

Social Democratic Herald

VOL. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1898.

NO. 16

There is One System which is the Best; It is the System which should Exist for the Greatest Good of Humanity.

Vote for your own interests once.

Vote the Social Democratic ticket.

The only consistent ticket for trade unions to vote is the Social Democratic ticket.

It is better to vote for what we want and not get it than to vote for what we don't want and get it.

The Social Democratic Party is the only labor party in America that owns and controls its press.

The contention that the administration of industry by capitalists secures the prosperity of the people is a lie.

Dr. Bayard Holmes of Chicago yesterday read a paper on "The Confession of a Socialist," at Battle Creek, Mich.

The Social Democratic Party is the only party that stands true to the historical and necessary trade union struggle.

Government by capitalists, which is the kind of government we have in the United States, is a complete economic failure.

Lockouts, arranged by employers for the purpose of forcing reductions in wages already low, are common all over the country. This is the "new prosperity."

The principal feature of this people's government of ours, is that it is not a people's government at all. It is a government with capitalists or the agents of capitalists at the top.

There is no opening in business for men without large capital, except by some unusual good luck, is a fact that is not taught in schools and colleges where young people are trained for business.

The industrial system which has been defended on the ground of individual liberty and individual initiative, is now admitted to be a system in which there is no liberty for millions and initiative only for capitalists.

What a clear idea of citizenship and liberty a voter has who will sell his vote for two dollars—or a schooner of beer! And what a model of patriotism is the politician who will distribute the beer or the dollars!

Events are slowly organizing the Will of humanity for the great change that is coming. The really alert and progressive mind is already convinced. Stand, comrades, to your posts; let none be swerved from the line of duty.

Don't fail to read the article headed, "Not Reform" that is Wanted, but a Change in the System," and notice the offer made to supply it in leaflet form. Order it by the thousand and put it in the hands of your fellow workers everywhere.

What we call the people's government in this country really does little more than keep the peace between those who are masters of its economic resources and those who should be the masters—the people themselves. But that's a big job and a costly one.

That Cuba wants a free government and no entangling alliance is shown by the platform of the great national party just organized. It wants "complete home rule" and means to have it. And this, says the Chicago Tribune, "hits at America," which remark reveals the hypocrisy of Republican professions.

The attention of comrades is especially called to what our Boston correspondent has to say this week concerning the Massachusetts ticket. Every comrade in that state is particularly urged to constitute himself a committee of one to offset any possible bad effects of the mix-up which the election laws of Massachusetts may bring to us in the first campaign of our growing movement.

The oil wells of Senator Roger Q. Mills are said to net him about \$100 a day. So says the New York Commercial, and that's pretty good authority in such matters. Now when Reformer Mills comes round making old party speeches, the workers should bear in mind that he has very good reason for upholding the present capitalistic system. Beware of the advice of such labor skimmers as Mills.

An effort has been made by the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers to embarrass the tinplate trust, by asking for an in-

THE MESSAGE THAT SOCIALISM BRINGS TO THE TOILING MASSES OF AMERICA.

Think Before You Vote—Vote for Yourselves.

Investigation into the alleged importation of Welsh tinplate workers under contract. As the charges will be investigated by Commissioner of Labor T. V. Powderly, who sold himself to the Republicans for a fat office, the attempt at blocking the trust is a trifle amusing.

The evolution of government is compelled by social necessities. In spite of discouragements and what seems to be the triumph of exploitation over the people, this fact remains, that governmental evolution—expansion of its true functions, which is the doing of all things that affects the public welfare—either goes on and on to the ultimate democracy, or government goes down and the aspirations of mankind crystallize in new form.

If workmen were not WILLING to be subjects, capitalists would not be masters.

The WILLINGNESS of workmen to work for and exist on wages, gives to capitalists the opportunity to scheme for and luxuriate on profits.

Again, whenever those who do the world's work and produce economic goods WILL to control the goods for equitable distribution, capitalists will have no power; their class will become extinct.

A man who has property or an employer who skins labor, arms private guards and murders the people he has skinned, may do as he pleases with his own; but a man who works and has no capital but his labor force, may not strike or organize a boycott. The managers of the Buffalo Express secured an injunction to restrain the local typographical union from prosecuting a boycott on that paper and urging business men not to advertise in it. Do the business men see nothing in this?

Workingmen and voters, remember this: Life itself and everything that makes life worth living, from the satisfaction of our simplest needs to the gratification of the most refined tastes, all that goes to the development of mind and body, depends on the manner in which the production and distribution of wealth is regulated. Think of this when you vote, and seriously ask yourself whether capitalists are ever likely to regulate production and distribution on any other basis than one that gives them an advantage over you.

Col. James G. C. Lee, who was chief quartermaster at Chickamauga and one of the witnesses summoned to give evidence before the military commission, got ahead of his questioners and declared that railroad influence was so strong in the war department that troops were sent here and there, from one camp to another, by the longest routes instead of being shipped directly to their destination. The clear intimation was that the war department and the railroads had used the men in a way to enable the railroad companies to make money out of the army.

H. R. Calef, chairman of the Illinois State Board of Arbitration, makes the following statement relative to the miners' trouble at Virden:

"Strictly speaking, there has been no strike at the mines in the Chicago and Alton subdistrict, of which the Virden mines are a part. The mines were simply shut down on the 1st of April by the operators, because, as they claimed, they could not pay the mining rate fixed by what is known as the Springfield scale. The suspension, therefore was due to a lockout, not a strike, the initiative having been taken by the operators. The same statement applies to the situation at Pana.

"It is a fact, familiar to both operators and miners, that at the February conference, at which the Springfield scale was agreed upon, Mr. Lukens openly boasted that no matter what price should be fixed for his mines, the Chicago and Alton railroad would make such a reduction from the scheduled freight rates as would enable him to successfully meet competitors."

"Once dispose of the editors, the authors and the orators of anarchy," says the Chicago Inter Ocean, "and the cause is dead." Not at all. You cannot stamp out a cause by murdering those who rise in protest against the thing that gave rise to it. Anarchy is a protest. It takes absurd directions, but it is a protest that points an evil, just the

same. Assassinate the spokesmen, if you will, but others will spring forward to fill their places. The way to end militant anarchy is to bring to an end the great social abuse that prompts it. It will only disappear when the class rule that crushes the people comes to an end. So long as this selfish and miserable class rule fills the earth with woe, just so long will there be here and there among the oppressed men who will rise up in revenge against it, being too much blinded by their fury and sense of injustice to choose the wiser attempt at righting the great wrong, Socialism. The more the oppression, the more blind to the true way to combat it will the more hotheaded among the oppressed be.

This talk of foreign money lords getting possession of this country loses its force day by day. If it was really so, it would not cut much figure, as it makes little difference to the worker whether the capitalist who skins him is an American or a foreigner. But the fact is that our capitalists are doing their share toward conquering the world. They are reaching out on every side for foreign markets. Take the one industry that produces silk, for instance. It is only in recent years that this country has been able to raise and manufacture silk. Yet so steadily has the industry grown up that the importation of silk has fallen off rapidly, while this country has constantly exported more and more of this fabric. The manufacture of silk in this country has trebled in the last ten years and the annual production is estimated at about \$150,000,000 of value. If this growth meant added wealth for the workers in that industry it would be glorious news, but alas, under the present system the workers get but a pittance of what they produce.

And if an additional example were needed to prove that our capitalists are capturing the world, we may find it in the recent move of Armour & Co. to control the dressed beef trade of England. An enormous scheme by which dressed beef will be sent to England daily has been perfected, and rival dealers admit that it looks as if Armour would control the entire British market. Refrigerator space in White Star and Cunard line steamers has already been secured and ton after ton of meat will be sent across the ocean day after day, right into the London market, without the intervention of middle men or wholesale houses.

FOREWARNED IS FOREARMED.

