

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Democracy!

A recent paper, in speaking of the candidacy of Woodruff for the vice presidency, says: "The only man who can turn down the lieutenant governor by a word is Senator Thomas C. Platt, and he has now announced that he is in favor of the lieutenant governor's nomination."

And yet we patriotic paupers boast of the triumphant march of American democracy! The present president, who at least prevents the office from being declared legally vacant, was elected by the permission of Mark Hanna. And now, forsooth, we must have foisted upon us as vice president a man whose chief claim to office lies in the fact that he is a convenient screw in Platt's political machine.

Government and election "by the people" has become a fictitious sham when one man can turn down or turn up a candidate for highest office. And yet so long as we allow the rich few to own and operate the industrial machine of production we must expect them to run the political machine to suit themselves. When the people own the machine of production, they will run the machine of politics as well.

Practical Piety.

There is a sensible parson down in Marinette, Wis. During the Christmas service in his church he happened to see a sneak thief carrying a number of presents from the parsonage. Throwing off his vestments, he darted out of the church, caught the thief, placed him in custody, and, returning to the church, finished the service. Had he been true to custom and to creed, he would probably have fervently prayed that the evil designs of the ungodly might be brought to naught. But true to common sense, he stopped praying, and did a little energetic hustling himself.

Those of us who are poor and pious, and who see industrial exploiters stripping our homes, would do well to follow this preacher's example. So long as we pray, and only pray, they will prey, and only prey. But when we recognize the fact that God is not the big policeman of this world, and when, as Socialist workers, we bestir ourselves to political action in our own interest, we shall drive off the capitalist exploiters from our homes. Prayer has its place, but it won't catch thieves or change systems. Politics will.

A Christmas Shake.

A curious incident happened at Fort Hamilton during Christmas week. A private stationed there wished another private, a friend of his, a merry Christmas. So hearty was his salutation and shake that his friend's vertebrae was broken, and he died soon after.

When I read of it I could not but think how similar was Capital's Christmas greeting to Labor. We have heard, times beyond number, the assertion of professed friendship of the employer for the employe. Especially at election time these assertions have been particularly fervid.

But now, after the spasmodic boom of Christmas trade, the department stores have given a "shake" to many of their employes that will break their financial necks. In the evolution of mechanical skill the factories are giving "shakes" to their workers that will result fatally. And by the formation of trusts and combines capital is giving a Christmas "shake" to whole communities.

My friends, if our political backbones were a bit stronger we could shake the shaker. An S. D. P. branch room is a good gymnasium in which to get a strong Socialist backbone. Try it.

A Sermonic Stickler.

A Methodist minister of Sullivan county, N. Y., has made a new use of the phonograph. Finding it very wearisome to get up a special sermon for all the numerous weddings he is called on to solemnize, he talked into a funnel the best discourse on marriage he could devise, and had it recorded on a phonograph. So now he simply winds up the thing and lets it do the rest.

An expansion of this method will make some of the brethren of the cloth realize their affinity with the proletariat. By and by these mechanical parsons will be used to record the sermons of the best preachers, and to repeat them to unnumbered audiences. Why not? A good sermon from a phonograph is better than a poor one from a live parson.

They are so much cheaper that they will surely commend themselves to poor congregations, who at present are only able to pay for a long coat and white shirt with any kind of a man thrown in.

And the fact that they can be shut up on all matters pertaining to Socialistic reform will certainly make them acceptable to rich congregations. Look to your underpinning, my brethren, and get ready to shift!

A Prosperity of Promises.

In a Grafton factory the workers were recently promised a raise of 10 per cent. News of the promised raise was given to the press, who used to bolster up the weak-kneed structure of Republican prosperity. It was hailed as a premonitory splash as labor prepared to take a dip in the limpid pool of affluence.

But when the appointed day came the promise was unfulfilled. In the words of Bill Snooks:

They were promised a raise;
And promising pays,
For public opinion was won;
But when the time came,
Their pay was the same,
And so the poor dufters got none.

It is but one of many instances. Every now and again we see in large type the news of a proposed raise in wages. Every time a cotton manufacturer pays his women slaves \$4.02 a week, instead of \$3.87, it is used as an argument for the beneficence of the Republican administration.

The public hears nothing of the \$12.00 of actual earnings that the factory workers do not get! It is the beneficence of the thief who robs his victim and kindly gives him back his copper change!

Cold Christian Comfort.

The pastor of a prominent Boston church recently received a letter from an outcast woman, in which she expressed her desire to live a better life, and asking the assistance of his church. The following Sunday he made it the subject of his sermon. In dealing with the girl's request for help he advised her to go to Jesus, who would help her to reform.

This bit of hackneyed advice is the church's cheapest way of escaping its Christian obligation. One can imagine the degree of comfort the poor girl would derive from such an answer to her pitiful appeal. However good theological advice it may have been, it could not have supplied the girl's pressing material needs.

These outcast women will never be rescued from their sin and sorrow until Socialism gives them an open path back to virtue. Industrial injustice is at the root of all social sin, and not till it is removed shall virtue be universally possible. Shallow theologians may give cheap advice, but only the deep-reaching influence of Socialism will give the outcast help, hope and health.

Merlin.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

(Continued from Fifth Column of this Page)

chief rival as the free lance of the middle ages passed from the military service of one lord to that of his enemy. The growth of machine production and over-production conspire to render more and more of the workers superfluous. Thus develops the "reserve army" of modern industry, the out-of-work. Their forlorn condition, however, excites little sympathy from the employing class, for their constant presence renders it easy to fill vacancies occurring in the ranks of the employed through deaths or strikes. (Modern strikes very commonly fail because of the rush of unemployed to seize the vacant places.) Again, the constant competition of the unemployed for employment tends to hold wages at a level which will barely maintain life. The reserve army thus operates as an ever-present police force, holding the employed in strict subjection, and as a dead weight to prevent the material rise of wages.

