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THE PASSING SHOW OF CAPITALISM

CHEAP THINGS AND CHEAP LABOR

His Seven "Plunks"—John Rockefeller's Taxes—How the Rich Defy the Courts—Lumbermen Attracted to the Philippines—A Hint for "Reformers"

Current Notes and Comment

The postoffice authorities at Cleveland are trying to force the letter carriers who sympathize with the street railway men to ride on the cars of the Big Consolidated. Monday of last week the following notice was issued and posted in all the different offices:

"All carriers receiving street car tickets and not riding on the cars will please make a written explanation at once of what they are doing with same and reason for not using them as intended by the postoffice department."

Previous to the strike the mail carriers rode on the B. C. cars, "but nine-tenths of the men were in sympathy with the striking street car men," says the Cleveland Artisan, "and as soon as the strike occurred the majority of them covered their routes on bicycles." The notice is interpreted by most of the carriers as a clear attempt to force them to patronize a corporation (the tickets are purchased from the company by the government) when their union principles would persuade them to do otherwise. This attempt at coercion is succeeding, too. Most of the carriers are three-year men. The first year men receive \$600 a year, the second year men \$800 and those in the third year \$1,000. The third year or best paid men, many with families, do not feel that they can lose their positions and the government could easily fill their places with men of the other two classes and just as easily a new force of \$600 men.

Trade unionists and that portion of the general public which clamors for reform through the public ownership of street railways, or, as in the case of the printers, of the telegraph service, will do well to ponder over the facts in this Cleveland incident. And the "Socialists too" will find in it plenty of food for thought. Workingmen, study Socialism and learn that no middle-class, half-way reform that stops short of the social ownership of the entire means of production and distribution can help you.

Hello, Bill! How are you making it nowadays?

O, I've got a job, Charlie; no kick coming. Draw my little seven plunks a week reg'lar.

'S that so? Seven dollars a week and still voting the republican ticket, I suppose.

No, sirree! I'm a democrat now; voted for Bryan at last election.

Did eh? Well say, Bill, I'm surprised at you, for a fact. Going on year after year voting for the two old capitalist parties, an' you a working man! Why look at it, man: Forty years old and a family an' getting only seven dollars a week! Why don't you learn something? Why don't you read up on Socialism?

That's all right, old man. But lemme tell you: I ain't got no time to read nothin'. Why, I'll tell you, Charlie, I'm an anarchist, I am; yes, I'm a reg'lar anarchist!

Well, Bill, if I hadn't known you so long and that you are simply an average working mule, I'd say you was a reg'lar damphool. Good day, old man; read up on Socialism, Bill, Socialism!

Have you ever thought of the relation of cheap things to cheap labor? For instance, you have bought this summer a serviceable crash vest for 15 cents—that's cheap. You bought it because it was cheap. But did you ever think of the producer of things when you bought them? Do you know that the cheaper you buy things, the less the producer gets for making the things? That the cheaper you buy the worse off the producer becomes, under the capitalist system? That the capitalist manufacturer and employer pays the producer out of what you pay for things? That under the present system, which gives you things cheap, the producer of things has an awful struggle to live? Do you think that things that cost human life and subject human beings to suffering and wretchedness are cheap? Or don't you care?

There was something compatible and harmonious with the old methods of production in the individual producer owning his tools of production; but there is nothing but incompatibility and injustice in the private ownership of the modern machine, which is the transformed individual tool. The producer owns neither tool nor product; he is divorced from the first and can only get back a part of the other by relinquishing to the cormorant of commercialism the por-

tion paid him as wages for producing the whole.

Are workingmen in this country going to allow the persistent misrepresentation that labor is better off to-day than ever before to go unchallenged for fear of offending their masters? It is not true that labor is better off; it is true that labor is relatively worse off, and it is worse off because the methods of exploiting it have been so far perfected in the interest of the class which controls the economic power of the country, that a workingman can no longer tell "where he is at" as a factor in production. Read an extract in this issue from Charles Vail's book on this subject.

If you have a friend who would be interested in a presentation of social reforms from the standpoint of the Christian Citizenship League, induce him to subscribe for the Social Forum, published monthly at Chicago, 822 Association Building, 50 cents a year. Prof. Geo. D. Herron is a frequent contributor and every number contains articles of value. For example, that for August, which has an account of the conference at Buffalo, includes interesting contributions on "Was Henry George a Socialist?" "Perils of Imperialism," "Christian Economics."

Ordered by the supreme court to remove an obstruction connecting his two store buildings and occupying a public thoroughfare, Marshall Field of Chicago responds by retaining the use of the obstruction while he builds above it another three times as large, and the court and the people stand and look on while it is done. However, this thing of compelling wealthy taxpayers to obey the law is quite preposterous. Talk about patriotism and respect for the courts—bah!

Thomas Tracey, delegate of the A. F. of L. to the Trades Union Congress at Plymouth, England, is expressing surprise at the influence of labor in English politics. We never heard of Tom expressing surprise at the influence of lawyers in Congress. In the last Congress, out of a total of 357, nearly two-thirds, or 210, were lawyers. The first labor party to elect a member of Congress will be the Social Democrats.

Annie Gravenstock was sick and had no physician; she was hungry and had no food. There was not a crumb in the house, and Andrew, her husband, though an industrious man, was unable to provide for her. She died and the Chicago Chronicle lays the blame for it at the door of the county agent's office. Nonsense! The blame is at the door of every man who upholds by word or vote the iniquitous system we are living under.

Alchemy was, chemistry is; astrology was, astronomy is; by and by we shall say "capitalism was, Socialism is," for as the capitalist system of production and distribution develops, the certainty of Socialism dawns upon the mental horizon of intelligent people as the historical and economically necessary successor of capitalism.

It is the problem that needs to be emphasized; the problem of how labor is to be rid of the fleecing class and how civilization itself is to be saved with private ownership of the tools of production. We Social Democrats say that Socialism is the only solution; this you may reject, but the problem remains and this you have got to confront.

What is all this fuss about Western railroads making an illegal combine to mulct the government in the transportation of soldiers? What is the use of having a government of capitalists if capitalists can't use it to serve their own ends?

Social Democrats of Germany will hold their annual conference in Hanover on October 9. August Bebel will reply to the principal points contained in Bernstein's book.

Labor is hot on the trail of the most culpable gang in the Dreyfus mix-up. He will Lac nothing if he can succeed in ferreting out the evidence from that "shadow behind the scenes."

John Rockefeller still continues to achieve success in his fights against the tax assessors and by and by we may learn of another million given to the Lord.

The price of meat has gone up because the supply of cattle is short. The price of labor is down because the supply of men is abundant.

It still remains that Hanna (and Quay) are bosses of the republican party and McKinley holds a purchased presidency.

The republicans want McKinley. And why shouldn't they? Hasn't he given them what they wanted?

