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Various Distinct Eras in the March of Human Progress Noted—The Development of Capitalist .System of Production

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Evolution of Capitalism and the Goal to Which it Inevitably Tends—Unerring Forecasts of Marx and Engels

By James Oneal

In March, 1899, in the city of Chicago, Prof. Albion W. Small, in an address delivered before a body of Methodist ministers, used the following words: "In this age of so-called democracy we are getting into the thralls of the most relentless system of economic oligarchy that history has thus far recorded. The march of human progress is getting reduced to marking time in the lockstep of capital's chain gang."

thousands who realize that something is out of gear in our industrial and social machinery, but who see no solution of the complex problems with which society is afflicted. To assert, as the So-cialist does, that these evils which have become so intense are merely the pangs of child-birth incident to the transition from one stage of civilization to another, is to invite from the "learned" such phrases as "impracticable," "dreamer," etc. To such as these capitalist society presents itself as a solid crystal no longer subject to those great changes which have characterized its development in the past, and that while changes may take place, they will not be of such a magnitude as to burst the integument in which it is incased, and stand forth as a distinct stage in the evolution of society. Happily, however, the tendency and direction in which society is evolv-ing cannot be made to move in the groove mapped out for it in the brain of some great man or thinker; and if it can be proved that the laws of social evolution inevitably point to the decay and dissolution of capitalism and as a consequence the dawn of a new era, then the ridicule of the "learned" will avail them naught.

I am well aware that Socialism is denied the name of science by those who hold the power to confer it. This is not difficult to account for when we recall to mind the opposition that Darwin met with in the publication of his "Origin of Species." As Marx has well said: "In the domain of political economy, free scientific inquiry meets not merely the same enemies as in all other domains. The peculiar nature of the material it deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast-the furies of private interest." When it is also remembered that those in possession of class privileges control the great educational institutions through endowments and other means, it is not surprising that Socialism should be denied, by this class, the mantle of science that one of their "professors" should declare John D. Rockefeller a greater man than Shakespeare. Never-theless, the accuracy of the Socialist's analysis of industrial forces and social phenomena, is of more value than the questionable indorsement of these "professors." The first is essential, the second is not. Modern Socialism as a science dates with the issuance by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels of the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848, which was published as the platform of the "Communist League," a workingmen's association, and which at a later period became in-ternational. This little booklet has be-come one of three classics in Socialist literature and has been translated into the language of every capitalist nation on the globe. In this little work no de-tailed plan of some ideal society is pre-sented. It is simply an industrial history of the origin of capitalist society out of the womb of feudalism which preceded it, and an analysis of the indus-trial forces that brought it into being. In his later work, "Das Capital," pub-lished in 1867, Marx presents in detail a scientific analysis of capitalist society, explaining the method by which the working class is deprived of the surplus values of its labor, and with a logic and accuracy remarkable for its accordance with subsequent facts, sketched each successive stage in the development of capitalism up to the present trust era which he hardy lived to see, having died

should be of sufficient importance to raise Marx's system of political economy to the plane of one of the exact sciences, for there is no better method of determining the merits of a science than the ability of its exponent to predict in advance the results of his observations. Thus astronomy is considered one of the most perfect branches of human knowledge because it enables the investigator to predict the occurrence of heavenly phenomena at a designated time and place in the future, marvelous for its accuracy. Just why Socialism has not been accorded the same privilege with other branches of human knowledge is easily perceived by those who recognize its evolutionary character and the opposition it must contend with.

in 1883. This achievement by him alone

As a science it presents three aspects, past, present and future. The first two (past and present) may be discussed under the head of the "Evolution of Capitalism." The third (the future) under the head of the "Goal that Evolution Points To."

Evolution of Capitalism

The results of such patient investigators as Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Taylor, Herbert Spencer, Lewis Morgan and others, have proven that communism was the "cradle of the human race." This is the first form of human society presented to man at the dawn of history, survival of which may yet be seen among the Australian aborigines and various tribes in South Africa. This society had as its basis communal ownership of land, herds and flocks and in many instances of wives. Such an or-ganization was necessarily very crude, yet it lasted for centuries. After the dissolution of this primitive social organization, due to various causes, land began to be appropriated by military chieftains as private property and captives were enslaved for the purpose of tilling the soil for the benefit of the owners. Agriculture came to be the most prominent feature during this period and historians have appropriately desig-nated it as the "Agricultural Stage."

With the fall of the Roman Empire system founded on private property in land and human beings, a period commonly known as the Dark Ages prevail-ed for hundreds of years. Feudalism was its successor. A system wherein the serf was attached to the soil and was sold with it. Under this system, simple manufactures developed and played a prominent role in production. The towns began to grow and expand as manufacturing developed. Simple machines were invented, which replaced the simple and crude tools formerly used, and later on as industry developed through the application of water power and steam, the class in posses-sion of these things obtained political supremacy, feudalism fell and capital-ism made its entrance on the stage of history.

Thus in looking backward we find that the human race in its gradual ascendency to civilization has reached certain marked stages and each and every stage presented advantages which were seized upon, improved and handed on to its successor. The most important fac-tor in this development was the progressive improvement in the productive forces of society. As the productive forces in any given age develop a corresponding change takes place in the whole superstructure. New social classes and social factors hitherto unknown, develop and expand with the changes in the methods of wealth production, and slowly but surely push their way to the front and gain the ascendency over the old. When this development reaches maturity the old society is burst asunder and the new starts on the path of progress and undergoes the same process. Thus in the march of human progress various distinct eras have been evolved only to pass away and make room for more vigorous ones and to assume that we have attained the highest and that capitalism is ordained to an eternal existence, is to presuppose a suspension of those laws that brought it into being. Capitalism itself presents abundant evidence of its decline and fall and in its old age presents such marvelous changes that it is hard to believe that this is the same lusty infant born a few hundred years ago. Like the other systems that have passed away capitalist society rests on the exploitation of the producing class, the only difference being in the methods and the intensity of the process. Beginning with private ownership of land and the instruments of labor, it has developed its own nega-tion, corporate or trust ownership. Let us trace the process. The en-trance of the United States into the sisterhood of nations after the termination of the American Revolution, presented a system of small petty industry adapted to the domestic needs of the times. This crude method was based on personal ownership of the small shops and the simple tools then in vogue, and of

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Charles W. Casson & & Revere, Mass.

"Today is the day of salvation" By Socialist science and sway, From mammon's swift-coming damna-

And anarchy's awful array.

With Hanna our national leader,

And congress monopoly's slave, With Roosevelt, the strenuous pleader For guns to make labor behave;

With a prostitute administration, Selling laws to protect evil gain; With a people, in strange aberration Once more giving tyrants the rein;

Soon, soon, spite of fear and of shirk-

ing, The crisis shall bloodlessly come; Evolution is quickly outworking— Hear you not the low, ominous hum?

"Today is the day of salvation," By Socialist speech and song,

To guard our American nation From the hell of unrepressed wrong!

NOW

The election is over. The political crisis has come and gone. The event on which we had concentrated our whole interest is a thing of the past.

Naturally our interest wavers. We slacken our pace now that the election milestone has gone by. Or even we stop running and gaze back at the path we have trod, with backs turned to the future.

We make a grand mistake. Today is of more value than tomorrow. All investment of Socialist effort bears compound interest. Truth given to the mass is like leaven in the lump.

A Socialist made now may mean ten votes more in 1904 than if he be made a month hence. Turn loose a Socialist thought upon the world now, and it shall be like a grain of wheat in a plowed field.

The last election means little to us, The road leads straight on. We are bound for the co-operative 'commonwealth. The day after election is just as vital to us as the day before.

A PROPHECY

The recent election has removed all possible barriers to the swift culmination of economic evolution. The conditions for complete capitalistic consolidation are ideal. The party of the trusts has been given entire control, and the trust magnates will not lose their opportunity to buy up the earth and enslave its inhabitants.