The work of organizing a lumber trust is under way and is expected to put the entire white pine territory under a central and powerful control. There is nothing new or surprising in this for Socialists, but one fact about the move is worth noting. That is, that all the traveling men now working for the white pine firms will be let out. The territory will be divided up into selling districts and all business transacted at main offices in each district. If it wasn't so serious, it would be laughable to look on the plight of these traveling men. Traveling men as a rule are loud talkers; their business makes them so, and as a rule they have very decided views against Socialism. Let the average drummer get started on the subject and you are sure to hear a string of prejudices uttered of almost interminable length. But, bluster as they will against Socialism, the capitalistic system is decimating their ranks with relentless certainty. It is an illustration of the irony of fate that the hardest kickers against our movement are among the first to be ground under by the juggernaut car of the system they are so furiously defending! Of course, it may be said to serve them right, but individually they have our sympathy. They are, however, paying the penalty that ignorance has to pay the world over. It has come to be dangerous to be ignorant. To be ignorant of the conditions and tendencies round about one, is to be unprepared to meet conditions as they arise. Forewarned is forearmed. If the entire dispossessed people of this country understood Socialism and the historic tendencies of the economic evolution, they could in a twinkling so adjust conditions that that development would not be retarded and yet they could live decent and cultured lives and escape the misery and unworthiness that now engulfs so many of our fellow beings.

THE "REAL MASTERS."

Are you one of the real masters of this republic, who, with power in your hands to obtain freedom, consent to be slaves?

Do you make use of your ballot to keep up the sham that this is a people's government?

Have you not learned that a government is what the prevailing economic system makes it—that this government we call "ours," is a government of capitalists, by capitalists and for capitalists?

How long will it be before your grasp the undeniable fact that the supremacy of capital and the interests of capitalists are above your interests, because you fail to exercise your power as one of the Real Masters?

And how often must you be told that the control of the political government has passed out of the hands of the Real Masters because the control of industry and the means employed in the production and distribution of wealth is in the hands of capitalists, who allow production to be carried on, not for use or consumption, but for profit?

What is your idea of a capitalist? Do you think he is some heaven-anointed personage, different from ordinary mortals, who brought his capital with him into the world?

Did you ever know a capitalist who accumulated millions and gained the power over his fellow-men to decide the economic fate of millions of human beings, by digging coal, or forging horseshoes, or making coats, or building houses, or setting type, or binding books, or making a machine, or doing anything useful?

Has it never occurred to you that what the capitalist calls "his capital" is itself a product of labor, something that belongs to society at large, and that his private control of it for private profit impairs its social function?

Be honest with this labor question, my Real Master, and tell me: Do you still cling to the stupid notion that the class, your class, which produces all the wealth that society has, enjoys as much liberty and freedom of action, as much security and pleasure, under the rulership of capitalists, as you would if your class collectively owned the means of production and had a distributive system for the benefit of all?

Have you noticed how solicitous the capitalists are for your welfare, how carefully they have looked after your interests at Homestead, at Hazleton, at Pullman, at Spring Valley, at Cœur d'Alene, at Pana, at Oshkosh, at Virden?

I hope, my Real Masters of the Republic, that you will not forget the benevolence, the unselfishness and the goodness of heart of the capitalist class; that you will forget the crack of the Springfield rifle and the rattle of the Gatling gun, in reflecting over the great liberty, the freedom of action, the security and the all-around pleasures of life which the rulership of the capitalist class has bestowed upon you.

SEVENOAKS.

It would take a mighty big book to record all the unpunished crimes the rich class commit. Here comes fresh evidence from Georgia: "R. H. Edmonds, editor of the Manufacturers' Record of Baltimore, has written Hon. Hoke Smith a letter regarding Georgia's loss in not obtaining more industries because she will not promise tax exemption as other states. Mr. Edmonds makes the startling claim that in his opinion those exemption offers made by other Southern states are fraudulent, and not constitutional. He says that after several new railroads had been constructed in Mississippi under this delusion, the state shut down on them and they had to pay taxes. He says the same thing will occur in Alabama."

EVERY MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION CAN GET AT LEAST ONE NEW SUBSCRIBER TO THE HERALD; MANY CAN PROCURE TWO OR THREE; EVERY BRANCH OFFICER CAN EXTEND THE CIRCULATION OF THE PAPER. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALL SHOULD DO THEIR UTMOST WITHOUT DELAY. LET US HEAR FROM THE MEMBERS AND BRANCHES AT ONCE.

TWO WISE MEN.

Two wise men came from the East proclaiming the "new prosperity." And both these wise men, being wise, had the same thing to say—for do not great minds run in the same channel?

And one of these great wise men, hailing from Gotham, by name Depew, said in the Auditorium at Chicago: "From labor vainly seeking employment has come employment seeking labor!"

And the other great wise man, a temporary resident of the capital, called McKinley, said at Clinton, Iowa: "We have gone from labor seeking employment to employment seeking labor!"

Whereat the very partisan and very ignorant populace, pleased with so remarkable an agreement among the "great," delivered itself of a lusty hurrah, and rubbed its ribs with satisfaction, declaring, "that forever settles the question of labor and capital; we are all prosperous now, for the two wise men have said it. Great is McKinley! Great is Depew! Hurrah! Blow the fuzzy-guzzys!"

But the two great wise men, so strikingly of one mind on the greatest problem of our times, by uttering partisan falsehoods are deceiving the people.

Labor is still seeking employment and seeking in vain, and what most astonishes the non-partisan and honest mind, even of men not yet ready to question the genuineness of the two wise men, is, not that there is ample proof of the utterly falsity of all claims made for the "new prosperity," but that these wise men from the East have the partisan audacity to uphold the claims.

The poor, dear, deluded populace in any city of the country, must have been astounded at the falsity of the wise men's claim, when they looked over column upon column of people out of work "seeking employment" through the daily newspapers—provided they looked.

In one single Chicago daily last Sunday 554 skilled and unskilled persons were "seeking employment;" in all the papers combined thousands were engaged in the same fruitless search, and these thousands were only a few of the multitude who are "vainly seeking" and not finding employment.

Throughout the country on the same day, while prayers were ascending to the throne for a partisan blessing on a powerful nation's armed victory over poor, weak, decrepit old Spain—hundreds of thousands appealed for work they did not get, and millions temporarily employed producing profits for private masters, were living from hand to mouth.

THE REAL OPPRESSOR.

The Pullman Company has again increased its capital stock, this time to \$54,000,000. This is an increase of \$18,000,000 only. This is a very good illustration of the difference between the capitalists, considered as individuals, and capitalism, considered as an impersonal force. It shows how little this great business depended, after all, on George Pullman. Laboring men, who thought one of their oppressors was dead, when Pullman's heart stopped beating, were mistaken. The capital, the real oppressor still lives and thrives on the feeblings of the unfortunates driven by cruel necessity into its shops and "model town." And how bluntly its continued increase in wealth gives the lie to the charge of its late president that it could not afford to pay decent wages or give up its rack-renting game!

TOO MUCH KILLED HIM.

What sense is there in accumulating more than one can use? Jay Gould died because he had too much money. If he had remained poor he would have been alive to-day. If he had been poor, he would never have suffered as he did the fear of an assassin's knife. His brain was wrought with perplexing problems, and life to him was a weary burden, despite his immense fortune. He was a victim of our competitive system. He had as much too much as millions have too little. The present tendency is to do away with all competition, as the captains of industry realize that competition is destructive of business. Mr. Rockefeller realized this, and set out to tear down all concerns competing in the oil business. Now he is the monarch of the country. He fixes prices and wages, while the American people are obliged to pay the prices he fixes for oil, as his slaves are obliged to take the wages he gives them. Seventy millions of people stand by and watch these big corporations slowly secure their grip on the great national industries.—E. V. Debs.

Social Democratic Herald.

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Missouri State Ticket.

For Judge of Supreme Court, Long Term. ALBERT E. SANDERSON, St. Louis. For Judge of Supreme Court, Short Term. G. A. HOEHN, St. Louis. For Superintendent of Public Schools. JAMES A. RENDALL, St. Louis. For Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner. GEORGE J. STORZ, Kansas City.

Congressional Ticket for St. Louis.

For Congress, 10th District. CHARLES KEEFER. For Congress, 11th District. CHARLES F. GEBELEIN. Organizer of Amalgamated Wood Workers. For Congress, 12th District. L. P. TOMSEN, Financial Secretary of Central Trades and Labor Union.

St. Louis City Ticket.

