

Social Democratic Herald

VOL. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1898.

NO. 19

The Workingman Who Gives His Vote to a Capitalist Party Throws It Away.

OUR FIRST CAMPAIGN A GLORIOUS VICTORY!

HURRAH FOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

CAREY IS ELECTED.

Our Brilliant Young Comrade
Will Sit in the Legislature
of Massachusetts.

WILL NOT BE ALONE.

Comrade Lewis Scates Also Chosen
as Representative by a Safe
Plurality.

DEBS' PART IN THE BATTLE.

VICTORY AT HAVERHILL.

BOSTON, MASS., Nov. 9, '98.

The Social Democratic Herald,
126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Hurrah for International Socialism;
Carey elected by 342 plurality, Scates 72.
MORRIS JOLLES.

James F. Carey, a member of the Haverhill Branch of the Social Democratic Party, and Lewis Scates, of the same branch, were candidates of our party for representatives in the legislature of Massachusetts from the Haverhill district. Both are capable, honest and worthy of the trust which the people have committed to their charge.

Now is the time for every comrade to give to the movement his very best efforts. Never before have Socialists succeeded in electing two members of a state legislature. Our vote from other states will be most encouraging. Push the work of organization everywhere; let us prove ourselves worthy of greater successes by preparing for them now.

THEY TAKE US SERIOUSLY.

The rally in Haverhill on Friday evening last was one to make glad the heart of every Socialist in the country. At last American Socialism, springing naturally from American conditions, is taking organic form and finding expression in the only effective way, as the same principles have crystallized in other countries, according to their various industrial and political conditions.

Inside the City Hall fifteen hundred enthusiastic citizens of Haverhill packed every available inch of space, and listened for an hour to Comrades Carey and Tobin, while Eugene V. Debs, from the City Hall steps, addressed the twelve hundred outside who could not get in, after which he spoke for an hour and a half to the eager crowd inside. That the people were there not from idle curiosity, but from genuine interest in Socialism and a desire to manifest their endorsement of our candidates, was proved by the applause with which the mention of each candidate's name was greeted, and by their appreciation of the points made by the speakers. Some of Comrade Debs' telling shots elicited a third and fourth renewed round of applause before he could go on. And when he declared that in two years' time we would send Carey to congress, there was no mistaking the fact that he had touched a popular chord, and had voiced the determination of that audience. We await with confidence the results which the next forty-eight hours will bring forth.

The ability displayed by the comrades in making the arrangements is highly creditable to them and encouraging to the rest of us. There were very few people in Haverhill who did not know there was to be a Social Democratic rally in City Hall that night, and that Debs was in town. The parade of several hundred trade unionists and Social Democrats,

headed by Debs, Tobin, Chase and Carey (a Big Four in more senses than one), to the music of an excellent brass band, through streets aglow with red fire and torch-lights, and lined with all the population of Haverhill that was not already at City Hall, made one feel that better times were coming for Socialism in our country. And the presence of President Tobin, of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in the parade, and on our platform, and his able and effective speech, pointing out the necessity for independent political action in connection with the trades union movement, indicated the rapid breaking down of the Chinese wall that has heretofore been erected by misguided party leaders between Socialists and trades unionists.

The "oldest inhabitant" declares that never has there been such a political meeting in the city of Haverhill, even in the pamper days of the old parties. And the people have begun to take us seriously. We look enough like business to be discriminated against by the capitalist press. Last time Debs was in Boston, when they thought we meant nothing but a colonizing scheme for the unemployed, the papers gave two or three column interviews with him and full accounts of his lectures. This time, however, there were no interviews and very brief mention of his lectures; and we had to pay for almost every mention of him that got into the papers. We had planned a grand rally in historic Faneuil Hall, with Debs as speaker, but, after they had given us permission, we were officially notified that the hall had been "closed for repairs," only two or three days after the Democrats had used it for their big rally. The same evening as our Haverhill meeting, the S. L. P. had one on Boston Common, at which the burning question was a protest against the curtailment of the right of free speech of certain of their speakers, who got themselves arrested during the last few weeks by insisting on speaking where city ordinances forbade; and the capitalist press gave their meeting three-quarters of a column, and to ours they gave four lines in one solitary paper. Whose "protest" do they fear most, think you?

So much for Haverhill, our storm-center, for the present. More anon.

The rallies in Amesbury and Newburyport, at which Comrade Debs spoke, were magnificent meetings. The inhabitants of those two staid old New England cities are all stirred up over Socialism. Amesbury took in twelve new members at its last meeting, and Newburyport eight since I last reported; and this was before Comrade Debs' visit. All classes are interested, and Comrade Porter is one of the happiest men in Massachusetts, and also one of the most useful in the movement. I venture to assert that no other kind of man could have got hold of the Newburyport people as he has succeeded in doing. The first thing we know we will carry Newburyport.

Comrade Debs' meetings in Lynn, Brockton, Whitman, Worcester, Fitchburg, Holyoke and Springfield, were gratifying in the extreme. In Springfield and Whitman new branches were formed, and Fitchburg has joined our ranks. In the other places new members were added, and friends and votes gained for Socialism. When the smoke of election day has cleared away we can better see the results.

The ball arranged by the city committee of Boston for the benefit of the campaign fund was a decided success. Over fifty dollars' profit was cleared, and a thoroughly enjoyable time furnished to the comrades and sympathizers who attended. The perfection of the arrangements, and the successful issue of the whole affair, reflects great credit upon the committee of arrangements, including our indefatigable and earnest comrades, Mrs. Konikow, Miss Topaz, Miss Reisman, and Jolles. A deputation of our good and always reliable Lynn comrades was present, and added much to the sociability of the occasion. If that ball committee had had the late unpleasantness with Spain in charge, I venture to assert that it would have been much better managed than it was. And I wasn't on the committee either! November 6, 1898. BOSTON.

DEBS' EPIGRAMS.

I solemnly protest against government by injunction.

The American congress is a moss-covered museum of antiquities.

The capitalist system places idleness on a throne and industry in jail.

Rockefeller's Standard Oil University is a pillared pile of public plunder.

Capitalism makes criminals of men; Socialism makes men of criminals.

Government ownership of railroads is better than railroad ownership of government.

I hope to live long enough to see the term "servant" relegated to the limbo of the obsolete.

Mortgages do not suffer from indigestion; they are never afflicted with loss of appetite.

If the hand of corporate capital could reach Old Sol, there would be a meter on every sunbeam.

Capitalism has reduced the wage-worker to a tramp, his wife to rags and his child to machine oil.

If you meet a man who does not want to work, the chances are that his father never had a chance to work.

I would rather be a slave than a master upon the principle that I would rather be the victim than the beneficiary of a crime.