Had Bryan succeeded in the contest he would have been in duty bound compelled to ameliorate the pain caused the people by tyranny's grasp and hence postponed the inevitable climax.

But McKinley, poor, pliable McKinley, has again been placed in his high chair by Hanna and given the presidential seal to play with, while the men who hold mortgages on the white house proceed to get back what they patriotically paid for campaign expenses. Roosevelt—and here's the prophecy

"goes into the strenuous training that shall make him, in less than a decade, the capitalistic leader who shall ride rough-shod over the people's liberties, and shall lead the army of mammon against the army of labor. stroying the old system of competition. On the other hand has been the Socialist educator, who has studied the science of social evolution, and who proclaims his principles to the world.

The one predicted, the other performed. The one studied the directior along which society should advance; the other, in clearing a way for himself, has helped to make the path. Rockefeller has done more to prepare

Kocketeller has done more to prepare the way for Socialism than have any score of curbstone orators, who have stamped on soap boxes and blown soap bubbles of idealism before the blind eyes of the passing crowd.

"All things work together for"-Socialism.

SILENCE IS CRIME

But now times have changed. The consolidating stage of evolution has almost reached its end. Competition has gone; combination has come.

The time has almost come when the capitalist will use his power, not to pave the way for Socialism, but to prevent the people from using the way created.

Then comes the need of labor combination to overthrow the power and utilize the results of capital's combination. Then comes the need of proclamation of the new principles of Socialist co-operation.

Now, therefore, the silent Socialist becomes the social criminal. Having the mental key that would admit labor through the doors of co-operative liberty, he indolently keeps it to himself, while the growing mob hammers in blind and increasing fury at the gates. Men near you on the street, beside

Men near you on the street, beside you at the bench, are wondering what shall be done with the tyrant trusts. You know. How shall you dare, then, lock the truth up in your brain and let them drift in thought past the docks of Socialism into the whirlpools of anarchy and force?

ENTHUSIASM

There is one thing which, after having chosen right principles, conduces more than anything else to the success of an individual, a society or a political party, and that thing is enthusiasm.

The Social Democratic party has commenced its campaign for 1904 and it behooves every member of every branch of the party in every state to work with enthusiasm. You can often win a convert to Socialism by showing a man the platform, explaining to him the need for the changes we advocate, and then with all of the enthusiasm you can muster tell him what record we have already made and what we expect to do in the next four years.

You will be surprised at the effect you can produce. If you find a man who does not agree with you and is constrained to combat the principles you stand for, do not be too quick to use the same tactics. Let him have a chance to state his objections, and then, with perfect control of your own mind, quietly expound the principles of the organization. Let him see that you are thoroughly in earnest and that you have confidence in the final success of the principles you advocate and whether you win him or not, you will have gained his respect; for there is nothing humanity prizes more than earnestness and confidence in one's own plans and principles.

Let every member of the Social Dem-

"Independents" May Become Socialists but They are Not Such in Their Present Capacity

A great many men and women who call themselves Socialists do not affiliate with the national party. They hold aloof while the struggle is progressing and the party is evolving. They watch the struggle instead of being in it, with the result that the struggle is prolonged and the development of the party delayed. These "independents" may understand Socialism, but whatever they may conceive themselves to be, they are not Socialists. The real struggle of Socialism is to

The real struggle of Socialism is to establish the co-operative commonwealth. Once the party is perfected, the rest follows as a natural sequence, and is comparatively easy. Note the struggle in Germany, for

example, for over a third of a century to build up a national party. Who shall tell of the patience, self-denial, anxiety, suffering, the strife and turmoil, the jealousy, suspicion, anger and hate, the factional discord, friendships made and broken, the period of temporary har-mony shattered by dissension and disuption entailed by the herculean task? But out of it all came the magnificent Social Democratic Party, the wonder and admiration of the Socialist world. Such a party could only have been forged and tempered and molded and fashioned in the flame of passion, the lightning of treachery, the tempest of hate, the sunshine of hope, the tide of economic necessity, the torrent of determination. This is evolution. Did the Titans who were its instruments sit on the fence and "wait" until the party was "made" and wait infinite party was "made" and presented to them on a silver platter? No, they plunged into the struggle and "made" the party. They did not wait for it to "be made."

Suppose Liebknecht had been one of the 'waiters'' who are so numerous in this country. Would he have become the social collosus of his day? Would his funeral procession have shaken all Europe? Would the millions of the earth build monuments of flowers, watered by their tears, where the old warrior sleeps? No! If Liebknecht had been an "independent," if he had spent his time on the fence instead of in the fray, if remembered at all it would be as a time-server and a coward, of whom there has been an overproduction ever since man began his tramp from savagery to civilization.

Marx, Engels and Lassalle were not "independent" factors in the social struggle. They shared in all the trials and privations incident to, and inseparable from, the building of a great political movement, and the world will forever remember them with gratitude and love. Those who become members of clubs and leagues and those who are con-nected with "independent" and "unattached" bodies for fear that their sensitive organisms may be shocked in the clash of the party struggle, may become Socialists, but they are not such in their present, capacity Only those are Socialists who are in the national and international party; and if the national party has not yet, fully developed, only those have correct conception of Socialist duties who are in and of the struggle, however fierce, of which the party is born, and from which it derives its strength and power. Eugene V. Debs.



The Real Struggle of Socialism Is to

Develop the Political Party that

Shall Establish the Co-op-

erative Commonwealth

DEVELOPMENT IN GERMANY

Whole No. 127.

(Continued on Third page)

TWO SOCIALIST FORCES

Hitherto there have been two forces in the creation of the co-operative commonwealth.

. On the one hand there has been the consolidating capitalist, who in blind pursuit of his own self-interest has been the chief factor in industrial evolution. By his combines and trusts and department stores he has been unwittingly de-

THREE WARNINGS TO THE RICH OF NEW YORK

"If you want to find the dangerous classes in this city, do not go into the East Side, among the ignorant, the criminal and the poor. * * * If you had stood in front of Delmonico's last night, as the members of the Chamber of Commerce filed in to sit down to the annual dinner of that organization * * * you would have found them, guilelessly innocent that they were." — Ernest Crosby, speaking in All Souls' Church, Nov. 21.

"What is needed as our next step in civilization is to break a hole and make a window that the public may see into the great corporations and trusts."—Bishop Lawrence, of Massachusetts, at the Chamber of Commerce dinner, Nov. 21.

"If the majority, through neglect of education and means of advancement, lapse into barbarism, spoliation and robbery, extinction of property would be the sure result."—Abram S. Hewitt.

ocratic party do his duty, keeping the fires of a noble enthusiasm burning brightly within him, and in four years we will have the balance of power, even if we should not elect the next president. W. A. Ross.

Getting a Line On Us

Just as Socialists hail the development of trusts with joy, so do they take satfaction in the election of McKinley. They claim the logic of events, unhindered, will make them recruits with increasing rapidity. If Bryan had been elected the radi-

If Bryan had been elected the radicals in the capitalistic ranks would havehad a temporary success. That success would delay the development of many people who would otherwise soon be ripe for Socialism. But Bryan has not been elected. Pop-

'But Bryan has not been elected. Populist democracy has been severely sat down upon. The old party managers will probably now get the reins, and democracy will go back to respectable conservatism. Those opportunist reformers who want to make progress by choosing the lesser of two evils, will not be able to detect much difference between democrats and republicans.

The real malcontents of the party, however, cannot go backwards. They must go into a third party of some sort. Why will they not go into the Socialist party? Look at the relative and absolute progress being made by Socialism! At the next presidential election, the Socialists, who now outnumber the Prohibitionists, will be the third party.— North American Review. The dispatches say that the Hocking Valley raiiroad had a net income for the year ending June, 30, 1900, of \$1,168,-547. This, we are further informed is an increase over the earnings of the previous years of \$861,545, or only 94 per cent. The rich like the capitalist system, for under it, prosperity lands all the plutes their way. Socialism will bring a different sort of prosperity. Under it there will be no lean wages for the toiler and fat salaries for stockholding head officials. And the dividends will be short hours of work, high and just wages and added security to life in the service—and these dividends will go to the workers themselves.