For Judges of the Circuit Court. JACOB L. FRANZ, J. C. WIBEL and JOSEPH FILLER. For Judge of Court of Criminal Correction. ANTHONY LOY. For Judge of Probate. WILLIAM RUESCHE. For Recorder of Deeds. A. F. HAEUSSLER. For Clerk of Circuit Court. LEONARD STOLL. For Clerk of Court of Criminal Correction. WILLIAM BRANDT. For Clerk of Criminal Court. NIC. BERLINGEN. For Clerk of the Probate Court. CHARLES SPECHT. For Prosecuting Attorney for Court of Criminal Correction. MARTIN ERD. For Assistant Prosecuting Attorney of Criminal Correction. W. H. SCOTT. For Sheriff. CHARLES F. MEIER. For Coroner. STANLEY D. PEET.

Wisconsin State Ticket.

For Governor. HOWARD TUTTLE, Milwaukee. For Lieutenant-Governor. E. P. HASSINGER, Broadhead. For Secretary of State. C. L. MYERS, Milwaukee. For State Treasurer. AUGUST MOHR, Sheboygan. For Attorney General. RICH. ELSNER, Milwaukee. For Election Commissioner. CHARLES RICHTER, Racine. For Superintendent of Schools. R. O. STOLL, Eau Claire. For Insurance Commissioner. E. H. ROONEY, Milwaukee.

Baltimore Congressional Ticket.

For Congress, 3d District. CHARLES BACKMAN. For Congress, 4th District. WILLIAM FOX. For Congress, 5th District. C. E. TAILOR.

Massachusetts State Ticket.

For Governor. WINFIELD P. PORTER, Newburyport. For Lieutenant-Governor. ISAAC W. SKINNER, Brockton. For Secretary of State. CHAS. H. BRADLEY, Haverhill. For Treasurer. CHAS. W. WHITE, Winchester. For Auditor. CHAS. L. GREEVES, Amesbury.

New Hampshire State Ticket.

For Governor. SUMNER F. OLAFLIN. For Congress, 1st District. CHAS. M. MELLEN. For Congress, 2d District. ED. E. SOUTHWICK.

Terre Haute, Ind., Ticket.

For Judge of Superior Court. SAM. M. YOUNG. For Prosecuting Attorney. CHAS. D. WILGUS. For Treasurer. CLARENCE E. KINGERY. For Auditor. WM. EHRENHARDT. For Clerk. CHAS. R. WALTZ. For Recorder. JOHN S. KINGERY. For Sheriff. H. STRUEMPFLE. For Coroner. ANDREW J. MELVILLE. For Commissioner. SAM. R. HOAR. For Surveyor. M. TURTLE. For Joint Representatives. FRANK STORZ and JAS. O'NEAL. For Representatives. OTIS M. SCHROER and WM. C. CASEY.

New York Assembly Ticket.

For Fourth Assembly District. M. LONDON. For Eighth Assembly District. LOUIS E. MILLER. For Tenth Assembly District. J. PHILLIPS. For Twelfth Assembly District. J. BARONDESS. For Sixteenth Assembly District. R. MODEST.

"GOOD TIMES" AND HARD TIMES.

We often hear people remark: "When we had good times," or "the good times after the war." To tell the truth, we never had good times. What are good times? Why, good times are times when general prosperity prevails, when every man, woman and child has justice; when labor is not exploited, and when political and economical liberty is the lot of all.

The following table from the United States census is a record of the average wage rate from 1850 to 1880:

The average wage in 1850 was ... \$248 The average wage in 1860 was ... 292 The average wage in 1870 was ... 310 The average wage in 1880 was ... 346

The above table represents the nation under both free silver and a gold standard. It also represents the Nation under both high and low tariff. While wages have steadily risen since 1850, in dollars and cents, they have declined when measured by the amount of work done. To illustrate: From 1850 to 1880 our productivity increased fivefold, that is to say in 1880 the average worker in this country could produce five times as much wealth as in 1850. If, then, wages had increased in proportion to our ability to increase production, the average wage in 1880 should have been \$1,240 a year. And in 1898, measured in exactly the same way, our wages should average \$1,984 a year.

It is estimated that we can produce eight times as much to-day as in 1850, hence the product is \$1,984. More than one-half our labor is wasted. You see, if we could eliminate the waste, and have what we produced, our product is greatly above \$4,000 a year as the average pay for every man and woman, and this, too, with a work day reduced to not over four hours.

Vote and work for a Social Democracy, that we may have good times in our own time.

F. G. R. GORDON.

PANA MINERS WITH US.

We have most encouraging news from Pana, where a strong branch of the Social Democratic Party, pledged to public ownership and operation of all mining properties, will soon be in full swing. The following letter, addressed to the miners and citizens of the town by Comrade G. A. Hoehn, was read recently at a meeting there and received with rounds of applause:

To the Striking Miners and Citizens of Pana, Ill. Brothers and Comrades:—The monopolists have been trying to suppress and to starve you and your children. You have resisted. You are making a brave and heroic fight. Brothers, the thinking working people of America are with you. They are proud of you!

Militia is being sent to Pana. Gatling guns are being directed against you where bread and freedom should be given you. Gatling guns for starving workmen? Shame upon the capitalist system that has nothing but hot lead and cold steel for its best citizens, for the poor wage workers.

Brothers, the Social Democratic Party of America sends you hearty greeting, hoping the time will not be far, distant when the American wage-workers will enjoy better conditions than to-day, when the gatling guns will be forged into plowshares and when militia and deputy sheriffs will no longer shoot down honest working people.

Remember there are still such noble men with you as Eugene V. Debs, fighting your battle, the battle of humanity. The time will come when the coal mines and all other means of production will no longer be in the hands of Penwell and other shylocks, but will be the property of the people, operated for the benefit of the people. Yours for the cause of labor,

G. A. HOEHN.

Secretary Social Democratic Party of St. Louis, Mo.

NEW LABOR-SAVING DEVICES.

A new electrical riveting machine to be used in the erection of large buildings, etc., and that can insert 1,200 rivets in ten hours; a needle-making machine that revolutionizes the industry by destroying hand production and turning out 260 needles per minute; and a new stereotyping process that operates automatically and displaces many skilled workers, are new labor-saving devices announced as entering the market. It means that more recruits will enter the unemployed market to remain idle permanently or to secure a day's work here and there at odd jobs. Rrrt, hush! don't talk Socialism!—Workers' Republic.

OUR MODERN CIVILIZATION.

I suspect that when we are invited to consider the prodigious strength of modern governments, the boundless resources of modern societies, the enormous accumulations of inherited opulence, the priceless collections of art and letters, the ceaseless activity of enterprise, and the ever-increasing discoveries of science, it is fancied that a complete answer is given to those who entertain misgivings, because they believe that there is a reverse side to the picture, another side to the shield, which those triumphant eulogies on modern progress would have us conceal or forget.

But I am convinced that modern civilization will be judged, not by what it has done, but by what it has left undone; not by what it has remedied, but by what it has failed to heal, or at least to have relieved; not by its successes, but by its shortcomings. It may be that the progress of some has been more than counterbalanced by the distress and sorrows of many; that the opulence and strength of modern times mocks the poverty and misery which are bound up with and surround them.

—J. Thorold Rogers.

ART UNDER SOCIALISM.

Grant Allen, the well-known author, corrects a prevalent error and shows what Socialism will do for art, etc.:

Most outsiders believe that Socialists aim at reducing the community to a dull, dead level of poverty and squalor—at abolishing science, art, literature and leisure—at reducing all alike to hewers of wood and drawers of waters. The mere fact that most Socialists at the present day are either poets, painters, men of science, men of letters, or else the cream and pick of the intelligent artisans, might give people pause in forming this crude judgment, were it the way of the world to reflect at all before leaping at conclusions; but it is not. I can only say that all the Socialists I have ever met—and I know a good many—desire, on the contrary, to raise enormously the general level of intellectual, artistic and spiritual feeling; aim at the increase of leisure and opportunities for culture in all classes alike, including those now ranked as the highest. We want to give both dukes and coal-heavers a better chance of developing their natures freely in every direction.

VICTOR HUGO'S IDEA OF FREEDOM.