CURRENT EVENTS PASSED IN REVIEW

MINERS' "VICTORIES" SO-CALLED

Thirteen-Dollars-a-Month Patriotism—"Bull Pens" and Socialism—Justice in France in Spite of Hell and the French Army—Cleveland Boycott

By Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.

We have heard a great deal about the "glorious victories" won for the miners during the last two years. It is a ghastly lie. The only victory I know of is the \$3,600.00 job snatched from the enemy by Ratchford, the understudy of Mark Hanna.

Here in Indiana hundreds of them are idle and suffering. In Illinois, according to the official report of State Secretary Ryan, they are on strike at 14 different points. At Girard the other day they issued an appeal for charity, declaring that they were homeless and hungry. The "glorious victories" have reduced them to common beggars—and they belong to the union to a man.

Oh miners, will you not open your eyes, and will you not use your brains and see and think for yourselves?

You have won no victories worthy the name. You are slaves, every last one of you, the victims of the wage system, and as long as the mines you work in are privately owned you will be robbed while at work and clubbed and shot like dogs when you quit.

Arouse from your slavery, join the Social Democratic Party and vote with us to take possession of the mines of the country and operate them in the interest of the people, as well as the railroads, factories and all the means of production and distribution, and then, and only then, will "glorious victories" have been achieved and you and your comrades be free and your families happy.

Patriotism

The American "patriot" is the biggest humbug on earth. Under pretense of loving his country, he struts and swaggers, prates about the "flag" and the "glories of war" and makes a spectacle of himself generally. This "patriot" is never so ready to respond to the call of "his country" as when half-famished working slaves are to be shot at—at so much per shot.

The boss "patriots" are the plutocrats. They do their share of the fighting in sumptuous banqueting halls where amidst the roar of champagne corks they glorify the "flag" while the poor fool "patriots" murder one another, according to the ethics of "civilized warfare," for \$13.00 a month.

Roosevelt of New York may be held up as the typical American patriot. He has the face of a bull-dog and a heart to match. That such a savage is elected governor of the leading state in the Union is proof enough that we are yet a million miles from civilization. According to the capitalist program this ideal "patriot" is to be made president in 1904, but he will hear something "strenuous" drop by that time and when he takes a second look he will see a Socialist president in the seat his "patriotic" pantaloons yearned to warm.

The "patriotic" war in the Philippines blackens the blackest page in the 19th century. It is fiendish without a redeeming feature. All war is murder and I am opposed to the shedding of human blood, but since this war is forced upon the Filipinos, I regret that they lack the power and means to blow up every battle ship that lands there. I am with and for the Filipinos, and hope with all my heart that they may yet repel the invaders and achieve their independence.

I am not a "patriot," as that term is defined in the lexicon of capitalism. "All the world is my country, and all mankind are my countrymen."

Not being a fetish worshiper I see no difference between a flag and any other piece of cotton goods. All flags look alike to me, but since we have not yet outgrown this fetish, mine is the blood-red flag of Socialism.

Idaho

The "bull-pen" of Idaho is the joint product of Republican, Democratic and Populist administration. The pictures drawn of this hell-hole by reliable correspondents are enough to make decent devils blush with shame. The Democratic-Populist governor Steunenberg and the Republican general Merriam, monsters of degeneracy, constitute the czars of this domain. Here hundreds of honest workingmen, without a charge against them are corralled like cattle, starved like outlaws and shot like mad dogs, and while these outrages are being perpetrated in the name of "law and order" their wives are made victims of the lust of their brutal keepers.

We often hear that violent revolution is close upon us, but this is only bluster,

for if there were but the faintest revolutionary spirit abroad, the Idaho "Bull Pen" would fan it into flame like a cyclone and such fiends as Steunenberg, Merriam and other degenerate tools of the Standard Oil Company would be hung higher than Haman.

Some of these miners may remember what I told them nearly three years ago about coming events, about voting with the old parties and about Socialism. They were not ready for socialism then, but now that their unions are broken up, their homes desolate and themselves prisoners or exiles, and all this by the capitalist system which they have supported by their own votes, they will be compelled to realize that through Socialism alone is there escape from the tyranny of capitalist rule and the atrocities of the wage system.

Dreyfus

It requires no acute observer to discover that Dreyfus, the victim of the foulest conspiracy ever conceived, is not being given a fair trial. The refusal of the court to adjourn when his counsel was stricken down by an assassin shows clearly enough which way the wind blows. But whether he is tried fairly or not, one thing is certain and that is that the French people are wide awake, and sooner or later justice will be meted out in spite of hell and the French army. For the epauletted conspirators, from first to last, there is a day of retribution and when it comes there will be such an accounting as even the people of France have never witnessed.

It is not Dreyfus alone that is on trial. Militarism, honey-combed with rotteness, is also arraigned before the high court of the French nation and when the final verdict of the French people shall have been reversed, militarism in France will have been crushed out of existence forever. Through it all there is a mighty mustering of the forces of Socialism and, out of it all there is certain to emerge the Socialist Republic.

The Cleveland Boycott

The Street Railway Employees of Cleveland and their sympathizers are putting up a brave fight and we can only hope that victory may perch upon their banner. But they are fighting, bare-handed, a powerful foe, backed by municipal clubs and state bayonets.

The attitude of Arthur, the renegade chief of the Brotherhood of Engineers, is refreshing, but not at all surprising. The rich old labor leader is simply true to his base record. He is against the Cleveland strikers and against labor generally. He is the plant tool of the railroads and in 1894 made a record black as a crow's wing. The Brotherhood of Engineers knows all this and has known it for years and still, to satisfy the general managers, who are the real rulers of the brotherhood, they continue to crown this traitor to labor "grand chief," and for such a brotherhood, honest men should have only unmitigated contempt.

The S. D. P.

The progress our party is making must be a source of gratification to every member. We now have an unbroken chain of branches stretching across the continent, from New England to the golden gate. Day by day there are new accessions to our ranks and in 1900 the party will be in superb fighting form.

The carbuncle at New York has come to a head and the pus is flowing freely. Purification is bound to follow, but in the meantime the olfactory nerves will be put to the severest test.

Private advices give assurance that our party stands high with the leaders of the European Socialist movement. We have every reason to take courage and put forth the mightiest efforts at our command.

There is a united Socialist party just ahead and its initials will be S. D. P.
Eugene V. Debs.