With the steady extension of the franchise, however, toward universal suffrage, the working class becomes potentially the ruling class. Its own sufferings, the failure of the owners of industry to administer their trust in the public interest, and the absurdity in a republic of a system in which the small minority own the industrial system, while the vast majority own little or nothing, and sit like Lazarus at the gate of Dives, whom they might at any general election expropriate, all conspire to bring about the great change contemplated by Socialism. The workers gradually assume political power, make the monopolies and trusts public rather than private institutions, bring the employes of these industries under civil service rules, so shorten the hours of labor that the unemployed may find employment, reduce prices in the interest of consumers and raise wages in the interest of workers until profit disappears, and the opportunity is at last afforded "for the complete participation of the working classes in the material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of the human race."

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES COMETH WISDOM

The last of the visitors had departed and the long night-watch began. Alone in the small, dreary room, the father was left with his dead child. A dim-burning lamp feebly illuminated the desolate scene. Only a small oaken coffin, only a little dead child, and yet those thin, closed hands and tiny, wasted face were all the treasure which remained in the world to the bereaved man, who cowered down, crushed, as it were, by a surcharge of sorrow. Of all the dreams of happiness which had for a moment lit the dark path of life, this was the last hope; for he was only a poor, hard-working toiler, one of those unfortunate creatures on whom rests the whole accumulated weight of the world's burden. A short, sad childhood, spent in a vain endeavor to at once acquire an education and help maintain a large family of small brothers and sisters; a cheerless youth spent in the grime and dreariness of factory walls; few pleasures, much toil, stilled ambitions, monotony and fatigue—such had been his lot until this poor child had at last brought into the poor stilted life one ray of a human heaven. When the father would come back in the evening, harassed by the long day of labor, and the little feet would come toddling out, the small arms clasp his neck and the pretty eyes smile lovingly into his, everything would vanish—pain, anxiety weariness; a joy divine would flood his heart and for a time it was good to live.

And now the child was dead—anemia, the doctor said, but the bare walls, the empty room, the miserable surroundings, gave another and more terrible diagnosis—one that physicians rarely dare to give.

The hours passed, silent as death. To one who could have seen the sad picture it would have been difficult to say who, of the dead child or prostrate man, was the most statue-like and immovable. The living seemed dead, and the dead living, so peaceful and natural was the smile of happy slumber which rested on the sweet, childish lips. Lost in a stupor of grief, the father had become insensible even to his own sorrow; he was conscious of nothing save that small, beloved face, now so still. He closed his eyes and yet he saw it, even plainer than before; he knew it would be with him forever.

Suddenly he was seized with a strange tremor; some unknown power seemed to have taken possession of him. He opened his eyes, and lo! there before him, in a halo of light, stood the dear little figure, just as in life, with dimpled cheek and rippling hair; his arms were outstretched, and although the sweet, childish expression still lingered on his visage, there was a light upon it which had never been there before.

"Why do you weep, father?" the vision said. "Is it because I have died? It was your fault."

"My fault!" cried the man, forgetting his sorrow in his astonishment.

"Your fault," repeated the little one.

"But, my beloved child, were you not my only care, my only joy? Were you not the object of my every solicitude? How can it be my fault?"

"Then why did I die?" again said the small visitant.

"O, my child, the winter was long, the bread was scarce, the fever rapid and money rare!"

"Who took all the money, father?"

"The rich man who employed me."

"Who took the bread so that I hungered and sickened?"

"The rich man who refused me work, my child."

"Who took away the light and the heat, so that I trembled and was cold?"

"The rich man for whom I dug the coal."

"Why did he do this, father? Was it that I should die and leave you alone?"

"Alas, no, my child; but that his own should be well, comfortable and happy."

"Why should these things be, father? Tell me."

"Because something is wrong in the world, and we are all miserable creatures."

"If something was wrong, why did you not right it and save me, father?"

"Because I did not know, my child."

The vision seemed to move nearer, the eyes began to glow and the whole figure seemed to gain a new meaning as it said:

"Father, did you every try to know?"

The dawn crept slowly into the room; the first rays of the sun flashed upon the tiny bier and the crouching figure beside it. The man started and opened his eyes. His first glance fell upon the small figure lying so still, illuminated and glorified by the morning sunbeams.

And the father rose to his feet. A light had come into his tired features,

despair had vanished, a resolution had come. "I have not lost all," he said; "I still have something to live for. Nemo.

PROGRESS AT LOS ANGELES

Social Democrats have every reason to be satisfied with the progress made in Los Angeles during the past six months. Unceasing effort, a clear-sighted policy, an undivided determination to advance the cause of Socialism, have been marked by a growth of sentiment in favor of co-operation hitherto unknown in southern California.

To begin with, our comrades have increased the circulation of the Appeal to Reason from a few score of subscribers to over 700, and they are now working like beavers to raise that again to 1,500. J. A. Wayland has a warm place in our hearts, and this is our way of showing our appreciation of his inestimable services to the cause. Incidentally we are trying to secure the brass band he has promised to the city with the largest circulation when the Appeal reaches the 75,000 mark.

Again, while others were wondering how it was to be done, Eugene V. Debs had come, gone and left a city of 125,000 astounded at the fact that it contained so many Socialists. This visit was marked by three great meetings attended by thousands, one being a religious service at which two bishops and many ministers were present. With the financial aid of Comrade H. G. Wilshire and the trades unions all this had been successfully carried through by a handful of Social Democrats.

Barring Christmas and New Year's eve, propaganda meetings have been held every Sunday evening since Aug. 20. These have been addressed by able speakers and have been the cause of many an article in the daily press. A pleasing incident marked the last day of the old year. In place of the regular Sunday propaganda meeting, on the invitation of the trustees and deacons of the Memorial Baptist church, the members of the branch attended service there to hear a special sermon by the Rev. Charles C. Pierce, formerly of Chelsea, Mass., on "Three Thoughts for the Dawning Century." This proved a rare treat, as it was a masterly defense of co-operation from an earnest and fearless advocate of Socialism.

For the present year we are mapping out elaborate plans, and no stone will be left unturned which may help to advance the cause of Socialism and the principles of Social Democracy.

James T. Van Rensselaer.

NEW ETHICS AT CHICAGO

The new president of Yale university has clearly the courage of his convictions—or else he has been put in touch with the diplomatic procedure which the University of Chicago has adopted since the case of Bemis.

