

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 21.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1899.

Whole No. 71.

VICTORY

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TRIUMPH IN MASSACHUSETTS

Carey Re-Elected to the House by Largest Vote Ever Cast in His District

SCATES DEFEATED BY COALITION

Porter for Governor Polls a Tremendous Vote in Haverhill

FREDERIC O. MACCARTNEY ELECTED TO STATE SENATE FROM PLYMOUTH DISTRICT

SOCIALIST VOTE LARGER EVERYWHERE

Republicans and Democrats Form Coalition to Beat Chase in Municipal Election

Special to the Social Democratic Herald.

HAVERHILL, Mass., Nov. 7, '99.

Porter, 1,744 votes in Haverhill; increase, 911.

Carey re-elected; majority 361, getting largest vote ever cast in the district.

Scates defeated, but has increased vote of 143.

Woodcock in fourth defeated, polling 465 votes. Gillen defeated in ninth; full vote not announced. Bean defeated, polling (latest returns), 3,500 in senatorial district. MacCartney (Rockland) elected, 102 plurality.

Porter doubled vote at Newburyport and big increase everywhere. Just missed electing three representatives at Brockton; one defeated by 16, another by 65 and another by 101. Haverhill is encouraged by outlook. Combination of democrats and republicans in third and ninth districts too strong. Decoy democrat in fourth, pulled votes from Woodcock. Vote polled may be classed as straight Socialist votes and shows Socialism is entrenched firmly in Haverhill. Republicans and democrats have already formed coalition to defeat Chase but we are confident. Total vote largest ever polled in Haverhill. WILLIAM MAILLY.

Special to the Social Democratic Herald.

ROCKLAND, Mass., Nov. 7, '99.

Fourth Plymouth district, MacCartney (S. D. P.), 703; Harvell (republican), 601; Bonney (democrat), 80. MacCartney elected. JOHN NOLAN, Sec'y.

The opposition of the rich and powerful corporations, the battle royal of the Republican party, with plenty of money and its heaviest political guns, the cowardly and dishonest combination of the Democrats with the Republicans, all these factors combined have failed to compass the one single object which the capitalistic forces of Massachusetts desired more than everything else, viz., the defeat of the Social Democratic party at Haverhill.

After a splendid contest, which was honorably and, as the results show, capably conducted by the members of our party, the combined forces have learned that Socialism in Massachusetts is not an ephemeral or hysterical movement, but an aggressive, wideawake and permanent cause.

The outcome of the election in Massachusetts may be accepted by the defenders of the system against which the Social Democratic party is arrayed as our notification, as a warning from the people, that Socialism, as a factor in American politics, is established.

The victory is so marked that no amount of excuse or explanation can belittle it.

Our cause is from this hour to be reckoned with as one in which the people are concerned, and from this time forward it will make giant strides and score notable victories in the arena of practical politics.

For a year past, or since the last elections in the Essex district of Massachusetts, the capitalist press and politicians have lustily boasted of what they would do with the Social Democrats who

thought they could permanently establish the cause of Socialism in old Massachusetts.

Well, the day for a trial of strength came, and with all their scheming and the aid of the "new" and "regenerated" democracy of Bryan, Williams, Gerry Brown and Harry White, the "enemy is ours."

More than that, the result of this election insures the re-election of Comrade John C. Chase as mayor of Haverhill next month and clears the way for the triumph of the Social Democrats in the next congressional contest, when we will give the present incumbent a "run for his money."

A year ago, in the party's first campaign, the vote of our candidates on the state ticket in Massachusetts was as follows:

For Governor—W. P. Porter.....3,749
For Lieutenant-Governor—I. M. Skinner.....5,899
For Secretary of State—C. H. Bradley.....9,285
For Treasurer—C. W. White.....6,302
For Auditor—C. S. Grieves.....6,823

Carey's vote last year was 751, and Scates' 674. This year the Social Democratic party had 40 candidates for the state legislature. Following is a brief mention of candidates concerning whom we have been able to get particulars:

JAMES F. CAREY

Born at Haverhill, Mass., Aug. 19, 1867; began work early in life in a shoe factory; always active in trade union affairs; elected member of city council December, 1897; served as president of that body; elected to state legislature November, 1898.

LOUIS M. SCATES

Born in Georgetown, Mass., January 17, 1863; worked in shoe factory; also worked as railway conductor; elected to state legislature November, 1898, and proved a most faithful representative.

CHARLES S. WOODCOCK

Born at Franklin, N. H., January, 1869; employed at an early age in shoe factory; is chairman of local branch of the S. D. P.; member for years of trade union organizations; will make a most useful member of the legislature.

ALBERT L. GILLEN

Born at Andover, Mass., 33 years ago; went to work at upholsterers' trade at age of 14; formerly member of the S. L. P.; elected councilman in November, 1898.

JOE W. BEAN

Born at Lempster, N. H., 1863; a direct descendant of John Bean who settled in Exeter, N. H., in 1660; an employe for many years in shoe factory; elected to city council November, 1898.

WINFIELD PARK PORTER

Born at Westboro, Mass., October 7, 1866; for some years was secretary of Y. M. C. A. at various places in the state; at one time chairman of prohibition city committee at Newburyport; was nominated by the S. D. P. in 1898 for governor of Massachusetts, and again this year.

One of the most amusing incidents of the Haverhill campaign was the appearance there in behalf of the "new" Democratic party of George Fred Williams, one of the national lights of that party, with the assurance that he "came to show the Socialists that we have an organization that intends to work for them, and that they [the Socialists] are doing their cause an injury if they do not support the 'new' democracy." This was said in the face of the fact that at the time Mr. Williams spoke his party was indorsing and combining with the Republicans to defeat the Social Democrats. The "new" democracy is in no way distinctive from the old in the ability of its leaders to juggle with words to catch votes.

According to Carroll D. Wright, U. S. labor commissioner, it costs 1 cent to manufacture 90 boxes of matches with 50 matches in each box. Thus the consumers pay about 9,000 per cent to the trust, which stole its patents and pays beggarly wages.

The resignation of Prof. Geo. D. Herron was accepted last week by the trustees of Iowa College. The Herald was favored by Prof. Herron with an advance copy of his letter, which is admirable in spirit and matter, but its great length and pressure on our space from other directions prevent its publication.

