response was "Maximilian Charles Augustus." "Not a bit of it," said the clergyman; "this child will be called John." And John it was—"John Codfish."

The Indianapolis toadies who are trying to raise big money to pile up a lot of "rocks" in honor of the late Benj. Harrison, ex-president, etc., are having a high old time of it. But they continue the boom and hope to get the rocks in shape eventually.

A Mississippi congressman who served fourteen years continuously says he will now practice law and "try to make some money." Mr. Catchings had great opportunities while in congress to make money, but lacked the faculty of catching on when the tide of fortune invited him to try his luck.

The death of Judge William A. Woods as a man is of no more consequence than the death of any other man, but as a judge his work claims special attention, particularly from workmen, toward whom he was blind and infatuated in his hostility.

In Africa, instead of poles, trees are used by telegraph companies upon which to hang their wires. If trees are not found where wanted they are planted. White ants destroy the poles, but do not attack growing trees, which, once in position, remain for generations.

At a convention of Kansas bankers a delegate remarked that "our railroads have largely drifted into the hands of leading bankers," and that "the same thing may be said of a majority of the great industrial combinations." Capitalism is on top by a large majority, and there you are.

The czar of Russia is said to be the richest sovereign in the world. His income, private and public, is said to be \$20,000,000 a year. At that Rockefeller smiles blandly and says to the deacon of his church, "I can go the czar \$5,000,000 better and still have a reserve for the purchase of oil fields."

As a warning to aristocratic ladies of Emperor Billy's court, it is stated that Mrs. McKinley's bone felon on her finger was caused by the constant use of a crochet hook in embroidering slippers for the emperor and the nobility. Grand dames should beware of the dangerous crochet hook.

Secretary of State Hay, or "Drygrass," was given a royal banquet at Buffalo. After responding to a toast he was requested to recite "Little Breeches," of which he is the author, but "Drygrass" declined, saying "it was one of the things he played sometimes on England's diplomatic pianoforte for the amusement of McKinley and his cabinet."

Max Muller and Ruskin were distinguished types of men in different fields of endeavor. Ruskin's idea was that the real thing of consequence "is what we do." Muller said it was "what we think, what we know, what we believe." Harness the two types of men, thinkers and workers, and you have a strong team. They move the world.

In making a Fourth of July speech some orator ought to have brought out the old constitution, as Mark Antony flaunted Caesar's mantle in the face of Roman citizens on the occasion of Caesar's funeral, and pointed out where each one of the five supreme judges, with their judicial daggers stabbed the old charter of American liberty to death, that McKinley might be dictator.

Socialism in Europe

The European press affirms that kings, the nobility and the aristocracy are mightily stirred over the steady advance of Socialism. One paper remarks that "the hand of the Socialist is recognized in the student and the Social disturbances in Russia," which is doubtless true. Socialists do not favor despotism, whether practiced by a czar, a corporation or any other "world power" known to capitalism.

It is charged by a portion of the German press that Socialists are responsible for the late attacks on the kaiser. The charge is maliciously gratuitous—Socialism does not propose to achieve success by assassination. It may be said of the weapons of Socialism what St. Paul said of the weapons of Christ's followers: "They are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

It is further affirmed by the organs of kings and their fawning lickspittles that "the wide spread of strikes and other labor troubles that are still keeping the French government on the rack" is the result of the agitation kept up by Socialists, which is doubtless true in some measure. A distinguished Frenchman says that "France is honeycombed with Socialism and she must beware," and that "municipal Socialism is likely to become a great menace to the stability of the republic." To this a Paris paper replies "that where the workman has once learned what his rights are he can be trusted to look after the government of cities." A writer, H. M. Hyndman, a widely known English Socialist, concludes an article in Justice by saying that "Socialism is everywhere gaining ground, under despotism as under constitutionalism, under republicanism as under militarism, in small states as in large," and that "the opening of the century sees Socialism marching steadily on toward its goal, without haste and without rest." It is said of the Italian people that "they are too miserably poor and ignorant for any effective propaganda of education along Socialistic lines." The people in that decaying kingdom are crushed by taxation and militarism, but what little advancement has been made is due, in the main, to the influence of Socialism. Taken all in all, the outlook in Europe is cheering.

A Good Example

Arthur Lee Cabanne, the St. Louis young man who is a college graduate, twenty-five years old, an athlete and a society man, who had leisure, pleasure and money at his command, proposes to know all about the manufacture of steel from bottom to top, and will serve a regular apprenticeship of five years to learn what he wants to know. During this term of service Cabanne will live with his fellow workmen and subsist upon the wages he receives without aid from any one. He indulges in no superfluities—one purpose animates him, which is to master the steel manufacturing business. In the capacity of a workman he will know all about the wants and conditions of his fellow craftsmen, and should he ever become a proprietor, and such is his aim, he will know how to treat the men he employs. He will not be likely to brand them, tag them, number them or cheat and rob them, and his career will be watched with more than ordinary solicitude. Mr. Cabanne may not be a Socialist—that is to say, he may not be affiliated with the great and progressive organization, but he is putting into practice Socialistic ideas and preparing himself for a broad sphere of high endeavor in the industrial field. If he lives he will be heard from; if he dies young he will set a noble example to young men of his class to practically solve problems in great industrial enterprises.

The Rich Philosopher

He wrote that man is at his best When poverty assails; In graceful words he sang the praise Of strength that never fails; He penned the wondrous benefit Of labor's horny hand, And all who read asked other folk: "Now isn't that just grand?"

He wrote about the pride of work, And what a noble thing It was to see a man bear up Beneath affliction's sting; He argued it the better part To starve most every day, And they who read vowed to themselves, "It's best to live that way."