Social Democratic Derald

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 8, 1900.

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The Logic of Capitalism

The contention of spokesmen of modern commercialism in the United States is that prosperity is proven by the fact that we have to go abroad for foreign markets in order to dispose of our surplus products. We produce so much, say they, that we are unable to consume a large portion of the product, so we are compelled to look abroad for purchasers. And the bare fact that we have to send products out of the country and are able because of our overproduction to sell these products to others, is a demonstration of our great prosperity!

The range of view of the economists of trade does not take in the obvious fact that products exported for profit, which profit goes to augment private fortunes, are products representing the surplus values created by labor at home; that by reason of the appropriation of the values through the wage system the producing class at home is robbed, and that, therefore, large foreign trade does not mean prosperity for the workers, but rather underconsumption and poverty, enforced upon them by the capitalist system.

Nevertheless, the contention is maintained that the more we send out of the country, the more we enjoy and the greater the measure of prosperity. Since, then, the gauge of the prosperity of a nation is in the amount of goods and commodities shipped out of the country, what is to be said of the claim just made that the prosperity which Germany is now enjoying is due to an entirely opposite cause--viz., that Germany is pros perous because compelled to "buy food products raised abroad"? Americans ship products out and are "prosperous"; Germans ship products in and are "prosperous"; Americans are "prosperous because they produce "more than they can consume' '; Germans are "prosper because they do not ous produce enough to consume; Americans have a big surplus and consequent good times; Germans have a big deficit and the result is the same. This is the logic of capitalism. What do the producers think of it?

"Am I My Brother's Keeper?"

There is in this writing no purpose to engage in homiletical dissertation or enter the realm of sentiment. Cain had killed his brother, and when the Lord asked the murderer, "Where is Abel, thy brother?" Cain replied, "I know not," and then asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

The inquiry addressed by the Lord to Cain has lost not a jot of its primevalimportance. To use a sophomoric figure, it has come "ringing down the centuries" in all the vitality and vigor of youth. It has divided the human family into two distinct classes, and the line of demarkation is as vivid as if traced by lightning. One class replies affirmatively to the query, "Am I my brother's keeper?" It is sympathetic. It feels for the woes of others. It helps, it lifts, it enlightens. It hews out new pathways of progress. It is the class that seeks to redeem from grossness and disenthrall from the fetters and entanglements of ig-norance, prejudice and bigotry all the low and base depravities of animalism. What there is good in the world it has accomplished, and what there is wrong in the world it has fought since the day when Cain asked the Lord, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Cain represents the other class-the class that does not believe that man is his brother's keeper; the class that has no sympathy for the woes of its fellow men-distinguished for selfishness, unkindness, cruelty, venom, savagery. The Lord put some sort of a mark upon Cain-a myth has it that the Lord changed Cain into a black man. Possibly, but that matters little. When a man is found without sympathy for his fel-low man, unjust in his dealings, cruel in his practices, robbing toil of its earnings to increase his weath, he the cain mark as certainly and as irto increase his wealth, he wears

ously amidst the wails of famine. It is the class which, surveying its worldwide field of vision, felicitates itself that by the laws of procreation will forever supply it with toilers, who, satisfied with a "full dinner pail," and having no aspirations above mere animal wants, will add to the list of beatitudes,"Blessed are they who, forgetful of themselves, toil to add to the wealth and enjoyment of those who do not toil.'

But, fortunately a new era has dawned with a new program and a new policy. Socialism proclaims, "I am my brother's keeper," and a new party has been launched-the Social Democratic party-to proclaim the divine right of man's ownership of himself. They are the rallying cries of the new centurythe avant couriers of victory-the tocsins of battle and the shibboleths of the advancing armies of Socialism.

Bryan Socialists Once More

How many Socialists who voted for Bryan to "save" their votes have since then carefully reviewed the ground they occupied and scrutinized the reasons they gave for supporting an anti-Socialist for president? We do not mean to say they knew Bryan to be an anti-Socialist. On the contrary, we are satisfied that many of them really believed his election would be a "step" toward it. How they could arrive at such a conclusion remains as much a mystery to us after the election as before. It is notorious that while thousands of men, with intentions more or less good and calling themselves Socialists, were doing yeo man service for the democratic candidate, the three most influential news papers in the country that supported Bryan-the New York Journal, Chicago American and San Francisco Examiner -did so on the ground, thoroughly understood by the managers of these newspapers, that he was antagonistic to Socialist doctrines. True, the newspapers in question favored national control and ownership of railroads, but that is not Socialism, and it is interesting to note that the Hearst syndicate understood Socialism better than many calling themselves Socialists and giving support to Bryan because of this advocacy

of public railroads. This is clear from what Bryan journals had to say before election; the sentimentalists who thought Bryan was a Socialist, too, and that public railroads was a "step" to-Socialism, will do well to ponder ward a little over what they did say and for their special benefit we quote the newspapers before mentioned:

The railroad system ought to belong to the public. Under national control, with discriminations abolished and a fair field open to all, IT WOULD HELP TO DELAY THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM IN OTHER DI-RECTIONS." And so it would, Imagine the democratic party, which, as the Hearst papers declared, "is the only guardian of the COMPETITIVE system," in power with control over the railroads of the country, and you will be able to picture to the mind an extraordinary condition of affairs. The management of the transportation facilities of the country by the democratic party, judged by that party's management in other directions to date, would be the most flagrant and discreditable in the history of human government.

But let us take another sample from the democratic organs. "It should not be forgotten," they said, "that the only party THAT CAN LOGICALLY OP-POSE THE GENERAL ADOPTION OF SOCIALISM IS THE DEMOC RACY." If the Bryan Socialists understand the true meaning of these declarations, they can no longer honestly support the party which "is the only guar-dian of the competitive system." Either they are for Socialism or against it. The democratic party, its leaders and its principal newspapers are against it they are opposed to the advance of Socialism both from party tradition and policy. The late leader of the party is instinctively individualistic, anti-Socialist and a firm believer in the competitive system.

than twenty-four of the unattached Socialists have joined in the last three meetings, making its total membership fifty-six up to date. It has become one of the most vigorous and progressive branches in the state.

Fitchburg gave 250 votes for Debs at the last election, and a municipal ticket has just been put in the field. It is a straight Socialist ticket without deals or indorsements. Comrade Henry L Rice, who had previously been a candidate on a citizens' ticket, has been nominated for mayor.

Comrades Bartlett, Davidson and Peabody are candidates for aldermen, together with nine councilmen and two members of the school board.

The movement in Fitchburg has thus been put on a permanent and growing basis. The comrades of the S. L. P. and S. D. P. are to be congratulatedthe former for their breadth of vision and wisdom of action, the latter for their loyalty, which has gained its own just reward, and both for the genuine Socialist spirit which has prevailed and for the success' which is now assured through this union which unites.

NOTES AND COMMENT

It is reported of a charcoal burner down in the Jerseys, the spawning ground of trusts, that, having got "religion," he was, on one occasion, called upon to lead in public prayer. The poor fellow was illiterate, but fond of highsounding words, the meaning of which he had no comprehension, and began his invocation as follows: "O thou great diabolical God !" The Jerseyman's prayer might be adopted by the Filipinos after, a battle for liberty and their native land, or by a family evicted from a capitalist's tenement in New York, while suffering the combined pangs of freezing and starvation.

Having run short or tired of the stock arguments against Socialism, which they are beginning to see are losing their efficacy with the people, some of the capitalist newspapers are keeping up a reputation for lying by publishing a state-ment that Eugene V. Debs has predicted that before the end of McKinley's administration the streets of the cities "will be saturated with blood." It is needless to say that Debs said nothing of the kind. The saying of things like that nowadays is the special privilege of Christian bishops and ministers.