To the unobservant it might seem the height of audacity, not to say insolence, for an invited speaker at a University of Chicago convocation to preach a new and higher code of business ethics—"a system which shall treat the director as having moral responsibilities to his stockholders, to his workmen and to the consumers that purchase his goods or his services." Does not the University of Chicago annually celebrate on Founder's day a man who has failed at two out of three of these ethical points? Is it not now clinging to a promise of \$2,000,000 more from John D. Rockefeller, who has violated every ethical principle that business relations could raise? The head of the Standard Oil company has been loyal to his stockholders—when his interest as a greater stockholder demanded it. But as for his workmen and the consumers of his product, he has regarded them but as so many lemons to be squeezed, so many mines to be worked until the vein is exhausted, then left to oblivion.—Chicago Journal.

ECONOMIC EVOLUTION

With civil and religious rights attained, there is the strange fact that the people are coming under the new bondage of money and business trusts; the profits of these are largely shared by the few who control the natural sources of wealth and are amassing fabulous fortunes; they own the mines, the forests, the lands, the machinery, and control transportation; are corrupting politics and legislation and weakening the integrity of nations. These combinations are steps in economic evolution; ugly forms of an ultimate good; cold, selfish, cruel often, but they must all be tried and judged in the court of the world's coming conscience. In some way justice must come to all.—Dr. H. W. Thomas, Chicago.

If you ordered the "Pocket Library of Socialism," complete, you would pay for it 50 cents cash. These booklets are all good, uniform in size and just what you would buy if you could see them.

SCIENTIFIC

By Thomas Kirkup

SOCIALISM

The founders of scientific Socialism are Karl Marx (1818-1883), Friedrich Engels (1822-1895), and Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864). Of these Marx was the economist and philosopher, and Lassalle the orator, while Engels, a wealthy manufacturer, furnished a shelter for Marx in exile, popularized his teachings and aided him in his propaganda. The leading doctrines of Socialism stated by Thomas Kirkup (see Marx, Capital, 1867) are the following:

Society is an organism subject to evolution. At each stage of its growth it develops institutions suitable for its present needs. Of these the economic are the basis; upon them rest all others, political, religious, educational, social, domestic, etc. As society passes from one stage of development to another it outgrows many of its old institutions and casts them off exactly as a snake outgrows and casts off its skin. This Roman slavery gave place to medieval serfdom, which in turn was superseded by modern wage service. Leading features of the present industrial system are private property in the means of wealth production—i. e., productive land and capital. These are owned by a comparatively few individuals, companies and corporations, while the labor upon and with them is performed by the majority of the population organized and co-operating as wage-earners. Production has thus become social rather than individual. Production is conducted not for the good of the workers, nor of the community, but for the enrichment of the owners of the land and capital. Their wealth is obtained by the systematic defrauding or "exploiting" of the laborers, who, it is held, produce all wealth, but are paid the "wages of subsistence"—i. e., just enough to maintain them and their families (better, are hired as cheaply as possible)—the balance or "surplus" of their product passing as "profit" to capitalist employes, who thus, in cases, amass millions. Social production is thus accompanied by individual "capitalistic" appropriation. Goods are produced not primarily for use, but for sale. The capitalist producers being rivals rather than co-workers, each seeks not to produce simply his fair share of the total supply demanded, but to capture as much of the market as possible. Production is thus without pain. That each may increase his sales he offers his goods as cheaply as possible; but that profits may not fall, the goods are adulterated; "shoddy" triumphs over solid worth; cheapness means "nastiness." To get rich faster, capitalist employes utilize steam and electricity and more and more highly improved machinery; thus comes the "expansion of industry" and vast production; this soon means "overproduction"; for the masses, too poor to buy much, even of the cheap goods, suffer because of "under-consumption," while the wants of the wealthy in a given line are soon satisfied. A plethora of goods soon cumber the shelves and warehouses of producers. The result is a "glut." His goods being unsalable, bills on falling due cannot be met by the producer. He fails. His unpaid creditors now fail. Their fall drags down others. The result is a panic. Production stops, workers are discharged and thrown upon the community as tramps and pensioners. The unsold goods are now sold out under the hammer for what they will bring. Thus the glut is cleared away. When the existing stock of goods is consumed demand again springs up, workers are slowly re-employed, mills start, "confidence" grows, production develops into overproduction and the glut recurs, to be followed again by the panic. Thus cycles of good and bad times appear; their term shortens, the tendency being toward a chronic glut and continued stringency. To protect themselves against the Frankenstein they have aroused rival capitalists gradually combine their interests into fewer and fewer, but continually vaster, organizations, known today as "trusts." These make possible marked economies in production and further lowering of prices. Production thus becomes more highly organized and more truly social, but its management is monarchical, the few in the trust controlling wealth and wielding power far superior often to that of kings.

Among the chief sufferers from this system of planless production, over-production, gluts and panics are the workers. Their position is wretchedly insecure. They are usually employes at will and subject to discharge at short notice. They have no interest in the business in which they are employed and may pass from it to the service of its

(Continued in Second Column of this Page)

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 13, 1900.

THE CHURCH AND THE PROBLEM

The Herald has received from the Rev. Charles H. Vail, author of "Principles of Scientific Socialism," an article on "The Church from an Economic Standpoint," with a request for its publication in this paper. The article was written for the Universalist Leader, one of the official publications of the Universalist church, and printed at Boston, Mass. For reasons which are understood by Socialists the Leader declined the article, and in a note to The Herald Comrade Vail says: "I hardly thought they would dare publish it, but was determined to give them an opportunity to refuse. Their refusal but again illustrates what we all know—that the church is subservient to wealth and power. It dare not take a stand for humanity."

The Universalist church has always boasted of its breadth and liberality and denounced all others for their narrowness and bigotry. Split into hundreds of sects and parties on the subject of religion, the church is one in its subserviency to wealth. Divided into warring camps on the subject of Christ and His religion, they are united in the support and defense of the capitalist class—the ravagers of the world.

We gladly comply with Comrade Vail's request, and in order that all readers of The Herald may have an opportunity to aid in giving it a wide circulation, notice is given that his article will appear in the next number of this paper. All orders for extra copies, which will be filled at the regular bundle rate (100 copies, 65 cents), must reach the office not later than Wednesday, Jan. 17.