With all my heart I protest against a system in which the lap dogs of the rich are the social superiors of the children of the poor.

If the capitalist system were in operation in the Celestial Kingdom, it would not be long before heaven's supreme court would be debauched to obtain a decision that the command, "Thou shalt not steal," is unconstitutional.

Shakespeare says: "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones." Edward Bellamy did no evil, and the good that he did is not interred with his bones, but lives and permeates all classes of society. The publishers of his books have just gotten out a new edition of "Looking Backward."

Nothing is more cowardly than waiting to join a party that represents your interests until it becomes popular. Don't wait for anyone else, for some other fellow may be waiting for you, and you are thus doing him an injury. Be a man!

The factory inspector's report in Wisconsin shows that there are over 3,000 children under 16 years at work in the factories of that state. The law prohibits children under 14 from factory work, but the report says that in many cases parents falsify the age of their children, even going to the length of altering the date of their birth in the family Bible. In the cracker and candy factories the children earn \$1.96 a week. Of the children under 16 years, 2,618 were native born. From this last fact it is plain that Samuel Gompers' great gilt-edged remedy for the poverty of the people, the stopping of immigration, would not affect the child labor problem at all!

"The organized labor of the country is well equipped in everything but leadership. Its strength is at times wasted by following the appeals of demagogues." So says the Democratic Philadelphia Times. This very well voices the sentiments of a party that the leaders of Populism have been trying to deliver the workingman over to. The old parties are utterly untrustworthy. They stand for the fleecing of labor and nothing else.

The economic evolution compels combination, and wherever combination is possible it cannot be avoided. There is a marked tendency now for national banks to combine, the weaker being swallowed up by the stronger. The other day the complete business of the Globe National of Chicago was transferred to the Continental National. Concentration of banks, like the introduction of labor-saving machines, forces men out of work, and there is little doubt that Globe bank clerks and bookkeepers are now on the street.

Here is a little story for workingmen of America to tell their children: One O. M. Carter, a captain in the regular

army of the United States, and a personal friend of the president, has been found guilty of conspiring and defrauding the government out of \$2,000,000 in connection with public works improvements at Savannah, Ga. He had a military trial, and the court martial recommended that he be dishonorably discharged from the army, serve five years' imprisonment and pay a fine of \$5,000. President McKinley has decided that this sentence is too severe, and will modify it. The children should be told that, had Carter been a poor man, out of work, with nothing to eat, and had stolen a loaf of bread to sustain life, he would have been lucky to get off with five years' imprisonment, and the president would not have interfered in the case.

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The trial of Thomas I. Kidd, general secretary of the International Woodworkers' Union, charged with conspiracy by manufacturers at Oshkosh, ended in his acquittal. Mr. Kidd's chief counsel, Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, made a masterful speech in behalf of his client. Mr. Darrow said he appeared in the case as the friend and neighbor of Thomas Kidd; this trial was simply a phase of the great social question that moves the world, an incident in man's unfinished struggle for perfect freedom. He told the jury that the cause of labor was in their keeping, and if they sent the defendant and his associates to jail on the charge trumped up for the occasion, they would write their own infamy in the verdict they returned. The judge in the case made a fair charge to the jury. He held that labor unions were lawful and laudable, and that men might quit work individually or collectively at their pleasure, resulting incidental injury constituting no ground for action against them. The jury took two ballots, the second being unanimous for a verdict of "not guilty." When the verdict was announced in court the audience broke into cheers, and the judge made no effort to restrain the demonstration. The trial occupied about three weeks, and Mr. Kidd is receiving congratulations from hosts of friends.

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Labor troubles have started in Cuba. Native Cubans employed on public work at Santiago have been receiving \$1 a day without rations, or 50 cents and two rations daily. This is boastfully reported to be higher wages than they have ever before been paid. But they wanted higher wages still, and American like, struck for a raise. Gen. Wood, the military governor over there, says he will arrest every laborer under a vagrancy law, which he will establish, and compel them to work thirty days for rations while confined in jail. That's easy enough. So human and in keeping with American capitalistic ideas!

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The political pirates of Pennsylvania are engaged in washing their dirty linen in the public view. To such notorious scoundrels as Quay and Penrose the most trying fact is that the operation is being done in public.

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Mrs. John Jacob Astor has made an investigation of the statements of the striking cloakmakers of New York, and reports that she has found them true. She says that she has been paying \$75 for a hunting suit that cost only \$20. Mrs. Astor says she is willing to pay \$75 if necessary, and adds significantly: "But I would like the \$55 profit to relieve the workers instead of further enriching their employers, who are really rich enough." This is really very dangerous ground for Mrs. Astor to take. The people can well reply, as they do: "The Astor family is really rich enough, and it is time that its special privileges and monopoly rights in land were ended, so that the benefits of social ownership may be enjoyed by us all." Private profits on land are no more justifiable than private profits on hunting suits. The poor who make these hunting suits which cost \$20 and sell for \$75 receive for their labor not enough to feed their bodies, and their sufferings are terrible. Read the selections from "Songs of the Sweatshop" in this paper.

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GROWTH OF SOCIALISM.

Mr. Yves Guyot, a well-known economic writer of France, and a pronounced individualist, contributed to the Journal des Economistes a noteworthy paper on the present condition of public opinion in Europe, more especially, however, addressing himself to the question whether Socialism is gaining or losing ground. He finds that returns from the latest elections indicate unmistakably that it is gaining; that it "is largely on the increase." In France the number of votes cast in 1898 for radical and radical Socialist deputies showed a gain of nearly 30 per cent over those cast in 1893. The same is true in a greater or less degree of Belgium, Germany and Austria, England alone shows a contrary tendency.

Therefore, Mr. Guyot concludes that Socialistic ideas are gaining ground. In his second chapter he takes up the question of what measures are being taken to combat them, and finds that practically every government in Europe is fighting them with concessions of small items of their program. He points out that they are making gains equally under republic, constitutional monarchy and limited tyranny. So that the form of government seems to play but a small part in repressing or encouraging them. Sometimes the spread of Socialism is attributed to non-sectarian education, but even where the church controls the schools absolutely as in Belgium, the Socialist ideas make rapid headway. No amount of repression seems to have any effect in diminishing their popularity. The man of blood and iron, the recently defunct Bismarck, flushed with foreign conquest, was unable even by the adoption of the severest measures to stem the tide which seemed to be irresistibly set toward Socialistic doctrines. After a time he tried to steal their thunder, and Mr. Guyot quotes from a message of Emperor William I. to the reichstag, which overflows with pure Socialist doctrine. The present German emperor's efforts in this direction are well known. In Belgium, in Austria, in Italy, it has been the same in greater or less degree, while in France the inconsistency of those who pretend to oppose the Socialist doctrine rises to the height of absurdity. "They advocate the initiative, subject, however, to the intervention of the government. They give exemptions from taxes to co-operative societies; they favor subventions to trades unions. They offer a greater interest than that which the law of supply and demand allows to the funds of benevolent societies deposited with the government. They promise retiring pensions to the aged, and bate this great reform by government credit for the amelioration of retiring pensions. They have even come to the enactment of special laws concerning accidents, sickness and idleness, together with special regulations governing the vacation and assistance of factory hands, etc., who are minors. They would transform the wage system into one of profit-sharing, and make employment agencies government bureaus."