President McKinley talks of the tremendous weight of responsibility Providence has laid upon him and the republican party, nothing less than civilizing and Christianizing-ten million Filipinos with shotguns. As to what becomes of the "niggers" little heed may be taken, but it is exceedingly expensive for Mr. McKinley to go a-gunning in the Philippines, and as labor pays everything, including the Philippine sport now going on in our oriental possessions, labor has a right to complain, the game not being worth the powder.

During the late campaign the papers reported that great throngs of the people attended the meetings of Eugene V. Debs, the standard bearer of the Social Democratic party. If our comrades in all of the branches of the party will exert their energies to send The Herald new subscribers, it will address every week larger meetings than greeted Teddy the Terrible, Billy the Boxer or both combined. Send us at least 20,000 by Christmas. It will be an acceptable Christmas gift.

The Social Democratic party is no longer an experiment, but an acknowl-The people waited for it and it came. Those who were present at its christening are astonished in contemplating its development. Those who would increase its power should establish new branches. The people, as the late campaign demonstrated, want to know more of the party, its principles, policy and program.

The following is the latest reported make-up of McKinley's next cabinet; Secretary of state, Hon. M. A. Hanna secretary of treasury, Mr. Mark Hanna; secretary of war, Marcus Aurelius Hanna; attorney-general, Mr. Hanna; postmaster-general, Hanna; secretary of the navy, M. Aurelius Hanna; secretary of the interior, M. Hanna; secretary of agriculture, Senator Hanna.

Andrew Cargenie says John D. Rockefeller is the richest man in the world, having an income of \$16,000,000 a year. A little arithmetic will show that every time the clock ticks off a second, during the round year, night and day, including Sundays and all holidays, something more than \$5.00 drops into John D. Rockefeller's money box.

If without hypocrisy You would help Social Democracy, And down capitalistic aristocracy, Then decide To proclaim God's fatherhood, Man's brotherhood, Your own manhood, And subscribe

For The Herald.

At a conference meeting of Bible readers reference was made to the five foolish virgins who went to meet the bridegroom without oil in their lamps, when one of the party remarked that 'evidently some John D. Rockefeller of the time had advanced the price of oil or closed down on the retail shop of the village.'

Mr. I. W. Morton of the Simmons Hardware company, St. Louis, says his firm is paying the same salaries for the same services that it did twenty-five years ago. This is doubtless quite true, for Mr. Morton knows; but it reads funny, doesn't it? So does his argument that commercial ethics today are higher than ever before.

Socialists, members of the Social Democratic party, may forget several things without inflicting upon themselves or the party special damage, but forgetting to subscribe for The Herald is not of the list. To forget that duty is as if a soldier going into battle should forget to take along his gun.

Is there to be another attempt to force upon us another "honorable union"? A press report now has it that the populists and other reformers have a movement afoot for a new party to "include the Social Democrats." Please count us out, friends; we want ten years' relief from fusionism.

A French scientist, by imprisoning a lot of ants, discovered the insects could talk, and as near as he could understand the language it amounted to about this: 'Capitalism has come and destroyed our co-operative commonwealth.'

The duke of Manchester, the white elephant caught by Miss Zimmerman in the jungles of London and is now in America for exhibition, has several trunks-which he expects his father-inlaw will fill with cash.

The latest estimate is that McKinley wants 60,000 new recruits for his standing army. Evidently Mark Hanna proposes to be ready for the next great strike of the dinner pail brigade.

Capitalism is occasionally exploited in boneyards, as, for instance, John W. Mackay built in Greenwood cemetery, New York, a family mausoleum, costing \$400,000.

It is reported that William Jennings Bryan will continue to fight for "free sil-ver." The Social Democratic party will

MR. DOOLITTLE'S LATEST OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM

Bob Workman met his friend, Mr. Doolittle, on the avenue yesterday and the conversation drifted upon political subjects. "Bob," remarked his friend, "the

more I think of your remarks on Socialism, the more convinced I am that you are laboring under a delusion-a sort of fantasy."

"I'm not at all surprised," remarked Bob, smiling. "Have you ever read 'Looking Backward,' 'Merrie England,' 'Equality,' or any of the numerous books and pamphlets on the subject?" N-no," admitted Mr. Doolittle.

"Then, of course, you have not read any of the more scientific works of Marx, Engels and others, in which case you remind me of a school boy who, before he has mastered addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, complains that he can see nothing in the problems of algebra."

That's putting it rather strong," remarked Mr. Doolittle.

"But it is true, however. I find that of ten persons who oppose Socialism, nine have never studied the subject at all, while the tenth man is prevented by circumstances from acknowledging what he knows to be true."

"Socialism," continued Bob, as he warmed to the subject; "is unlike all other political systems-it proposes absolute and equal justice to all alike. Socialism does not mean that because I am physically your superior that I should rob you. Neither does it uphold a system which gives to the strong mentally the right to rob the weak minded.

"The system you believe in has abandoned the first idea, but still clings to the second, which gives you the privilege of taking advantage of your neighbor's weakness to take his goods, by a system of profits, rent and interest. The end sought is the same and the result is the same as far as the man who is deprived of his belongings is concerned. "For instance, take the recent section hand strike in this section. Two years ago the section men were getting \$1.10 per day. Today they are getting the same wages-but with this difference: Today he pays on an average one-fourth more for the things he needs to live on. The result is that one-fourth of his wages are taken from him.

"Suppose. I should hold you up tonight and demand one-fourth of your wealth at the point of a gun, would not the result be the same as in the case of the section man?"

Mr. Doolittle scratched his chin reflectively and attempted to reply.

"Well, er-you see, the one is business and the other is robbery." "True," replied Bob, "you've struck it

exactly. One is robbery and the other business-but is not the result the same in both cases?" "Well, yes," admitted the other.

"Then in order to justify our present system of business you must admit that highway robbery is right. If you disagree with this statement you place our present commercial system in the category as robbery." "Well, it does look that way," ad-

mitted Mr. Doolittle.

"Socialism proposes to abolish entirely the present system of business just as feudalism was abolished and chattle slavery was abolished, and introduce a system nearer perfect, which will guarantee to the laborer the product of his toil. To understand why this should be done, I would prescribe a course of reading beginning with 'Looking Back-ward, 'Merrie England,' 'Equality,' to be followed by Marx, Engels and the masters of the subject."-The Critic.

A Union Which Unites

The city of Fitchburg, Mass., has recently furnished an example of Socialist unity which for completeness and success is well worthy of emulation.

At the opening of the campaign there was in Fitchburg a branch of the S. D. P. unflinchingly loyal to the Chicago E. B. There was also an S. L. P. "Kangaroo" branch. Each branch had almost twenty members and both contained excellent material. They had previously worked together in local elections harmoniously. In addition to these there was a large

body of unattached Socialists comprising some of the very best men and women in the city. All these three ele-ments had united in carrying on a series of meetings during the winter of 1899-1900, with the result that the city had become permeated through and through with Socialist doctrine. This was the situation at the begin-

ning of the campaign. The conditions were ripe for a model Socialist union, and it has been brought about.

The S. L. P. "Kangaroo" branch votas ebony. It is the class that has deso-lated the earth. It has reaped the fields where others sowed and lived luxuri-of the S. D. P. In addition no less

The growing Socialist sentiment in the country, as evinced by the late election, has started a big batch of lackadaisical intellectualities who get a living from educational institutions where education is "limited" to lecturing on liberty. The man least qualified to talk about liberty is the college professor, who has no scruple about the source of his income, and whose individual freedom is hampered by the limit-lines fixed by his rich patron.