The people have no need of liberty—such was the password of a certain innocent but deluded school, the head of which has been dead some years. No, no, no; nothing without freedom! Servitude is the soul blinded. Can you picture to yourself a man voluntarily blind? This terrible thing exists. There are willing slaves. A smile in iron! Can anything be more hideous? He who is not free is not a man; he who is not free has no sight, no knowledge, no discernment, no growth, no comprehension, no will, no faith, no love; he has no wife and children, he has only a female with young; he lives not. Freedom is the apple of the eye; freedom is the visual organ of progress. Let us discard all that resembles the convent, the barrack, the cell, and the straight line. To give a new shape to the evil is not a useful task. To remodel the old slavery would be stupid.

The theorists, some of them otherwise upright and sincere, who through fear of a dispersion of activities and of energies, and of what they call "anarchy," have arrived at an almost Chinese acceptance of absolute social centralization. They turn their resignation into a doctrine. Provided man eats and drinks, all is right. The happiness of the beast is the solution. But this is a happiness which others might

by a different name. Let these involuntary philosophers of a possible despotism reflect that to indoctrinate the masses against freedom, to allow appetite and fatalism to get a hold upon the minds of men, to saturate them with materialism and expose them to the results—this would be to understand progress in the fashion of that worthy man who applauded a new gibbet, and exclaimed: "Excellent! We have had till now only an old wooden gallows, but times have changed for the better, and here we are with a good stone gibbet, which will do for our children and our grandchildren!" The whole of one side of society is tyrant and the other side is slave. To live is to have justice, truth, reason, devotion, probity, sincerity, common sense, right and duty welded to the heart. Life is conscience. Let us consecrate ourselves. Let us devote ourselves to the good, to the true, to the just.

AMONG THE BRANCHES.

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.]

Colorado Branch No. 1, of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Maria Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening at Koch's Hall, 104 Randolph St. Frank Whitney, Roanoke building, secretary.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3 Sunday afternoon of each month, at Kelchwald's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis. J. ZORN, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 13th and Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 3338 Iowa avenue.

Branch No. 2 Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stengel's Hall, corner Monroe and Pearl streets, every Monday evening.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza. The branch issues a call for a general conference of Philadelphia Socialists for Friday, 8 p. m., September 30, at 223 North Twelfth Street.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, secretary, 602 Chestnut street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of the month at Volkmann's Hall, corner of Twenty-first and Centre streets at 8 p. m. Edward Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Mondays at 8 o'clock sharp at 614 State street. Frederic Heath, secretary. John Doerfler, treasurer.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Wednesday at 605 S. Third Street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, secretary.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at Thirteenth and Wyoming streets. Jno. Shepherd, 3416 Wisconsin avenue.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown street. George Moerschel, secretary, 778 Twenty-fifth street.

All communications to headquarters should contain the number of branch, and the secretary's name and street address.

Branch 5 of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, is adding new members to its roster and spreading the Herald over the city.

Comrades Stedman and Hoehn have been in Wisconsin all this week, upholding the banner of Socialism in the manufacturing centers.

John F. Tobin, national president of the Boot and Shoe Makers' Union, will preside at a meeting to be addressed by Eugene V. Debs at Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, and Prof. Frank Parsons will act in the same capacity in a grand rally at Faneuil Hall. "We're getting on fine!"

Just as we go to press—news comes of the organization at Pana, Ill., of a strong branch of the party, consisting of miners and members of the United Mine Workers. Friends desiring to communicate with Pana should address Comrade John A. Bruell. Hold up the hands of our Pana comrades with your sympathy and support.

FAVORS A CHANGE.

Editor The Herald:—Should the word "Democratic" be dropped from the party name? By all means.

1st. Because it is superfluous. We already have Democracy in this country; it might be significant in Europe where democracy is largely yet to be.

2d. It is misleading. It identifies us with capitalistic democracy to those unfamiliar with Socialism, and they are the great majority. One half of the American people entertain the strongest prejudice against such party, and when they see a paper with the name "Democrat" printed thereon, cast it aside, when otherwise such paper might elicit their attention and eventually their conversion. It causes us much explanation and keeps from our advertised meetings many young Republicans who would become Socialists were they to attend and hear Socialism expounded.

3d. We should not seek to usurp a superfluous misleading flag that has been dragged through falsehood, flame and blood. The Socialist seeks to place a party in power whose executive shall receive no more of the comforts and blessings of life than the most humble voter. The Democrat desires to perpetuate a party whose political economy is founded on the principle that the voter who does the meanest work and serves the longest hours shall receive the least.

Denver CHAS. M. DAVIS.

DURING THE NEXT THIRTY DAYS THE CIRCULATION OF THE HERALD SHOULD BE INCREASED TENFOLD; WHETHER IT IS DONE DEPENDS ON THE MEMBERS. IT IS EVERY MEMBER'S INTEREST TO LEND HIS EFFORTS TO THE WORK; IT IS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE THAT WE "SPREAD OUT." DON'T PUT IT OFF, BUT ACT AT ONCE AND SEND US NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE TICKET.

For Governor,

WINFIELD P. PORTER, Newburyport.

For Lieut. Governor,

ISAAC W. SKINNER, Brockton.

For Secretary of State,

CHARLES H. BRADLEY, Haverhill.

For Treasurer,

CHARLES W. WHITE, Winchester.

For Auditor,

CHARLES L. GREEVES, Amesbury.

MASSACHUSETTS NOTES.

If you have not heard from Massachusetts lately it is not because there is nothing to tell, by any means; but because we are so busy doing things that we haven't time to sit down and write about them.

The campaign committee has about fifty meetings arranged throughout the state for the next three weeks, in addition to those the various locals are attending to. The speakers are to be Comrades Eugene V. Debs, James F. Carey, F. G. R. Gordon and our popular candidate for governor, W. P. Porter.

The Social Democracy did not live in vain. Among other things we have learned from it the idea of concentrating our forces on the most promising places. In the first place, Massachusetts is the most promising state for Socialism in the Union. We have an organized state movement here, which is spreading, and at the same time becoming more consolidated from week to week; and it will not be long before we can reach out and help organize New England. It therefore seemed to us that no better investment could be made of two weeks of Comrade Debs' time than to spend it in helping to firmly establish the Massachusetts movement on a broad and ample base. So we put in our petition six hours after the formation of the S. D. P. last June, and have simply given Comrade Debs no peace ever since till he consented to come. Through all the discouragements of last summer, a few brave comrades worked on, confident that as we had now a party with true principles and wise tactics, the right people would gravitate toward it. Their faith was rewarded; the right people did come, and are still coming. And when a week ago a letter came, saying, "Your last letter settles the matter. From the 23d October to the 6th November, I will be with you in Massachusetts," the good news so long awaited, that Debs is coming, was floated to every branch in the state and from mouth to mouth, like a second message of Paul Revere; and every coat was off and every comrade down to work in dead earnest, knowing that only our Gene could put in place the keystone of the arch we had been trying all summer to build, and would do it. And the rest of you musn't think we are selfish about it, either, because we are not. We are going to let New Hampshire have him one day.

But, seriously, we have a good fighting chance of electing one state senator and a couple of representatives. If we succeed it will be a pretty good kind of agitation. So we are concentrating our efforts on the promising districts. For this reason we may not get so large a scattering vote throughout the state; but we can stand it this time if the vote is solid enough in Haverhill, Amesbury and Brockton to elect our men.

Republicans and Democrats alike practically concede Carey's election, and are putting up no fight of any account in his district. The street railway men, in whose behalf he has put in such good work the last few weeks, have endorsed him, and issued an appeal to the voters to support him. This will have its effect, as the street railway men had the sympathy of the people of Haverhill in their strike.

Candidate for senator John E. Chase is in a position to give his Republican rival a hustle for the place. The Democrats offered to endorse him. Comrade Reardon of Amesbury, for representative, is popular outside of the S. D. P., as well as in it, and with the vigorous work put in by the Amesbury comrades, will certainly make a good showing.

The strike in Brockton renders that city an excellent field for agitation, and if our comrades there will only get to work with a will, spread our literature among the strikers, and get them to listen to our speakers, they can do much.

The Newburyport branch took in nine new members at its meeting last Monday.