HOPEFUL AT ST. LOUIS.

It is impossible in this issue to give even an approximate figure of the Social Democratic vote in Missouri. The revolt and discontent resulted in eleven tickets in St. Louis.

During the previous week, organizer accompanied by Comrade Anna F. Smith, visited meetings of the following unions, where their Social Democratic speeches elicited encouraging responses. November 2, Boxmakers' and Sawyers, Carpenters No. 45; November 4, Stairbuilders, Boot and Shoe Makers; November 5, Carpenters, 5 and 47.

With proper efforts the members of the Trades Unions in America may become as progressive as their British brethren who recently, at their National Congress, by an overwhelming majority, declared for the public ownership of all the means of production, exchange and distribution.

SANDERSON, Organizer.

Now that the campaign is over we urge comrades everywhere to give attention to the branches and THE HERALD.

Social Democratic Herald.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

BY THE

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IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

TO THE COMRADES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY:

A proposition having been made (by a comrade in Belleville, Illinois, to the National Executive Committee) to publish the Social Democratic Herald on terms much more economical and satisfactory than can possibly be obtained in any large city, the committee has determined to accept the proposition of our Belleville comrade, and to change the place of publication of our National Party Organ from Chicago to Belleville. By this arrangement a very great saving in the cost of getting out the paper can be effected and the money thus saved can be used in sending out organizers and in other propaganda.

Belleville is a city of some twenty thousand inhabitants, and is situated about eighteen miles from St. Louis, Mo. Our comrade, Edwards, will reside there and continue to edit the paper. He will have the assistance of other comrades residing in Belleville. But the headquarters of the National Executive Committee will remain in Chicago, and Comrade Theodore Debs will continue as secretary-treasurer and general organizer at room 56, No. 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

In making this change the National Executive Committee feel that their action will meet the approbation of our comrades. No disadvantage can arise from it that will not be fully compensated for by the advantages to be gained by the change. All manuscripts and reports for publication should be addressed to A. S. Edwards, Belleville, Ill. All financial contributions and dues should be sent to Theodore Debs at the above address.

JESSE COX, Chairman National Executive Committee.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary National Executive Committee.

A CHANGE THAT MUST OCCUR.

At a time when the reactionary, retrogressive forces of civilization seem to be in the ascendancy, and the demoralization, ignorance and apathy of men are so great that every truly progressive movement is choked in its incipency, it is well to remember that despite human inertia and the desperate attempts of a monied aristocracy to bolster up and keep intact a decaying social order, there are certain inflexible laws governing the growth of nations that no human power can touch.

This fact is strikingly brought out by Dr. J. W. Draper in his "Intellectual Development of Europe." He writes as follows: "There runs an irresistible destiny in the midst of all vicissitudes. There are analogies between the life of a nation and that of an individual, who, though he may be in one respect the maker of his own fortunes, for happiness or for misery, for good or for evil; though he remains here or goes there, as his inclinations prompt, is nevertheless held fast by an inexorable fate, a fate which brought him into the world involuntarily, as far as he was concerned, which presses him forward through a definite career, the stages of which are absolutely invariable—infancy, childhood, youth, maturity, old age—with all their characteristic actions and passions, and which removes him from the scene at the appointed time, in most cases against his will. So, also, it is with nations; the voluntary is only the outward semblance, covering, but hardly hiding, the predetermined. Over the

events of life, we may have control, but none whatever over the law of its progress. There is a geometry that applies to nations—an equation of their course of advance, that no mortal can touch."

Apply this law to the conditions existing to-day and it will be seen, no matter how dark the outlook, that a change from the competitive to the co-operative order is inevitable. The competitive system has reaped for destruction; as a system it may be said it no longer exists. Monopoly has taken its place. That is the great fact confronting us. The continuance of a monopolistic regime means social degeneration, the subversion of the republic, the death of freedom, and, finally, the extinction of civilization.

Did we bring these conditions about? No; they are the result of a system as old as human depravity and human ignorance and weakness.

We are simply reaping the results of the past, and these results absolutely force us into measures that will break the power of monopoly and destroy the system that created it.

The lethargy of the people, the viciousness and power of money in politics can go just so far in controlling public affairs, but no farther. They may make a peaceful change from a lower to a higher social order impossible, but they cannot prevent that change. They cannot infuse life into a dying system or bring about an era of prosperity. The private ownership and absorption of public wealth by a few renders it impossible.

The end of the old competitive order has come. It may pass away gradually through the general enlightenment of the people, but it is more likely to end with a crash that will convulse civilization. We may deplore it and bend all our efforts to avert what may be considered a great catastrophe, and yet be unable to do so. For the system under which we are living so brutalizes and renders all the higher faculties as to render men in their insatiable greed for gold incapable of fully estimating the condition of things and the perils of the times. The motto of plutocracy is, "After me the deluge," not seeing, in their blindness, that the deluge may at any time engulf them.

What care the great monopolists and rulers of the nation if thousands or millions are out of work, if business stagnates, if crime increases, and the whole social system shows signs of moral degeneracy, so long as they can profit by the sufferings and misery of others? They do not see, and do not care to see, that the despoiled, poverty stricken people are the consumers of a nation, and that when their power of consumption is finally arrested by the iron hand of poverty that the whole industrial fabric is disordered and a crash becomes inevitable.

At present the law of demand and supply is wholly on the side of the capitalist class. The labor market is gorged and employers can obtain workmen on their own terms. It is "work at the prices offered or starve," and they work and nearly starve. Wealth rolls in through this cheapening of the cost of production; banks are filled to overflowing, the markets of the world are searched for all that is useful, rare and beautiful, but the producers of all this wealth—the consumers—where are they? Living in dens and alleys, huddled in a few rooms, with scant food, scant clothing—living on the dregs of life. The home market is destroyed. Trade languishes, goods are unsold, or sold and exported at half their value, manufacturers fail, general contraction of business results, and by and by the merchant princes are brought face to face with the fact that in destroying labor they are destroying themselves.

Will they change? Will they give up the system with all its perils, that makes slaves of men and yields such rich rewards? They will not, any more than the tiger that has once tasted blood will take its teeth from off the throat of its victim. The cry of "over production" will be raised, the panic will pass, losses will be recouped and the same old course again pursued.