Fate of Dreyfus Enemies

Those who have sought to injure Dreyfus have fared badly. Lieutenant Colonel Henry, the confessed forger, cut his throat while in prison. Colonel Du Paty de Clam, under accusation of forgery, is dying and threatened with a court-martial. Deniel, the director of Devil's Island prison, who treated his prisoner most inhumanly, was recalled, cashiered, and disgraced. Scheuerer-Kestner, the eminent scientist, was forced to resign the Vice Presidency of the Senate. General Boisdeffre is self-exiled from Paris, where he became a laughing stock. Le Caplain, a violent anti-Dreyfusard, took poison and died. Esterhazy is a fugitive from justice and has been expelled from the Legion of Honor. Five French Ministers of War—Billot, Cavaignac, Zurlinden, Chanoine, and De Freycinet—were in turn driven from the ministry. General Mercier has been shown to be a liar of the wildest sort. General Pellieux, Gonsse, Lauth, Gribelin, Ravary, and Ormescheville are in disgrace.

BUFFALO CONFERENCE AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY

POLITICIANS AND THE TRUSTS

Pecuniary Relation of Wealthy Democrats to the Trusts and the Absurdity of Their Posing as Foes of the Trusts and Friends of the People

By Imogene C. Fales, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Buffalo conference has at least produced one valuable result; it has set people to thinking and has increased and intensified the interest in social, political and economic questions that for twenty years or more has been steadily extending. It has done more. In focussing thought upon the burning questions of the day; the accumulation of vast fortunes in a few hands, the rise of a small moneyed aristocracy, the all controlling power of wealth over legislation, the gigantic development of trusts and monopolies and their tendency to still greater consolidation of power, the growing strength of an imperialistic foreign policy, the suppression of free thought and free speech in our colleges, the convention placed before the public in simple, plain shape the tendencies that are swaying and moulding the life of this nation. This, in itself, is a valuable work, meriting all commendation.

Much can also be said in praise of the measures adopted for the rectification of these conditions; such as founding a new college of sociology, the formation of leagues for the education of the people on direct legislation, public ownership of utilities, and the development of a sentiment against imperialism and militarism. All these, as tentative measures, are in the line of progress, and in their way are helpful.

But where the conference stopped short in its work, where it left undone that which it should have done, where it showed its inability to fully grasp the great sociological questions of the day, was in its limited grasp of the subjects discussed and the measures advocated.

From the beginning to the close of the convention nowhere was it evident that these great monopolies, in all their forms, that are fettering industry, controlling legislation and enslaving men, are the legitimate and inevitable products of the competitive system and not a mere accident upon the surface of society; that that system having flowered into a monopolistic regime, whose existence is detrimental to the progress of the individual and of the nation, the next and unavoidable stage in the growth of civilization was the evolution of a new social order that would gradually absorb and destroy the monopolistic system under which we are living.

The conference apparently did not see that the social organism grows as an individual grows; that it passes from one stage of development to another; that when its growth is retarded by any malefic influence, and it is unable to slough off old forms and conditions that belonged to an earlier period, and whose continuance is occasioning disease and decay, then the work is by wise methods to remove obstacles and allow the expanding forces of life to come into play.

The conference failed to see that we have reached a social crisis, that differentiation of the existing competitive order has gone as far as it can go and that out of monopoly must arise a new social type expressive of universal co-operation.

Educational measures are only of value as they enable men and women to cut loose from old parties that are the natural products of the system against which we are contending.

To ignore these facts, to attempt to educate the community in social and political economy, to teach them the abstruse principles of sociology and then debar them an appropriate political instrument with which to carry their knowledge into effect, is worse than folly; it borders on the absurd.

Mother, may I go out to swim?
Yes, my darling daughter;
Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,
But don't go near the water.

Suggests the mental attitude of those who are seeking radical changes, but turn their backs on the only party that can effect them.

We cannot put back the hands upon the dial of progress; we cannot put men back into the arborial dwellings of primitive savagery; we cannot go back from the trust into the cruel, wasteful competition of 1850. We can never return to the past, neither can we use the instruments that belong to the past, but we can direct present tendencies for good or for evil in the future. We can steer the ship of state into the harbor of happiness, or we can wreck it upon

(Continued on Page 4)

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 2, 1899.

A FEW WORDS TO THE CROWD

Do you think an injustice would be done to anyone if every child born into the world was born with free access to tools and machinery, just as it is born free to sunshine and air?

Do you think that a child could grow and develop into manhood and become a useful factor in what we call the social organism, without land, and air, and water, and sunshine?

Do you think society would be destroyed if every human being was well housed, well clothed, well fed and well educated?

Do you think it would be wrong for all men to be engaged in some useful manual or mental work, instead of, as now, having one class hopelessly toiling for small wages and another reaping profits from their toil?

Do you think it would be just and humane for any man or set of men to bottle up the sunshine, so that your child would be denied its vitalizing, life-giving rays?

Do you not think, since our complex civilization which is the result of industrial and economic evolution, makes necessary to the human being something more than land, air, water and sunshine, that it would be unjust to leave your child to grow and live on dirt and wind?

Did you never think of it: land and all the bounty of nature (which no man made) is the natural inheritance of all men born; that is, people can't live without land; the supply of it is equal to the wants of the human race; this natural inheritance has been made property that only a few can enjoy and law and custom have forced the masses to become the tenants and slaves of a land-owning class?

Do you think it is right for your child to be made the slave of a class by being compelled to pay for the occupancy and use of resources of nature which belong to it as a natural right and endowment?

And then, did it ever occur to you that as nature by her bountiful provision has insured the whole race in the necessary material resources of life, so mankind in all the past ages of work and progress and civilization has insured to the living the social means of making life healthful, hopeful and happy; that is, civilization has not been accomplished and is not sustained by an individual, but by society as a whole? In other words: Did you ever think that civilization was made by the crowd, that progress is sustained by the crowd, and that the struggle to live has through all ages been a struggle of the crowd to assert its rights over privilege and the so-called "great"? And have you noticed that the "great" and the privileged have all along been compelled to give way to the crowd? All over the world the people—that is the crowd—are coming to see the injustice of private property in the essential means of life, which are land and capital, and all over the world the crowd is getting a conception of life and a better understanding of the rights of those who make civilization, viz.: the workers, the producers, those engaged in socially useful work, whether manual or mental.

Early in the new century the crowd all over the world will determine that the private ownership of land and capital by a class, coupled with the right to appropriate in the form of rent, interest, profits and taxes the surplus values of social work over and above a bare living pittance in the shape of wages which the workers now receive, must stop, and struggling humanity be given a chance to enjoy, without the burden of useless classes, the full fruits of their weary, age-long march in the chain-gang of old-time lord and modern capitalist.

The crowd has made civilization and the crowd maintains it. The crowd has created all wealth and a class owns it. The crowd has increased the facilities of production and transformed its primitive and individual tools into mammoth social machines, but the machines, the modern tools, are owned by the capitalist class and used by that class to hold the mastery over society at large.

No individual, you have heard it said, ever made a million dollars; and no individual ever made the modern tools of production. The changes which have come in industry during the present century are not the results of individual ef-

fort but rather of social exertion; they are the results of the social exertion of the crowd. These changes cannot be traced to any reform or to the failure of reform; they are the necessary consequences of social evolution; and the crowd in every civilized country has contributed to the general result.