A man rose suddenly in a Socialist meeting near Halberstadt, Germany, last Sunday and raised a cheer for the kaiser. It was the expectation that the workingmen would utter some offensive expressions about the kaiser or refuse to rise, which constructively would be lese majesty. The Halberstadt paper reporting the occurrence remarked that "nobody was provoked into committing a folly." For this sentence the editor, Herr Haupt, has been charged with lese majesty.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE OF BRIGHT SAYINGS

OLD PARTIES POOL THEIR ISSUES

Socialism in Massachusetts Has Reached the Stage When it is Heard, Heeded and Opposed—The Next Stage is Victory

The Tidal Wave is Coming On

One battle is over.

The day we have so anxiously expected is past. The antagonistic forces of capitalism and Socialism have stood face to face in battle array and have contended for the mastery. The might of Maimon and the right of Man have met in open conflict. The principles of selfish competition and Socialist co-operation have been hung side by side before a criticising people, to the vast advantage of the latter.

A real battle.

Here in Massachusetts, at least, it has been a real battle. So far in the political fight, until this year, we have been waging a sort of guerrilla warfare. We have been perched in the tree tops, firing stray shots at both the Republican and Democratic armies that fought beneath us; and in the heat of battle we were unnoticed, despised and impotent. Our shots picked off one or other of the enemy, and only helped the other side to win.

A fearful farce.

But now it is different. We have come down from the tree tops and have massed together on the field of conflict. Now it is a real battle. Our numbers have so grown that already the two old parties are beginning to pool their issues and unite their forces. We have in this election been regarded and treated as a real force and a dreaded foe.

A good sign.

Nothing helps like opposition. It is what the bellows is to the fire or a stiff breeze to a yacht. It is indifference that kills. There is only one thing worse than being adversely criticised—not being criticised at all. The strength of opposition is a true sign of the strength of our party. The recognition of our Socialist army as a force worth fighting is the best possible compliment to our largeness of growth.

The third stage.

We have reached the third stage of political development. The first is that of indifference, when the public listened to our arguments with the same interest they would in hearing an engine blow off steam. The second is that of ridicule, when our arguments were listened to and received with a good-natured contempt. The third stage is that of opposition, when we are heard, heeded and opposed. This stage we have now reached, and can congratulate ourselves upon the fact.

Victory!

The fourth stage is victory. We have already crossed its borders here and there. We are slowly and surely advancing toward it. Let every comrade remember this all-important fact—We cannot fail! I would like to fill this column with those three words, printed as large and as black as possible. The pessimistic Socialist is an abnormal product. There is no place for him in these gloriously inspiring times. Only the optimist can be a true Socialist, and only an optimist can be a good one.

Only one battle.

This election is only one battle. There are many more. It is but the commencement of that bitter war that shall wage for years, and whose final outcome will be the emancipation of our submerged class and the adoption of Socialistic principles in our industrial life. But the war will be long. One battle does not give us victory. The tree has not fallen, even if a few chips fall beneath your axe. You have only struck the bark—the heart of the tree is hard.

A political thermometer.

An election is simply a thermometer by which we can tell the temperature of public sentiment. It simply tells us the result of our previous work and the success of our efforts to banish the capitalistic chill from our industrial workshop and replace it by the warmth of social justice. But the thermometer has no power to heat. We must renew and increase our efforts so that when we view it again it will indicate a further rise.

An industrial steam gauge.

Or it might be compared to the steam gauge of a boiler. Its work is to show

the intensity of the power within. The fireman who simply watches the guage and expects it to raise the pressure is not a wise man. But when he flings off his coat and flings in the coal he fulfills his part. And so we, while we are encouraged by the election guage, must remember that it is only by the coal of financial sacrifice and the poker of agitation that the political pressure will become great enough to turn at last the wheels of Socialist prosperity.

A sounding lead.

When a ship is nearing the land one of the crew goes to the bow and casts in the lead to find the depth of the water. In that way the captain ascertains how near he is to the land. And so we on election day have cast in our ballots into the sea of politics to see how near our Socialist ship is from the land of the Co-operative Commonwealth. But the land itself is reached only by going ahead after each sounding.

Don't slump!

Let no Socialist yield to the inevitable desire to take a rest after election. If you have won your particular battle, you will need greater energy than before to maintain your position. If you have lost it, remember that, though the wave may break, the tide is still coming in. Let there be no cessation of activity. The day after election is just as important as the day before. The baby doesn't stop growing after it is weighed—neither should you.

Hasten!

There is no time to lose. It will take as every day of the year to prepare for the final great struggle; 1899 is gone, but 1900 is ahead. There is an infinite amount of work to be done. Every strong man is needed. Every voice has its waiting audience. Every pen has its readers. To us is given a mighty trust. If we fail, if we are laggard of step, if we are not true to our trust, great will be the result. Dark indeed are the days ahead if we who have the lanterns of Socialist truth do not hang them by the wayside.

On, my comrades, on! Merlin.

'LABOR AND LIBERTY'

Eugene V. Debs at Twelfth Street Turner Hall, Sunday Afternoon, November 12.

Returning from a trip to the Northwest and Pacific Coast, where at every point he was greeted by immense and enthusiastic audiences, Eugene V. Debs will deliver his great lecture on "Labor and Liberty" at Twelfth Street Turner Hall, on Twelfth street, near Halsted, next Sunday afternoon, November 12, at 2 o'clock, under the auspices of the Amalgamated Woodworkers' Council of Chicago. A warm reception from a packed house awaits the lecturer, whose remarkable tour of the country has in every section been marked by an extraordinary popular interest in Socialism. This is reflected in the press notices of his meetings, a few of which are appended:

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer says: "Mr. Debs talked more than two hours, but his oratorical powers kept his audience with him until the last. Unlike most speakers of his class, he deals very little in anecdote. His mainstay is epigram, and he also has an abundant fund of wit and humor that he draws on freely."

The Rosland (B. C.) Industrial World describes his reception in these words:

"The fame of the speaker had preceded him, so that long before the hour appointed for opening the meeting on Saturday night, there was not a seat available in the spacious hall, and standing room was at a premium. The enthusiasm which characterized the proceedings showed beyond doubt the telling effect of Mr. Debs' oratory. Mr. Debs impresses one with the sincerity of his utterances, and that he has his heart in the cause of labor no one could for a moment doubt, having listened to him for a few minutes. There is that genuine ring about the man which carries conviction with it, and if any of his auditors did take exception to his utterances they at least gave the speaker full credit for honesty of purpose and sincerity in the cause he so ably advocated."