The question resolves itself into this: plutocracy must be overthrown or it will overthrow the republic; it is social reconstruction or decay and death. Here is where the "reign of law" comes in.

The end has come. It may not be this year or the next, but forces are in motion that will make a swift transition from the old order to the new. In the meanwhile let those on whom the light has dawned work, for work at this crisis is prayer.

IMOGENE C. FALES, Bensonhurst, N. Y.

In New Zealand children under 16 years of age are not allowed in factories. How terrible!

In New Zealand the government obliges every employer to give his workmen a half holiday without stopping their pay. Isn't that awful?

In New Zealand the government gives the unemployed work. Think of that! How foolish!

In free America we don't care what becomes of the workingman, so long as we get our profits.

The indignant wives of striking miners at Boston, Pa., treated a mine boss who abused them to a coat of whitewash and gave him a good pummeling. It was a case of black sheep made white. When a woman will she will.

TRUTH IS OUR STRENGTH.

I do not know how it is with the rest of you, but to me there is positive exhilaration in feeling that I am shoulder to shoulder with a band of sincere, determined fellows, fighting for a cause as sacred as life itself. Considering the vast number of people whose interests should cause them to join with us and that only a small fraction of that number are really enlisted, the fight is a great fight nevertheless. You know the Christians say that "one man and God are a majority." It is much the same with us. Our real strength is not to be measured by the actual number in the lines of battle. Viewed in that light we are a mere handful. Our true strength comes from the fact that Truth and Justice are on our side, and we can truly say that one man and Truth are a majority. Such an army must necessarily prevail. In every stage of the world's progress out of darkness a man here and there has grasped some part of truth and prevailed over all seeming overwhelming obstacles. So far as he was able to understand the world forward. Usually, it is true, the man who led the way ceased to be radical when he reached the end of his conception of the truth, and then he was quite likely to try to block the way of some other man who wished to carry the torch of progress further along. You know how the Puritans, after fighting for liberty themselves, became oppressors. In the early days of our nation there were brave men who saw enough of the truth to battle for political equality. And there are people to-day who warm up with the thought of political liberty, whose grasp of the truth is limited to that one principle and who not only cannot see the necessity of industrial liberty, but who are ready to join in every effort to prevent industrial emancipation. There are people who wept tears of compassion over the plight of the black slave who have no feeling for the sufferings of the white wage-slave.

It may seem like a digression, but I want to point out that the impending death of the Populist Party can be charged to the fact that its ruling spirits were men who were not able to grasp the entire truth. Their intentions were good, no doubt, but they were far from battling for true democracy. Their idea of democracy was the democracy of the small tradesman. They left the wage-worker out of their reckoning altogether, or thought that he would benefit through the prosperity of the small employer. Had the Populists—I mean the true-hearted ones, not the petty politicians among them—battled for true democracy, had their fight been for the real people instead of a class that was exploiting wage-labor, the party would not to-day be in the throes of dissolution.

WAYFARER.

THE MINERS' APPEAL.

We, the undersigned committee, most respectfully present our condition to our fellow workmen throughout the United States, for such aid as they can send to the miners of Virden, in this their fight to maintain existence with their fellow workmen.

Our men have been idle since April 1st—nearly 7 months—and they are in a deplorable condition. Winter is on us; our wives and children are without sufficient clothes to keep out the cold winds, and not enough to eat to keep body and soul together.

On September 25th, the Chicago-Virden Coal Company imported 100 negroes from Alabama, and nine negro women. They were the scum of Alabama—a great many of them ex-convicts—to take the place of union miners.

On October 12th, the company brought six carloads more of the same class from Alabama, under guard of 100 detectives from Thiel's agency, St. Louis. The result of trying to land these negroes you have seen through the columns of the press, where the miners lost eight killed and twelve wounded—wives left husbandless, and children crying for those that will never return.

We, the miners of Virden, intend to fight this battle to the bitter end if we can get sufficient support to keep us here to do so. For we know that the downfall of organized labor, whether in Virden or elsewhere, means a downfall to all organized labor of the United States.

Fellow workmen, we have been out so long you all know that our miners are in a bad condition, the most of them with large families, all of them in debt for what they have been eating and for house rent and with legal proceedings instituted against a large majority. You know it will take money to fight to a finish. Hoping you will respond promptly and liberally, we remain,

Yours fraternally,

ED. CAHILL, JOHN BELGER, JOHN BOND, J. D. FOLEY, L. ROTHENBUECHER, Sec. ALEX. OLSEN, Treas. Committee.

Send all moneys to secretary, payable to treasurer, Virden, Illinois.

SONGS OF THE SWEATSHOP.

Copeland & Day, Boston, have just published in book form, under the title of "Songs from the Ghetto," a collection of poems written by Morris Rosenfeld, the poet of the sweatshops, who lives in New York. The poems are given in the original Yiddish, or Judeo-German, with prose translations by Leo Weiner, of Harvard University. The following selections present the most beautiful and pathetic of the most unusual verses:

IN THE SWEATSHOP.

The machines in the shop roar so wildly that often I forget in the roar that I am; I am lost in the terrible tumult, my ego disappears, I am a machine. I work, and work, and work without end; I am busy, and busy, and busy at all time. For what? and for whom, I know not, I ask not! How should a machine ever come to think?

There are no feelings, no thoughts, no reason; the bitter, bloody work kills the noblest, the most beautiful and best, the richest, the deepest, the highest, which life possesses. The seconds, minutes and hours fly; the nights, like the days' pass as swiftly as sails; I drive the machine just as if I wished to catch them; I chase without avail, I chase without end.

The clock in the workshop does not rest; it keeps on pointing, and ticking, and waking in succession. A man once told me the meaning of its pointing and waking—that there was reason in it, as if through a dream I remember it all; the clock awakens life and sense in me, and something else—I forget what, ask me not! I know not, I know not, I am a machine!

And at times, when I hear the clock, I understand quite differently its pointings, its language—it seems to me as if the Unrest (pendulum) egged me on that I should work more, more, much more. In its sound I hear only the angry words of the boss: in the two hands I see his gloomy look. The clock, I shudder—it seems to me it drives me and calls me "Machine" out to me: "Sew!"

Only when the wild tumult subsides and the master is away for the midday hour, day begins to dawn in my head, and a pain passes through my heart; I feel my wound, and bitter tears, and boiling tears wet my meager meal, my bread. It chokes me; I can eat no more, I cannot! O horrible toil! O bitter necessity!

The shop at the midday hour appears to me like a bloody battlefield, where all are at rest. About me I see lying the dead, and the blood that has been spilled cries from the earth. * * * A minute later, the tocsin is sounded, the dead arise, the battle is renewed. The corpses light, for strangers for strangers! and they battle, and fall, and disappear into night!