And who was he who wrote this thing? He was a millionaire. He never worked in all his life, And so had time to spare. It was an easy book to write; It also made a stir. He was an easy thing to be— A rich philosopher.

Judge William A. Woods was the man who denied Eugene V. Debs a jury trial, and with snap judgment sent him to Woodstock jail for six months as a penalty for his unswerving devotion to the cause of workmen. The court trying Judge Woods also took snap judgment in his case and sent him up, or down, for a longer term than six months.

THE NEWLITNER GUIDE

Social leaders may be classed as amusing, while others come under the head of mediocrity leaders. The Newlitter contained in a recent letter signed by Wm. Butcher, national secretary of the Springfield party, belong to both these classes.

A California local submitted to the Springfield national executive committee a question as to the party's attitude on municipal ownership. The N. E. C., through their secretary, made a reply which might excite a smile if it were not that this confused mess is sent out with the sanction of the executive committee of a Socialist party, and is likely to befog and bewilder those who naturally look to their leaders for instruction.

Their secretary begins with this remarkable statement:

"Regarding the question as to the consistency of Socialists opposing the public ownership of public utilities, will state that those who do are inconsistent with the principles of Socialism, and equally so are those Socialists who favor municipal ownership inconsistent with our principles!" The secretary continues: "By public ownership I do not mean municipal ownership, which is quite a different thing. . . . Municipal ownership is reactionary. . . . The municipal ownership of public utilities, if carried out to its logical conclusion, will land us into state Socialism."

We should like to inquire of Comrade Butcher what authority he has for these truly extraordinary assertions? First, will he kindly define what he means by public ownership? In what capacity are the public to own public utilities? When a large number of persons own any property conjointly they always own it in some corporate capacity. In what form of corporation will the public own and regulate its property under Socialism?

At present the American people have three kinds of public property—national, state and municipal. These three forms of public ownership, or at least the first and third, national and municipal ownership, and probably also some form corresponding to state ownership, will no doubt continue when all property is public under the Socialist system. Some industries will necessarily be national, as for instance the railways, others state or sectional, as some forms of agriculture, and others municipal industries. These distinctions are natural and must remain. No matter how bloody a revolution may usher in the reign of Socialism, it cannot wash away geographical conditions. Even the secretary of the Springfield party cannot overthrow the laws of geography as easily as he overturns the rules of grammar. "On the day after revolution" we should still have our large cities with us, the populations of these cities would form themselves into municipal governments, and lo! we should at once have the municipal ownership which the secretary of the national executive committee finds so reactionary!

In fact, under Socialism, most of the public ownership would be municipal ownership, and most industries, outside of agriculture, would be municipal industries. The greater part of the work of production, except farming, is now carried on in towns large or small, and if the tools of production are to be owned by those who use them, they must be owned by the town in its corporate capacity. There is only one alternative, and that is for the means of production to be owned by "groups," such as the anarchists propose. Some idea of this sort seems to be floating vaguely through the brain of the Springfield secretary. But this is communism, not Socialism.

The secretary of the Springfield committee further asserts that municipal ownership "is run according to capitalistic methods and generally for a profit," and that "it allows the middle and capitalistic class an opening whereby they can prolong their existence as such." If this is true of the very small degree of public ownership which obtains in a few of our cities, then it is the fault of the people themselves. If the people of a given city, in their municipal capacity, own a street railway or a gas plant, and are too ignorant or too indolent to administer their own property in their own interests, then even a Socialist revolution would not make them wiser. The remedy is not to cry out against municipal ownership. The only remedy is to persuade the people of that city to elect a Social Democratic municipal government and manage their municipal property in their own interest.

That the municipal ownership of a gas plant or a street car line has no perceptible effect toward bettering the condition of the workman is natural enough. We have all smiled over the tale of the famous Irishman who, before purchasing a feather bed, wished first to make sure that feathers were really as comfortable as they were said to be. He made the experiment cautiously by laying a single feather on a rock and giving it a thorough trial. "Faith, if one feather is so hard, what must a bed full of them be!" was Pat's conclusion, as he forsook his uncomfortable couch. Yet poor Pat was logical compared with those Socialists who cry out against municipal ownership because owning

THE INCREASE OF WEALTH

It is sometimes said that during this grotesquely hideous march of civilization from bad to worse, wealth is increasing side by side with misery. Such a thing is eternally impossible; wealth is steadily decreasing with the spread of poverty. But the riches are increasing, which is quite another thing. The total of the exchange values produced in the country annually is mounting perhaps by leaps and bounds. But the accumulation of riches, and consequently of an excessive purchasing power, in the hands of a class, soon satiates that class with socially useful wealth, and sets them offering a price for luxuries. The moment a price is to be had for a luxury, it acquires exchange value, and labor is employed to produce it. A New York lady, for instance, having a nature of exquisite sensibility, orders an elegant rosewood and silver coffin, upholstered in pink satin, for her dead dog. It is made; and meanwhile a live child is prowling bare-footed and hunger-stunted in the frozen gutter outside. The exchange value of the coffin is counted as part of the national wealth; but a nation which cannot afford food and clothing for its children cannot be allowed to pass as wealthy because it has provided a pretty coffin for a dead dog. Exchange value itself, in fact, has become bedeviled like everything else, and represents, no longer utility, but the cravings of lust, folly, vanity, gluttony and madness, technically described by genteel economists as "effective demand." Luxuries are not social wealth; the machinery for producing them is not socially useful labor; the men, women and children who make a living by producing them are no more self-supporting than the idle rich for whose amusement they are kept at work.—G. Bernard Shaw.