In India they have the banyan tree, a sort of a miracle of the forest. Its branches send out roots which, descending into the soil, produce more banyan trees, and this goes on until the parent tree becomes itself a forest of mighty trees capable of sheltering thousands of people. Let every member of the Social Democratic party plant a banyan branch of the party. It will pay.

The Herald is the organ of the Social Democratic party, and in a broader sense the organ of the great Socialistic movement in the United States. The more subscribers it enlists the more good it will be able to accomplish for the cause it advocates.

continue its fight for free men.

When Byron wrote that 'Freedom's battle once begun, Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son, Tho' baffled oft, is ever won,' He sounded a keynote and blended fancy and fact in a way to inspire unfaltering courage in the breasts of those who are willing to battle for freedom. "Freedom's battle," suggests free-

dom's army, and army suggests soldiers.

The Social Democratic party is freedom's army. It needs soldiers.

Our campaign has been fought. Another is on. No member of the army or party is required to blush for the results of the first campaign. Its banners were not trailed in the dust. There was no bugle call for retreat. No muffled drum beat a funeral march. Every soldier can secure a recruit, and the new recruit still another, and thus "freedom's battle" will proceed on its conquering march to victory.

The Herron Lcctures

Announcement is made that, beginning Sunday, Jan. 6, 1901, and there-after every Sunday afternoon until March 24, Prof. George D. Herron will lecture at Central Music hall, Chicago. Admission will be free, and lectures begin at 3:30 p. m. Readers of The Herald desiring to aid in furthering the cause of which these lectures will be an expression will communicate with Franklin H, Wentworth, 609 Ashland block, Chicago.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS S. N .- The claim that the executive board "costs from \$6,000 to \$8,000" annually is an absurd and untrue claim. Those who advance the ridiculousproposition know better. As a member of the national organization you pay dues of 25 cents per quarter; in consideration of these payments you receive fifty-two weeks in the year The Social Democratic Herald. If we had no organization and no Herald, you as a Socialist would subscribe for a Socialist paper, say 50 cents per year, and 19,999 others like you would do the same. amount of money that would go annually into private publication would thus be \$10,000. We are glad to note that you are clear minded enough to see that it would be the product supplied in the form of a weekly newspaper and not the owner or owners of the paper that would "cost" \$10,000, As a matter of cold fact, the executive board costs the party nothing. On the contrary, the party is a constant source of expense to members of the board. The Herald costs money; the party is responsible for its existence. Service of those persons engaged wholly in the work of the organization and the paper costs money. The party is responsible for their employ-ment. The executive board costs nothing. We have an organization and the members made it. The Herald is the property of the party and not of the executive board. It stands for the party and for Socialism and costs no more than any other Socialist paper. And, we may add, now is the time to subscribe.

SOCIALISM AND **PRACTICAL POLITICS**

Social Democrats in Germany Will Begin the New Century with the Exercise of Real Power. Will Take Active Part in Legislation

GREAT QUESTION OF THE DAY

Many people will watch with interest to see what the Social Democratic party will do during the next session of the German reichstag. That it will attack the Chinese policy of the government is certain. At the Mayence party congress a resolution was adopted which reads to the following effect :

The war in China is a capitalist war, and its sole object is the subjugation and exploitation of the Chinese people. Such a policy demoralizes the conquerors and provokes continual rebellion among the subjugated. Moreover, it causes jealousies among the powers, and sows the seeds of international con-Bict which must needs arrest the march of progress and civilization. As the enemy of all oppression, the Social Democratic party protests against the policy of pillage and conquest, for we believe that no one has the right to spread modern civilization except by precept and example.

It is not likely that the Socialists will be able seriously to affect the foreign policy of the government; but they will doubtless begin the new century with the exercise of real power, as they intend to take an active part in legislation. Prof.Hans Delbruck, in his "Preussische Jahrbucher," expresses himself in the main as follows:

The Socialist party, considering the number of votes it controls, is the strongest party, and it is the only one capable of further development. The other parties have become pertified. The conservatives have long since ceased to gather in congress, and the national-liberals followed suit. The gatherings of the Centrists are as inane as parliamentary sittings. The only congresses worth noticing are those of the Socialists. The latter have made up their minds to nominate candidates even for the Prussian landtag, despite the unfavorable conditions under which the elections for that body take place. There can be no harm in the presence of a few Socialists in the Prussian parliament. Radicalism is necessary in the body politic, and it will do less harm in parliament than out

Of course the Socialists continue to attack the foreign policy of the govern-ment. That is the way the parliamentarism. The opposition follows the principle that everything the government does must be reviled. Gladstone, who was a master of this sort of thing, demanded in the eighties that England should evacuate Egypt. He never dreamed of acting in accordance with his anti-election speeches when he came into power. At Mayence, Herr Singer calmly said the Socialists would tell the whole world, when they came into power what foreign policy they meant to adopt. As regards economic and commercial questions, they mean to drop their policy of uncomprom-ising opposition, and this is a matter of great importance. If the government is able to obtain a majority for its commercial treaties, then it will be a mater of small importance how the Social ists vote. But it is quite possible that their assistance will be needed. The anti-patriotic attitude of the Socialist need not worry any one. History teaches us that in war time the patriotic party is always strongest. We see this gain in England. The Transvaal war undoubtedly is not free from condemnation on moral grounds, yet the British people gathered around the flag. Can any one suppose that Germans, who do ot make use of hirelings, but to take the rifles themselves, would be less patriotic if necessary? To talk against militarism in times of peace may serve the İf purposes of the political agitator. is really upon us, such agitation anishes. The Socialists have been orced to admit that, "under certain circumstances," they would fulfill their pa-triotic duties. What good can their nti-militarist agitation do if they are pred to abandon their uncompromisg internationalism for a kind of relaive patriotism? The time when a confirmed radical an hope to become a member of the rman cabinet is probably very disant; but Socialists must be given places parliamentary committees if they take active part in parliamentary work, even the speakership would not be rond their reach. Theoretically, the estion will be raised in the party ther a revolutionist may share in work which tends to strengthen the isite form of government. Theoreti-, M. Millerand, the Socialist French er of commerce, is attacked for ing a position under the govern- | man.

ment. But these attacks seem to have little practical value. "In France, as in Germany, the Socialists represent too large a number of voters to abstain from practical politics," remarks the Journal des Debats (Paris); "their constituen-cies wish to see practical results." But in England, where Socialism is still in its infancy, the revolutionary character of the party is emphasized more strongly. Justice (London) is opposed to any alliance with other radical parties. It

says: "Our ultimate object is the consummation of Social Democracy, the achievement of the social revolution; and in the meantime our work is the organization of a definite revolutionary Social Democratic party inside and out-side of the house of commons as an instrument for the advancement of our ultimate aim. We do not wish to form an advanced, demi-semi-Socialist-cum-Radical-cum-Labor party, but a Social Democratic party. . . . We have joined with radicals, Irish nationalists, and social and political reformers of all kinds in defense of the right of public meeting, for the extension of the franchise, in resisting coercion in Ireland, and for many other objects. In the recent election we have shown our readiness to co-operate with others for an object which we thought to be right. . . But the election is over now; and we have to remember that the imperialism which we engaged to fight in that contest is only one of the many forms of capitalist domination, and there is no immediate issue before us upon which we are called upon to combine with anybody. Those who agree with us will join our ranks; and an attempt to form a permanent alliance with those who do not agree with us would be useless. Our work now is mainly that of agitation, education and organization; and we may as well agitate, educate and or-ganize for Social Democracy as for anything else."-The Literary Digest.