At San Francisco he had a tremendous meeting that filled to the doors the Metropolitan Hall, one of the largest auditoriums in the city. The Examiner said:

"Eugene V. Debs had a tremendous audience at Metropolitan Hall last night. He is a terse and nervous speaker, lean in person, with the quick, eager movements of a panther; eager, insistent, earnest, full of matter, gifted with a neat turn of phrase, but never wasting time on ornament. He held his audience for two hours and over. He could have held them for two hours more. His delivery is unique. Sometimes it seems monotonous, but the eager energy of the man, his rapid utterance, his intensity, obscures all that. He is, in fact, the real spellbinder in the true sense of that abused word."

ON THE TRAIN LEAVING PORTLAND

E. V. DEBS BOUND FOR CALIFORNIA

Three Thousand People Attend the Seattle Meeting—Hideous Leprosy of Capitalism Denounced—A. R. U. Men Out Everywhere—On a Trail!

Honor to the Comrades of Milwaukee

This is written on the train leaving Portland en route to San Francisco. It would be difficult to describe the progress of this Northwestern and coast campaign. Houses everywhere are crowded and overflowing. At Seattle 3,000 people crowded every inch of space in the great armory, and probably 3,000 more were unable to get through the doors. Socialism was on top and everybody was cheering.

At Rosland, B. C., two immense meetings were held under the auspices of the Miners' Union. The veteran miner, Chris. Foley, of the general executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, presided, and in taking the chair delivered a stirring Socialist address.

At Revelstoke, B. C., another splendid meeting was held under the auspices of the newly organized Trades' Assembly.

New Whatcom, Wash., gave us a fine meeting on short notice. Our branch there, although new, is of the "dandy" variety, and the comrades are all up to date. So with the branch and comrades at Fairhaven, two miles from New Whatcom, just organized. We will soon have three more branches in that vicinity.

The Vancouver meeting was under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Council and was a great success, the attendance being large and enthusiastic.

The Seattle demonstration, which was held under the auspices of the Western Central Labor Union, has been, so far, the record-breaker of the trip. The coming of Socialism could be read in the sparkling eyes and heard in the pulsating hearts of the vast throng that packed every inch of space, galleries and all, in the armory auditorium. When the speaker tore the mask from "patriotism" and exposed the hideous leprosy of capitalism the cheers were deafening. Our comrades at Seattle are genuine campaigners. They are vigilant, active and determined. On leaving I was confidently assured that within six months the branch would number a thousand members.

En passant, I may say that Washington is the ripest field in the West. I ventured this opinion two years ago and am now convinced of it. Massachusetts in the East and Washington in the West! We will start at both ends and meet in the middle for the final round-up. It is my intention to return in the spring and spend a month in Washington, covering every available part.

A feature of our meetings is the large attendance of railroad employes. At every point they are conspicuously numerous, many of them being battle-scarred veterans of the A. R. U. And at every point there is demand for the revival of the A. R. U., especially along the lines of the Canadian Pacific, Northern Pacific and Great Northern. They have just been turned down hard and cold by "Jim" Hill on the Northern.

I haven't time at present, but if ever I do the A. R. U. shall be reorganized, and it shall come to the front spontaneously and renew its work where the judges, soldiers and other thugs interrupted it, adding to its programme class-conscious solidarity at the polls.

Traveling over the Canadian Pacific, I soon became aware that I was on the odoriferous trail of John M. Egan, the ex-strike manager of the General Managers' Association. He used to be an official on this road. The odor still hovers over the line like a Portland fog. He is remembered chiefly for his activity in having the employes of the line surprise (?) him with several thousand dollars' worth of diamond-studded testimonials of their affection and esteem. He has since settled in the South, where he may gradually get used to the climate of his final destination.

The current issue of The Herald reports the action of our Milwaukee comrades in reference to the national propaganda fund. All honor to them! They have always been at the front in everything. The national party has more than once realized this. The "Appeal to Reason" fund shows it, and so I say honor to these comrades, and I take off my hat in saying it. Eugene V. Debs. October 30, 1899.

Comrade Emil Lies of San Francisco will lecture under the auspices of Branch 6 of Indiana, Sunday afternoon, November 12, at Reichwein's Hall, Indianapolis, on "Socialism and Trades Unionism." Admission free and everybody welcome.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOV. 11, 1899.

WE ALL CIRCLE THE GLOBE

The August issue of the Torch, published at Durban, South Africa, contains three columns of matter from the Appeal. The Appeal circulates around the globe and fights capitalism wherever found, even in the jungles and bungalows of Africa.—Appeal to Reason.

Well, we're with you, "Old Hoss." The Typographical Journal, of Indianapolis, in reviewing a South African printers' paper, also published at Durban, Natal, says that—

"The longest article is a straight talk to unionists on their duty toward labor organizations, and is credited to the Cleveland Citizen. This is strongly commended editorially."

Therefore, if the South Africans manage to smash the old robber, John Bull, and suddenly become absorbed in the beauties of Socialism—well, it will be known that a couple of American papers helped to plant the seed.—Cleveland Citizen.

And while this sort of propaganda is going on in South Africa we may be pardoned for calling attention to the publication in a paper down in old Pennsylvania of a Herald editorial credited to another paper published in Brisbane, Australia. Thus our humble efforts are made to do a double service, and after filtering through the columns of an antipodean exchange reappear on this side the world, duly credited to the other side. It is only another illustration of the at-one-ness of Socialist thought.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

A Primary Lesson for Workmen

The great unsolved question of our time, to which the intelligence and energy of the present and immediate future must be devoted, is the industrial question—the labor question. The problem to be solved is that of the production of the necessary amount of wealth, and its equitable distribution. Mankind can exist on the planet only by the exercise of its labor powers, applied to the production of utilities, or wealth.

The principal cause of crime is poverty. If you abolish poverty you abolish crime. Any effort that makes for the abolition of poverty makes for the betterment of morality, and is therefore a religious work which must appeal to the higher faculties of mankind.