I look at the battlefield in bitter anger, in terror, with a feeling of revenge, with a hellish pain. The clock, now I hear it aright, it is calling: "An end to slavery, an end shall it be!" It vivifies my reason, my feelings, and shows how the hours fly. Miserable I shall be as long as I am silent, lost—as long as I remain what I am. * * *

The man that sleeps in me begins to waken—the slave that wakens in me is put to sleep. Now the right hour has come! An end to misery, an end let it be! * * * But suddenly—the whistle, the boss, an alarm! I lost my reason, forget where I am. There is a tumult; they battle; oh, my ego is lost—I know not, I care not, I am a machine.

THE PALE OPERATOR.

I see there a pale operator all absorbed in his work. Ever since I remember him he has been sewing and using up his strength.

Months fly and years pass by, and the pale-faced one still bends over his work and struggles with the unfeeling machine.

I stand and look at his face. His face is besmudged and covered with sweat. I feel that it is not bodily strength that works in him, but the incitement of the spirit.

And the tears fall in succession from daybreak until fall of night, and water the clothes and enter into the seams.

Pray, how long will the weak one drive the bloody wheel? Who can tell me his end? Who knows the terrible secret?

Hard, very hard, to answer that. But one thing is certain: When the work will have killed him, another will be sitting in his place and sewing.

A TEAR ON THE IRON.

Oh, cold and dark is the shop! I hold the iron stand and press—my heart is weak, I groan and cough—my sick breast scarcely heaves.

I groan and cough and press and think—my eyes grows damp, a tear falls; the iron is hot—my little tear, it seethes and seethes, and will not dry up.

I feel no strength, it is all used up; the iron falls from my hand, and yet the tear, the silent tear, the tear, the tear boils more and more.

My head whirrs, my heart breaks, I ask in woe: "Oh, tell me, my friend in adversity and pain, oh, tell, why do you not dry up in seething?" "Are you, perhaps, a messenger, and announce to me that other tears are coming? I should like to know it; say, when will the great woe be ended?"

I should have asked more and more of the Unrest, the turbulent tear; but suddenly there began to flow more

tears, tears without measure, and I am once understood that the river of tears is very deep.

DESPAIR.

Is it not allowed to rest even one day in the week and to be at least one day free from the dreadful yoke? To forget the angry scowl of the boss, his gloomy mien, his terrible look; to forget the shop and the cries of the foreman; to forget slavery; to forget woe? You wish to forget yourself and to rest? Never mind, you will soon go to your rest.

The brook is silvery and glitters beautifully; the waves are crowned with a heavenly grace. Oh, how good it is to bathe there! How I should enjoy leaping into it! My body is washed from the dreadful work—how the bath would refresh me!—Oh, you wish to make your ablution in the brook? Be not frightened, you will soon receive your ablution!

The sweatshop is dark and smoky and small. How can my white blouse be clean there? In the dirty blouse cleanliness is unknown to me. How a pure, white shirt adorns a man! How proper for a noble body it is, in order to be free, to work humanely and be clean withal!—You wish now to dress yourself in white? They will dress you, and dress you quickly enough!

The woods are breezy. In the woods it is cool. How good—to dream here quietly! The little birds sing pleasantly; but in the shop there is a noise, and the air is suffocating. Oh, you wish to be cool? Of what avail is a forest to you? It will not be long before you will be cold!

THE CANARY.

The canary warbles alone in the free forest. Who can feel his joy? who can understand his pleasure?

The canary warbles in the richest palace sweetly. Who can feel his sorrow, who can understand his pain?

SOCIALISM IN LONDON.

The city of London now boasts of more than fifty public bath houses, and others are in process of construction. There are fifty-four sanitariums scattered over the city, underground, beautifully fitted up in marble, with all the modern improvements, including towels, brushes, combs, etc., for a very small figure. At Battersea there are 1,200 beautiful, cosy homes for working people, constructed by Lord Shaftesbury. They accommodate a population of 11,000 souls. They are made of brick, and form an attractive little village of cottages of five and six rooms each, with suitable conveniences and good yards and playgrounds for the children. The cottages are shaded in front by trees. Rents range from \$1.75 to \$2.75 per week.

WHAT AN EX-CONVICT SAYS.

George Rogers, a man who has served eleven terms in penitentiaries, amounting in all to over twenty years, has this to say about the treatment accorded to prisoners:

"I do not wish to be understood as making any apology or asking any sympathy, but it seemed to me I might say a word which would be of interest and possibly help some fellow. The man who commits a crime deserves no sympathy, and ought to be punished for it. But while he should be punished, I think he also should be treated justly. Most of my time was served in prisons where the contract system is used. I will talk on this first, and endeavor to show why the convict gets the worst of it. He earns big money for the contractor and gets nothing. Generally the contractor pays the state 50 cents a day for the labor of the men working in his shop. Now, for three of my four terms in Joliet I worked in the shoe shop. It cost the contractor 50 cents a day to work me. What I produced was worth at least \$1.50 a day to him. If I had been out and doing the same class of work I would have received from \$2.50 to \$3 a day for it. Of course it was my fault that I was not out. But take into consideration what happened when I was discharged. I had earned 200 per cent a day for the contractor on his investment while in his shop. He is immensely wealthy from my work and that of the other men in that prison. What did I get on leaving? I got \$10 and a cheap suit of clothes, and was turned out with the stigma of crime on me to make my way. I was advised to go out, be honest and not come back. To do this I had \$10 and a suit worth about as much. Now, if I had received a small portion of the money I earned for my master I would have had, say, \$300, or a 'stake' big enough to admit of my remaining honest long enough to get a start. I could have gone far enough away to drop my bad record, and have worked at my trade, learned in prison, to have earned a good living. But the state gives a discharged convict just enough to pay for a drunk, and turns him loose on society with the injunction to be good and not come back to prison."

The Paris Municipal Council, by a vote of 55 to 8, have suppressed the octroi taxes levied on spirits, wine, beer, provisions, and building material, brought into the city. M. Weber, the Socialist councillor who introduced the repealing measure, proposes that new taxes be levied on inheritance and landed property to compensate for the loss of the octroi duties.

SOME IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS IN SUPPORT OF PROPOSED CHANGES.

By Rosa Proletaire.



In one of his inimitable lectures John Ruskin spoke of a man who had a belt full of gold and silver coin and who was shipwrecked off the Californian coast...

Ruskin made a distinction between good wealth and bad wealth. Wealth was good when it blessed mankind as a whole, bad when it oppressed and demoralized mankind.

To characterize the bad wealth he invented a term—illth. It is a word that deserves to be taken up in general speech.

I always think of this distinction made by Ruskin when I see the "prosperity" of the factories and shops in this wide land.