The Woman Vote

Special interest attaches to the election results in the four states of Utah, Colorado, Wyoming and Idaho from the fact that in these states the women are entitled to vote. The newspaper editors have been scanning the returns from these states to find some striking or picturesque feature due to woman's ballot; but the only striking fact that appears in the returns is the absence of any such feature. The women seem to have voted about as men would under similar circumstances. In Wyoming, for example, John C. Thompson, the Democratic candidate for Congress, was reported early in the campaign as saying that the woman vote was "the easjest to get, the easiest to keep and the easiest to manipulate of all elements in politics." The candidate denied that he ever made the unfortunate remark, but without avail; he was not only defeated, but ran 800 votes behind the rest of the ticket. His opponent had the largest majority ever given a candidate in the state. Elnora Mouroe Babcock. a woman-suffrage candidate, writes triumphantly to the Detroit Journal: "As to whether Mr. Thompson ever made this statement or not we do not know; but, if he did, he is undoubtedly a wiser man than he was when he made it." In Colorado the woman vote increased from 46,720 in 1896 to 86,943 this year, "owing, possibly," says the Chicago Times-Herald, "to the greater interest taken in the election because of the marked subsidence of free-silver sentiment, but more directly, however, to their wish to effect the defeat of Sena-tor E. O. Wolcott, whose recent divorce had provoked the opposition of the women of Colorado.

Wees of Servant Girls

The Church and War

At the congress of the Episcopal Church of the United States Ernest H. Crosby of New York spoke upon "War from the Christian Point of View." After citing recent reports of battles and setting forth the horrors of war in connection with Gen. Sherman's historical declaration, Mr. Crosby said: "War is hate. Christianity is love. On

which side is the church of Christ to be ranged?

War is hell: the church should be the kingdom of heaven. What truce can there be between them?

"And yet the fact is that the church favors war. Can you recall a single sermon criticising warfare? In England among the recent leading opponents of war have been Harrison, the positiv-ist; Spencer, the agnostic, and Morley, the atheist, while the whole influence of the bench of bishops has been thrown on the side of bloodshed.

"In our country what has she done to stay the arm of violence? In the vigorous movement to prevent war she has been almost silent. Has a single religious journal been found on the side of peace?

I have had some experience during the past two years in addressing various audiences on behalf of peace, and I can testify that as a rule the 'common people' hear the message gladly.

"It is only in gatherings of professedly Christian people that it fails to find a responsive chord. I am constrained to assert as the result of my observations that the churches are the chief strongholds of the spirit of war."

Opportunities for Millionaires

A capitalistic exchange has an edi torial about the field for young mil-lionaires, just as if there hadn't been a field for them right along: I recently got into conversation with a well-known and old-established New York architect and he told me that the business of the old firms was being ruined by competition with millionaires' sons who go into architecture as a fad and a preventive of ennui. These young men, not being pressed by the bread and butter problem, cast about for something that will serve to take up their spare moments in a genteel way. They find this in archi-tecture and like callings. They serve an apprenticeship, polish off what they have learned by a tour through Europe, then fit up lavish offices, which they are content to run at a loss so long as they can indulge their desire to plan attractive buildings. Their station in life gives them the influence necessary to get big contracts away from the old and less favored houses, and the old houses, one after the other, have to succumb.

This, like other things that come to our notice every day, help to expose the utter hopelessness of the capitalistic system as a thing of permanency. It is eating itself up, it is destroying itself, and making a sorry joke of the old law of the survival of the fittest.

Tried the Gatling Gun

The naval reserves went to Stroudwater yesterday for their annual qualification shoot. Considering the little opportunity these men have had for practice this season their shooting was very good. The interesting feature of the day was the trial of the Gatling gun which is used by the naval reserves. This gun was used at 200, 300 and 500 yards. It fires 1,500 shots a minute and this shower of lead will bore a hole through almost anything. The targets were sim-ply riddled with bullets and the rattle" of the gun was heard for several miles. The reserves have drilled a good deal with this piece and feel that if they should be called out for riot duty they could put a mob out of the game with

THE SOWER

3

By Edwin Markham [Written after seeing Millet's painting with this title.]

Soon will the lonesome cricket by the stone Begin to hush the night; and lightly blown Field fragrances will fill the fading blue-Old furrow scents that ancient Eden knew. Soon in the upper twilight will be heard The winging whisper of a homing bird.

Who is it coming on the slant brown slope, Touched by the twilight and her mournful hope-Coming with hero step, with rhythmic swing, Where all the bodily motions weave and sing? The grief of the ground is in him, yet the power Of the earth to hide the furrow with the flower.

He is the stone rejected, yet the stone Whereon is built metropolis and throne. Out of his toil come all their pompous shows, Their purple luxury and plush repose! The grime of this bruised hand keeps tender white The hands that never labor,day or night. His feet that know only the field's rough floors Send lordly steps down echoing corridors.

Yea, this vicarious toiler at the plow Gives that fine pallor to my lady's brow. And idle armies with their boom and blare, Flinging their foolish glory on the air-He hides their nakedness, he gives them bed, And by his alms their hungry mouths are fed.

Not his the lurching of an aimless clod. For with the august gesture of a god-A gesture that is question and command-He hurls the bread of nations from his hand: And in the passion of the gesture flings His fierce resentment in the face of kings.

This is the earth-god of the latter day, Treading with solemn joy the upward way; Strong to make kind the grudging ground, and strong To pluck the beard of some world-honored wrong— A lusty god that in some crowning hour Will hurl Grey Privilege from the place of power.

These are the inevitable steps that make Unreason tremble and tradition shake-This is the world-will climbing to its goal," The climb of the uncurbable sure soul-Democracy whose sure insurgent stride Jars kingdoms to their ultimate stone of pride.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

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LOCAL BRANCHES

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street. Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Bun-day afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 123% Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave. Secretary. Branch 12, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August F. Mayer, secretary, 1400 Polk street.

COLORADO Branch No. 1, Denver, meete every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT.

A 32-page pamphlet which contains in ad-dition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazel. One of the strongest pamphlets for propa-ganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election. PER COPY, 5 CENTS-PER 100, \$1.50 Address, Debs Publishing Co.

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MICHIGAN

MICHIGAN Branch No. 1, Battle Créek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 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 othe Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary. MISSOURI. Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 5 p. m. at 1300 Union-Ave. G. J Storz, Secretary, 1330 W. Sta Et. CALIFORNIA Liberty Branch. San Francisco, holds public meetings every Stunday and Wednesday even-ings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thurs-day evening. Membership, Social Dam ocrate H erail free to each member, 22 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street. Branch No. 1

MONTANA.

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 3:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street. Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each nonth at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont

NEW JERSEY Branch No. 1. Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Liv-

Branch No. 1. Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Liv-ingaton st. Branch No. 5. Camden, N. J., meets every 2d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1206 Kaighuis Arenne. Branch No. 3. (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Branch No. 6. (German), Patterson, N. J., mes-first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helveia Hall, 4558 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Ed-mund St.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK. The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Treatedy at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 35 Suffolk at cars of "Forward." East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 16 Suffolk St. Branch No.5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Satar-Branch No.5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Satar-

BL A. GUYER, Secretary, 13 Sufficient every Satur-Branch No. 5 Brookhyn. New York, meste every Satur-day at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Yisitors welcome. Com-rades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Boerom St. Branch No. 8, Buffalo, N.X.-Persons desiring to join this branch will call or communicate with Tom Fittons. 190 Congress street. Branch No. 19, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 200 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Pha-lic invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

Friend. A meeting held recently at t ly Aid society's rooms, New York, was addressed by Mrs. St. Justin Beale, who has made a study of the servant girl question. Mrs. Beale has been for six years interesting herself in the servant girl problem, and has at different times hired out to service to find out for herself what the conditions are which are to be met. She served as a nurse to an infant in a family that had a cottage at Ocean Grove, and was obliged to sleep on a three-legged lounge in a hall between her mistress' bedroom and some others, to arise in the night to attend the infant, who slept in its mother's room, and to be up and out of the house at 5 a. m., taking the infant out with her and keeping it out until 8:30, when she was permitted to come in and have breakfast. For this she received \$2 a week and board, and the assurance that she ought to be thankful to get it, as many girls would be glad to go to the

seashore for nothing. She also served as a waitress with thirteen black and white girls at a mountain resort, where they all had to sleep in one room, ill-ventilated and without proper accommodations of any kind. Then they were cursed by the chef and the proprietor in turn until some of them fainted in their places and had to be sent home.