THE OUTLOOK

The outlook is bright and clear, though the difficulties in the way and to be overcome are as great as the field is broad. From Maine to California, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the North Pole, every Socialist should feel his responsibility. Our cause is just and must ultimately win. This is 1900, and it is the duty of every Socialist to fall into a solid phalanx one million strong, cast the glove into the ring, and with stentorian voice give to the capitalist class a dose of their own medicine. "What are you going to do about it?" We are just beginning to understand the magnitude of our duties, and we stand before the appointed task determined to discharge our responsibilities. The supreme need is that we keep ourselves vitalized by a fresh and absorbing zeal and aroused to grasp the meaning of our opportunities and consequent responsibilities. The harvest is great and the workers are few. We have now entered upon an advanced stage of activity in our educational work, in which collective ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution for the benefit of all the people will be the only leader in the adjustment of the relations of mankind and the building up of better conditions under which every man, woman and child will be well fed, clothed, sheltered and educated, and suitable provision made for the aged and infirm.

The economic and indefeasible right of Socialism is now forever established for the relief of humanity's wants and woes, by living with all men as brethren. Organizations are but means to an end. The most important thing is to submit our principles to the people, thus opening their eyes, hearts and understandings, by reason and persuasion, to convince them that our doctrines are sound.

A king of Sparta, 880 years before Christ, pointing to his army of 10,000 men, said: "These are the walls of Sparta, and every man is a brick." Our Sparta is Socialism, and we trust the Social Democratic party will be a wall of living men around it, and that every member of the party will be a brick. Every Socialist can help on this great world's work more than he has any idea of, with the perseverance to go on to the end as the great Socialist teachers Marx, Engels, Lassalle and others did until death. True, such a life is not easy, but it is well worth living.

Have your card inserted in the **BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month.** It will help you in the work in your locality.

THE WONDERFUL CENTURY

Social Democrats believe that the solution of the industrial and social problem is to be found, and is only to be found, in the logical evolution of the idea that production and distribution of wealth shall be carried on by a union of the people for the common welfare. They believe that this idea has always logically involved, when the time should be ripe, the socialization of the means of production—that is, of the land and of capital. Socialists believe, further, that such a readjustment of the industrial and economic relations of men is essential as a condition precedent to the attainment of a civilized society illustrating brotherly relations about which preachers preach and moralists moralize. The eventual realization of such a state of affairs has been the dream of humanity. The average normal man, whether he has or has not given one moment's thought to the subject of Socialism, acknowledges that if instead of contending with one another for the means of livelihood, human beings could only be induced to unite their powers to secure the common welfare, the world would not only be a great deal better and a great deal happier, but a great deal richer than it ever has been.

The practical obstacles to such a change at any period in the history of mankind have, however, been insuperable. These obstacles have inhered in the existing conditions and institutions of each period. But Socialists contend that under the stress and influence of economic evolution these conditions and institutions have been so changed and are so changing as to render not only possible, but in the near future inevitable and necessary, a transformation of society which a century ago it would have been chimerical to expect within any calculable period. The century has been marked by extraordinary progress in every line of human endeavor, surpassing not merely any preceding century, but all the centuries put together. Alfred Russell Wallace, the well-known scientist and Socialist, holds that "to get any adequate comparison with the nineteenth century we must take, not any preceding century or group of centuries, but rather the whole preceding epoch of human history." It has, indeed, been "the wonderful century." Note a few of the great inventions and discoveries entitling it to that designation: Railways, steamships, electric telegraph, telephone, lucifer matches, gas illumination, electric lighting, photography, the phonograph, Roentgen rays, printers' linotype machine, spectrum analysis, anesthetics, antiseptic surgery, conservation of energy, molecular theory of gases, velocity of light directly measured, meteors and the meteoritic theory, the glacial epoch, the antiquity of man, organic evolution, cell theory and embryology, germ theory of disease. All preceding ages in the world's history cannot match this marvelous showing for a single century.

Socialists declare that it is not only impossible, but illogical and opposed alike to reason and to progress, that the travail of the nineteenth century will count for nothing better than the perpetuation of a system of private profit-mongering and the continued degradation of the masses of the people through the mastery of the means of production by a class. They are convinced that men now in middle age will live to see the present system give place to Socialism, which is the destined and sole possible solution of the labor problem, the social question—the only guaranty for the perpetuity of civilization.

It will be clear enough to the thoughtful mind from what has been said, that Socialists do not base their confidence altogether upon any overweening faith in their propaganda. Their efforts are along educational lines, and no such effective educational work as organized Socialist bodies are doing is discoverable elsewhere. It is not in the power of Socialists to make a revolution for which society is not ready. Neither will it be in the power of the capitalist class to prevent a revolution when the time is ripe. And the time is ripening; the capitalist system is destroying itself—it contains within itself the germs of its own destruction. The organized propaganda of the Socialists is important and should be even more effectively maintained than it now is, but where Socialists make one convert the logic of events and the speechless propaganda of the machine that never tires, never hungers, never sleeps and never strikes, makes a thousand. The avowed Socialist who has taken his place in the vanguard and proclaims the new economy and the new ethic, brings down upon his head the anathemas of the thoughtless and the beneficiaries of capitalism, but he can wait serene and confident in the assurance that capitalist industry is doomed, as feudalism was before it, and that in its development and its decay the millions are prepared to wrest from the clutch of a class the political power of government and the productive power of society.

The greatest industrial revolution in history was started when the laboring masses of the world were divorced from the means of gaining a livelihood and became the dependent wage slaves of a class; it is still here; we are in it, all of us powerless to arrest the tendency to even greater combinations of capital than we have yet known. It is in vain that men hold conferences to cry down

the trusts; the operation of economic laws cannot be stayed by reformers' resolutions or the fulminations of political demagogues. No "be it enacted" can seriously hinder the historical revolution upon which we have entered, and many of us, sooner than the "statesmen" who are attempting to flag the train with their puny palliatives suppose, will have the privilege and the joy of witnessing its climax.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Belgian electoral reform bill, which was passed by the chamber at Brussels, for the first time in parliamentary history introduces the system of proportional representation. Under this system Brussels, where there were at the last elections 90,000 Roman Catholic voters, 30,000 liberals, 50,000 radicals and 70,000 Socialists, would return seven Roman Catholic deputies, six liberals and five Socialists, while now all the members for Brussels belong to the Roman Catholic or clerical party. In future election by a clear majority will be possible only in the case of by-elections, but even in such cases the new reform bill provides that in every general election the voters should elect on the proportional system not only the members for the vacant seats, but also a number of substitutes, not exceeding one-half of the elected members, to take places that may be vacated before the next general election occurs.