Therefore it behooves the leaders of the movement at once to begin the work of education in earnest, and let them see first that their own thoughts are clear. Bewildered guides are of all things most bewildering. Socialism is at best a complex subject. It is not surprising that workmen who are driven from morning till night by the lash of capitalism should have little leisure for the study of these questions. But it is lamentable that those who are placed over them as leaders, or who draw salaries in order to be able to devote their whole time to the affairs of Socialism, do not know how to give an intelligent or intelligible answer. That the national executive committee has officially issued such utter nonsense is a most deplorable fact. It is sad indeed to see the working people turn in vain for assistance and explanation to ignorant leaders, who "darken counsel without knowledge."

Wealth Accumulates; Men Decay

Our Malthusians should rejoice and be exceeding glad; it is clear, according to Dean Freemantle, that there is a serious decline in the birth rate. He says that "In the year 1875 there were born in the United Kingdom 35 children for each 1,000 of the people. In the year 1900 they are only 29. That is, for every 1,000 of our 41,500,000 there are now born six fewer than 25 years ago; and this means a loss of 249,000 children for each year. This is a new and strange phenomenon in England; but, what is still more startling, it implies a much more rapid decline of the birth rate than that of France, where the process has gone on gradually throughout the century. A well-known statistician (Mr. Holt Schooling) has recently summed up an exhaustive inquiry by pointing out that, whereas in 1875 the excess of births over deaths in England was 8.5 greater than in France, it is now only 6.8; and he adds that this has come to pass 'despite the continuous and material decline of the French birth rate during the whole period, a decline, however, which has been exceeded, both actually and relatively by the decline of our own birth rate.'" This is certainly a serious outlook if the decline continues, and Dean Freemantle does well to express his alarm. A diminution in the birth rate under present circumstances is a sign of national decadence, and that country is doomed in which wealth accumulates and men decay.—London Justice.

TWO DISTINCT PROPOSITIONS

It might seem from the multitude of suggestions in regard to reorganization that many plans are offered. As a matter of fact, there are but two. All the suggestions of improvements that I have yet heard group themselves naturally around two distinct, central, fundamental ideas, and our choice lies between these two. Let us see what they are.

Comrade George Johnson, whose article appeared in The Herald of two weeks ago, is logical. The abolition of national dues and a national organ belongs properly and consistently with complete state autonomy. So does Comrade Dixon's recognition of all Socialist voters, whether members or not, as a part of the working organization. So does the plan which has been advocated in this state, of making the legal state committee (of the official party) the directing and controlling head of the state movement. Under this head also come the "no national executive board," "independent branches" and "get-your-candidates-elected-by-any-old-means" ideas. All these suggested modifications of our present form of organization are corollaries of the same basic proposition, and taken together would leave us no alternative but a form identical with that of the capitalist parties, with perhaps an appendage of educational branches which would very shortly drop off.

On the other hand, the idea of a strong, coherent, disciplined national organization, in the fullest significance of the term—with the whole United States for its field of labor—with a national council or "board of education," in whose work every state should participate through its elected and responsible representative; a dues-paying membership subscribing to Socialist principles and definitely identifying themselves with the militant Socialist body—a system of local branches or clubs to carry on the local work and assist in the national—a central national headquarters with an executive or administrative board, and a central national organ—all these are corollaries of the other distinct, basic proposition.

What are these two propositions? The first is that we are on the same plane with the capitalist parties, and should therefore adopt their form of organization and their methods. Only a few are conscious that this is their proposition, reduced to its lowest terms. The

fact that we are on the same plane politically, that is, have the same political rights and privileges, gives a delusive plausibility to this conception, which disappears upon analysis. The other is that we Socialists are "a peculiar people," having nothing in common, either economically or politically, with the capitalist class and its parties—that we stand upon the basis of the class struggle, and must organize and work consistently therewith.

Upon which foundation shall we build? If all we want is to get men elected to office under the name of Socialist; if we imagine that their constructive Socialist measures will meet no more and no other opposition than would republican or democratic or prohibitionist measures; if we believe that capitalism will develop gradually and naturally right along into Socialism, as the sapling grows into a great tree; if we want to make politics the end instead of a means—then we will be wise to adopt the American form of political organization straight, without any modifications.

But if we are true Socialists; if we realize that the state, as organized today, is a capitalist state, just as much in democratic America as in monarchic Germany, if not more; if we know that our boasted American free institutions are reared upon the economic servitude of an exploited class just as surely as is England's throne; if, through the delusive guise of a political pseudo-democracy, we can recognize the actual despotism of capitalism—there can be for us no other course, any more than for our comrades in Germany or in England, than to organize the workers of the country into a coherent, national Socialist body, permitting state lines to subdivide us only for political work, going into politics as a Socialist body, utilizing our sporadic political successes as we use every other means of education and agitation to advance the general interests and increase the strength of the organization.

This latter plan, and this alone, will put us upon the basis of international Socialism. Only with such a form of organization will we be in a position to think of discussing, for instance, such a question as the Socialists of Europe are now discussing—viz., "whether a Socialist party may participate, through one of its members, in a capitalist government." Only with such a party would we be able, in the words of Jaures, "to penetrate everywhere, while ourselves remaining impenetrable." First get your party.

THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN

In its solicitude for the preservation of species, nature implanted in the heart of the animal the instinct of affection for offspring. Even the most ferocious beasts of prey—the tiger and the lion, for instance—are endowed with the instinct of love for their progeny. The higher an animal species stands on the ladder of evolution, the longer is the period of its helpless infancy, the better care it is taken of during that period by its parents.