The world is now face to face with the need of a new system to fit and to serve these new conditions. The new system will be Socialism as the present capitalistic production is the successor of feudalism. And just as the great economic changes came not by the single effort of individuals or the operation of any merc reform, but as the joint product and result of the exertions of the crowd and the necessity for the organization of production to supply social needs, so Socialism will come as a necessary successor to capitalism to insure to the crowd the blessings of a larger life, a grander liberty and the catching (not the pursuit) of happiness. Are you for a class or the crowd?

SOCIALISTS MAKE HISTORY

While the great majority of American capitalistic newspapers have either ignored altogether or attempted to belittle and ridicule the important role enacted by the Socialists of France in the extraordinary drama through which that country is passing, and this has been done for the very obvious purpose of minimizing the effects and deceiving the people as to the Socialist propaganda and growth in this country, the one great and undeniable fact of the hour is that the Socialist deputies in the French chamber saved the present government from disaster and made it possible by their action for truth and justice to prevail, as the present status of the Dreyfus case indicates. This fact is historical. And what the Socialists of France have done, their comrades under similar conditions will do in any country on the face of the earth. The time is rapidly approaching in the United States when a strong Socialist party, upholding the banner of truth and justice for the common people, may become the champion of progress and civilization against the rottenness, the intrigues, the incapacity and the usurpations of the capitalist class and its subservient politicians.

Comrade Kautsky, of Germany, voices the sentiment of Socialists when he says in a letter addressed to Le Petite Republique: "I take this occasion to express to you my profound admiration for the incomparable manner in which you have saved the honor of French Socialism in the Dreyfus affair. I cannot imagine a more unfortunate attitude for a militant class than that of neutrality in a crisis which stirs the whole nation; I cannot imagine an attitude more dangerous to the life of a party of social regeneration than for it to remain indifferent in a question of right, nor a more unpardonable mistake than for Socialists to remain undecided before the military powers of the State. I wish you complete success in your noble work."

IS LABOR BETTER OFF?

[From Vail's "Principles of Scientific Socialism"]
 Those who assume that labor is better off to-day than ever before consider but one side of the problem. A comparison of labor's condition for the last six centuries shows many ups and downs. Its pathway has not been one of gradual progress or decline. While labor to-day is better off than during the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, it is far from regaining its golden age—the fifteenth century.

The question of labor's condition must be viewed from two aspects, the absolute and the relative. Viewed from the absolute standpoint the laborer may enjoy more privileges, and those fortunate enough to secure steady employment may often have more of the necessities of life to-day than in years gone by. But viewed from the relative standpoint—his condition as compared with the other classes of society—it is evident that there is a greater gulf to-day separating him from the classes above him than ever before. Even where the laborer receives more of the necessities of life, he receives a less share of the product than he did in the despised Middle Ages. Labor is exploited to-day more than it was then! It is obliged to give up more of the value which it creates than in those days. Can labor really be said to be better off in the true sense when it is obliged to submit to greater exploitation? Is labor gaining ground when its fleecings are increasing? If any laborer is better off to-day than formerly his condition is only accidental and temporary. As a whole labor is relatively worse off, and even absolutely, it is not as well off as it was in 1872. The worst condition of labor, as we have already noted, was at the beginning of the nineteenth century. After a while its condition began to improve and so continued up to the sixties, but even then it had not relatively regained its status of the fifteenth century. Since 1872 it has been on the downward grade both relatively and absolutely.

Let us glance for a moment at statistics. In the report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1885 the data for nine industries are given, which show that the percentage of the net product paid as wages fell from

59.8-10 per cent. in 1850 to 48.2-10 per cent. in 1880. The compilers then take data for all industries in the country and find that 51 per cent. of this net product was paid in wages in 1850 and only 48.1-10 per cent. in 1880, and say: "It appears that when the field is broadened so as to include the entire manufacturing industries of the country, labor's share of the net product has declined from 51 per cent. to 48.1-10 per cent."

A comparison of the statistics of 1890 with those of 1880 show a still further decline. The statistics of 1890 show that labor received that year but 47.03 per cent. of the net product and the capitalists 52.97 per cent. These facts show beyond controversy that labor's share in the product is not increasing, but the reverse.

Now let us look at wages. I wish first to call attention to the statistics furnished by the Senate Finance Committee of 1893. The Aldrich report from this committee is valueless owing to its political aim. The conceded partisan spirit of the report necessitates throwing away the work done by the committee's experts and returning to the original reports made by the employers. Here we find given (see pages 110 and 111) the tables containing wages paid in all industries in 1873 and 1891. As I cannot take the space to insert these tables I will simply give the summarized statement, which is that the average wages in urban industries in 1873 was \$2.04, and in 1891, \$1.60. According to the Connecticut Labor Report and the Massachusetts "Statistics of Manufacturers," the nominal rate of wages in 1894 had declined about 7 per cent. below the level of 1892, while the yearly income of laborers had been still further reduced by the lack of employment.

So much for urban industries. Now let us look at mining. Here, also, I can give only the summary. The returns give the average wages in currency in 1873 as \$2.14, and in 1891 as \$1.58. The average in gold in 1873 as \$1.90, and in 1891 as \$1.58. Since 1891 miners' wages have constantly fallen. The Michigan Labor Report of 1894 shows a reduction in wages since 1890 of 20 per cent.

There yet remains agriculture to be considered. Here, also, we find the same general decline. Comparing the Massachusetts Labor Report for 1872 and the Massachusetts statistics in the national reports mentioned, we find that agricultural wages with board in 1872 was \$27.52 per month and in 1890, \$18.50. In corroboration of this I wish to cite Prof. Dodge, Statistician of the Department of Agriculture, the highest authority on the subject, whose inquiries consist of nine statistical investigations, covering a period of 26 years, from 1866 to 1893. His investigations show that the wages of regular farm labor have decreased about 31 per cent., and those of transient labor about 40 per cent. Other statistics might be cited, but these are sufficient to show the tendency of labor.

Labor, to-day, is losing its power and becoming more and more dependent upon capital. Not only is this the condition of labor in general, but there has arisen a destitute and degenerate class which is constantly growing and which is more degraded than any people in the civilized nations of the past. Says Prof. Commons: "A new race of men is being created with inherited traits of physical and moral degeneracy, suited to the new environment of the tenement house, the saloon, and the jail. The great mass of workmen, when we consider all their circumstances, are no better off than they were thirty years ago and many are worse off."

While laborers may have gained some few advantages from the improvement which they have made (and surely it would be strange if they were not a little benefited by all they have done) still the fact remains that more workmen now lack the necessities of life than ever before.