Another place Mrs. Beale had was in a young woman's school in Harlem, where she was to attend an elderly woman. She had to sleep in the engine-room and eat in the icehouse, she said, and was asked to jo the heavy work of a

it in short order .- Portland (Me:) Daily Press.

THE GROUNDWORK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

(Continued from First Page)

course personal ownership in the products. It was a period of independence for the producer, as the capital required was small and enabled others, if they so desired, to save enough in time to go in business for themselves. This form of production was essentially individual and anti-social. Meantime as the tools of production began to grow and the small shop expanded and new inventions were introduced the factory system slowly evolved and practically annihilated the petty industry. With the development of the factory system class distinctions became apparent. "Selfearned private property, that is, based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent laboring individ-ual with the conditions of his labor, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labor of others, on wage (Marx.) Formerly the prolabor." ducer and the appropriator of products were one and the same person; now two distinct classes are vested with these two functions; one class produces, another absorbs the products. Division produces the modern class struggle, the intensity of which increases with the development of capitalism. (To be continued.)

As

CONNECTICUT. The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main St. Hartford. Louis Schlaf, Sec., 25 Spring St., Bockville, Conn. Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 5 p. m., at Aurors Hall. C. Volmer, Sec. Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Vilage street. Secretary, Bichard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS.

HLLINOIS. Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dear-born St. Branch No. I. Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 264 Weat-worth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 5 p.m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave.

Island Ave. Branch No. 3 (Bohsmian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 3 p.m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. ISth place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary. Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sun-days of each month at Plaarik's Hall, cor. Centre ave. and 19th st. Jos. Cerny, Sec. 7580 W. 18th St. Branch No. 6, Chicago. Meets at Adolph Jankow-ski's place, 564 Weet 21st street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Geialor. Sec., 726 W. 20th street.

Branch No. 5. (Behemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday, as 9 a. m., at 5002 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street. Branch No. 9. Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Gus. Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center avenus.

INDIANA.

INDIANA. Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Satur-day evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Nobis siz, Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 506 Warren av

IOWA.

Branch No. 2, Hiteman, mets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevae, meets ist and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m.; and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield are. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 128 Foote ave.

MASSACHUSETTS.

KARBACHURTTE. Branch No. 2. Holyoka, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organiser, 24 Jackson St. Branch No. 5. Lynn, permanenet headquarters, 71 Muarce St. Boziness meeting every Monday night at 750. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Bee, 62 Essex St. Branch No. 9. Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Bocialise Hall, Clark's Block, cor-ner Main and Center Ste. Every coursels is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrr. Annie Boeworth, Seerstary. 31 Prospect st.

Branch No. 39, Rozbury, Mass., mosts at 24 Warren st., 2d und tih Fridays of every month. Public javited

OHIO.

Branch No. 4. Cincinnati, meets at Richelian Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin. Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON.

Branch No. 1, Portland, mests avery Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flanders Sts. Every-body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortisch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA. Branch No. I, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 5 p. m., at 423 B. 3rd Street, until further notice. Branch No. 4 Conductment

5 p. m., at 423 B. 3rd Street, until further notice. Branch No. 4, Coudersport. Meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. hall. Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Cod-ington, Treasurer. Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month-Executive meets every Sunday morning-at S. D. P. Chub. Rooms, at 423 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007. S. Third St: Branch No. 10, Williamurget mode surge Surger.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets avery Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 26 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jao. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN.

WISCONSIN. Milwankes Central Committee, S. D. P., mests second and fourth Monday of the month at Harmari Hall, sontheast corner Fourth and Chestnut sta-Branch No. 1, Milwankes, meets at Kaller's Hall Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday svening. Branch No. 2, Milwankes, meets every second and fourth Staterday in Graetke's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Ave. Frank Liebisch, secretary. Branch No. 3, Sheboyran. Meets avery second Thurs-day of the month at Emil Hendschel's place, 1011 Mich-igan are. Secretary, Engene F. Bichauberger, 1701 N. Hith street. Branch No. 4, Milwankes, meets avery farst and third Friday sech month at Meller's Hall corner 3d and Brown Bit. George Moernehed. Secretary, 31 Sth St. Branch No. 4, Milwankes, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Bigel's Hall courth-sest corner Ornhard St. and 9th Ave. 0. Wild Secre-tary. Branch No. 1, Milwankes, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Bigel's Hall courth-sest corner Ornhard St. and 9th Ave. 0. Wild Secre-tary.

Branch No. 12. Milwankse, meets every first Branch No. 12. Milwankse, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Yolkmanns' Hall, Bl and Center st. 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudalph Lossch-man, 118 Bird 54. Branch No. 23. Milwankse, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Heury Harbicht, Sec., 1074 Thh Street.

Indiana-I am pleased to tell you that we are starting a propaganda club. We have nearly concluded arrangements for meeting place. Our branch will be con-nected with it. W. Blenko.

Colorado-A few of us living at Ouray got together ten days before election and put a ticket in the field. We did not get much of a vote, but enough to encourage us to organize for the next bat-R. B. Frye.

Oregon-Official returns give the Social Democracy electors in Oregon the following vote: N. P. J. Folen, 1,464; Joseph Meindl, 1,494; J. Frank Porter, 1,466; C. P. Rutherford, 1,455—an average of 1,470, or nearly 2 per cent of the state vote. This is the first S. D. P. ticket put in the field in the state. We are now getting in on the campaign for 1902. The "first step" and "half loaf" Socialists who voted for Bryan wish now they hadn't, but will do yeoman service from this on for Socialism. Many Socialists voted for McKinley to give him, as they expressed it, rope enough to hang himself, which I have no doubt he will do. We will proceed to organize the state now and have a party that is a party-one that every member while feel J. D. Stevens. proud of.

Comrade Vaclav Mudra was nomin-ated by the Social Democrats for Alderman in the Ninth Ward of Chicago, Saturday night, December 1st.

A meeting of the Social Democrats in the Tenth ward will be held Saturday, Dec. 8, 8 p. m., at Jankrovski's hall, 894 West Twenty-first street, between Leavitt street and Oakley avenue, for nominating candidates for the spring election. R. Pusch. election.

Branch 5 of Philadelphia had a conference with sympathizers since the election and added thirteen new members to the roll. The branch will have a ball and concert Friday evening, Dec. 28, with "Mother" Jones as speaker.

The first of a series of mass-meetings, to be continued during the winter under the auspices of Branch 5 of Philadel-phia, was addressed Nov. 25 by Abra-ham Cahan of New York. Nearly 700 • persons paid 5 cents admission.

State Vote of Missouri

Lipscomb (governor).....5,576 Greenbaum (lieut.-gov.).....6,048 Sanderson (supreme judge).....6,045

Notice to Social Democrats

The "official notice" of meetings to be held in the various wards of the city of Chicago, under the name of Social Dem-ocratic party, and signed by F. G. Strick-land and J. B. Smiley, is not issued by the Social Democratic party in Chicago or the city central committee, and car-ries with it no sanction from branches of the party in this city. Neither the city, county or state committees of the S. D. P. is represented on the so-called "joint committee" in any way. Branches and members will, therefore, treat the matter accordingly. Stand by your branches and Socialism. By order

City Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party.

The National Vote

Official returns are in from only a It will not be possible give the entire vote in the country until after January 1, 1901, the figures in some States not being obtainable before. The vote in the States that is either official or known to be authentic follows :---

SPECIAL CONVENTION

OFFICIAL CALL

To Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party, Comrades:

R ESPONDING to suggestions from all parts of the country and a demand from many branches, a special National Convention of the Social Democratic party is hereby called, to take place at the national headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Tuesday,

January 15, 1901, and continuing in session until the work of the convention shall have been completed.