That the instinct of attachment to offspring reaches its highest stage of development in the human race is only natural. "Child" is the most pathetic word in the human vocabulary. The human heart does not know any more endearing sight than that of an infant in its touching helplessness and perfect abandon. The human heart is overflowing with tender emotion at the contemplation of the sweet enigma of childhood. In the entire material world there is nothing more sacred, pure and full of radiant hope than childhood with its vast possibilities of development into an ideal maturity. What a dismal desert life without childhood would be! What is a human family without the crowning glory of children?

These and similar considerations and thoughts involuntarily suggest themselves to every student of human society. The development of human society from a herd of half-brutes and savages to a race of civilized and cultured beings may be measured by the kind and degree of care and attention it bestows upon its offsprings. The higher a nation stands on the stage of culture and civilization the stronger is its race-consciousness, the more pronounced is the recognition of its duty towards future generations, the more emphatic is its assertion of the rights of children as members of society.

Time and space allow us to point out here only the most important rights of children. In the first instance each and every human child has a right to be well bred physically. It is therefore, the duty of society to see that no physical wrecks, degenerates, incurably sick, especially those affected with contagious constitutional diseases should be allowed to burden future generations with their offsprings. This duty may appear cruel and tyrannical to those who will be denied by its fulfillment the rights to family life. There is, however, immensely more cruelty in the conscious deterioration of the human race by the breed of unfortunates, who are, by their very nature, bound to be a burden to themselves and a curse to their fellow beings. We take great care in constantly improving the physical type of our domestic animals by conscious sexual selection, but are reckless in this respect as far as the human race is concerned, as if the human race should be subjected to other laws of evolution than the rest of the animal kingdom.

In our present commercial society the most sacred human relations—the family relations—are corroded by stupid and cruel mercantile considerations and irrational economic conditions. The matrimonial market is a recognized social institution, in the same sense as the board of trade. Pure affection between the representatives of different sexes at the age of maturity only seldom furnishes the basis of family life. In most cases love is declared by the "prudent parents" to be mere moonshine and nonsense and young people are mated and sacrificed on the altar of mammon. The result of such family life, which is nothing else but legalized prostitution, on the progeny must be disastrous. Imbeciles, profligates, professional criminals and degenerates may get the sexual commodity called husband or wife on the matrimonial market once they happen to be well situated financially. The proletarian, however, sound in body and mind he may be, is often denied the privilege of normal matrimonial life, the blessing of healthy and spiritually gifted children, by the existing economic conditions. The result in this case is prostitution not recognized by law. Capitalism this way undermines the very foundation of human society by disintegrating and perverting its basic institution—the family, and causing the degeneration of the race.

The right of children to be well bred physically will be fully inaugurated in the co-operative commonwealth, where the human family will be emancipated from the curse of commercialism, the shams of conventional mercantile morality and the hypocrisy of institutional religion.

The other right of children we are going to treat about in this article is the right to the full development of all the faculties of their body and mind by society, to the best advantage of society. In our present capitalistic society there is quite a little done for the education and professional training of the upper classes, the children of the masses, however, are more or less left to their own fate. Even in our so-called glorious republic, only an insignificant fraction of the children of the proletariat are able to take advantage of the public schools, while the high schools, colleges and universities exist only for the so-called higher classes. This inequality of educational opportunities tends to perpetuate

the social-economic inequalities of our industrial age, to the advantage of the classes and to the detriment of the masses. The accident of birth, not the ability of a child, determines the position it shall occupy in society, owing to the education it will receive or to the denial of any education. The result is that many a genius plods behind the plough, while many a mediocrity occupies a high position in life. The waste of energy and ability due to such abnormal conditions is beyond any calculation. The inequality of opportunities between the child of a capitalist and the child of a proletarian, in respect to the chances to be useful to society to the full extent of their capacity, are striking enough to make all phrases about democracy and equality under our present system odious and contemptible to every fair minded man. The child of the proletariat not only enters the arena of struggle for existence under highly unfavorable conditions in comparison with that of the capitalist, but the disadvantages increase. The exhaustive and soul-killing drudgery of physical labor, the humiliation of poverty and insecurity of means of livelihood, with its anxieties and cares, weaken his physical power and dull his mind.

Under the co-operative commonwealth all class distinctions will be abolished. There will be neither tramps nor millionaires, neither proletarians nor capitalists. A human child will be looked upon as precious material for the upbuilding of society. Society will be directly interested to make the best use of this material to its own best advantage. Education and professional training will be not only free and accessible to all, but obligatory upon all. Ignorance and illiteracy will be banished forever from human society and every talent will find ample field for fruitful activity. The human child will be in the full sense installed in its inalienable rights and prerogative.

Facts About European Railroads

The British ambassadors in Belgium, France and Germany have sent to their governments some facts concerning the reduced fares on the railways in those countries.

Belgium offers the greatest variety. On the state railways five different kinds of tickets are issued to workpeople living in the neighborhood of the towns where they are employed, including tickets for single and return journeys, for six and for seven consecutive days, and tickets for one return journey each week. Substantial reductions are made. Thus for a single journey of eight kilometers (about five miles) on six days of the week a total charge of 70 centimes (or 7d.) is made. For the six return journeys if 10c. is charged. Substantial reductions are also made in favor of the workmen on the tramways in Brussels and Antwerp, and when all the Antwerp tramways are consolidated in one company, as will shortly be the case, this company will be obliged on all the lines, about twenty-seven and one-half miles, to issue to workmen in the morning until 8 a. m., and in the evening from 7 p. m. to 8 p. m., single tickets on week days at a maximum price of ten centimes (1d.), giving the right to one change of tram, whatever the distance.