THE FATE OF TOWN CHILDREN

Oh, the children! Oh, the children! How they suffer, droop and die In the close and crowded cities, when the days are hot and dry! How the gasp and groan and murmur, In their ceaseless, voiceless prayer For a bit of God's great bounty, for the blessing in the air!
 Rooms and houses packed and reeking hold The children day and night, Shutting off the healthful breezes, with the sunshine and the light; Only noxious odors reach them, that can enter All the gases of the garbage, all the fever-laden air.
 There the dark death angel fans them, watching well their falling breath, Holds them, folds them in his arms until their eyes are closed in death. Oh, the coffins nightly filled, and oh, the hearse that by day Through the city's narrow, nasty streets are driven fast away!
 Breezes blowing all about them, blowing freshly here and there, All the glory of the ocean, all the sweetness of the air, But the children cannot reach them, from the freest blessings barred. And we do not need to wonder that their lives are brief and hard.

Minister of Commerce Millerand, Socialist, of France, has issued orders that all government employes be required to work but eight hours a day. While it is stated that the new order is only temporary, it is believed it will be permanent.

In 1888 19,000 pounds of aluminum were produced, valued at nearly \$3.33 a pound. Last year 5,200,000 pounds of that metal, valued at 33 cents a pound, were produced in the United States. It was due to improved processes of manufacture.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

It is a common mistake to confuse in meaning the words "Socialism" and "communism." There are many people who still believe them synonymous in meaning, and identical in social condition.

Here are the three rules that define and differentiate the three stages of industrial and social development:

Competition—"From every one according to his need, and to every one according to his power."

In competition the work of the world is done by those who, by reason of misfortune, weakness or need, are willing to sell their energy for the lowest figure.

There is no question of deserving, or of human right, but simply that of their compulsion. It is not a matter of highness of merit, but of lowness of wage.

Hence they who prosper in a competitive system do so by availing themselves of the need of others, and by coining private wealth in the furnace of public want.

The two significant words of competition are "need" and "greed."

Socialism—"From every one according to his desire, and to every one according to his effort."

The proposition of Socialism is simply to make the measure of labor performed the measure of reward received, and to give every one an equal chance to labor and to receive reward.

Labor is recognized as the most essential factor in life, and hence its performance should be exacted from all alike.

Socialism does not in any sense limit individual freedom by adopting compulsion as a method, except in so far as it prevents the freedom of infringing on another's rights.

The rich, therefore, would have to pay the price of individual labor, and the poor would be enabled to do so. Labor would be imperative and possible to all.

Communism—"From every one according to his ability, and to every one according to his need."

Communism goes a step farther than Socialism, and substitutes love for justice.

It appeals to the higher and better nature of men, and relies upon love as the motive, and conscience as the measure of work performed.

It is built upon an absolute community of interest and ownership, and is the recognition and the realization of the "human family" of the race.

Socialism is not, therefore, the fulfillment of an altruistic ideal, in which love shall reign, and all human frailty be condoned.

It is simply a demand for bare justice; an assertion of human rights; a claim made for the payment of an unpaid debt.

It is the inauguration of conditions that will make it possible for men to labor and live without being crippled by industrial failure or human fraud.

It is only the building of the foundation on which shall rise the temple of altruistic love.

It is common sense applied to business; justice applied to industry.

I walked in the woods one summer day.

The sun was shining, the breeze was softly blowing, the water was shimmering, the leaves rustling.

On the branches birds were singing; in the grass crickets were chirping; on the fences squirrels were chattering; in a shady corner of a nearby field a cow lay chewing her cud.

In a pool at my feet I could see a pollywog flopping lazily in a shallow spot.

An hour later I walked down a city street.

On the sidewalk men jostled each other in heedless haste, each bent upon the achievement of some business scheme.

Many faces were seamed with the lines of care; many backs were bent with burdens hard to bear; many eyes had traces of hopelessness and yearning strangely combined.

The windows of an employment office were open, and I could see that the room was full of applicants for the blessing of a job.

In the factories on the side streets workmen were toiling as the human appendages of throbbing machines of steel and wood.

And in all the din and rush and roar I remembered the quiet scene in the woods, and said a few words I reserve exclusively for the woodshed and a knotty stick.

All this struggle and strain was simply to gain what the pollywog got without the asking—a living!

Have you ever thought how mean and poor are the demands of the Socialist?

He is just seeking to abolish the "struggle for existence," and bring about conditions giving a surety of life to all.

Socialism settles only the bread and butter question. It is but the nearest of

a multitude of stations still ahead of us on the railroad of progress.

Every beast, every reptile, every anguiform, already enjoys that for which we as Socialists are humanly struggling—life and liberty.

After we have got Socialism established, there will still be an infinite number of reforms to secure, an infinite amount of development to attain.

Let us settle this problem of existence first, and having assured ourselves of life, we can press on toward the settlement of its higher problems.

Second or Exhaustive Ballot

Shall we abstain from advocating certain beneficial measures the moment one of the old parties takes them up? For instance, if the democratic party is to take up the nationalization of railways and telegraphs, or the initiative and referendum, or the destruction of the usurped power of the judiciary. All these things the democratic party is likely to do; all these are beneficial and necessary measures in the eyes of every Social Democrat. The important question then arises: If these measures are so beneficial, how dare we to oppose them, merely because some other party is also likely to claim credit for its advocacy?

But the true reason of the opposition, which is undoubtedly manifesting itself, is the underlying fear, that the independence of the Social Democratic Party might be destroyed, that it might be swallowed up in the democratic party. Far be it from me to deny the reality of such apprehension in the abstract, but in practice, I believe, such a contingency is not likely to arise. The democratic party is so thoroughly ruled by capitalist and middle class interests that Socialists are not likely to feel themselves at home in their ranks, they will always prefer to have a party of their own. Of course it might be said, that the example of the Fabians in England, where Sydney Webb is not only a member of the Liberal party (which is equivalent to the democratic party here), but even a member of their executive council, it might be said that this proves that Socialists, provided they are willing to recognize the leaders of the old party, would be admitted and allowed to propagate their views inside the party. But this Fabian policy of "permeation" is not likely to be adopted elsewhere, and even in England it meets with powerful opposition, both on the part of the Social Democratic Federation, the old Socialist organization, and the Independent Labor Party, the new organization.

For the present, at any rate, when the democratic party is so corrupt that it drives away even the populists (I refer of course to the anti-fusion wing of the party), what fear can there be that the Socialists will leave their party to become mere items of the democratic party?

What the future will bring nobody can foresee; still, one might venture the prophecy, that unless some revolution should occur in the democratic party, it will never be a suitable place for Socialists. Socialists must have their own party, or if they cannot unfortunately agree, let them have several parties. Until the democratic party adopts Socialism, and this cannot be said to be within the bounds of the possible, until then the democratic party cannot be the party of Socialists.