The industrial question comes within the domain of the science of political economy, and as all systems of that science heretofore in vogue have resulted but in acrimonious disputation and confusion, the following points are presented for consideration as a basis for a school of political economy in the future—"the industrial school":

A. Labor creates all wealth.
B. All wealth belongs to those who create it.

C. The productive capacity of society is superior to the consumptive capacity of society.

"A." This declaration is axiomatic; absolutely and scientifically correct. By labor is meant the exercise of the activities of man upon nature (or land, the passive factor in production), whereby the quality of utility is given to the object acted upon. By wealth is meant anything that is useful to man, outside of the elements of nature, which are gratuities to man, and not wealth in the abstract, but "land." Labor creates all wealth because wealth is the plus, or quality of utility which has been added to the natural substance by the application of labor, and has therefore been created by labor. Without utility there is no wealth, and as labor alone gives utility the syllogism is perfect.

"B." This is but the corollary of the first; to state it is to prove it, in reason and in morals.

"C." In proof of the correctness of this axiom all the wealth of the world is placed in evidence as an exhibit. It is all unconsumed labor product. To hold, as do some economists, that the power of consumption is limited only by man's power of production, is mere sophistry. It is said that the imagination can create wants which are ever increasing in a greater ratio than his power to supply them, but it cannot be conceded that every desire springing from the imagination can be construed to constitute a want. If the imagination prompts a man to want the moon, of course the labor of all men could not

supply such a want. To supply the demands that might spring from the imagination of one or two patients in a lunatic asylum all the labor of a nation might not suffice. Workshops are closed (shut down) and fields are left uncultivated because there is no market for the product, and whole cargoes of fruit, etc., have been dumped into the sea for the same reason.

If these propositions be true—and their disproof is invited, if possible—they prove conclusively that poverty has no raison d'être, and that its existence is but an evidence of the non-intelligent employment of the forces which are at the command of man; and we see therefore that the abolition of poverty is one of the undoubted possibilities of the future, when mankind shall have become more civilized.

Trade unionism, operated as at present, for the maintenance of wages (and coincidentally for the perpetuation of the wages system) can be effective in the general application of its methods, but it cannot be effective in the collective application of them. Thus stonemasons, by limiting the number of apprentices, may raise their own wages; carpenters can do the like, and also many other trades. But while it is quite true that one trade or several may be able to do this to a certain extent, it does not follow that all trades together can do it, because each trade, in thus raising its own wages, tends to injure the others in some degree.

The cost of living regulates the rate of wages. If wages are generally increased up goes the cost of living accordingly, and vice versa.

CAPITAL AND LABOR

If you have followed my argument as regards surplus value you will have seen that, owing to the curse of its accumulation, to the curse of its misappropriation, and certainly, in its present form, to the curse of its existence, the working classes are not only deprived of the value of fully half their labor, but through the inexhaustible law of free competition they are threatened with still further deprivation. Let me emphasize this point in touching upon the uses of wealth. In the world of commerce not only are two classes warring against each other over the command of surplus value, but, worse than this, the individual members of those classes are fighting one against the other. In the free and open field of competition employers are compelled to produce and sell as cheaply as possible. At the same time laboring men multiply, machinery and invention enable fewer and fewer to do the work; men fall from other classes to help swell the numbers of the unemployed. Hence on the one hand we find capitalists closely watching their wages' bill. To them no recurrent item of expenditure is more pressing; no item of expenditure admits of less delay; no item admits of less compromise, and wages form an item that cannot be met by drafts on the future. Every dollar a month paid to a thousand men is \$12,000 a year, or good interest on a quarter of a million of dollars. To employers, then, any reduction of wages is always desirable. On the other hand, we find laborers keenly alive to the necessity of saving their families from starvation. The spectacle presented may be likened to Dore's great painting of the "Deluge." There we have pictured for us by a master hand men struggling and striving to save themselves as the waters slowly but surely rise. In the labor market we find men struggling and striving, we find men falling over each other in their anxiety to secure the same job. I am told by contractors that so great is the competition in Los Angeles that some buildings are actually constructed at a loss. As a result, my friends, the workers in this country are rapidly sinking into an ocean of destitution. They are rapidly falling to the position of their fellows in Europe, where wages are placed at a point which will support and renew the lowest form of human life needed for turning out the requisite grade of work.

But let us go further. Looking over the whole field of industry, in Europe and Asia, as well as America, we find that many causes are co-operating to give to capital a tremendous ascendancy. In the first place, there is so much more of it. As we have already seen, while the use of machinery increases fast, the number of workers increases faster. In the second place, this enormous increase of wealth gives those who possess it a crushing advantage in competition. The little industrial wants a profit of 20 per cent to repay him for his labor, while the mighty syndicate, with thousands of shareholders, is content with 10 per cent, and if it borrows on first mortgage bonds can put up with 6 or 8 per cent. And, lastly, under the present system, the capitalist, by his command at once of associated labor, and of brain power, and of ready money, does the work better. His machines are better made, his firemen are more carefully picked, his materials include fewer rejected pieces.—From a Speech by Jas. T. Van Rensselaer.

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THE PLAINT OF THE STOKER

Ay! sing the admiral's praises,
An' sing o' the captain, too;
An' swill yer wine to the staff an' line
An' all o' the gun-deck crew;
But who's to sing o' the stoker,
Er tell o' the part he bears?
Fer he lives in a hole, an' he dies in a hole,
An' who the devil cares?

So strip to the waist, my maties,
An' work as a stoker works,
Fer fast er slow, the man below
Is never the man who shirks;
An' the first to drop, we'll lay him
Soft side o' the fire-room stairs,
Fer he lived in a hole, an' he dies in a hole,
An' who the devil cares?

There's a chase in sight, my maties,
An' "Steam! more steam!" 's the cry;
So bend your backs to the grating racks
An' work till it's time to die;
Fer the ship must do her duty
In pride o' the flag she wears—
Tho' we live in a hole, an' we die in a hole,
An' who the devil cares?

Come! strike up a song, my maties,
An' mock at the death-white heat;
Fer the fight's begun, an' lost or won,
The heart o' the ship must beat!
Fer them at the guns there's glory
That never a stoker shares—
Fer we live in a hole, an' we die in a hole,
An' who the devil cares?

—Carlton Kennett.

So on with the dance, my maties,
Tho' you sob and gasp for breath;
Fer the demon Coal is black o' soul,
An' he drives his slaves to death!
But we'll sink or swim together,
An' it's little we'll get o' prayers—
Fer we live in a hole, an' we die in a hole,
An' who the devil cares?