In France third-class passes are delivered to workpeople by which they can make the double journey each day. The cost varies on different railways, but a fair sample is the Western, which charges a franc for distances up to nine kilometers. The rate of reduction on the price as fixed by the general tariff for third-class fares is about 80 per cent. The rate per person per kilometer for workmen's monthly tickets on the German Imperial railways in Alsace-Lorraine work out to three-quarters of a pfennig, and on the Prussian State railway, on which weekly tickets are issued, the rate is one pfennig. It takes 10 pfennigs to make an English penny.

A writer on Socialism asks: "And suppose the trades union movement in our country, to accomplish its ultimate object—that of uniting all the workers of all the trades into one compact, comprehensive body—the result will evidently be that the employers and capitalists will be compelled to follow suit; that is, such a union of workmen will call into existence a power that can crush them at the first trial of strength."

If it can be supposed that all the workers of all the trades may be united into one compact, comprehensive body, and a trial of strength between them and an equally compact and comprehensive body of employers and capitalists, the crushing, as the result of the trial, would not be the workmen. No, never. The crushing power would be in the hands of united labor. In such a trial the mills, the forges, the factories would be as quiet as the excavated city of Pompeii, and all the wheels of commerce would stand still. Employers and capitalists would be crushed. Let the trial come—the sooner the better.

Osage Indians of the better type have homes as beautiful and as well furnished as rich white folks, showing what might have happened in the grand march of civilization across the continent if Christian slavery had been less prevalent.

LOCAL BRANCHES

**CALIFORNIA**  
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8. Admission free.  
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening, 8 o'clock, at 117 Turk street.  
Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.  
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.  
Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodman's Hall, 1215 Spring street. J. S. Bruner, 47 E. Hill street.  
Branch No. 2, San Francisco (German). Holds business meetings first Sunday in each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meetings on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1205 Falk street.

**COLORADO**  
Branch No. 1, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. LaKamp, secretary.

**CONNECTICUT**  
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 7 p. m., at F. Schaefer's, 100 Main street, Hartford. Louis Herrap, secretary, 28 Kinsey street, Hartford.  
Branch No. 4, Rockyville, meets second and fourth Fridays at Link's Hall, up-stairs. Secretary, Richard Wiederverter, Box 70.

**ILLINOIS**  
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 23 Dearborn street.  
Branch No. 1 (Bohemian) Tenth Ward, Chicago meets first Saturday in the month at Nagel's Hall, 225 Blue Island avenue. Secretary, Albert Zeman, 741 S. Morgan street.  
The Southwest Side German Branch of Chicago meets second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at Ed Gottke's Hall, 67 Blue Island avenue near Lincoln street. Secretary, R. Pusch, 223 S. Wood street.  
Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 8 p. m., in Dunder's place, 1020 W. 14th place. Joseph Dunder, secretary.  
Branch No. 4 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 9 a. m., at 2024 Lincoln street. J. A. Ambros, secretary, 490 Wood street.  
Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Fridays at Lundquist's Hall, 61st and Morgan streets. Chas. Wistrand, secretary, 6140 Aberdeen street.  
Branch No. 6 (Svatoplukovec) meets every third Sunday in the month at Finger's Hall, corner Michigan and 11th place. Camil Kabat, secretary, 127 Sigawood avenue.

**INDIANA**  
Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month, at Reichel's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets. Address all communications to the secretary of the State executive board, Thomas Catton, 202 Warren avenue.

**IOWA**  
Branch No. 1, Hiteama, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Baxter, chairman. Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

**KENTUCKY**  
Branch No. 1, Newport, Ky., meets every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock at Socialist headquarters, 44 York street. A. L. Nagel, secretary, 202 E. Third St.

**MASSACHUSETTS**  
Branch No. 1, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall, Carl Schwabe, organizer, 27 Jackson 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 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 Geaswin, on Main street. A. Kingsbury, secretary.

**MISSOURI**  
Branch No. 1, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Mondays, at 8 p. m., at Haldermann's Hall, 201 South Seventh street.

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

**NEW JERSEY**  
Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Helvetia Hall, 64-66 Van Houten street. Karl Lindner, secretary, 248 Edmund street.

**NEW YORK**  
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 413 Grand street, Windsor Hall. W. J. Sprague, secretary.  
East Side Branch No. 1, meets every first and third Thursday at 20 East Broadway. L. Rothman, secretary, 121 Norfolk street.  
Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 24 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 20 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 25 Henry street.

**OHIO**  
Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall, southeast corner 5th and Plum streets, every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Theo. McKernan, secretary, 49 Laurel street.  
Branch 5 (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 Co., Ohio.

**OREGON**  
Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, corner 3d and Flinders streets. Everybody invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. M. E. Fortsch, secretary.

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at 22 S. Third street. Rose Slobodkin, Treasurer, 215 Pine street.  
Branch No. 4, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—executive meets every Sunday morning—at 8 D. P. Club Rooms, at 22 S. 3d street. Organizer, M. Gillis, 214 Reed street.  
Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m. in Social Labor Hall, No. 29 E. 2d street. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 70 1/2 Street. Public invited.

**WISCONSIN**  
Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Brewery Hall, southeast corner 4th and Chestnut streets.  
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, 4th street, between State and Prairie, every fourth Thursday evening.  
Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Gaskie's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay avenue. Frank Lieblich, secretary.  
Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Fridays each month at Keller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 221 1/2 2nd street.  
Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard street and 9th avenue. J. Luehl, 2nd Orchard street, secretary.  
Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays of each month at Volkman's Hall, 24st and Center streets, at 8 p. m. Secretary, C. Knodt, 27 1/2 2nd street.  
Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 24 Clark street. Herman Schneider, secretary, 22 1/2 2nd street.  
Branch No. 24, Kiel, Wis., meets every second and fourth Saturdays at Fremont House. Edgar F. Lindner, secretary.