I believe that it would be a good thing for Socialists in America to advocate the second ballot. In France, Germany and many other countries, the second ballot has been found to be conducive to the healthy development of parties. The huge disciplined parties of America and England owe their existence undoubtedly to the absence of this necessary provision for the ascertainment of the true will of the people. In England this is fully recognized, and all Socialist parties there demand the second ballot. Without the second ballot I am afraid the democratic party will always have the unfair advantage of being able to denounce all independent radical action as indirect help to their more reactionary partners in the government. At present the democratic party argues like this: if you are opposed to the subjugation of the Filipinos, if you are opposed to a huge standing army, if you are opposed to government by injunction, and very soon possibly they will add, if you favor government ownership of railways, telegraphs and other great trusts, if you are in favor of direct legislation, if you want all these good things, you must vote for us, and not throw away your vote on your small parties, which can achieve nothing for the present. Such an argument, however, would be ridiculous under the system of second or exhaustive ballotage.

At the first ballot all the innumerable parties could safely enter the political arena, under the second they would soon group themselves on the side of Conservatism or Radicalism, according to their interests.

New York. In 1873 miners' average wages were \$2.14; in 1891, \$1.58. Since '91 miners' wages have gone down constantly and in five principal mining states do not now exceed 75 cents a day. And yet not long ago the head of a miners' national organization congratulated its members that they were no longer slaves but free men!

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for \$20 per month.

CALIFORNIA
Branch No. 1, San Francisco, Cal., holds propaganda meetings every Sunday night at 8 p. m., at Temple, 217 Turk St.

COLORADO
Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday evening at Woodman's Hall, 175 California street, Denver, Colo.

CONNECTICUT
Branch 3 (Conn.), New Haven, meets 1st and 2nd Tuesday of each month at 8 p. m. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 155 Frank St.

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

INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

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

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

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main street. Wm. H. Randall, sec.

MISSOURI
St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary.

NEW YORK
Branch 10 (4th Ass. Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of Leo T. Voice of Labor, 107 Henry St.

OHIO
Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlson's Hall, 65 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of H. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 225 W. 5th street.

WISCONSIN
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 563 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome.

hall, 717 Center street, at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, secretary. Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at No. 618 East Water street.

New Branches

The State of Maine has heard of the new party of industrial emancipation and given it an endorsement with a new branch at Skowhegan. Another branch was organized at Newark, N. J., during the week.

St. Louis' Big Meeting

Comrade Eugene V. Debs will speak at Exposition Music Hall, St. Louis, Saturday, Sept. 9, at 8 o'clock, on "Trusts, the Middle Class and the Wage Workers." Great preparations are being made, in which all the union organizations in the city co-operate; for an unusual demonstration.

Chicago Socialists

Tickets for the first annual picnic of the Social Democratic Party at Bergman's Grove, September 17, may be had from Seymour Stedman, Merchants Building, Washington and LaSalle streets, or Dr. J. H. Greer, 52 Dearborn street. Members of branches are requested, without further notice, to call for tickets and push the sale vigorously during the next two weeks.

For Organization

A meeting will be held at E. T. Neber's, 52 Wescott street, East Orange, N. J., on Saturday, September 16, 1899, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of organizing a branch of the Social Democratic Party of America. All who believe in and advocate the principles of Socialism should be on hand to take an active part in the great battle for the emancipation of the wealth producers.

Newark, N. J.

The following is the Essex county ticket the local branches of the Social Democratic Party have nominated for the coming fall campaign: For sheriff, Marx B. Schriber; for surrogate, August Melzer; for state senator, Samuel Herman.

New York City

The Social Democratic Party is pledged in its platform to aid in industrial struggles, even when such struggles do not reach to the magnitude of the Socialist class conflict, but assume the form of strikes and boycotts, the only weapons in the hands of the workers when elections are not at hand.

Comrade James Allman will speak in St. Aloysius' Hall, on Meadow street, under the auspices of Branch 3, Sunday afternoon, Sept. 3. A large attendance is expected.

New Hampshire

Through some oversight the official report of the late convention held in Exeter, N. H., to perfect a state organization of S. D. P. did not come to hand. Attention is now called to the following timely and pertinent resolution introduced by Comrade S. F. Claffin, state organizer.

"Resolved, that we, as delegates forming the state convention of the S. D. P. of New Hampshire, hereby desire to express our unqualified approval of the continuous and disinterested work of Comrade F. G. R. Gordon, of Manchester, in the cause of Socialism, and we herewith extend the hearty thanks of the convention to our comrade for the same."

We also add that Comrade Gordon was not present, as business engagements prevented his attending. The S. D. P. in Exeter formally open their campaign in Exeter in the last week in August. The party in the state does not mean to cease continuous work until after the next state election, which comes in 1900.

The warm weather of summer seems to have a depressing effect upon Social

Democrats up here among the hills of old New Hampshire. This should not be so, however. To do our part in the work to overthrow private capitalism we must keep up the agitation continually, hot or cold, rain or shine.

It would be helpful to have suggestions offered through The Herald in regard to carrying on the most effective propaganda work. We have many Socialists in this state able to write strong articles, which would give tone to the Socialist sentiment in the state and no doubt add strength to the general movement.

May the comrades of the old Granite state be heard from. Somersworth.

A Growing Youngster

The newly organized branch in the two southern wards of Brockton is fast getting into working shape. We have at this writing 35 good, active members, have secured very fine headquarters in Dahlborg's Block in the center of the South wards, and are conducting open-air meetings in different parts of our district.

You will hear from the youngster pretty soon, when he gets into fighting trim. John Dorgan, Rec. Sec.

Milwaukee Notes

The local Social Democrats held their annual basket picnic at Schneider's park, and a very pleasant, harmonious day was spent. There were between three and four hundred people present, counting the children, and the picnic was a financial as well as an artistic success.

Comrade Berger has nearly completed the installments of "Merrie England" in German in his paper, Vorwaerts. It is his intention to publish the entire translation in book form for propaganda work among German speaking people.

Comrades Ladoff and Heath, who have been busy all winter and spring on a translation of Karl Kautsky's "Economic Theories of Karl Marx," have completed their labors and have sent a copy of the translation to Comrade Kautsky, at his request, he having agreed to write a special preface for the American edition.

John S. Crosby, the single tax apostle, spoke in this city recently on "The Mission of Henry George." Some of our comrades rather stumped him with their questions, but he answered them in good part. Comrade Rooney asked him if profit was right, and that question, usually embarrassing to the single taxer, brought out a rather confusing reply to the effect that "all who labored profited by their exertions."

The comrades in the Eighth Assembly District of Greater New York have nominated Max Paine for assemblyman and Dr. Charles Rayevsky for alderman. A clean and uncompromising canvass on their part will give the party a strong footing in the district.