THE TRUST AN ECONOMIC STUDY

By Imogene C. Fales

Now that the question of the trust is well to the front, and politicians are discussing its merits and demerits, it may not be amiss for a Socialist journal to participate in the discussion, even if in so doing statements are made with which all Socialists are more or less familiar. The work of education, however, is not confined to our own ranks, but is designed to reach those who have never given serious thought to the great economic questions of the day, and who derive what little knowledge they possess from professional politicians whose views are shaped by the men and parties of which they are the exponents.

It is wholly true that the trust is a labor-saving device that lowers the cost of production, but it also has the power to control the price of commodities irrespective of cost, and by crushing out all competitors to contract the field of industry, and despite the increasing wealth of civilization make the supply of labor immeasurably greater than the demand. But these evils, great as they are, are small in comparison with the almost unlimited power possessed by the trust over legislation. The power thus exercised in bribery and corruption, in the purchase of votes for the enactment of measures deemed necessary to strengthen and enlarge their operations, or for the destruction of those inimical to their welfare, strikes at the very heart of material life, by undermining and destroying the moral fibre on which that life depends. By reducing politics from its high level for the enactment and administration of laws for the welfare of the people and the strengthening of the national domain to the status of a huge gambling pool is to make every legislative body not only an obstacle to progress but a mechanism for the political and industrial degradation of every member of the community.

Let us take, by way of illustration, the sugar trust. When it is struggling with a powerful rival it reduces the price of that commodity even to below the point of profit. The moment it has crushed or absorbed its rival it advances prices sufficiently to recoup its losses to pay a handsome profit for the business done and a dividend upon an enormous amount of watered stock. American sugar refining is not an infant industry; it can produce refined sugar at a profit in open competition with every other nation, yet to give it a larger margin of profit it receives from the government the benefit of a differential tariff in its favor.

The moment the trust has no opposition at home it advances its prices to within a fraction of a cent per pound to the cost of foreign sugar, plus tariff, freight and marine insurance.

At intervals the tariff is revised, and then every congressman is subjected to a temptation of the most terrible type. It is not necessary for the sugar trust to bribe any one—the open market itself offers the bribe. If a congressman knows that the tariff will be increased he can buy ten thousand shares upon margin, and in a few days after the bill has become a law can make from one to thirty dollars a share, or from ten thousand to thirty thousand dollars. No one is the wiser for it; there is no corruption in the ordinary sense of the word—the official is simply taking advantage of his official position—but none the less is it an immorality of the most dangerous

kind, and one that tends to undermine all representative government.

Let us take another view of the action of the trust. By its very nature it is an obstacle in the great law of demand and supply; not merely in the lower commercial sense, but in the higher evolutionary meaning. The law of the universe ever tends to increase the supply of that for which there is a continuous demand, and at the same time tends to increase the power of each individual to augment the supply. The demand for the necessities of life brings forth the necessities desired. At the same time it produces inventions, discoveries and labor-saving methods which multiply individual productivity. Within the last one hundred years the productivity of the individual has greatly increased. The average American to-day, with his labor reinforced by the use of machinery, produces enough to support 150 persons.

The surplus of any standard supply is wealth. Now, when a trust comes into operation it has a double power; it can limit the output, and, what is more dangerous to the republic, it can limit and almost stop the progress of labor-saving devices called forth by the law of human development. In other words, by controlling the market it controls the laborer on one side and the inventor and discoverer on the other. Property and progress should depend upon the joint action of the laborer and the inventor. To curtail the action of either means national suicide.

Take, as an illustration, the Bell Telephone Company. For at least seven years it compelled the public to use an inferior mechanism, known as the Blake transmitter, although during this period there were twenty superior mechanisms which could have been substituted for it. They were in the market, but the Bell Telephone owned that market, and even to-day, when nearly all the original patents have expired, they still own two or three important ones which keep up their monopoly. The result of this is that the laborer, the inventor and the business public are crushed in the vicious grip of this monopoly.

When an increased demand comes for any product owned by a trust it is met by raising the prices accordingly and not by increasing its plant; this, while it prevents the expansion of industry, also diminishes the amount of labor that might otherwise find employment. It does more, by limiting the speed of the wheels of industry it creates an unnatural accumulation of wealth in a few hands that is used with despotic power in shaping the government of the country.

The whole tendency of the trust, apart from its evolutionary aspect, is a necessary step in social development—if malevolent.

The New York Journal recently published a list of ninety trusts with a capitalization of \$3,754,518,000. They cover, says the article, the fields of coal, gas, oil, iron, steel, sugar, tobacco, telephones, liquors, electrical machinery, biscuits, cornstalks, agricultural machinery, coffee, beef, paper, chemicals, silverware, lead, knit goods, sashes and doors, typewriters, window glass, matches, ribbons and a score of other things, covering, in fact, nearly every field of industry. The result of these combinations of capital is a rise in prices of from 50 to 150 per cent. Is it any wonder that we have our classes and our masses—the very rich and the very poor, the former levying a tribute from everything necessary to human existence and the latter compelled to pay?

We have reached the point where centralization of wealth can, with safety to the republic go no farther. The trust, as it exists to-day, is nothing less than a huge vampire sucking the life blood from millions and growing fat on its inhuman occupation.

There must be a change, and that before this life-absorbing power has so weakened the people as to render them incapable of successfully grappling with this monstrous growth.

The work is agitation, education and political organization for the overthrow of the two parties, Democratic and Republican, that foster and keep alive the competitive monopolistic order. The Social Democratic party must become the center and source of action of this great work, and around this nucleus should all reformers gather.

The trust, with all its evils, is simply part of a world system of human development, one link, but not by any means the final one, in the great chain of life. The time has come for the next and golden link of happiness to be forged that will purify the alloy and preserve the gold. **THE GOVERNMENT MUST STAND AT THE HEAD AND BE THE HEAD OF ALL TRUSTS THAT MONOPOLIZE A GIVEN FIELD OF INDUSTRY AND CONTROL PRICES AND PRODUCTS.** The world waits for its redemption in taking up an incompletely developed system and making it a complete one, in removing the restricted operations of the trust from private control, where it works more evil than good, into public control, where at last the travail of the ages will be accomplished and a true democracy and a new civilization will be born.