Edward Wunch, a linotype machinist, formerly employed in the composing-room of a Buffalo evening paper, who brought suit several months ago against David Shankland, as president of Typographical Union No. 9 of that city, to recover damages for alleged conspiracy in forcing him out of his position because he refused to take out a card in the Typographical union, was given a verdict of \$650 in the Supreme court. The Typographical union is up against a hard proposition. What will the union do when one operator runs a dozen machines? Is the complete elimination of the flesh and blood man necessary to convince the union of the industrial revolution?

The Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads have decided to expand their business. In looking over the field of their operations, they have found that they can just as well handle the fruit business as not. In pursuance of this policy of expansion they are making rates and conditions which private shippers find it impossible to accept, and the control of their products thus passes out of their hands. They can go on raising fruit, but the beneficent railroad companies will do the rest.

The committee of the Belgian chamber of deputies which has been inquiring into the question of the operation of the workmen's old-age pensions act has decided that the aged Belgian or even foreign workman who at the time of the promulgation of the law had worked the ten years required by the terms of the measure is entitled, being destitute, to state assistance. It is likely that the chamber, acting on the recommendation of the committee, will vote an annual credit of 6,000,000 francs (\$1,200,000) to carry the law into effect.

It was the only stove in the house. John Borden's wife and three young children were starving and the weather was bitter cold, but a constable took the stove to satisfy an unpaid bill contracted by John, who had been out of employment for some time. John's wife—their "home, sweet home," is at 11 Orchard street, Chicago—was ill and the police found her and the youngest babe lying on the floor. "Mid pleasures and palaces through we may roam, be it ever so humble, there's no place like Home!"

"Merlin's" suggestion for a new method of carrying the gospel to the people is an admirable one, and, in these money-making times, ought not to fail in finding a promoter who will get a monopoly on the regular Sunday discourses of half a dozen Chicago "divines." There's money in it, and the hard-worked country preacher could be given a lay-off.

A newsboy in Philadelphia was arrested and fined \$4 for selling newspapers on Sunday. This outrage was committed by the authorities under a blue law of 1794, but the capitalists of Pennsylvania who violate laws every day in the week dated a hundred years later, go free and are respectable citizens.

A committee of the Chicago city council has arranged to present a public thoroughfare to the Rock Island and Lake Shore roads. While the reformers get together to talk against the inevitable, the trusts and corporations are still able to get all they want.

Labor applied to natural resources produces all wealth. This being a whole truth, there can be no just title to wealth but a labor title, and individual gain through rent, interest, profit or dividends is theft.

In an interview at Monmouth, Ill., Comrade Debs said: "The Social Democratic party will put up a ticket, but under no conditions will I be a candi-

date for the presidency or any other office."

The attention of the trust smashers is called to the fact that the Standard Oil company has just absorbed the business of the Mineral Oil company of Pottsville, Pa.

We will furnish ten copies of James B. Smiley's book, "To What Are Trusts Leading?" for \$1. It is a sixty-four page pamphlet and is good for propaganda.

Five thousand three hundred and forty suicides in 1899 in the United States testify to the wonderful effects of prosperity on the population.

M. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader of Belgium, owing to overwork, will take a vacation, which will be passed in Corsica.

MUSINGS

By M. Winchevsky

The closing year of the nineteenth century finds America and Europe wading knee-deep in blood in Asia and Africa respectively. And it is the liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon race which is doing the slaying in both cases. It is a pitiful spectacle, which makes one wonder whether 'Anglo-Sexton' would not just now be a more appropriate designation.

There is, however, this consolation, that while the two elder branches of the family are thus employed, young Australia is steadily clearing the way for incoming equality.

Some folks stand so firmly on their principles that the poor things find themselves trampled under foot.

They say the enthusiasm evoked by the proclamation of unity among the various groups of French Socialists was simply indescribable. What a thrill of joy the great news sent through our hearts! And yet there are those among us who, when they discuss the same thing with regard to the state of affairs in this country, would, under one pretext or another, turn a deaf ear to the most eloquent pleadings for unity. It is for their benefit that the following verses from James Russell Lowell's Bigelow papers are here paraphrased:

I du believe in Union's cause
Ez fur away ez Payris is;
Fer them it's right the ranks to close
Agin' the sharks an' Phayrisees;
It's wal enough fer folks that cling
To fights, while full o' thank'ees,
But union is the kind o' thing
That don't agree with Yankees.

I du believe the people want
A party that's united;
That nothin' ain't extravagant,
Purvidin' I ain't slighted.
There sartainly should be a plan
The leaders could agree on,
An' never mind that dear old man
That calls hisself De Leon.

I du believe it's wise an' good
To talk o' strength in unity,
O' universel brotherhood
With bliss in each community;
To tell the workers o' all lands:
Unite fer your salvation!
But party strife, ez it now stands,
Must be a reservation.

I du believe in tolerance,
In treatin' men ez brothers,
Purvidin' it is left to France,
To foreigners an' others;
Fer tolerance ain't made fer use,
Nor all fer love our heart is;
We need, our doctrines to diffuse,
A dozen wranglin' parties.

I du believe in harmony
To preach here to the masses,
An' practise it in Germany.
Among the workin' classes;
It's wal to send them cheerin' notes
An' in their work to guide 'em,
But here we have to gather votes
An', bein' few, divide 'em.

In short, I firmly du believe
In bein' many-sided;
O'er splits in other lands to grieve,
Remainin' here divided.
Fraternity is wal enough
Fer Christmas distribution,
But it ain't worth a pinch o' snuff
Outside the constitution.

There is trouble ahead in the Bay State. Brockton has taken Haverhill down a peg or two. Now they say Newburyport has designs on Brockton, while little Rockland, jealously watched by Lynn, is only waiting to grow into a city to take the pride out of Newburyport. The situation is becoming very grave around the serene and calm Hub of the universe. The time may come when that impregnable fortress of stick-in-the-mud respectability will get a shake-up, but that is another story.