**WEST VIRGINIA**  
Branch No. 1, Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at 7:30 and 9:30 A. M. at the Germania Hall. W. A. Lorenz, secretary.

Any reader of The Herald who would like to be kept in the loop as to the progress of the movement in any of the above mentioned cities should send a card to the editor of this paper, stating that he or she is interested in the movement.

FOR STATE AUTONOMY

By FREDERIC HEATH

Wisconsin comrades are looking forward to the Indianapolis convention with a great deal of interest. And well they may, for we have here perhaps the strongest movement of any in the country. We have, therefore, something at stake. As near as I am able to sense the local feeling, we are in favor of something in the nature of state autonomy in the make-up of the rehabilitated national party, if a change is to be made at all. I do not think we are in favor of the change to state autonomy as a good thing of itself, but it seems to be the only sane escape from the very miserable condition of things that has been forced on our party. At a recent meeting of our central committee the subject was brought up by Comrade Edward Ziegler, and the discussion was all one way. It was felt that the strife that exists in various strongholds of the party should be kept there and fought out there, and not allowed to embroil the national organization. These local conflicts can make lots of bad blood if magnified into national affairs, while at the same time not really concerning the general organization. We would want a national organization, of course, and one with a platform and constitution straight-out enough to safeguard us, not only from pretended Socialists sent to spy and disrupt by the old parties, but also from distractions and compromising activities from within. We do not enthuse over osteopathic Socialism of

the Nebraska variety, nor "social apostolate" Socialism as exemplified by the Chicago Socialist party.

And we do not want an organization slavishly copied from the S. L. P. The S. L. P. has always had a rigid discipline which had to be sustained by a system of boss and sub-boss and sub-sub-boss. Each boss from the necessities of the case has had to maintain his supremacy, and in almost every community where it has gotten a foothold there has been a history of would-be bosses contending for control. This sort of thing is in the S. L. P. blood, and as we will have a considerable number from that party in our midst, it is not to be expected that we will escape local contests for party control; in fact, the experience of the past year is an earnest of this. It is better, therefore, to gradually fight this inheritance, so to speak, out of our system locally, through state autonomy, than to have it get into our national organization. And the matter of the indebtedness of the present parties cuts a figure. Our party, in spite of its low dues, is very slightly in debt, our workers paying their own expenses. If reports are to be credited, this is not so with the Springfield party, which is very heavily involved, and owes several thousand dollars, it is claimed. By state autonomy the various states, save for a small amount sent the national organization, would stand on their own footing and could practice extravagance or caution without involving other states, or being themselves involved by other states.

The Presbyterian church is opposed to Free Masonry and trades unions. George Washington was a Free Mason, and as for trades unions, their creed will not suffer in comparison with anything ever written by John Calvin.

It is a mistake to suppose that Socialism can be mastered at short notice. It requires continuous study, continuous agitation, enduring patience and a tenacity which never surrenders. The solution of one problem leads to another, and so on forever, until right and wrong, on scaffold and throne, change places.

Of William A. Woods as husband and father and private citizen we have nothing to say. A vast multitude of men in such regards were his peers who work for \$1.30 a day instead of \$16.66 a day. It is as a judge we speak of him, a blind, bigoted partisan, who, though once a bad carrier, forgot his poverty in his prosperity and used his power to overwhelm workmen in disaster who were contending for their rights and the happiness of their wives and children.

The Supreme court edict has gone forth that congress, not the constitution, nor the president, has control of our insular possessions. But when there is war or troops are called out for war purposes the president is supreme by the very constitution, the Supreme court, congress and the president nullifies. See?

Mark Hanna once went to college for two months and graduated. He grew broad of trunk like a slippery elm, spread out like a banyan tree, bloomed like a dogwood. He grew in stature, teeth and other things required to embellish our civilization. He went into industrial affairs, hired men and skinned them as if they were cats or muskrats; became a millionaire, the boss of trusts, collected millions to elect McKinley twice a president, and is now known as the real president of the United States. He is up to date in any scheme designed to rob the people, is slicker than goose grease and a statesman who is out for the stuff, and gets it every time.

SERMON TO WORKERS

By JOSEPH JARRE

Blessed are they which do vote intelligently for what they want, for they shall receive it.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall be satisfied.

Blessed are the Socialists, for they shall bring peace into the world.

Blessed are they that dare "throw their votes away," for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they that are persecuted by vested interests, for theirs is the cause of humanity.

Blessed are ye when the capitalists shall openly revile you and issue injunctions against you, for then ye shall see the class-struggle.

Ye are the salt of the earth, the creators of all wealth; without ye their glory would quickly vanish, and they would be reduced to starvation.

Ye are the light of the world. Your hands and brains have produced all the beauty and art and civilization that they enjoy. Rise ye, therefore, and demand the fruit of your toil, and cast ye off the parasites that do fatten on your substance.

Think not the Socialists have come to destroy law and order. We have not come to destroy them but to put them into practice.

Whoever, therefore, shall cast his lot with the class of his despoilers, he shall be accounted lower than a worm of the earth. But whosoever shall vote and work for the co-operative commonwealth shall receive the blessing of his posterity.

For I say unto you, except ye join the Socialists in the class-struggle and strike for your rights, ye shall in nowise obtain them.

Ye have heard that it was said by the old-school economists that the capitalists give you employment, but I say unto you that it is the necessity of satisfying your natural wants that gives you employment, and not the will of the bosses. Behold! they do but increase your weary hours of toil for their own profit.