Then rally round the PARTY, and let the battle cry be FREEDOM.

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

CLEAR ON THE ISSUE

Many things are told to the workers of this country by the capitalistic press about Socialism and Socialists. This press is owned and controlled by a ruling class, and the editorial policy is carried out in the interest of this ruling class, hence it is but natural that this class, through its press, should distort the facts as to what Socialism really means, and what Socialists seek to accomplish. For instance, one of these papers had a long article, the title of which was the "Failure of Socialism," being an account of the failure of a co-operative community in one of the northern states.

To the student of scientific Socialism this statement appears ridiculous, for the failure of a small community no more means the "failure of Socialism" than the failure of a commercial enterprise means the failure of capitalism.

I merely mention this so that the reader may be on his guard when he reads anything about Socialism in a capitalist sheet.

Now, what is Socialism?

Socialism is a science which explains the origin and development of our capitalistic system of industry, points out the various stages in this development, the changes that accompany this development, and points out that the logical and inevitable result of this Social development must be Socialism, i. e., the collective ownership of all the means of wealth, production and distribution. The realization of this result does not imply (as some Utopians claim) that we must change human nature, or that everybody must become "little wingless angels," but that the economic evolution of society will force the working class to take possession of the powers of government; abolish all class distinctions and class rule, take possession of all land and capital and make them the collective property of society, to be owned and operated in the interests of the whole people, instead of in the interest of an exploiting class, as now.

To make this clearer, I will quote from the platform of the Social Democratic party of America: "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."

The above is a plain, scientific statement of conditions as we see them every day. We look all about us, and see the "two distinct classes" on every hand; the small "possessing class" or capitalists own and control the tools of production on conditions that deprive the producers of the "socially"-due share of their product.

If the above is true, then the class interests of these two opposing classes are antagonistic, and cannot be reconciled. Hence the participation of the working class in any other than a Socialist party means that they are supporting the interests of the ruling class, and voting themselves into continued slavery.

Consider the attitude of the majority of the working class to-day. They meet in their state and national conventions, and "whereas" and "resolve," and BEG of the very men whom they have elected to office to do this or do that for them, instead of getting in control of the machinery of government and TAKING that which belongs to them.—Jas. O'Neal in Coming Events.

An Employer on Workmen

A slave is no more willing to have the shackles struck from his limbs than the working people are to lift a hand in behalf of their rights. Some of their leaders howl and try to arouse them, but it's all wind. Nothing will come of it. One-half deride the rest, and hence will remain helpless. Their votes tell the tale. They want masters, and don't desire to be free. All we have to do is to smile on one and kick the other. The fact of the matter is that they think they are helpless. It's our duty to make them believe it. An empty stomach and a naked back is our argument. That is all we need to remain masters. With all their growlings during their secret meetings, next day they are the first to discredit their leaders who work for principle and without remuneration. The whole thing in a nutshell is that they are so cowardly they are unwilling even to vote for themselves. They realize they are our slaves. Let them believe it—it pays us. We would be fools not to use them in every way to coin money out of them. Have no fear of the workmen, as they'll never disturb our mastery, for where cowardice is added to ignorance, resistance to power is impossible.

More "Treason"

"Treason" is not confined to our branch of the English-speaking race. Sir Wm. Vernon Harcourt dared to say in a public speech that England has no just cause for making war on the Transvaal. Now that was "treason." All the imperialistic papers in London said so the very next day. If those screaming apostles of a juggernaut empire do not know what "treason" is, who does?—Springfield Republican.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.

CALIFORNIA
Branch No. 1, San Francisco, Cal., holds propaganda meetings every Sunday night at 8 p. m. at Temple, 117 Turk St.

COLORADO
Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California St., Denver, Colo.

CONNECTICUT
Branch 2 (Conn.), New Haven, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in meetings at 8 p. m. at 229 State 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 Reich's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

MARYLAND
Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 505 E. Baltimore street.

MASSACHUSETTS
Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springdale Turner Hall.

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geswein, on Main St.

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

NEW YORK
Branch 19 (4th Assembly Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesday of the month, at the rooms of the Voice of Labor, 107 Henry St.

OHIO
Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York Street, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p. m.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Saturday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 716 State Street.

WISCONSIN
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 558 Jefferson St.

corner Twenty-third and Brown Streets, George Moerschel, Secretary, 778 Twenty-fifth Street.
Branch 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, S. E. corner Orchard Street and 9th Avenue.

During the first month of its existence the branch at Poplar Bluff, Mo., took in ten new members, and the prospect brightens all along the line in that state.

True to its promises as to its principles, the branch at Rockville again comes forward with its monthly contribution to the propaganda fund.

Comrade Emil Liess, who has been delivering lectures at St. Louis and other places, is now located at Philadelphia. Until further notice his address will be 807 Cambria street.

October 29 the branches at Rockville, Conn., held a joint meeting and decided to nominate a city ticket for the municipal election which occurs in December.

Comrade Debs' meeting at Vancouver, B. C., was held in the new Labor Temple of the Trades and Labor Council, the occasion being the dedication of the magnificent building, for the erection of which the organization paid \$7,000.

At a meeting of members of the S. L. P. of Pasadena on October 20 it was unanimously voted to apply for charter as a branch of the Social-Democratic party.

The organization of new branches is being maintained, and this week California, Oklahoma, Illinois and Tennessee add one branch each to the roster.

The new branch in California is at Susanville, and has elected the following officers: Thos. Pyle, chairman; A. A. Hibbard, vice-chairman; L. E. Leonard, secretary-treasurer; L. W. Boggs, organizer.

The Herald extends to all the comrades in these branches a cordial welcome, and hopes to receive encouraging reports of work done for the great battle of 1900, when the Social Democratic party will stand face to face with the hosts of capitalism in its first national campaign.

For the information of members who are in doubt as to the provisions of the constitution in the matter of admission fee and quarterly dues we quote from the constitution of the National Council, which says, section 12: "The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five (25) cents, payable quarterly in advance for each member."

Section 8, constitution of local branches, says: "The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council."

And Section 10 provides that "The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of

January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch may determine; provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter."

Practical Socialist Agitation

A few weeks before this year's Labor day the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union and the Building Trades Council proposed to have a joint demonstration on the first Monday in September. Everything looked all right. But who shall receive the financial profit of the Labor day picnic? This was the next question raised. For a while it looked very much as if this question could not be solved and that a joint demonstration could not take place.