Comrade Baroness of New York spoke at the Common last Sunday afternoon, and for the Jewish comrades in the evening. Here is an anecdote of the campaign in New York: Last week Comrade Baroness was addressing an open air meeting. Some S. L. P. members, in their efforts to prove that he was not scientific, threw some overripe eggs at him. Baroness calmly, with that deliberate manner of his, drew out his handkerchief, wiped off the offensive stain, remarking coolly: "This is some more of your 'science,'" and continued his speech amid the applause of an appreciative audience.

The following dates have been definitely arranged for Comrade Debs: Springfield, October 23; Holyoke, 24th; Northampton, 25th; Worcester, 26th; Cambridge, 27th; Boston, 28th; Somersworth, N. H., 31st; Newburyport, November 3; Haverhill, November 4. Dates are yet to be arranged for Whitman, Brockton, Lawrence, Amesbury, Lynn and Faneuil Hall, Boston.

Oct. 9.

Comrade Debs will speak in Cambridge on the 27th inst. at Brattle Square Hall. The meeting will open with a short speech from Professor Parsons. Last time Comrade Debs spoke in Cambridge it was in the rather small hall of the Prospect Union, and many had to be turned away. Many of those who succeeded in getting in declared afterwards that they could listen to him all night. Consequently we expect a fine meeting in Cambridge.

At the Paine Memorial Hall meeting, Boston, on the 28th, at which Comrade Debs will speak, President Tobin of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union will preside. An admission fee of 10 cents will be charged to cover expenses.

Comrade Carey is to speak in Chelsea at Liberty Hall, 121 Park street, on the 23d.

On November 1 Comrades Carey and Porter will speak at the Franklin schoolhouse, Boston.

A grand ball is arranged for Thursday, Nov. 3, at Paine Memorial Hall for the benefit of the campaign fund. Tickets 25 and 35 cents.

Our Newburyport branch took in another nine new members this week, and several more will join next meeting. Amesbury branch has taken the opera house for Comrade Debs' meeting on Nov. 2. Haverhill is hustling as usual. Essex county is alive all right.

Comrade Gordon is in Massachusetts for a few days. There is a great want in Massachusetts that only a man like Gordon can fill. There are lots of cities and towns here that contain scattered Socialists, who only need an organizer to bring them together and get them united into branches. We hope the day is not far distant when New England can keep Comrade Gordon in the field all the time as organizer. He spoke in Winstchester Friday night, visited Salem and Beverly Saturday, will speak on the Common Sunday, go to Whitman Monday, and speak in Brockton, together with Comrade Porter, Monday evening. And Massachusetts will be in better shape because of it.

I want to rise to second Comrade Mellen's motion for a change of name, and hope it will pass before another election comes around. We have got into a pretty pickle over our name in this state. We find that, according to the law of Massachusetts, we are not allowed to use the name of an official party as part of our party name unless it precedes the second word of the name. For instance, there can be a "Republican Independent" party, but not an "Independent Republican" party. The "Republican" or "Democratic" must not come next to the X on the ballot, you see. Consequently we are obliged to transpose our name, and appear on the ballot as the "Democratic Social" party; and go to the trouble of explaining at all our meetings the reason for this mix-up. Will the comrades throughout the state please take note of this, and explain to all possible voters for us that our name will appear on the ballot transposed as "Democratic Social." It doesn't make much difference to us what people call us. By any other name we will be the same determined, united band of clear-cut, scientific, revolutionary, dyed-in-the-wool hustlers for Socialism in our time, with common-sense tactics. I have no objection to the name of Social Democrat; it's all right; but it makes a fellow feel like a fool to be called a Democratic Social. Might as well be a church social, and be done with it.

BOSTON.

Oct. 16.

The tactics and policy of the Social Democratic Party of America are identical with the tactics and policy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and all continental Europe. When speaking of the official name of a Socialist party it is good taste and truthful to call it by its right name. Some editors are so much more partisan than Socialists that they write about "the Socialist Labor Party" of Germany, Belgium, and so on. There is no such party in either nation. The Socialist movement in Germany, Belgium, Russia, Austro-Hungary, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and several other nations is known by its official name, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. In France and Spain it is the Socialist Labor Party. Tell the truth, or stop bragging about being the only pure Socialists in America.

F. G. R. GORDON.

PLATFORM OF THE S. D. P.

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.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production, for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, 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 their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class conscious fellow workers throughout the civilized world will lead 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 industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, and all other mines; also all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for 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 be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and pensions in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for 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.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end.

In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.
2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.
3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.
4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.
5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

PLAIN STATEMENT OF FACTS FOR THE BENEFIT OF POPULISTS.

Reprinted from the Milwaukee Journal.

To the Editor of The Journal: The People's party of Wisconsin has issued an address, signed by Mr. Robert Schilling chairman, wherein it tries to explain why "every honest and progressive citizen should vote the People's party ticket."

Now, why should any "honest and progressive citizen" do so? Let us see.

The address of Mr. Schilling says:

"The cursed European monetary system is slowly but surely degrading our country to the level of a tributary province to foreign capitalists, while home combinations in the form of trusts, syndicates and other monopolies are rapidly concentrating the wealth of the country in the hands of the few and impoverishing the masses."

This statement intexes truth with untruth. The first contention, i. e., that our country is slowly but surely degraded to the level of a tributary province to foreign capitalists is not true. On the contrary, our capitalists are making conquests in foreign countries. And if it were true, that would not make much difference to the masses of this country.

The second part of the statement is true, although very commonplace. Trusts, syndicates and monopolies are rapidly concentrating the wealth of the country into the hands of a few and the masses are impoverished.

But what is the People's party going to do about it? Mr. Schilling does not say. He only says:

"A largely increased vote for that ticket (the Populist) will mean success for the people against the exploiters in 1900."

Can we believe this?

What is the evidence? The Populists got into power in quite a number of western and southern states. What have they done for the people against the exploiters? What have they changed?

Nothing.

WHAT DID THEY GAIN?

Did the earnings of the working people in such states get any larger? Did their condition become more secure? Were they better defended against lack of employment and want in sickness, and in old age?

No.

Some may claim the Populist is a farmers' party. Well and good. What has it done for the farmers? Did the general standard of the farmers' living rise where the Populists got into power?

No.

What did the Populists do for anybody where they were in power? Did public education grow more? Did public corruption grow less?

Nothing of the sort. A new set of politicians got to the public crib. Some of them did not steal. Others did. Some of them did not take bribes. Others did.

There is the state of Kansas, the foster mother of Populism, for instance. The Populists hold full sway in Kansas, but the rank and file of the party cries out that the Populist rule is even more corrupt than the Republican.

The same experience was repeated everywhere. The same experience we had in Milwaukee when Mr. Schilling's Union Labor party got into power in the county in 1886. Now, how can an increased vote for the Populist ticket, how can a Populist victory help the masses? But, says Mr. Schilling:

"Populists have left the monopoly parties, not for personal aggrandizement, but to advance principles of progress and reform and they have proved themselves to be personally disinterested and unselfish by repeatedly surrendering hopes of personal preferment for the common good."

RECORDS AS OFFICE SEEKERS.

Where have they proved to be so? Where? History fails to record a single case where a Populist could really get an office of "honor, trust or profit," and did not take it. There were only a few real good chances in Milwaukee.

But did Mr. Henry Smith ever miss any? Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party can boast of a man who held as many offices as did Mr. Henry Smith. His name was on almost every ticket in this city the Populists ever put up, and on a good many tickets before. The same may be said of the city attorney, Mr. Carl Runge, who started office holding in Sheboygan when young. And how about Mr. Schilling himself? He is now running for congress for the third time. Once he ran as a Popo-Democrat. He was also a candidate for alderman, etc.

"Surrendering hopes of personal preferment!" Ye Gods! That some Milwaukee Pops were not over-anxious to get a nomination as long as that party stood alone and as long as it did not have a show of winning an election, is natural enough for politicians. The case looked different when "fusion" set in. Then the Populist party formed the back door for many a politician of small caliber to sneak into office. The Populist way was the easier way. The standard required was not as high as in other parties, as the cases of Carl Runge and others prove, not to mention the numerous lesser reformers who "got in" as garbage-inspectors, clerks, etc.