A correspondent who says he was astonished to see an article in The Herald "against the golden rule," is entirely mistaken. What he did see was an article declaring the golden rule to be a failure up to date and impracticable "under the capitalist system of production," which is true.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Table with columns for Name, Amount, and Total. Includes entries for Appeal to Reason, Eugene V. Debs, F. W. Steed, etc.

THE HERALD goes to press one day earlier this week to enable us to reach San Francisco and New York friends with bundle orders on Saturday. Hereafter all subscribers will receive the paper at least one day earlier in the week than has been customary.

THE BROCKTON CAMPAIGN

The Boys Will Be Satisfied This Year With a Socialist Mayor and a Socialist Majority in the Council

Members of the Social Democratic Party in Brockton are beginning a very active campaign and one which they have good reasons to believe will land several of their candidates in the seats in the Massachusetts legislature and in the local city hall, for which they will be aimed. The campaign has already opened and opened in promising style.

The Social Democrats of Brockton numbered eight a year ago when Branch 9 was organized. That branch now has a membership approaching 400 and the Campello branch, which was organized a few weeks ago, has about 50 on its rolls. There is a very large following in the city not included in the membership of either branch.

There is every reason to believe that the Social Democrats will poll 1,600 or more votes at the coming state election and that an additional 800 votes will be gathered at the time of the city election. This means that the city is likely to have Socialistic representation in the legislature and enough representatives in city hall to keep the two old parties guessing during the year to follow.

The candidates for representatives to the legislature have been nominated at mass caucuses held at the party headquarters in Hanson's building on Railroad avenue, with the exception of the candidate in the 9th district, which was nominated by the party taking into membership Socialists living in wards 3 and 4, which constitute that district.

At these mass caucuses the Socialists have shown the old parties how to conduct mass caucuses with purity. There have been no "cut and dried schemes" at these caucuses. The candidates have been nominated from the floor and no one has known or had reason to be certain before the caucuses who the nominee would be.

The first district to make a nomination for representative was the 11th, composed of wards 6 and 7. Elihu R. Perry, a man universally respected, a man with a good labor record as secretary of several organized labor organizations, a man of good education and worthy of every confidence of his companions, is the nominee.

The second mass caucus was in the 10th district, and placed in nomination Carleton S. Beals and Chandler Ross. It is the "double district" of the city, being composed of wards 1, 2 and 5. Mr. Beals was one of the charter members of Branch 9. He is a shoemaker, has served as councilman two terms and at one time ran for mayor on a workmen's ticket. He received 1412 votes. He is a member of the Social Democratic band and first lieutenant of the Social Democratic Bicycle club.

Chandler Ross has been a resident of this city 45 years, but is a native of Maine. He was a greenbacker in Butler's time and has followed along that line ever since. He was a candidate for the greenbackers for representative, living at that time in the neighboring town of Stoughton. He came very nearly being elected. He is a shoemaker and a good worker for Socialism.

Soldiers and Socialism

Those who watch the progress of the International Social Democracy closely, can discern a change gradually taking place in the tactics of our party.

In spite of the oft repeated warning of many really prominent Socialists, that we should not participate in a bourgeois government except to oppose and finally destroy it, Comrade Millerand occupies a seat in the French Cabinet, and not only is he supported by a large section of the French Socialist movement, but Kautsky and other representative German Socialists fully endorse his action.

The French Socialist movement can no longer be called a cult of doctrinaires or a party of dreamers. The brilliant maneuvers of our French comrades

by which they defied the public opinion of the hour in a just cause, prove them to be statesmen of no mean ability. The grand campaign they waged against militarism and imperialism has made Socialism and the safety of the republic companion ideas in the minds of a large section of the French people.

The opportunity came. Our French comrades grasped it. No power can now withstand the onward march of the French proletariat to the conquest of the public powers.

A similar situation confronts us in America. The Philippine war is a factor in American politics. Military pageants and accounts of glorious victories are being used to accustom our people to militarism and a large standing army.

Shall we be silent on these matters and keep aloof from American affairs, or shall we throw ourselves into the struggle, defy public opinion, tell the truth as we see it and trust to the future for our vindication?

Arthur R. Andre.

True National Greatness

Many of the eminent ones seem to think that a nation with a big acreage, a big fleet, a big trade, and a big army is a great nation. I say it is no more a great nation than a big bully is a great man. I say that a nation may have all those things and not possess a single element of greatness.

The greatness of a nation consists surely in the greatness of its people; the greatness of a people consists as surely in their great goodness, nobility and genius. That is my theory. I cannot imagine greatness without justice, sincerity and purity. I cannot admit that we are a great nation; because we are not noble, nor pure, nor just, nor sincere.

I cannot imagine a great nation with crowds of unemployed, with crowds of sweated slaves, with crowds of paupers and thieves, with miles and miles of slums, with fearful prevalence of ignorance, of brutality, of vice, of gambling, drunkenness, roguery and licentiousness. I cannot imagine a great nation with thirty thousand prostitutes in the streets of its capital. I cannot imagine a great nation which breeds hordes of rouses, harlots, tramps and hypocrites; which allows the spread of its greatness to be heralded by an advance guard of political sharpers and bloodthirsty filibusters.

Perhaps I'm a fool, as so many clever people have said so; but I cannot call our nation great. It is not great to me. It is, to me, a base, barbarous and unspeakably vulgar nation, with only just enough leaven of honesty and virtue in it to keep it from moral decay.—R. Blatchford.

A Nut to Crack

The trust movement in England has reached great proportions. Some of the commodities which are controlled by English trusts are gunpowder, iron beds, steel tubes, dynamite, salt, tin plate, rails and coal, while the transportation rates on all English products are controlled by railroad and shipping trusts.

Not only is this the case, but it is also true that there are great corporations which monopolize many of the necessities of life, yet England is a free trade country with no protective tariff at which to point the finger of scorn. Perhaps our democratic contemporaries will explain why it is that trusts wax fat and jolly in England also.—Haverhill (Mass.) Gazette.

A Word From Debs

Chattanooga Enquirer: The following characteristic letter from that most able pleader for a better system, Eugene V. Debs, is brief but to the point:

Terre Haute, Ind., Aug. 17. My Dear Rogers: Warner's "manifesto" is a curiosity. Chattanooga should be proud of it and him. Are your working slaves beginning to see, or are they totally blind? Socialism! Socialism!!! Always yours, E. V. Debs

Lumbermen are attracted to the Philippines by the wealth of timber on the islands, says a Manila correspondent of the Chicago Tribune. The two things needed are railroads and reliable labor. These secured and it is perfectly safe to say the lumbermen will go in and strip the Philippines in short order, just as they have done in the Northwest.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Table listing Branch Supplies: Charters \$2.00, Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00, Membership Applications (100) .25, Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington St., Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

The Herald in Bundles

Table listing Herald Bundles: 25 copies \$.20, 50 copies .35, 100 copies .65, 200 copies 1.20

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

BUFFALO CONFERENCE AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY

(Continued from Page 1) The rocks of ignorance, injustice and wrongdoing. All progress in this world has been either through what is called evil, or around evil into new conditions.