At first this proposition caused a little surprise, but the Central Trades and Labor Union and the Building Trades Council endorsed it, the result being that the Idaho miners received over \$800 as the net proceeds of the St. Louis Labor day festival. This is practical Socialist agitation in the trades union movement.

A Suggestion from Brooklyn

When the referendum vote on question No. 5 (representation at the next national convention) appeared in The Herald some time ago, it proved that the majority of the comrades of the Social Democratic party were not in favor of sending one delegate from each branch of fifty members or less and another for every additional fifty or major portion thereof.

Each state, section or branch, according to the existing organization, shall have the privilege of sending as many delegates to the national convention as its members may choose; the representative sent being entitled to as many votes at the proceedings of the national convention as members he or she represents.

Furthermore, should there be any difference of opinion among certain members of a branch, section or state, the minority should also have the right of sending a delegate to represent them and their opinions.

In this case each faction would have to collect signatures showing who and the number represented, which would be presented to the credential committee for verification and the delegates from each side allotted the number of votes according to the number of signers on the petitions.

If this plan were adopted it would give direct representation to all, which would be no more than proper and just and in accordance with the ideas of Socialists.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

PROPAGANDA FUND

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes Eugene V. Debs, P. P. Ayer, A. L. Nagel, Jas. Ratty, Joe King, G. Friedrich, H. Otto, O. Menge, C. Rauchenbach, F. Martin, R. Schulze, A. Gunderman, H. Otto, H. Friedrich, J. Friedrich, E. Otto, A. Spielman, H. Brueske, L. Schlaf, E. Otto, F. Lange, H. Helm, C. Hempel, C. Schmidt, H. Pahl, A. Dittler, Miss Alma Otto, Miss Freda Otto, P. Fleisher, F. Mimmie Gunderman, R. Neiderworf, A. Kellner, Miss Lydia Menge, A. Friedrich, E. Spielman, Miss Mary Schreier, Ph. H.

Waiting for the Verdict

In Massachusetts we have thirty-six candidates for representative nominated. Looking over the whole field, I see seven of these whom I class as strong probabilities and four others who are possibilities. Outside of Haverhill, watch the returns from Quincy, Brockton, Rockland, Amesbury, Newburyport and Middleboro. Three senators are nominated; of these one is the class of strong probabilities and another, while scarcely being a possibility, will make a run that is worth while.

Of course we are all anxious to hear the results of the election at the earliest possible moment, and the Boston branches have arranged a gathering for the evening of election day, Nov. 7, at America Hall, 724 Washington street, whence the returns will be reported by the various branches throughout the state by telephone as soon as they are known. To while away the long, anxious minutes before we know the result of our year's unceasing, earnest work, some music and other entertainment will be welcome. The committee has arranged a concert to begin at 8 p. m., to be followed by dancing, beginning at 10 o'clock. The intention is incidentally to make some money for our Boston city campaign, and an admission fee of 25 cents will be charged. Refreshments will be served extra. Comrades from every place within easy reach of Boston are expected to be present.

That was a grand rally they had at Haverhill last Friday night. Two thousand people packed City Hall to its utmost capacity, and 2,000 more, who could not get in, demonstrated their enthusiasm by standing for an hour in a drizzling rain listening to Comrade Carey, who addressed them from City Hall steps.

This rally was larger than that held about this time last year, when Debs was present, and the beauty of it is that it shows the growth of public sentiment since that time, inasmuch as last year many of the crowd came out to hear Debs, the man, the orator, the famous prisoner of Woodstock; but this year they came to hear the principles of Socialism enunciated by our own plain Massachusetts comrades. And so we grow.

Some of us don't know how to wait till Nov. 7 to see how much of this widespread and fervent enthusiasm is going to crystallize itself into good, solid, tangible votes for the S. D. P.

October 29, 1899.

St. Louis Notes

Comrade Liess of San Francisco has been doing some excellent work for Socialism among the Germans of St. Louis during the past three weeks. During that time he has delivered twelve lectures, four of them before the "Freien-Gemeinde," six before the various Turner societies, one before the Central Branch S. D. P., and one before the Brewers and Malsters' union No. 6. Not all the subjects of his lectures were on socialism, but he managed to put in some good words for the cause in every instance, impressing upon free thinkers, Turners and trade unionists the reasons why they should become socialists.

Whenever the weather was not too bad the meetings were well attended. The German comrades are very enthusiastic in their praise of Comrade Liess as a speaker, and his utterances were always greeted with hearty applause. Those of us who cannot understand German felt that we were missing a fine treat, but nevertheless it did us a lot of good to sit in the back of the hall and listen to the applause that greeted the speaker's remarks, which we felt confident contained much socialist sentiment.

By the way, Missouri is waking up. We'll have something to tell at an early date.

E. Val Putnam.

Debs at Seattle

On the evening of the 28th inst. Eugene V. Debs addressed a vast throng at the Armory in this city.

The lecture was to begin at 8 p. m., but an hour before that time a seat could not be obtained.

The speaker was escorted from the Hotel Seattle by a large band from the Musicians' Union and attended by the delegates of the Western Central Labor Union, under the auspices of which the lecture was given. Round after round of applause greeted the speaker as he ascended the steps to the stage and looked out upon the vast sea of faces that welcomed him. It was often remarked that an audience so large, so diversified, so intelligent, had never been gathered at the Armory. Over 2,500 people were with-

in hearing, as many as 2,000 went away unable to get in, and hundreds remained away knowing that the hall would be packed to suffocation. It is superfluous to say that the speaker handled his subject, "Labor and Liberty," with irresistible logic and masterly eloquence. Rich and poor sat side by side and listened with breathless interest or applauded together when the speaker drove another nail in the coffin of slavery. Never before have the minds of the people of this city been brought so closely to view the burning problems of the hour that clamor so persistently for solution.

The verdict of the people was one of practically unanimous approval.

Nothing could have occurred that would have given Social Democracy in this country such a boost as the lecture on "Labor and Liberty." Nothing will occur to equal it except that when Brother Debs returns to the city in the spring, as he promised to do, he will find that it will be necessary to remain a week in order that all who may desire to listen to him may be granted the privilege.

Brother Debs, in company with his manager, L. W. Rogers, left on the Sunday morning train for San Francisco and other coast cities, returning to Chicago November 12th.