These "repeatedly surrendered hopes of personal preferment" have been in the market often, and the good Popu-

lists realized on them at the rate of 16 to 1.

Mr. Schilling would not admit this though. According to his address:

"Two years ago the Democrats stood on the platform almost as advanced as that of the Populists and our party (i. e. the Populist) cheerfully and willingly lent its aid and fought shoulder to shoulder with the reform Democracy against the most fearful combinations of bankers, bondholders, etc."

DEMOCRATS TWO YEARS AGO.

Where did the Democrats of Wisconsin stand two years ago? In 1896 the platform of the Democratic party of Wisconsin declared for the single gold standard, i. e., for the bankers and bondholders, to use Mr. Schilling's language. But Mr. Schilling and the Populists of Wisconsin fused with the Democrats all the same two years ago. And Mr. Robert Schilling even did run for congress on the ticket of a party that had declared in its state platform against "silver" and for "the bankers and the money lenders."

This year the Democratic state platform says literally "we declare our firm devotion to the Democratic principles as enunciated in the Chicago platform of 1896." And to all this have the Democrats added that new, great and only remedy against all ills, from corns to whooping cough—the referendum.

But Mr. Schilling and his party will not support it. Why? It cannot be the platform. If the "Pops" supported the Democratic party in Wisconsin two years ago on a platform which was for the "gold standard" in the state and for the "silver standard" nationally, and Mr. Schilling is still calling that platform almost as advanced as that of the Populists—in which I concur—then the Pops ought surely this time to support the Democratic party, when its platform is all "silver" and the referendum.

Still Mr. Schilling and his Populists will not support it. He says something about "glittering generalities" and "gold bugs" and "money power," and about his intention to kill the Democratic party. But he does not give the reason why. We will tell the reason.

WHY SHILLING HATES DEMOCRATS.

It is simply because the Democratic party has refused to "fuse" with them. It is a case of "the grapes being too sour." The "Pops" were willing enough to fuse. Their poor miserable state convention was held as an appendage to the Democratic state convention. The "Pops" convened, appointed a trading committee and then waited. They reconvened, and then waited again. They waited for the Democratic convention "to do something." And Mr. Schilling was especially a willing "waiter." Was he eager to fuse? He said so himself in the Populist convention after the Democrats had adopted their platform. The fusion came to naught only because the Democratic state convention refused to ratify the "bargain" made by its bargain committee. The price paid by that committee seemed to be out of proportion to the few votes the "Pops" had to sell.

That is the reason why Mr. Schilling now hates the Democratic party of the state of Wisconsin. He was magnanimous, though. After being repelled in the state convention, he was willing to forgive and forget and fuse in the county. He said he had many friends among the Democrats of Milwaukee and that he was willing to accommodate them. And, therefore, his bargain committee did hard reform work with the bargain committee of Democrats. But the "crushing monopolistic curse" on the Democrats! They were willing to give some hungry "Pops" a little "pap" in the court-house, but they would not and could not put up Mr. Bob Schilling for Congress again.

So it is not the platform after all that is at fault, but it is because Mr. Schilling was not put on it.

Says Mr. Schilling furthermore: "If the Democrats had not adopted that progressive platform in Chicago in 1896 the party would be practically dead to-day—the Populists would have carried most of the southern states, and there is no national Democratic party without the South."

POPULISTS EXIST FOR FUSION ONLY.

What difference did any platform make to the Populists of the country, anyhow? None, whatever. The Populist party from its very beginning seemed to exist for "fusion" only. As a rule it fused with the Republicans down South and with the Democrats up North. But there were some exceptions to this rule, the Populists fusing with both. There was a time when the Socialists of Milwaukee hoped that the People's party might develop into a Socialist party, and therefore they joined it, and by sheer force they kept it from "fusing" for a little while. It was a bad job, and the Socialists had to give it up. The Populists fused. Their latest fusion was in Georgia, where they fused with the Republicans, i. e., with the "white carpet baggers" that control the negro vote down South. May be that recent fusion took place because the Populists wanted to introduce the referendum for the enlightened negro voters of Georgia; or may be they fused in order to get the negro votes in chunks from the "carpet baggers;" at any rate, they were "licked out of

their boots," as the southern phrase goes. But Mr. Schilling thinks that if the Democrats had not adopted that great and progressive Chicago platform with the wonderful 16 to 1 silver plank, then the progressive negroes of the South would have swept the Democratic party out of existence. Well, that might have happened. The southern negroes still believe in hoodoo worship, and they might finally also worship the 16 to 1 hoodoo.

Mr. Schilling hates the Democratic party, but he thinks he must prove that he did not get any money from the Republicans this time by giving them a "dig" also. This is what he says:

"Republicanism politically means fanaticism, bigotry and prejudice."

Now, this at the best would be the remark of an ignoramus who wants to say something telling and does not know what. A party that has polled over 6,000,000 votes in this enlightening republic means simply "fanaticism, bigotry and prejudice politically," according to Schilling. If that be the case, where is the usefulness of the "referendum?"

SOCIALISTS' VIEW OF PARTIES.

But we will enlighten Mr. Schilling. The Republican party at the present time is the expression of the conservatism of the American people. The Republican party represents the present system of production and distribution, and the interests of the so-called business men and of the capitalists. It is the capitalist party par excellence. It is not the party of the workman or farmer.

The Democratic party, as it is constituted now, represents the people who see the danger of the concentration of capital, and who want to go back to the "good old time" when there was no production on a large scale, when everybody had a chance in life, and "competition was the life of trade." The Democratic party, therefore, is not conservative, it is reactionary.

The Populists virtually want the same thing as the Democratic party, only they call it "reform." Here and there are some Populist warhorses who wanted office and did not get it. They like to parade a string of Socialistically sounding phrases that fit them about as well as a string of pearls would a cow. Their main issue is the cheap money issue. This issue the Populists have in common with the most reactionary and most liberty-hating party of the civilized world, the German Junker Partei. That party wants cheap money in order to throw off the debts of the German nobility, and to cheapen labor—as the party leader, Count Kanitz, with brutal frankness, admitted in a speech in the German Reichstag. But the real issue of our friends, the Populists, are the "political jobs." Whenever they get their cry for "reform" stops, and the capitalists have no reason to complain. When they do not get them they curse the "money power" and want a party of "their own."

The only progressive party is the Social Democratic party, which aims at the fundamental change of the present system. The Social Democratic party does not rave about the trusts and corporations. It sees that they are the legitimate outcome of competition. They would not any more deery corporations than the teething of a child, which is also connected with unpleasant phenomena. The trusts, combines, etc., signify a step forward in civilization, while certainly not the most advanced step. And the Social Democratic party holds that the present system is quickly outliving its usefulness and that it is rapidly working out its own downfall. But the next step will not be backward to competition. It will be forward to Socialism.

Therefore we say: Any man who is satisfied with the general state of things as they are, and wants to uphold them, should vote the Republican ticket. Any man who wants the wheel of progress stopped and the economic evolution turned backward should vote the Democratic ticket. Any man who is sore because he did not get a political job, or who likes to humbug others, or who is humbugged himself, should vote the Populist ticket.

And any man who believes that we have not reached the acme of civilization, and that there is a higher civilization possible, will vote the Democratic ticket. Every man who thinks that our capitalist system, which means slavery for the worker and the business man, cannot last much longer, will vote the Social Democratic ticket. Every man who knows that the outcome of the present, capitalist system, if civilization is to survive, must be Socialism, i. e., a system where the fruits of our brilliant progress in science and of the improvement of machinery and of the present mode of production on a large scale will go to the benefit of all instead of a few—will vote the ticket of the Social Democratic party.

VICTOR L. BERGER, Editor Vorwaerts.

THE ALPHA AND OMEGA OF SOCIALISM IS THE TRANSMUTATION OF PRIVATE COMPETING CAPITAL INTO UNITED COLLECTIVE CAPITAL.—Dr. Albert Schaeffle, Austrian Economist and Critic of Socialism.

NOT "REFORM" THAT IS WANTED, BUT A CHANGE IN THE SYSTEM.

Labor Representation.