Ye have heard it proclaimed that your employers give you the opportunity to make a living and that they pay you goodly wages; but I say unto you that it is they who live off of you, and that ye pay unto them extravagant wages, and retain for yourselves but a crumb of the feast ye have prepared.

Ye have heard it taught by the hirelings of capitalism that your labor is a "commodity" to be dealt in for profit, like unto any other; but I say unto you it is an infamous lie! Your labor is not a ware; it is your very life and substance; it is yourselves. Do not, therefore, allow them to barter in your lives, and the lives of your wives and children.

Ye have heard that it was said by your "pure-and-simple" leaders: "Strike for a raise of five per cent!" But I say unto you that he who does not strike for all that is his, deserves nothing. Have ye, therefore, the courage of your convictions and demand ALL the wealth ye create, leaving nothing unto the parasites.

Ye have heard it said again and again that it is wrong to patronize a scab dealer, but I say unto you that it is CRIMINAL to throw your votes away to a scab political party, and to give the presidency and the courts into the tools of your masters. Your class has made the world what it is; can it not therefore govern the world better than your betrayers?

No man can serve two opposing interests; for if he loves the one, he must hate the other. Therefore ye can not vote for capitalism and be friends unto yourselves.

Consider how the capitalist lives. He toils not, neither does he spin. And yet, I say unto you, not one cent of wealth can be produced except by human toil. Can their interests, therefore, and yours be identical?

DEMAND what is yours and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find; vote for yourselves and ye shall obtain your rights. For he that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and he that voteth right can not be defrauded.

Enter ye in at the straight gate of revolutionary Socialism, for there are many deceptive reform movements that lead unto destruction, and many there be which are misled by them. But nothing short of the overthrow of the capitalist SYSTEM will better your lot.

Beware of the false prophets in sheep's clothing. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Does democracy mean bull-pens, or does republicanism mean injunctions?

Hearken ye, therefore, unto the voice of wisdom before it is too late: "Workmen of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to gain!"

Vail's Dates in Oregon

The following are the appointments for Rev. Charles H. Vail in Oregon:

- Albany.....July 12
Eugene.....July 13
Roseburg.....July 14
Grant's Pass.....July 15
Medford.....July 16
Ashland.....July 17

The Third Annual Picnic

In the midst of a long term of record-breaking weather, when the papers were recording every day the death of men, women and children from the awful heat, the Social Democrats of Chicago, on the Fourth of July, held their third annual picnic. Although some of the comrades and friends were deterred by the extremely hot weather from attending, the noon hour brought together a large number of those who had contributed to former successes of the party on similar occasions, together with many new friends. Better arrangements for a picnic were never made for the party, and the entire program was carried out to everybody's satisfaction, the credit for which very largely belongs to Comrade Westphal, chairman of the committee. All who rendered any service will be glad to learn that the committee will be able to report all accounts settled and a balance left to apply, as directed, in the discharge of obligations resting upon the party.

Eugene V. Debs spoke for ninety minutes and aroused the enthusiasm of the crowd to the highest pitch. He was given a warm reception before and after the delivery of the speech. In another place in this paper a report of the address is given.

A Criticism from Japan

We take genuine pleasure in printing the following criticism of western civilization which recently appeared in a Japanese review, the Toyo, published at Tokio. Notice the intimate knowledge the writer has of our "superior" people.

Think of the moral Occident, that wonderfully straight-laced Occident that connives at Armenian and Macedonian massacres; spends millions in crushing and stamping out two sturdy little republics, fighting for bare independence; stabs, shoots and assassinates its monarchs; gives over the streets of its greatest cities, after nightfall, to the unquestioned rule of the 'demimonde'; is forever trying to bully weaker nations into ceding portions of their territory, and, in broad terms, goes about with a Bible in one hand and a gauntlet in the other; of which the ranting, all-knowing, hard-drinking, preaching, racing, Louis XIV. 'redivivus', Kaiser Wilhelm II. is the truest type.

We do not stab our monarchs in the female line, nor do we act so as to compel our great emperor to live in a steel-lined study or travel in a bomb-proof train. We acknowledge the truth of the imputation that we are not Caucasians. Yet there is no quarter of our largest cities that is not as safe at night as it is in the day time. Our restaurants are not flooded with bawls after dusk, nor are even our cheapest theaters houses of assignation. We do not go into boasting ecstasies after a victory over a weaker foe, nor do we make idols of our admirals and generals one day to revile them the next. We do not encourage and foster the bearing of illegitimate children, nor is the state ever willing to pay a premium on the rearing of fatherless boys. We do not lynch even the vilest offenders, nor have we—

we confess it to our shame—ever once burned a murderer at the stake. We admit that we are, on the whole, a Buddhist nation. Yet we have never undertaken a propaganda of this creed with cannon in the background to enforce religious arguments; we cannot boast of a Jesuitical society yearning to confound church with state; nor have we, to our humiliation be it said, ever had an Inquisition wherein to teach the gospel of peace and love by means of thumb-screws, the rack, and the wheel. We hasten to plead guilty to the accusation of being Japanese, Asiatics of the Asiatics. Yet we do not seek to enrich ourselves at the expense of weaker people. We do not talk justice and act unjustly. Nor do we permit our soldiers to rape defenseless women, kill helpless infants or loot the habitations of powerless non-combatants.