During the campaign just closed we have heard a good deal from the Republican orators about the factory chimneys all smoking. They told us that meant prosperity for the people.

According to Ruskin, that which is a collective benefit is wealth; that which works distinctly to the collective disadvantage is illth.

"But," interrupts the capitalistic apologist, "the factories give people work. The more factories the better the working people are off."

Is that true? I cannot bring myself to think so.

So long as the blood-sucking profit system lasts the factories will be nothing more than pens in which the working people are driven to be plucked.

The working people have been so ground down and misinformed in regard to their own true well-being that they imagine that they would starve if there were not capitalists to provide work for them.

As a matter of fact, their class would benefit immeasurably if the factories were all swept away and co-operative production installed instead.

I don't mean that the factories themselves should be torn down, but that the factory system, as now organized for private profit making, should be wiped out.

Statisticians agree that at present 1 per cent. of the people own 99 per cent. of the wealth of this great land.

This terrible condition of things has come about in the last fifty years largely.

Is that 99 per cent. wealth or illth? I should say it was largely illth.

It is being made to further plunder and fleece the people. It is used as a stake upon the great industrial gambling table with which to attract the small holdings of the impoverished people, as the magnet does the iron filing.

Under the profit system the stakes go to the holders of the big fortunes; there is no doubt about it, so far as the wage-worker is concerned.

The average wage-worker in this country produces an average value of \$10 a day throughout the year.

The average daily wage of the wage-worker is a trifle over \$1.25.

So it is clear that the average wage-worker loses \$8.75 of the value he produces every day! Capital gets it, and the factories are the means by which the spoliation is accomplished.

Are the factories, then, good or bad? Isn't it clear that they are really an evil, from the collectivist standpoint?

More factories mean increasing poverty for the masses.

The factories and the machinery must be wrested from their private owners, if the people would be free. When the people own the machinery of production, every bit of value they produce will be theirs.

THE PHILOSOPHER.

Worcester (Mass.) Spy: "The audience that listened to Mr. Debs last night was one that nearly filled the floor of the hall, and was evidently in entire sympathy with the doctrines that the speaker advanced. The impression that the orator made was a very good one. He put all his arguments on the high ground of desire to benefit mankind, and judging solely by his manner and earnestness, he is sincere in that aim, and therefore entitled to the respect of thinking people."

The work done by the S. D. P. in four months should encourage us all. With increased activity during the winter we shall double the local branches.

full to pay the printer's bill, from week to week. I know comrades that worked for our Socialist papers for years without a cent commission, but finally they dropped out of the movement entirely, owing to the fact that they could no longer endure the financial strain put upon them.

Fifty cents a week is hardly enough to pay for the white paper and the composition work. The German weekly Socialist papers are from \$1.50 to \$2.00 a year—so I am informed by a Boston German comrade—and I see no valid reason why we English-speaking Socialists should not pay \$1.00 for our paper.

As to extra copies for propaganda work we could very easily fix a special rate for 50, 100 or 1,000 copies, but subscriptions should not be less than 25 cents for three months. I hereby move that the price of the Social Democratic Herald be increased to \$1.00 a year.

Another radical change is necessary. To-day members receive the paper free of charge. What does this mean? Twenty-five cents for every quarter go to National headquarters—about 8 cents a month! For this 8 cents sometimes five copies of the paper are to be furnished, leaving 3 cents a month for the National Executive to carry on the agitation, pay office rent, salary of secretary, etc. This must be changed.

I hereby propose that a uniform four-page membership card be printed, about four by three inches in size, the first page containing name of our party, space for name of member, etc.; second and third pages contain space for monthly receipts for two years, the receipts to be entered under the stamp system which stamps (like small postal stamps) shall be furnished by the National Executive at the rate of five cents each to the branches. The National Secretary shall not send any membership stamps to any branch unless he has at first received the cash for the same. Every branch may secure one, five, or ten dollars' worth of stamps at any time. By this stamp system we get more money in our treasuries, the bookkeeping of our National secretary will be simplified, etc. Every branch must send monthly or quarterly reports to National Headquarters concerning the membership of the branch, etc. A branch may have money on hand and get \$10.00 worth of stamps at any time, but under our present system usually the branches are without money when called upon to pay the quarterly 25 cents. Most of the Unions have the stamp system.

Every member will naturally be interested enough to read our Socialist paper. I move that henceforth the paper shall not be furnished free of charge to members. The five cents National membership dues shall go clear into our National treasury and let every member become a subscriber to our paper.

Our Social party press must be put on a more solid basis. Our National Executive must be provided with means to carry on more effective agitation work. Comrades, this is a very serious question that must be settled immediately. Always keep in mind that only 10 per cent. of the Socialist voters will become active party members. When we have 100,000 Socialist voters we shall have an excellent organization when 10,000 of them are organized. But the organization of these 10,000 soldiers of the grand Social revolution must be so solid that it can resist the power of capitalism or corruption at any moment and on every battlefield. Act promptly! It is for the good and welfare of a grand and noble cause. Your beloved sister, ROSA PROLETAIRE.

DAVID A. WELLS DEAD.

The well-known economist, David A. Wells, died at Norwich, Conn., Saturday, Nov. 5. Mr. Wells was born at Springfield, Mass., June 17, 1828. Early in life he was connected with the Springfield Republican. He was the author of many notable books on economic subjects, the chief of which was his "Recent Economic Changes," published in 1890. The author's very thorough and painstaking work in the production of this book did not lead him to an acceptance of Socialism, but it remains distinctively his most important contribution to economic literature, and for Socialists it is an arsenal of facts pointing clearly to one conclusion, the necessity of the ultimate democratizing of industry.

With the results of the campaign there is ample cause for satisfaction. Now the work of organization demands attention.

My Dear Brother John: For the next few months all our efforts must be concentrated on the work of organization. Of course, our party is less than five months old, and the work we have thus far accomplished is encouraging indeed. However, we must prepare for greater work. The entire country, from Canada to the Gulf, from the Hudson River to the Pacific, is to be organized for the great campaign of 1900.

In the national campaign of 1900 all capitalist reform issues will be pressed into the background, and the main issue in that great political fight will be between the party of Labor and Socialism and the party of robbery and capitalism.

In order to lead the Social Democratic Party to victory and success, in order to make it the party of the American wage-working class, it is absolutely necessary that a more solid system of organization be introduced in our party. In many ways our present form of organization is very loose and defective. A party that is, by its very revolutionary principles, constantly being forced into the front ranks of the proletarian army of emancipation, requires a strong and solid organization; otherwise its ranks will be broken as easily as the ranks of the poor Spanish soldier slaves during Dewey's attacks on Manila.