"Is it nothing to you?" Now, John Smith, I want to say a few words to you on the subject of Labor Representation. The old struggles have been for political emancipation. The coming struggle will be for industrial emancipation. We want America for the Americans. We want the fruits of labor for those who produce them. This issue is not an issue between Republicans and Democrats, it is an issue between Laborers and Capitalists. Neither of the Political Parties is of any use to the workers, because both the Political Parties are paid, officered and led by capitalists whose interests are opposed to the interests of the workers. The Socialist laughs at the pretended friendship of Republican and Democratic or Popocratic leaders for the workers. These party politicians do not in the least understand what the rights, the interests or the desires of the workers are; if they did understand they would oppose them implacably. The demand of the Socialist is a demand for the nationalization of the land and all other instruments of production and distribution. The party leaders will not hear of such a thing. If you want to get an idea how utterly destitute of sympathy with labor our ruling class is, just read the editorials in the capitalist newspapers at the time of the miners' strike last year, or their comments on the Oshkosh and Pana strikes, or go back to the great Debs strike of 1894. That will tell the story better than I can tell it.

Or, just imagine what would happen in Congress if a true workman ever did get a seat there and stood up to demand that workmen get the full value of the wealth they produce. The capitalists look with contempt on the interests of the working class. Think what this means when the working class consists of forty-five millions of people, or nearly ninety per cent. of the entire people of this nation! And this vast number of people has not one true class representative in Congress, and it is only occasionally that one gets into the legislatures.

But the other class—the landlords, capitalists, the lawyers, bankers and the idle gentlemen—have the entire number of members of Congress for their representatives. Is it at all strange that the interests of the workers are not considered at all?

The capitalists and their hangers-on not only make the laws—they administer them. Is it any wonder, then, that the laws are made and administered in the interests of capitalism? And does it not seem reasonable to suppose that if the laws were made and administered by the workers, that they would be made and administered to the advantage of labor?

Well, my advice to you workers is, to send labor representatives to Congress and to the legislatures—you have plenty of votes to do it with, if you have the manhood to stand together.

Some of the old-style Trade Unionists will tell you that there is no need for legislative interference in labor matters. The Socialist does not ask for "legislative interference," he asks for government by the people and for the people.

The old-style unionists think that Trade Unionism is strong enough in itself to secure the rights of the worker. This is a great mistake. The rights of the worker are the whole of the produce of his labor. Trade Unionism only cannot secure that, but has never even tried to secure that. The most that Trade Unionism has secured, or can ever hope to secure for the workers, is a comfortable subsistence wage. They have not always secured even that much, and when they have secured it, the cost has been serious. For the great weapon of Unionism is a strike, and a strike is at best a bitter, a painful, and a costly thing.

Do not think that I am opposed to Trade Unionism. It is a good thing; it has long been the only defense of the workers against robbery and oppression; were it not for the Trade Unionism of the past and of the present, the condition of the industrial classes would be one of abject slavery. But Trade Unionism, although some defense, is not sufficient defense.

You must remember, also, that the employers have copied the methods of Trade Unionism. They have also organized and united, and in the future strikes will be more terrible and more costly than ever. The capitalist is the stronger. He holds the better strategic position. He can always outlast the worker, for the worker has to starve and see his children starve, and the capitalist never gets to that pass. Besides, capital is more mobile than labor. A stroke of the pen will divert wealth and trade from one end of the country to the other; but the workers cannot move their forces so readily.

One difference between Socialism and Trade Unionism is that whereas the Unions can only marshal and arm the workers for a desperate trial of strength, Socialism can get rid of the capitalist altogether. The former helps you to resist the enemy, the latter destroys him.

I suggest to you, John, that you should join a Socialist society and help to get others to join, and that you should send Socialist workers to all representative bodies.

The Socialist tells you that you are men, with men's rights, and with men's capacities for all that is good and great—and you hoot him and call him a liar and a fool.

The politician despises you, declares that all your sufferings are due to your own vices, that you are incapable of managing your own affairs, and that if you were intrusted with freedom and the use of the wealth you create you would degenerate into a lawless mob of drunken loafers, and you cheer him until you are hoarse.

The politician tells you that his party is the people's party, and that he is the man to defend your interests, and in spite of all you know of his conduct in the past, you believe him.

The Socialist begs you to form a party of your own, and to do your work yourself, and you write him down a knave.

To be a Trade Unionist and fight for your class during a strike, and to be a Democrat or a Republican and fight against your class at an election is folly. During a strike there are no Republicans or Democrats among the strikers; they are all workers. At election times there are no workers; only Republicans and Democrats.

During an election there are Republican and Democratic capitalists, and all of them are friends of the workers. During a strike there are no Republicans and no Democrats among the employers. They are all capitalists and enemies of the workers. Is there any logic in you, John Smith? Is there any perception in you? Is there any sense in you?

You never elect an employer as president of a Trades Council; or as chairman of a Trade Union Congress; or as member of a Trade Union. You never ask an employer to lead you during a strike. But at election times, when you ought to stand by your class, the whole body of Trade Union workers turn into blacklegs, and fight for the capitalist and against the workers.

I know that many of these party politicians are very plausible men, and that they protest very eloquently that their party really means to do well for the workers. But to those protests there is one unanswerable reply. Even if these men are as honest and as zealous as they pretend to be, I suppose you are not gullible enough to believe that they will do your work as well as you can do it yourselves.

I say to you then, once more, John Smith, that the most practical thing you can do is to erase the words Republican and Democrat from your vocabulary, write Social Democrat in the place and resolve that henceforward you will elect only labor representatives, and see that they do their duty.

I think that the best way to realize Socialism is—to make Socialists. I have always maintained that if we can once get the people to understand how much they are wronged we may safely leave the remedy in their own hands.

Go out into the streets of any big town, and use your eyes, John. What do you find? You find some rich and idle, wasting unearned wealth to their own shame and injury, and the shame and injury of others. You find hard-working people packed away in vile, unhealthy streets. You find little children famished, dirty, and half naked outside the luxurious clubs, shops, hotels and theaters. You find men and women overworked and underpaid. You find vice and want and disease cheek by jowl with religion and culture and wealth. You find the usurer, the gambler, the fop, the fannikin lady, and you find the starving, the slave, the vagrant, the drunkard and the harlot.

Cast your fortunes with the Social Democratic Party of America. It is the only party of the workers. Its issues are workingmen's issues. Beware of glib fellows who talk free silver and money and tax reform. It isn't reform we want, John, it is a change in the present robber system, so you can live like a man, John, and hold your head up as proudly as any other man in the entire land. Especially beware of so-called people's parties that are run by men who are constantly trading with the capitalist parties—the Republican and Democratic parties. They will sell you out before your very eyes and laugh behind your back to think how slick they did it. Go to the polls as a worker, John, and vote as a worker. And above all, be sure you vote a Social Democratic Party ticket. Otherwise you will be throwing your vote away.

[Note.—The above article, prepared by "Wayfarer" and based on a chapter from "Merrie England," with the party platform, will be printed in leaflet form for the Social Democratic Party and sold for 15 cents a hundred, or \$1.25 for 1,000 copies. Order without delay and put it in the hands of every voter.]

GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS DESCRIBES CAPITALIST METHODS.

Governor Tanner has surprised the country. Without saying anything not before well known to intelligent Socialists, he has defended his attitude on the attempt of the coal mine operators at Virden to run their business with Winchester and criminals imported from another state in a manner to classify him with and even outrank Altgeld. Whatever the governor's motives may be, there is so much wholesome truth in what he has to say, that his statement in its main features is here reproduced:

"My position has been from the beginning, and I am now more positive in that position, emphatically against the importation of labor into Illinois, not from the southern states alone, but from all other states, because such a pernicious system, as I have said before, necessarily brings to our state and dumps upon society an undesirable class of citizens, and I do not propose, if I can help it, that the state of Illinois shall be used as a dumping ground for the criminal and idle classes of other countries or other states.

"If our state offers better inducements to labor than can be found elsewhere we will welcome all comers, if they come in the ordinary way, and if these mine owners mentioned at Virden and Pana will abandon the idea of importing labor and desire to operate their mines, I will, as governor, give them all the protection that is guaranteed to me by the constitution and laws of Illinois. If one, two or three or even large numbers come to our state in the proper order and in the ordinary way, seeking honest employment, and the mine owners see fit to employ them, I will give them all the protection necessary to peacefully operate their mines.