A happy new year to every one in the country, and outside of it.

M. Winchevsky.

Count Leo Tolstoy has written a letter to Mr. Ernest Crosby with reference to his new book of verse, "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable" (Small, Maynard & Co., Boston), in which he announces his intention of having it translated in part into Russian, as follows:

"I like the book very, very much. Some of the pieces—the choice is difficult, because all are very good—I will have translated into Russian and published. There is nothing more new and interesting than the most common subjects looked at from a Christian point of view, and that is what you are doing in your book, and doing with talent and sincerity."

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

OFFICIAL CALL

Annual Convention of the Social Democratic Party, March 6, 1900

In accordance with the action of the members in determining the time and place for the national convention of the Social Democratic party in 1900, the National Executive board of said party directs that said national convention be held at the city of Indianapolis, in the state of Indiana, for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, to be voted for at the presidential election on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it, and that said convention shall assemble at 10 o'clock in the forenoon on Tuesday, the 6th day of March, 1900.

The representation at said convention will be by delegates, chosen in accordance with the referendary vote of the members and reported in this number of The Herald, as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

With the hope that the deliberations and action of this convention, an event of historic importance in the development of Socialism in the United States, may redound to the credit of the delegates and the glory of our cause, fraternally
Jesse Cox, Chairman.
Seymour Stedman, Secretary.

CALL

For Mass Convention Twelfth Congressional District of Massachusetts

All members or sympathizers of the S. D. P. of this district are invited to attend a mass convention to be held in Socialist hall, corner Main and Center streets, Brockton, on Sunday, Jan. 14, 1900, at 10 a. m., to formulate some plan to organize the towns of this district where there is at present no organization; also to nominate a district committee and to take any action which may be in the interest of the S. D. P.

This convention is called by vote of the Whitman branch.
Remember, this invitation includes YOU. Do not fail to attend.

Charles E. Lowell,
Ch'm'n Whitman Branch 13, S. D. P.

DUES AND REPRESENTATION

We feel called upon to give notice betimes that only branches in good standing will be entitled to representation at the approaching national convention, and that only members in good standing will be entitled to sign the credentials of delegates.

The convention meets at Indianapolis, Ind., on Tuesday, March 6, 1900, and to be entitled to representation the dues of a branch must be paid in full and including the quarter ending March 31; and the same is true of individual members. No member is qualified to sign the credentials of a delegate unless his dues are paid during the same period. This is the rule agreed to by the party, and in the examination of credentials it will be the duty of the committee to see that it is enforced and that the credential of any branch not in good standing be rejected and the name of any member not in good standing be stricken from the credential.

It has also been provided that no branch or member shall be entitled to representation unless admitted at least thirty days prior to the opening of the convention. The opening day being March 6, the last day of grace is the 4th day of February. Branches instituted and members admitted after this date will not be entitled to representation. This should be clearly understood that there may be no unnecessary expense incurred in sending delegates not entitled to seats.

A large number of points declare that they are "about ready to organize," and a great number of persons say they are about ready to join. If they would be represented in the most historic convention ever held in the United States they should bear the 4th day of February in mind and come in before that date.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for \$50 per month.

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch (San Francisco) of the Social Democratic Party holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 p.m. Admission free.

CONNECTICUT
Branch 3 (Conn.), New Haven, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in the month, at 196 State Street, at 8 p.m. Secretary Cornelius Mahoney, 166 Frank St.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly, second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, at Dr. J. H. Graer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and second Sunday afternoon of each month at Richswell's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

KENTUCKY
Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evening and second and fourth Sunday afternoon of each month. All speakers except last one in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND
Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p.m., at Chamberlain's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in Lake Falls office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. Wm. H. Randall, Sec.

MISSOURI
St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 23 Ne. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

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

NEW YORK
Branch 10 (4th Avenue Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of The Division of Labor, 123 Grand St. Jacob Finken, Secretary.

OHIO
Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 95 York Street, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p.m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p.m.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch 2, Erie, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 p.m., at 715 S. Erie street. Chairman, Joseph Stain; Secretary, J. Elmer Zerry.

WISCONSIN
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 553 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman; Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown Streets. George Moersch, Secretary, 491 Twenty-fifth Street.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets every second Tuesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin "Vorwärts," 614 State St.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterleus Hall, 717 Center Street, at 8 p.m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Illinois, meets 2nd and 4th Monday of each month at Jos. Dundras' place, 109 W. 18th Place. Secretary, Frank Ort, 866 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 5, Illinois, meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th street, corner Jefferson street. Secretary, Paul Chubb, 477 Ruble St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business in Cutler's Hall, Clark's Block, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 332 W. Elm Street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at 89 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Segal, 59 Chelsea St., Sec.

Branch 31, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 8 p.m., room 2, postoffice building, Chelsea. Alfred A. Outram, Sec., 73 Ash St.

Branch No. 2, Chelsea, Mass., permanent headquarters Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m. Public invited.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the 1st Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, McDonald, 104 West Springfield, St. Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Margaret Hallie, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in Lake Falls office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. Wm. H. Randall, Sec.

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

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New Branch
A new branch with a group of earnest comrades who will do good work for the cause has been organized at Alameda, Cal., with the following officers: Chairman, James K. Hauck; vice-chairman, Allan A. Crockett; secretary, Dr. J. M. Young; treasurer, H. Hanch; organizer, B. H. Wolfe.

Newark, N. J.
The Social Democratic party will hold lectures every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Wood building, 118-120 Market street.

Lynn Wide Awake
The comrades at Lynn, Mass., opened the new year with a large and enthusiastic meeting, at which it was decided to make arrangements for a series of lectures during the winter months, on the principles of Social Democracy.

The Empire State
The New York state organizing committee meets every alternate week, and is making quite a good beginning. Its sub-committee has visited Pachoge, L. I., and arranged for starting a branch in that place.

A Working Branch
That same old gang who established Branch No. 1 of Ohio have a record for "sticking" which dates back through various reform movements.