The New York Sun, a boycotted paper for the course it has pursued against organized labor, remarks that its "ground of objection to labor unionism is only that it abridges and restrains the freedom essential to the progress of the individual and of society; that it is hurtful to labor rather than capital and builds up a stationary caste offensive to democracy; that it involves the sacrifice of personal independence essential to the true and healthy development of humanity, and interferes with the rights of laborers who do not render subjection to it." Whatever may be said of organized labor, a serious omission will be made if it is not credited with a purpose to advance wages to something like fairness and to reduce the hours of toil. These essentials to better conditions are recognized by all fair-minded men, and are opposed only by those who would see workingmen forever debased and the wage slaves of capital—and the Sun is a debauched sycophant of capitalism.

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DEBS SPEECH

enough to keep her wretched soul within her shrunken body. Her pallid cheeks, her sunken eyes, her emaciated body testify to the poverty and horror of the competitive system. Hail the coming of Socialism!

But in every nation, in every civilized nation, men and women are massing beneath the banner of Socialism, men and women, for in Socialism woman stands side by side with man, she has all the rights that he enjoys.

We declare then, that the time has come when working men should open their eyes to the economic struggle, when they should have an intelligent understanding of Socialism and pave the way for its triumph and the abolishment of capitalism from the face of the world. Now I have a right to get rich if I can in this system. I scorn to get rich. I could get rich only by making some one else poor. Suppose I have sharper claws and keener fangs than some of the rest of you, am I justified in using them to prey upon your vitals. If I have any ability whatever, I can only prove it by using it for the benefit of my fellowman. Jno. Rockefeller is as completely a slave as any coal miner in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. He lives in a gilded cell, but he is serving a life sentence. He does not mingle with his fellowmen, he does not enjoy the fellowship of the class he robs. He rules by the power of private ownership and he tries to ease the pangs of conscience by endowing universities. We do not want educational institutions in that way and when Socialism supplants capitalism, and when the wealth that is created is in the possession of the men who created it, when every man has not only plenty of what is required to supply his physical wants, but has leisure to enjoy, we will fill this country with educational institutions, we will make education universal; not only that we will rescue industry from its cupidity. Then man shall stand erect in touch with his fellow man. He will be the monarch of his work. It will not be possible for one man to enslave another without forging fetters for himself. There is no release, there is no relief on any other line. It is Socialism or capitalism; as capitalism declines, Socialism follows it, so it is only a question of time.

I like the 4th of July. It breathes a spirit of revolution. On this day we reaffirm the ultimate triumph of Socialism. It is coming as certain as I stand in your presence. Trials are not to be regretted. They are a part and a necessary part of the development. We may disagree. We may divide. It is possible that we shall quarrel and still be perfectly honest. The development demands it all. We are all subscribers to the same fundamental principles. We all stand upon the same uncompromising platform. We all have our faces turned toward the economic dawn. We are battling for the triumph of the producers of the world. We are in touch with the international Socialists of the world, with our ears turned down, we can hear the thrones totter before the great march of the international hosts of Socialism. So do not be discouraged for a single instant. If you have the courage of your convictions you can face the universe. So far as I am concerned if there were a million, I would be one of the million. If they should be reduced to a thousand, I would be one of a thousand; if reduced to a hundred, I would be one of the hundred, if a single one survive, I would be that one against the world. I want every one of you to be that one and if you find that you are not so constituted that you can be that one against the world, you have no place in the Socialist movement, but go to the old parties and stay there until you get ripe. We are educating, we are agitating, we are organizing, that is to say we are preparing for the inevitable. It is only a question of time when Socialists will be in a majority. They will succeed on a platform declaring for the social ownership of the means of production and distribution. Then the factory will no longer be a dismal den thronged with industrial convicts. Then for a 'that' and 'that' man to man the world o'er, shall brothers be for a 'that'

The Austrian Miners

The nine-hour day in Austria was carried after a great deal of discussion. The conservatives brought in a great many amendments; for instance, they tried to make it nine hours not counting the time occupied in going down the mine and in coming back to the bank, but they failed. A Socialist deputy reckons that the average working day in mines will be less than eight hours, and as in many cases miners now work ten, eleven and even twelve hours a day, this is a great improvement. It will be remembered that in December, 1899, there was a great strike, more than 70,000 men coming out in favor of the eight-hour day. It failed, but this measure would never have become law but for that strike.

Let it be remembered that truth, justice, right and love are the corner stones of Socialism. If mistakes are made, it is only required to go down to first principles and rebuild the edifice.

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The Special Assessment

A comrade makes this inquiry relative to the special assessment: "Is a branch whose dues are paid, but has failed to pay the special assessment, entitled to representation in the convention?"
The special assessment was recommended by the financial committee at the January convention of the party and adopted. Early in February it was submitted to the branches to be voted upon and was approved. The object was to raise a fund to enable the party to meet all its financial obligations and go to the Indianapolis convention free of all encumbrance. The report, as adopted in January and later approved by vote of the members, provided "That an assessment equal to twenty-five cents per member be levied UPON EACH BRANCH and that the national secretary send to each branch a supply of stamps for that purpose." This was done, the secretary of every branch long ago received the stamps and is responsible for their redemption. Each branch is obligated by a general vote of the organization to pay this assessment in full for each stamp received. It was levied upon and is a charge against the branch. Unless it is paid members will not be entitled to representation in the convention.

Illinois Social Democrats

A special meeting of the Social Democrats of Illinois affiliated with 126 Washington street will be held at Lauterbach's hall, North Clark street, Chicago, Sunday afternoon at 2.30, to which all members of the branches in this state are urgently invited.
Arthur Dennison, Chairman,
C. T. H. Westphal, Secretary.

We are requested by Comrade James Roney, secretary of Branch 32, Missouri, to state that a report printed in several newspapers that the Socialist Democratic Party of Jasper county, Missouri, was represented at the Kansas City convention of the Public Ownership party, is entirely erroneous. No delegate was sent by the Social Democrats to that convention.

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