VRIDEN COMPANY AN OUTLAW.

"However, in the Virden case that company has been an outlaw—that is, an intentional outlaw—from the very moment it conceived the idea of importing labor, as is evidenced by the fact that it employed an agent to go to one or more of the southern states, Alabama in particular, and by false representations delude the negroes to come up here, by promising them enticing wages and without advising them of the conditions that existed in the neighborhood of the mines, leading them to believe that they could peacefully enter the neighborhood and work in the mines without opposition.

"In this way they induced some 150 men to come to Illinois, and loaded them on a train as so many cattle, providing them transportation in bulk, locking the doors and making prisoners of them and feeding them as stock. To accompany that train these mine owners and managers had procured the services of a detective agency in St. Louis, which furnished them with an armed guard made up of men from Missouri, Kansas, the city of Chicago and other places, experts in the use of firearms, and furnished them with Winchester.

STATE INVADED BY ARMED MEN

"These were the armed outlaws who invaded Illinois last Wednesday, coming into our state as an army, an armed mob, which was a menace to the peace and dignity of the state and an absolute violation of law—as, for instance, no governor attempts to move his troops across another state without first obtaining the consent of the executive of such state to do so.

"Had I been apprised of the coming of this train I should have met it at the state line with the national guard and disarmed and made prisoners of everyone bearing arms, but this army, using the Chicago and Alton railroad as a fort, proceeded to Virden and there precipitated a riot, which resulted in the loss of twelve lives and the wounding of thirty or forty people.

"The company had also built around its property a fort or stockade, similar to those used in the South, where they operate their mines with convict labor. This I consider in itself a menace to peace and good order and a reflection upon the community in which it is erected.

"In that stockade or fort it provided towers, high above the fort, where men with guns were stationed and during the riot shot down defenseless people.

ANOTHER ARMY IN THE FORT.

"In this fort, I am now advised (I was not aware of it before), this company had another army of fifty or sixty of the same irresponsible class, not citizens of Macoupin county, and perhaps a majority of them not citizens of Illinois, armed with Winchester, with which they also opened fire upon the defenseless people the very moment the train pulled into the depot and before it reached the stockade.

"I therefore charge the owners and managers of this company as being lawbreakers and morally and criminally responsible for the bloodshed and disgrace to our state, and I further charge every man in their employ, as such detective or guard in the stockade or on the train, who participated in this fiendish outrage, as guilty of murder, who should and, I believe, will be indicted by the grand jury of Macoupin county and tried for murder.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY.

The following list of books is by no means complete, but it contains many of the ablest works on Economics, Politics and the Labor Movement. Any books desired, but not included in the list, will be procured at publisher's prices. Orders sent to the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD will receive prompt attention. The price which covers the cost of postage, must accompany your order. Address

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Table listing books and their prices, including Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth; F. W. Sprague, Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation; Gronlund, The Co-operative Commonwealth; August Bebel, Woman: Past, Present and Future; Blatchford, Merrie England; Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward; Edward Bellamy, Equality, Cloth; Lissagary, History of the Commune of 1871; Fabian Essays in Socialism; Charles Vall, Modern Socialism; Ashplant, Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits; Herbert Casson, The Red Light; Henry D. Lloyd, Wealth Against Commonwealth; Thorold Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages; Volney, The Ruins of Empires; Thomas Paine, The Rights of Man; The Socialism of John Stuart Mill, Edited by Bliss; Henry George, Social Problems; Osborne Ward, The Ancient Lowly; Adams, President John Smith; Richard T. Ely, Socialism and Social Reform; Buchner, Man in the Past, Present and Future.

PAMPHLETS. Frederick Engels, Development of Socialism From Utopia to Science; The Class Struggle; The Religion of Capital and Socialism Explained; The Proletariat and Down With Socialism; F. G. K. Gordon, Hard Times: Cause and Cure; Karl Marx, Analysis of Money; Watkins, Evolution of Industry.

SECOND ATTEMPT TO UNLOAD MEN.

"To illustrate the cold-blooded avarice of this company it is only necessary to say that last evening, while the dead lay in Virden and the wounded suffering with pain and anguish, the officers of the company attempted to run in a portion of these imported laborers by the Alton train, taking advantage of the fact that the national guard has disarmed and dispersed the miners from the neighborhood, and tried to run them into the stockade, notwithstanding the fact that they knew I had given orders to Captain Craig, commanding, not to allow them to do so.

"Captain Craig promptly prevented them from disembarking from the train their cargo of imported labor, and in doing so obeyed orders like a good soldier.

"However, a little later in the evening, I understand, a detachment of the guard entered other trains for the purpose of searching the same, to see if there were imported laborers on them. This act grew out of the zeal to do their duty well, as I had given no orders to search trains, and as soon as I learned that such had been done, I instructed General Reece to advise Colonel Young, now commanding, to not interfere with the operation of the trains, nor to invade them, but to only prevent the unloading of imported laborers, which unloading would at once bring about trouble.

"Forty years ago such a thing as lockouts or strikes were unknown in this country. At that time we were wholly an agricultural people and traded our agricultural products for manufactured articles abroad. The sagacious business men saw in the United States a profitable field for manufacture, and under our system of protection we have grown to be one of the greatest manufacturing countries on earth. In this growth and development, as our country became more densely populated, great labor centers grew up, as a result of great railroad centers and manufacturing conditions.

REASON FOR LOCKOUTS AND STRIKES.

"Finally, the question, which is an old one in the old country, of the rights as between labor and capital, became an issue, and strikes and lockouts began.

"Without discussing the question as to who is responsible, this condition resulted in the importation of labor from abroad to take the places of the striking workmen at home. This imported labor brought to our country an undesirable class of citizens, the criminal and idle classes of Europe, such citizens as were undesirable at home and who were unable to secure employment by reason of their criminal or worthless characters. Congress was, by public sentiment in opposition to this system, compelled to take up the question and pass a strict law prohibiting the further importation of labor to this country.

"At that time there was no question as between the states. But the country did not quit growing at that time and conditions have since changed, so it becomes necessary for the better element of the laboring classes to have protection from the scabawag element of neighboring states, and as Illinois is, and perhaps is destined to be, the storm center of such trouble for years to come, the necessity for affirmative action on the part of the executive has arisen in Illinois.

"Believing, as I do, that the sentiment of a great majority of the fair-minded people of Illinois is opposed to having our state used as a dumping ground for the criminal and idle classes of other states, and for the further reason that if I were to allow this importation of labor in these two

mining centers others would follow, which would lead to the greatest mining troubles ever witnessed in this country. I have taken the position that there shall be no further importation of labor into Illinois, and, instead of leaving the helpless miners to fight out the battle with corporate greed with their armed assassins, I propose to deal summarily with such armies that may hereafter invade our state.

"Many good people, perhaps, think I should have sent troops to Virden before this difficulty occurred. Had I done so I would have been using the state as an agent to further the interests of the mine owners, as the moment the troops had been landed they would have dispersed the idle miners, and, of course, the avaricious mine owners could have landed their imported labor without difficulty, thus accomplishing their end."

DANGERS OF TERRITORIAL EXTENSION.

The nation has had much during the past few months to blind and to intoxicate it. It has won an easy victory over an effete and decrepit adversary, in which no splendors of individual heroism nor triumphs of naval skill—and in these we may indulge a just pride—ought to blind our eyes to the fact that we have had a very easy task against a very feeble foe. And now, with unexpected fruits of victory in our hands, what, men are asking, are we going to do with them?

Nay, rather, the solemn question is, what are they going to do with us? Upon what wild course of so-called imperialism are they going to launch the people, many of whom are dizzy already with the dream of colonial gains, and who expect to repeat in distant lands some such history as our conquered enemy wrote long ago in blood and plunder in her colonies here and in South America. We have our Congress to direct this race for empire, and our gaunt and physically wrecked sons and brothers, by tens of thousands, at home, to show us how they will do it.—Bishop Potter.

ARBEITER-ZEITUNG

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