The main weapon in the hands of our party is the Socialistic press. I propose that certain changes be made in regard to our Socialist publications. During the last two or three years the "cheap Socialist paper" idea has developed almost into a disease, the result being that enormous financial sacrifices on the part of a small number of our comrades have to be made to cover the deficits caused by this Cheap Johnism.

Not only that, but I know of several good Socialist papers that have been forced to the wall as a result of this Cheap John competition in Socialist literature.

I hold that the 25 cent and 50 cent weekly Socialist newspaper business cannot be continued for any great length of time. In order to reduce the price to 25 or 50 cents we must have from 40,000 to 50,000 subscribers. It might be done successfully if we had a co-operative system of Socialist newspaper publications instead of our present anarchic, competitive system, where every little sheet is competing with the other, like capitalist against capitalist.

Some three or four months ago I happened to see a copy of the Cigar-makers' Journal which contained a quarterly financial report of the Socialist Publishing Society that publishes the paper. In that report I noticed that within three months the New York people made a deficit of about \$600. To prove that this is not mere heresy, I hereby give that official report in full:

Table with columns for Receipts and Expenditures. Receipts: To carriers, \$209.84; To subscription, \$1,390.65; To advertising, \$3.89; To sundries, .42; To N. Y. Volkszeitung, 246.85. Total: \$1,901.65. Expenditures: By editorial salary, \$325.00; By editorial, extra expenses, 9.74; By office salary, 335.00; By office, extra expenses, 32.27; By complete The People, Goldmann, 754.35; By composition extra expenses, 92.27; By mail, 390.87; By commission on advertising, 11.53; By discount to newsdealers, 79.27; By subscription, repaid, 5.27; By sundries, 44.80. Total: \$1,901.65.

Table with columns for Receipts and Expenditures. Receipts: To carriers, including office sales, \$15.04; To subscription, 72.09; To advertising, 9.54; To sundries, .03. Total receipts, \$96.70. Deficit per week, \$47.04. Total deficit for 13 weeks of the quarter, \$611.52.

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The Social Democratic Herald is 50 cents a year. I propose that the price be increased to \$1.00 a year; this would enable us to publish a good eight-page paper and to give 20 per cent., or even 33 1/2 per cent. commission to all comrades that secure subscriptions and make the collections. Under the present 50-cent system we sacrifice our best comrades and have all our hands

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. Marian 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 Ketchwain'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 Volkman'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 streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 778 Twenty-fifth street.

A LESSON FROM BALTIMORE.

Our comrades at Baltimore, after faithfully working in behalf of the party in that city, and procuring the required number of signers to their petitions for the nomination of three candidates for congress, were subjected to a great disappointment. The law of Maryland requires 300 signatures of registered voters in each congressional district. These signatures were obtained, as follows: In the Third district, 372; Fourth district, 353; Fifth district, 321. When the lists were compared with the registration books, it was found a large number in each district were not registered. The comrades started to procure signatures before registration, always carefully enjoining the signers to be sure and register. But in many instances this duty was neglected, and so their labor, so far as the present election was concerned, counted for nothing. But the list of names collected will be of great value to them in their future work. The highest number of petitioners to a Socialist movement in Baltimore heretofore was 550. Comrades of the Social Democratic Party succeeded in getting upwards of 1,000, and while they feel their present disappointment keenly, there is encouragement for them in the situation.

GREAT MEETING AT HAVERHILL.

Haverhill, Mass., the home of Comrade James F. Carey, was the scene of the greatest Socialist meeting ever held in the country, Friday, November 4. The vast city hall was packed and 1,200 could not get in. The speakers were Eugene V. Debs and President John F. Tobin, of the National Shoe Makers' Union. Tobin made two admirable speeches, speaking first inside the city hall, while Comrade Debs addressed the crowd outside; they then changed places and every inch of standing room in the hall was occupied until after 10 o'clock to listen to "Our Gene." Carey, candidate for the state legislature, whose election we expect to announce next week, presided over the inside meeting.

Preceding the meeting there was a grand parade in which all the labor unions took part; the streets were filled with people and made glorious by a display of fireworks. The next day the meeting and demonstration were the talk of the whole town, and everybody conceded that the event was an eye-opener to capitalism. The active participation of the Central Labor Union was the distinctive feature and gives cause for encouragement to all who look for that day when the workers of the country at large will march and vote together for their country's good and the assertion of their right to enjoy the life of freedom. Well done, Haverhill! Your example will be followed, for our cause is marching on.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM

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

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 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.

DEBS IN THE BAY STATE.

At Worcester, Mass., Oct. 26, Eugene V Debs addressed an audience which the Spy of that city says was large and enthusiastic.

"I believe this country is growing better, although the growth is slow. I am one of those who believe that after a while this land will be fit for decent and honest men and women to live in.

"Fifty years ago there were no millionaires and no tramps. There were no insane asylums, no jails and no penitentiaries. All these institutions are the concomitants of modern civilization.

"In these present days, if a business man, a manufacturer, a lawyer, a doctor, even a clergyman, is unsuccessful in his business or his profession, the world rejoices. Rejoices, because another rival is put out of the field.

"If there were a Jay Gould or a Cornelius Vanderbilt that could make a compromise with the atmosphere, there would be a meter on every sunbeam.

"Wendell Phillips was the grandest combination of brain and heart that the American continent has ever produced.

"Socialism may be infamous, but I stand here as a Socialist because I am against any system that gives one man fifty times as much as he can use, while another starves.

"In West Virginia there are men working for 16 cents a day, and in Illinois those who are working for \$22 a month. In New Bedford it takes a whole family to support the family.

"Here I come to the absolute necessity of Socialism. When we made things by hand, we all had what was made. In those days if a man made shoes his family had shoes, and there were shoes for everybody.

"We propose to raise men to an economic level. We desire to have men on a basis of economic equality as they are now on one of political equality.

"It is never possible to speak to a popular audience without getting in something in eulogy of the flag. Just so long as the flag stands for the principles of human justice and equality I acknowledge my fealty to it, but when it ceases to represent these principles I will not give that fealty.

"When we went to war with Spain it was to help the poor reconcentrados, and after the war had been in progress for a little while it was to seize Cuba. It's only a few months from now that these poor Cubans will be subjected to a new tyranny, worse than that of Spain, the tyranny of the capitalist.

"Everything nowadays is for profit. Profit must be made from everything into which a man enters, or else it is not capable of rendering him a living.

Profit must be made from everything into which a man enters, or else it is not capable of rendering him a living. Profit is robbery! In the days of slavery the negro was bought by the highest bidder, and in these days of modern slavery, the laborer is bought by the lowest."

A LOST "OPPORTUNITY."

The following correspondence between Rev. G. A. Gates, of Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa, and a Chicago investment company, explains itself:

Office of Investment Company, Chicago, Sept. 5, 1898.