Man Under the Load
The present situation may be compared to that of a man who has fallen under a heavy dray laden with merchandise. You can call the dray "civilization" and the bales of merchandise "commercialism."

Notes from the Field
Comrade James Beattie is state organizer for the mine workers in Illinois. Comrade Winchevsky resumes his welcome and inimitable "Musings" this week.

Notes from the Field
Comrade Leonard D. Abbott is employed on the Literary Digest of New York. Comrade E. V. Debs has this week been in Nebraska and Missouri, drawing full houses, as usual.

Notes from the Field
Comrade Frederic G. Strickland has been appointed office manager of the Social Reform Union publications. Comrade J. Stitt Wilson left Chicago Thursday of last week for England, where he will lecture for several months.

Notes from the Field
The women of Haverhill have organized the Women's Social Democratic Club. Jan. 26 the club will give a concert and ball.

Notes from the Field
Comrade F. O. MacCartney spoke before the Young People's Club of Unity Church at Brockton on "What Socialism Stands For."

Notes from the Field
Comrade John W. Sherman, who ran as the S. D. P. candidate for mayor of Boston, is a well-known newspaper reporter at the "hub."

Notes from the Field
Comrade Charles H. Coulter, mayor of Brockton, delivered his inaugural in a large hall engaged for that purpose to accommodate the people.

Notes from the Field
Comrade Isador Ladoff will speak at Brotherhood House on the afternoon of Sunday, Jan. 20, on "Some of the Ethical Phases of Socialism."

Notes from the Field
A recent visitor at headquarters who is doing a splendid pioneer work in Montana was Comrade Fox, of Butte, an active and level-headed worker.

Notes from the Field
Comrade Emil Liess left Chicago for San Francisco on the evening of the 2d inst., after a lecture tour in the East that was most helpful to the cause.

Notes from the Field
A neat office calendar for 1900, adorned with a fine portrait of Mayor Coulter, has been issued by the Brockton Journal. The Herald acknowledges receipt of same.

Notes from the Field
The Chicago Tribune of Thursday, Jan. 4, contained sketches of Comrades Chase and Coulter, with a picture of the former, in the department, "Who's Who and What's What."

Notes from the Field
We had the pleasure of greeting Comrade W. P. Bosworth, of Brockton, Mass., at headquarters last week. He came West on business for a prominent leather house in Massachusetts.

BROCKTON'S SOCIALIST MAYOR'S INAUGURAL

It is safe to say that in the 40,000 population of the city of Brockton, Mass., there was not a single live man or woman who was not profoundly interested in the event that marked the incoming of the new year, Jan. 1. It witnessed the inauguration of Comrade Charles H. Coulter, of the Social Democratic party, as the second Socialist mayor of an American city.

Mayor Coulter's inaugural address dealt in detail with the present condition and needs of the city, and evinced a comprehensive understanding of the duties of his office and a sincere appreciation of his responsibilities.

The sacredness of the duties and responsibilities of the official position which the suffrages of my fellow citizens have called upon me to assume is not and will not be by me, and should not be by others, underestimated.

Conceiving this to be my duty to you and to mankind, I feel it incumbent upon me as a Social Democrat to reaffirm the fundamental principles of the party of which I am proud to be a member, and upon the platform of which I have been elected, profoundly convinced, as I am, that in the application of these principles will be found the solution of the pressing problems now confronting society.

It is proper also for me to submit that the limited power of this or any other municipality will permit only in degree the application of these principles, but I assure you that I shall demand their application to the utmost limit, consistent with the municipal powers.

Upon the other hand this economic change has resulted in the gradual displacement of labor, the insecurity and scarcity of employment, and the appearance of the unemployed class, followed by an increasing intensity of the competition between the workers for an opportunity to labor.

In the presence of these and many other facts incident to present industrial conditions, the Social Democratic party asserts its aims to be the social or collective ownership and operation of the tools—the means of production and distribution—the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

With increasing rapidity two forces are gathering in modern society, two forces with irreconcilable aims, between which the citizenship must choose, and choose wisely, else shall human progress halt, perhaps forever.

The mechanical progress of the times has caused the passage of the tools whereby the food, clothing, shelter and the other material necessities of life are produced and distributed, into the possession of a lessening minority of the members of society, while the increasing majority, thus dispossessed, have become the economic dependents of the minority.

The tools of modern industry, though possessed by the few upon the basis of private ownership, are, in their essential nature, public or social, and not private or individual, being, as they are, the concrete genius of the race, and requiring union of effort or co-operation upon the part of society for their operation.

The advance of social evolution has witnessed the changing of the tools of production from individual to a social character. This passing out of the possession of the individual members of so-

cety into the hands of a decreasing number, who are thereby enabled to exploit the labor power of those dispossessed, the continual development of these tools, is causing the destruction of the middle, the small capitalist class, the formation of gigantic combinations of capital, the advent of the trust, and the complete subjection of society to the possessors.

OUR LETTER BOX

HINT TO THE CONVENTION
Editor of The Herald: We wish to give our hearty indorsement to the letter appearing in The Herald Jan. 6, entitled "A Retrospective View." It sums up the situation in a very intelligent manner, and the national convention should be guided by the ideas contained in these lines: "Nothing must be done that will either embarrass the triumph advance of the Social Democratic party or change its spirit. Any readjustment of the Socialist forces that may take place by reason of the split in the ranks of the Socialist Labor party must not be allowed to weaken the standing of our party before the country or nullify the value or the prestige of its victories."

We will send free by mail the "Pocket Library of Socialism" to anyone sending us five yearly subscribers to The Herald at 50 cents each. The "Pocket Library" consists of ten books on Socialism, for which we should charge you 5 cents each, or 50 cents (complete) if you ordered them from us. By helping The Herald circulation, as suggested, you get them free.

WANTED—WORKING SOCIALISTS

Not to make money, but to make more Socialists. That is what we want to do before we meet the hosts of capitalism in the political arena next year, isn't it? And that is what we must do if we expect success to crown our efforts. What is the best way to make Socialists? Everybody gives the same answer: "Get men to read the literature of Socialism." If you can succeed in doing that you have started a certain influence in the world that is beyond the power of any man to estimate; you may have rendered an inestimable individual service to the cause of Socialism.