The purpose of this convention will be to make such changes in the laws of the party and to make such other provisions as may be deemed necessary to meet the growing demands of the organization. It is our purpose to enter at once upon a vigorous campaign of agitation, education and organization, so that the party shall be fully equipped to meet the capitalist enemy on the political battle-fields of the future. Now that the presidential campaign is over, our work is fairly

begun and must be carried forward with all possible energy without the loss of a single hour. The basis and other conditions of representation will be the same as at the Indianapolis Convention, and are here incorporated 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 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.

Unaffiliated Socialist clubs or societies whose members may desire to connect themselves with Social Democratic party, are cordially invited to communicate through their proper officials with the Secretary of the National Executive Board, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

This call is issued to all branches of the Social Democratic party in good standing, as shown by the records at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and organized prior to December 15, 1900. The time and place of meeting and other details will be given in the Herald as soon as arrangements FREDERIC HEATH, Chairman. are con pleted.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

wide may be the flights of the imagination or how profound the depths of logical exploration, the inevitable verdict is the same-capitalism is the curse of mankind. Every branch of the Social Democratic Party is commis-sioned to teach the great truth and expose the antiquated wrong.

Congressional and Legislative Vote

Following is the vote received by the Socialist candidates in the late election for congress and the state legislature:

For congress:

6th district (Bark)..... 676 7th district (Bartels).....1,483

1	For state legislature:	
l	1st (Trentz)	38
	3d (Johnson)	232
		968
	6th (Presto)	987
1111	9th (Keidel)	779
	11th (Olsen)2,	
1	13th (Knickrehm)1,	079
1	15th (Kamin)	393
1	19th (Horgan)	701
	21st (Baur)	057
	23d (Vogt)	523

City Central Committee

A regular meeting of the city central committee of the Social Democratic party was held at 52 Dearborn street Wednesday evening, Nov. 28. A good representation of branch delegates was present. The resolutions at the meeting of Sunday, Nov. 25, were approved

and adopted unanimously. ittee was appointe

that the national campaign was made from 126 Washington street, Chicago, and by the forces that co-operated with the national campaign committee at this point. The total amount contributed to the Springfield committee was \$819.90. The Chicago committee printed and sold literature, lithographs and buttons amounting to \$1,140.39; the Springfield expenditure in the same line was \$397.60. The total amount received at Chicago was \$3,537.88, at Springfield, \$1,217.50. The Chicago committee received nearly three times as much money and did ten times as much work as that at Springfield. On with the work for Socialism.

WORK FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN INDIANA

The Social Democratic members of the city council of Marion, Ind., Comrades Kelley and Croke, are keeping up with great vigor their systematic agitation for public ownership of municipal utilities, and in the limited circle of their opportunities meeting with good success. The last move started by them is one that should be supported by Social Democrats in Indiana wherever there is a local branch. And this they can do by calling the attention of their state representatives to the appended resolution, introduced at a meeting of the Marion city council by Comrade Kelley Nov. 20, and urging favorable consideration for the proposition at the next session of the legislature:

Whereas, The machinery of production, the products of industry and all the means of life are being rapidly monopolized in the hands of the manufacturers, merchants and members of trusts and trade agreements' of various kinds, which are fast reducing the masses to industrial serfdom; and Whereas, The welfare of society demands that an avenue of escape from the power of these monopolies should be provided, and that the cost of the necessaries of life should not be increased by any element of either monopoly or private profit, or by any such unnecessary waste of labor as results from the present planless method of production and distribution: therefore. be it "Resolved, By the mayor and com-mon council of the city of Marion, that the legislature of the state of Indiana be, and is hereby petitioned, to make such amendments or pass such laws as will authorize and enable any municipality within this state whose people shall decide by majority vote that they so desire, to issue such bonds as may be necessary to enable them to construct, equip and operate such water, electric, telephone, gas or street railway plants, or such hospitals, bakeries, dairies, laundries or factories of any kind, as they may deem wise and necessary for the production of, and also for the erection, stocking and operating of such stores or systems of distribution as in their judgment are necessary to the most economical production and distribution of such things as they may deem necessary for their comfort. The above was adopted by a vote of 6 to 1, two republicans and two democrats suporting it.

Snap Shots

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A trumpet call to faithful men To comrades ever dear: Come one, come all, for now's the TWO GREAT SPEECHES time, While Fortune's swelling tide Should be Read by Secialists Everywhere and Put into the Hemes of Non-Socialists Is rising grandly everywhere-Subscribe, subscribe, subscribe!" Delivered at Central Music Hall, Chicago, Saturday, September 29, 1900, by Debs' Lecture Course EUGENE V. DEBS In answer to numerous inquiries we have to say that Comrade E. V. Debs PROF. GEO. D. HERRON will deliver a limited number of lectures during the present season. Applica-A Splendid Campaign Document tions should be sent in as soon as possible as the available dates will be booked Sixteen Page Pamphlet. Price, Five Centr One Hundred, \$2.00 in advance. Labor unions, central bodies, clubs Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago and societies can obtain terms by addressing Comrade Debs at Terre Haute. Ind. IT HAS MAPLE CITY **NEW BRANCHES** WHITE BAR Illinois, two. SELF-WASHING Montana, one. Texas, one. MONMOUTH SOAP Wisconsin, two. Total, six. HENRY LARSON Are you the only Socialist in your town or in your factory? The Social Democratic Herald will furnish you SALESMAN 76-82 PACIFIC AVENUE - CHICAGO with the best arguments for Socialism to fire at your neighbors and friends and SPRAVEDLNOST the members of your union. The Her-ald will give you Socialism up-to-date (JUSTICE) BOHEMIAN WEEKLY PUBLISHED BY THE BOHEMIAN SOCIAL DEM-OCRATIC BRANCHES OF CHICAGO and supply you with the most telling ammunition for your arguments. Subscription, 81.50

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Indiana 2,347	
Illinois	
Kansas 1,111	
Meine 881	
Montana	
Maryland 908	
Missouri 6,128	
North Dakota 250	
New Hampshire 790	
New York 16,000	
Ohio 4,835	
Pennsylvania 4,831	
Wisconsin	
The Herald's first estimate of 118 o will prove nearly correct.	3,

Have One Where You Live

00

Every new branch of the Social Democratic Party is something more than a Friendly Inn-where a weary wanderer may rest. It is something more than a fort, where ammunition is stored to vanquish the armies of error. It is to vanquish the armses of error. It is a common school with academic, col-legiate and university attachments, where pupils may enter, advance, re-ceive diplomas, and go forth equipped to carry forward socialistic reform. The curriculum is brief but comprehensive. The great fundamental bedrock fact is taught that capitalism, whether on the land or the sea, is the

a circular addressed to all Chicago branches warning them against attempts being made by interlopers under the guise of unionism to disrupt the branch organizations and breed disaffection among the members. Chicago branches should be on their guard against these persons, who are merely seeking notori-ety by loudly clamoring for union. They have never succeeded in building up an organization or even starting a single branch of the party. There may be a place for them somewhere in the movement, but it is not in the branches of

the Social Democratic party. The approaching national convention, called for Jan. 15, was discussed and the following committee of reception and entertainment, with the power to add to their number, was chosen: Comrades Edwards, Winnen, Tyl, Foss, Ellen Edwards, Ethel James and Dr. Hawley.

The National Movement

Last week's Herald contained the report of the national campaign committee with its gratifying result showing all bills paid and a small balance left over. The report showed the total receipts of the committee to have been \$3.537.88. Since its publication another report, that of the Springfield committee, has come to hand. The differences between the two are so striking that, for the information of Herald readers, we cannot refrain from making a brief comparison for the purpose of showing, from a purewhether on the land or the sea, is the pirate chief of the world. It matters little or nothing at all how high or Both reports being published, it appears

26 weeks for 20 cents.

William Jennings Bryan has deter-mined to give his jaws a rest by writing for the press.