Rev. G. A. Gates, Grinnell, Ia.: Dear Sir—Here is a proposition to you for the purchase of lot 11-12, block 16, in Oaklawn.

Amounts as low as \$20 per month may be arranged, payable quarterly, with interest at 6 per cent. on deferred payments. Any of the deferred payment notes may be paid at any time. The amount to be paid on signing the contract is \$60.

The total investment contemplated in this proposition is \$1,260, the payments extending over a period of five years.

We shall hold this property for you a few days. Will you kindly give us a prompt reply, whether you want it or not.

Very truly yours, Investment Co. Per W.

Note: Our aim has been to offer this property on a basis that would bring the investment within the reach of the majority. If it is still too much for you to undertake, and you will let us know what you could do, we would see what could be found for you.

Chicago, Sept. 8, 1898. Rev. G. A. Gates, Grinnell, Iowa.

Dear Sir—If you have any money to invest, or can spare as little as \$5 or \$10 a month, you ought to do something about this Oaklawn proposition.

We don't know how to lay the case before you in a way to make you appreciate what we are offering you.

May be it is lack of confidence in the Investment Company that stands in the way. We cannot say much on that point, but we are glad the Christian Oracle, which doesn't often say such things about anybody, could say what it did about us.

As for Oaklawn, it is going to be the prettiest and healthiest suburb of Chicago. Enough people live there now to make a good nucleus; new houses are going up, and more coming; our work on the lake, sewers, drainage, streets, and the rest is being pushed rapidly forward.

The people living there now are urging their friends to come; our improvements are attracting others; first you know the place will fill up and prices of lots will advance rapidly.

We are giving you a chance to take advantage of what is coming before it comes; we don't know what objection stands in your way; if we did we would try to meet it.

A few more sales will put us into the third hundred and another five per cent. advance.

Here is a proposition for two lots; you'd take four if you could see them; you never had so sure a money-maker offered to you before. Let us hear promptly if you will take them, or, if you cannot undertake so much, tell us what you will try to do. It is worth your interest. Yours very truly, Investment Co.

Grinnell, Ia., Sept. 14, 1898. To the Investment Co., Chicago.

Gentlemen:—I have yours of September 5 and 8, with their remarkable inclosures. Certainly I am under obligation to you for making it so easy for me to invest twelve hundred and sixty dollars in real estate speculation.

I have practically no money of my own to invest, but have invested a few hundred dollars for a relative, in a certain city. I tried recently to give away the lot but did not succeed. It is not worth the taxes. I think that experience will last me for a little while. I have no fault to find with the loss; I ought to have lost it. It was pure gambling, and I was perfectly conscious of it at the time and very much ashamed of it.

If that word "gambling" seems obnoxious to you I call attention to the fact that I use it concerning my own act. The distinction between what I did in sending money to that western state to be "invested" in a town lot, and placing the same amount of money at roulette, is very slight in principle. I knew it was pure speculation. It is prostitution of a good word to call it investment. It was not dealing in real estate in any legitimate way. I had no interest in the real estate of that town; I simply staked it on the probable rise in value of that property. Experience is a school where the tuition comes high but the instruction is valuable and efficient.

It will not do to say that this which you ask me, or in your own phraseology "offer" to me, is legitimate real

estate business, like opening up a city addition and making homes and putting in streets and pavements and sidewalks and water and sewers and gas. All that it quite another matter. It can be and often is perfectly legitimate. But what you put before me is not that; it is stark naked speculation, separable by the narrowest margin from any other kind of gambling. Of course, it is on the whole respectable gambling in a respectable community, and with very respectable people handling it. But for the life of me I cannot make out why gambling is not just as proper a name for it as the somewhat more euphemistic and Latinized "speculation."

But it might be suggested that this western town is not like Chicago. Then I have to say this, that some years ago a lot with a house on it in Chicago was given to Iowa College to add to its endowment. The college has already paid out by way of taxes, putting in water mains, sidewalks, etc., a good part of the original estimate of his gift by the donor himself. In other words, our college, too, has had its experience, not in investing its own funds in this way, for we should never have done that, but in looking after some Chicago real estate. We have tried to do the best we could with the gift that was made to us in good faith. We know that millions have been made (or rather gathered) by such speculation. But whether gained or lost is not to the point under discussion.

Concerning your business proposition, I will simply say that if your offer is so advantageous as your letter would indicate, you are bigger fools than I take you to be if you do not do all the investing with your own money, or money which you can borrow on what must be practically unlimited credit, judging from the recommendations you inclose. That several prominent clergymen and one college president are in the list does not make your offer more tempting, nor modify my judgment of its character. Why you should be seeking to induce entire strangers to rob you of a good business venture which you have clearly in hand is a mystery which lies beyond my comprehension.

It is no answer to this view to say, for instance, that a dry goods firm may legitimately sell a dress pattern to a lady and both profit by the transaction. Such an analogy is irrelevant. The dry goods merchant cannot wear all the dress goods he has, and the lady must have some. In this real estate matter, however, you can wear all there is in it. That is what you are there for, to make money and more money. Why do you want to divide your profits with me? I beg of you to keep them all, both what you would claim to be your legitimate profit on the transaction and also in addition to that the profit which you promise to me. You will be all the richer.

Or if you have not money enough and cannot secure enough to take the large enterprise yourself, I am sure so advantageous a scheme could not fail to command the enthusiastic confidence of the hundreds of millionaires in Chicago, whose money is lying idle, although they would be glad to invest it for a much less rate of increase than your circulars promise.

If it should be suggested that millionaires do not trouble themselves with such small investments as you are putting before me, the answer is easy: that millionaires could block out large pieces of their property to put into the hands of agents who could look after those details. They might even make yourselves such agents, and I am sure you would be glad to put your services at their disposal for a reasonable consideration. But drop the millionaire factor. It must be that there are thousands of people living in the near vicinity of this property which you are offering, men experienced in real estate matters, who would not think of allowing such an opportunity as you put before me to pass by their doors. I have only to suggest that you put your plans before those who certainly are in a position to appreciate the value of this investment better than we professional and clerical people scattered all over the United States, to whom your circulars are sent, and who are in no position to know anything about it.

Again, if the investment is so good a one, it would seem to me wise that your circulars should be sent to holders of important trusts, savings banks, or great insurance companies or to trustees of colleges. No doubt, were you a member of such a board of trust, you would advise such an investment of the sacred endowment funds of the college, as you do advise me to make this personal investment. (Seriously you know as I know that any board of college trustees who would make such an investment of their endowment funds would deserve to be brought before the court for breach of trust.)

I hope the above is adequately clear, so that no misunderstanding need arise from it. Thanking you for your great courtesy in opening this door for me, I am Very truly yours, GEORGE A. GATES.

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"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

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