Furthermore, the very evils against which we are fighting are the legitimate outgrowth of our development. They are not even the product of our desires and volition; they belong to a system of life and development.

The success and growth of the trust, of monopoly, has been in one respect of incalculable value; it has taught the world that the doctrine of individual or private ownership is merely relative and ephemeral.

It seems but yesterday that the rich man preached the sacredness of private ownership, the sanctity of the right of competition and reviled those who advocated public or collective ownership of public necessities.

What is the difference between a great trust owning all the copper mines of the United States and the United States owning them? What is the difference between the Metropolitan Railway Company owning all the railways in a great Metropolis and the United States owning them?

For the old democratic party to come forward to-day and pose as the friend of the people, and the declared foe of the trust is the most pitiable farce that it has yet enacted.

William Whiting, probably the ablest Eastern democrat, is at the head of the largest street car syndicate in the world, including the roads in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other cities.

The late Roswell P. Flower was the chief of the combination which gobbled up nine-tenths of the railways of Brooklyn, surface and elevated.

Daniel Lamont, secretary of ex-President Cleveland, and one of the high lights in democratic councils, is another trust maker.

Tom Johnson, the Ohio orator and reformer, cleared, it is said, more than \$2,000,000 from his trust properties in Brooklyn, and on the public platform said that while he believed the laws were iniquitous that permitted men to make enormous fortunes, that he and any other man would be a consummate fool who did not take advantage of them and make all that he could.

Senator Clark, of Montana, elected last year, is one of the chief owners and directors of the copper trust, as is the other great democratic leader of that state, Marcus Daily; one of whom is estimated to be worth \$25,000,000, the other \$20,000,000.

Roger Q. Mills, the famous author of the Mills bill of fourteen years ago for the reform of the tariff, is the head of the Texas Oil Trust, which in the past twelve months has endeavored to obtain legislation, shutting out the Standard Oil Company and so giving it a monopoly.

Sewall, of Maine, the last democratic nominee for Vice-President, was a strong advocate of the ship building trust.

Perry Belmont and Oliver H. P. Belmont have long been the American agents for the Rothschilds and are supposed to represent that enormous financial institution at the present time. These are only a few of hundreds. Does any sane person believe for one second that these men would, if they came into power, destroy, by legislation, the industries out of which they have amassed their fortunes? The thought is preposterous.

I cannot speak of other cities, but in

the Metropolis of New York nearly every prominent democratic politician is a wealthy man and many of them are pecuniarily related to the trusts. I presume it is the same in other cities.

(Concluded next week.)

The Formative Time

Every sound instinct of national preservation and patriotism demands for the masses of the people, a fuller education, to train them to meet political, social and industrial conditions that are becoming more complex.

It goes without saying that the future welfare of a country depends upon the economic education of its people.

Give an intelligent people an insight into Socialism and the time to gratify it, and you place them where "knowledge becomes power."

They will be ruled in their conduct upon all private and public affairs, by scientific economy applied upon lines of human justice.

The interest in Socialism is now apparent and all over the world signs of this interest are being rapidly multiplied.

The movement appeals particularly as an educational measure associated with an altruistic point of view.

There is no doubt that Socialism is destined to kindle an intellectual torch which shall illuminate every hearth stone it once penetrates, and to the man or woman who takes it, it gives a great hope, for it elevates their understanding to a higher plane, and it broadens out the horizon of their vision.

To the farmers, the news of the great Socialist movement of the world must come by reading, and they can give it more thought and reflection than the men employed in large industrial centers, not being subjected to the same distractions.

For the encouragement of those who are generously seeking the ushering in of a new life, it may be said that the good they are doing is far reaching, and will live after they have passed away.

Evolution or Revolution

I can't understand the various articles which have appeared in The Herald opposing direct legislation by the people through the initiative and referendum.

Those writing them have not really probed the subject, but have taken counsel of their fears and seized upon the sayings of those who would naturally be supposed to oppose anything that was in the people's interest.

The great strength of the movement is among the supporters of the old parties and in these it is a powerful educative influence. Eleven state democratic conventions and three state republican conventions have declared for it.

I am in a position to say that not one of its advocates deems it otherwise than a means. Just as it is necessary for Belgian Socialists to get first the ballot for their fellow workers, so it is necessary for the voters in the United States to secure the rights kept from them by the national and the different state constitutions.

Having secured these rights we can enter upon a peaceful revolution and take advantage of each step in advance made by public opinion.

Let us suppose that a band of men in South Dakota should draft a law embodying this plank of our Newark platform:

"Man's Right to Work is the very foundation of all morality, for without it, only the thief or beggar can live. The community gains so enormously by progress in inventions and business methods, and by economies of management, that the individual who suffers by these things can easily be taken care of in the industrial system. We demand, therefore, work for the unemployed upon needed public improvements, five to eight hours per day."

Will any one hold that the agitation sure to precede a vote on it would be harmful to Socialism?

Would an initiative to be voted on in November then abolish the contract system, keep people from voting the Social Democratic Party ticket, or would we not gain enormously by the educative nature of the agitation? My advice to the South Dakota Socialists is to initiate such a question every year.

For God's sake don't be jealous that

somebody else than yourself, or your party will win the laurels that the fully instituted co-operative commonwealth will bestow upon its heroes. The task before us is worth the energy of millions and the reward large enough for all.

A word of warning—as we approach a measure of success there will come among us a division of opinion regarding party actions. There are those still among us who regard a violent revolution of the workers against the existing order imperative.

The opposition have their eyes fixed upon the material gains made by our comrades in England and France, where the government responds more quickly to public opinion.

The battle for it will be coeval with the battle for Socialism. When the last jealously guarded power is taken from the hands that have wielded it for class or personal ends, and transferred to the people, the Co-operative Commonwealth will be at hand.

In my platform D. L. is the next clause after the demand for the national Co-operative Commonwealth, for by it all the others can be obtained.

There may be some victories gained for this measure here and there but direct legislation is Socialism, means Socialism to this country, and needs a Socialist party to triumph nationally.

Newark, N. J. G. H. Strobell.

Are you a Socialist? What are you doing for Socialism? Every Socialist should be up and doing night and day, doing something to advance the cause.

Debs Lecture Tour:

Table with dates from September 4 to 15 and locations: Eau Claire, Portage, Rockford, St. Louis, Pana, Auburn, Sheboygan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin.

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Table listing literature titles and prices: Liberty, Debs, Merrie England, Municipal Socialism, Prison Labor, etc.

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A FRIENDLY TIP. When a branch of the S. D. P. is organized it should not sit down on its hind legs and wait for the clouds to roll by.