Now, you know that, as a rule, it is useless to try and induce men to read any of the great standard works of our literature. Indeed, it is too true, unfortunately, that the victims of wage slavery have neither time nor disposition to do that. In view of this condition of affairs, there rests upon every Socialist no clearer duty than that of bringing to the notice of their fellowmen and inducing them to read some of the excellent publications in cheaper form, such as are found in the

"Pocket Library of Socialism"

With a view to securing thousands of readers for these little books, admirably adapted as they are for the propaganda of Socialism, as well as to increase the circulation of this paper, we have made arrangements that enable us to offer the complete set of ten books free to anyone sending in five yearly subscriptions to the

Social-Democratic Herald

The subscription price of the paper is 50 cents; the complete "Pocket Library of Socialism" will be mailed postpaid to anyone sending us, at one time, five names and \$2.50. Ten subscribers for six months, at 25 cents, will be accepted.

If five thousand present readers of The Herald can see in this offer where they can help the spread of Socialist principles, and will lend a hand in carrying it through, there will be added to The Herald subscription list 25,000 names, and 50,000 books on Socialism will go into the hands of the people as a result of their efforts.

Isn't it worth while to do your share in accomplishing this result on the eve of a national election, in which the Social Democratic party will participate? If you don't want the books yourself, you can give them away or dispose of them at the retail price of 5 cents. The complete "Pocket Library of Socialism," ten books, would cost you 50 cents.

First National Campaign

It need not be said that the addition of 25,000 names to The Herald subscription list and the circulation of 50,000 books setting forth in simple and comprehensive terms the principles of Socialism, will have a tremendous effect on the campaign of 1900—the first national election in which the Social Democratic party will take part.

THEODORE DEBS,

126 Washington St., Chicago

DEBS' LECTURE TOUR

Table with 2 columns: City, Mo and Date. Rows include Kansas City, Mo (Jan 14, 1900), St. Louis, Mo (15), Louisville, Ky (20), Birmingham, Ala (21), Columbus, Ga (22), Montgomery, Ala (23), New Orleans, La (25), Lafayette, La (26).

WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL

By Karl Marx. Labor was not always a commodity. Labor was not always wage-work—that is, a marketable commodity. The slave does not sell his labor to the slave-owner.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

CALL TO ACTION ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today without from one to a dozen Socialists who are not affiliated with a Socialist organization.

Headquarters for Literature.

- SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC. 1. Liberty, Debs. 5c. 2. Merrie England, Blatchford. 10c. 3. Municipal Socialism, Gordon. 5c.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund.

- CONNECTICUT: Finesilver, N.H., Hartford; Holman, B., Hartford. ILLINOIS: Jossman, S., Chicago; P. A. Ayer, Chicago; "A Friend", Chicago; Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago.

of the sellers. They present a united front to the purchaser, and fold their arms in philosophic content; and their claims would be absolutely boundless if it were not that the offers of even the most pressing and eager of the buyers must always have some definite limit.

Thus if the supply of a commodity is not so great as the demand for it, the competition between the buyers waxes. Result: A more or less important rise in the price of goods.

As a rule the converse case is of common occurrence, producing an opposite result. Large excess of supply over demand; desperate competition among the sellers; dearth of purchasers; forced sale of goods dirt cheap.

But what is the meaning of the rise and fall in prices? What is the meaning of higher price or lower price? A grain of sand is high when examined through a microscope, and a tower is low compared with a mountain.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of the historical mission of realizing a higher civilization through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with the historical mission of realizing a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world, led to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands: 1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

3. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also the public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also the public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works for the improvement of the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to receive only the cost of his invention.

8. Labor legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

We have now seen how the changing proportion between supply and demand produces the rise and fall of prices, making them at one time high, at another low.

If through failure in the supply, or exceptional increase in the demand, an important rise in the price of a commodity takes place, then the price of another commodity must have fallen; for, of course, the price of a commodity only expresses in money the proportion in which other commodities can be exchanged with it.

For instance, if the price of a yard of silk rises from five to six shillings, the price of silver has fallen in comparison with silk; and in the same way the price of all other commodities which remain at their old prices has fallen if compared with silk.

We have to give a larger quantity of them in exchange in order to obtain the same quantity of silk. And what is the result of a rise in the price of a commodity? A mass of capital is thrown into that flourishing branch of business, and this immigration of capital into the province of the privileged business will last until the ordinary level of profits is attained; or, rather, until the price of the products sinks through overproduction.

Conversely, if the price of a commodity falls below the cost of its production, capital will be withdrawn from the production of this commodity.

Except in the case of a branch of industry which has become obsolete, and is therefore doomed to disappear, the result of this flight of capital will be that the production of this commodity, and therefore its supply, will continually dwindle until it corresponds to the demand; and thus its price rises again to the level of the cost of its production; or, rather, until the supply has fallen below the demand; that is, until its price has again risen above its cost of production; for the price of any commodity is always either above or below its cost of production.

[To be continued.]

Are You With Us? The coming of Socialism is as inevitable as the century. It is a part of the evolution of industry. Its advance can no more be stopped than the earth can be made to stand still in its orbit.

for the evolution of society is governed by laws as invariable as those that regulate the solar system.

All capital is being gathered into a few hands. Concentration is the order of the day. The almighty dollars are marshaling their hosts under the leadership of Rockefeller, the Rothschilds and Li Hung Chang.

The grand army of workmen of the world is being called to arms by such men as Wm. Liebknecht, August Bebel and Eugene V. Debs. The struggle cannot be avoided, nor do we desire to avoid it.

Call us bitter? We reply that we love Phil. Armour and Pierpont Morgan as dearly as our forefathers loved King George III. and his nobility.

In this great war of the classes, this struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors, Socialism will undoubtedly triumph. But there can be no compromise with error, and as the lines become more and more clearly defined our watchword shall be, "Are you with us or against us?" That is the question I leave with you, dear reader.

St. Louis, Mo. E. Val. Putnam.

THE HERALD IN BUNDLES

Table with 2 columns: Quantity and Price. 25 copies \$.20, 50 copies .35, 100 copies .65, 200 copies 1.20.

It must be understood that this offer is for bundle orders mailed to one address only. Send orders to THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

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