J. T. O.

Spanish Socialists

Senor Pablo Iglesias contributes to La Espana Moderna an article summarizing the position of the Socialist party in Spain, of which he is the leader. He successfully combats the assertion that Socialism will never make headway in that country. Only superficial observers could entertain such a notion, he says; the chief cause of Socialism, the concentration of capital, exists in certain parts of Spain, and other conditions are also present; hence it is gaining ground—slowly, perhaps, but surely.

The Socialist party was called into existence by a few earnest men in 1878; but it remained an obscure body, giving practically no signs of life until 1886, in the beginning of which year the weekly organ, El Socialista, was started, and a tour undertaken in Barcelona for the purpose of arousing the working classes. The programme adopted was essentially the same as that of the Socialists in other countries, with whom the Spanish Socialists have always worked in harmony.

In 1888 they were strong enough to hold a congress in Barcelona, at which it was decided to form local branches wherever possible. At that time they were able to form sixteen branches. Three other congresses have been held since that date, the number of branches continually increasing. At the present time the number is fifty.

The Socialists have made it a rule to keep absolutely apart from all other parties or groups, and any member found guilty of voting for bourgeois candidates or otherwise failing in his duty is immediately excluded from the ranks of the Socialists. They have run their own candidates for parliament, and although hitherto unsuccessful, the total number of votes steadily increases, and there is reason to hope that they will succeed ere long. In 1891 they obtained 5,000 votes only; in 1893 there was an increase to 7,000; while last year that number was doubled (14,000). In the municipal elections they have been more fortunate. In 1891, owing to the fact that the bourgeois underestimated the strength of the new party and did not trouble to vote in their full strength, the Socialists secured four seats; these they lost at the next election, although they obtained more votes, because their opponents were alive to the position. In 1895 they won four seats: two in Bilbao, one in Mataro, and the fourth in El Ferrol.

The Spanish Socialist party is composed almost entirely of mechanics, but Senor Iglesias is confident that other classes of the community will join them in time. The party does all it can to improve the lot of the laboring classes and to support them in their just demands. "The members of our party have never induced workmen to strike; they have even prevented a strike on more than one occasion; but when a strike occurs they at once assist the strikers to the extent of their power."

Jules Guesde

M. Jules Guesde, who has just denied that he gave to the police the information which led to the exposure of the Royalist plot against the republic is the leader of the Marxist wing of the Socialist party in France. He last came into prominence at the time M. Millerand accepted a portfolio in the French cabinet. At that time he led a body of twenty-five Socialist deputies in declaring that in so doing, M. Millerand was guilty of treason to Socialism. Whatever else may be said about him, M. Guesde has, at least, been consistent. For years he starved in a garret, refusing all offers to even write for a paper which ever printed anything opposed to the theories of pure Socialism. He is an uncompromising Radical, declining to take advantage of a temporary opportunity and demanding that, first of all, the principles which he represents be recognized in their entirety.

Have your card inserted in the

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

MY EXILE TO SIBERIA

By Isidor Ladoff

A gentle, melodious song, reminding one of the hum of a bee on a hot summer day, aroused me from sleep the next morning. The singer was Mr. Mictorb-witch, who occupied the bed next to me, and who had the habit of accompanying his morning toilet by a recitation from the psalms of David: About 7 o'clock the chief warden came and counted the prisoners. Some time later appeared another warden, a sly, baldheaded rascal, who acted as buyer of provisions for the political prisoners. The first day passed quickly in the new surroundings. After a breakfast consisting of tea and wheat bread the inmates dispersed in different directions over the small area. Some read a book, some wrote letters to their friends or relatives, some engaged in work, such as book-binding or shoe-mending, others went out for a walk around the little yard and amused themselves by cleaning it from snow or feeding pigeons with the crumbs of bread left from breakfast. But it was obvious that nobody was really absorbed by what he was doing, that nobody could for a moment concentrate his mind on anything else than the tormenting and disheartening consciousness of slavery in its worst shape, the slavery of forced idleness and fruitless, cheerless vegetation among surroundings that led inevitably to mental, moral and physical degradation and ruin.

The inclination of human nature to classify people according to their worth and merits takes in prison a peculiar shape. The aristocracy of the prison is made up of the gravest criminals, while petty offenders are despised as vulgar and ungentlemanly. The highest rank in the hierarchy of prison life belongs indisputably to those offenders who have lost all their civil rights and are condemned to penal servitude in the mines; the second are the professional tramps, a very influential and comparatively well organized body; then come in rank order more or less grave offenders.

But let us return to the routine of prison life. The most interesting event of the day was the appearance of the mail carrier. How the haggard and pale faces of the prisoners, who received letters from the "free world," beamed with pleasure and exultation! The scant letters were usually corrected and disfigured under the rigid censorship of the officials. Objectionable sentences were struck out and the paper stained with colored chemical in an effort to discover secret correspondence. Often the letters were almost wholly illegible, but still how happy were those that received them! And how miserable were those of their comrades whose letters were destroyed by the administration and who received no news for long periods of time!

Day followed after day, week after week, month after month in the grave-like monotony of the prison. I, too, felt the enervating, degrading influence of the prison life. Fortunately there is an end to everything in this world of ours. The severe winter of Moscow gave way to the spring. It is true we could not witness the cheerful revival of nature. There were no plants or trees, no flowers within our horizon. The atmosphere of the prison became still more pestilential than before. Typhoid fever and other infectious diseases raged within its walls. Still the warming rays of the sun, which penetrated into our dreary cells, aroused in our hearts some rays of hope. Hope of freedom? No, but hope of another kind of slavery—the slavery of exile in some arctic wilderness. The hated sameness of life in the central prison seemed to us unbearable, and the journey to the place of exile and the exile itself seemed to us a kind of release.

Periods of suffering and privation are more deeply engraved into the lives of men than moments of bliss and happiness. And I—strange to say—left the Central Transportation Prison with a heavy heart. I was conscious that a page of the book of my life had been turned, and before me was the uncertain future. The walls of the prison were mute witnesses of many a morbid thought of acute moral suffering and secret tears. O! if they could but speak. I will not attempt to describe the heartrending scenes of parting with friends and relatives on leaving Moscow. We left the prison early in the morning. The crowd on the streets gazed at us with an expression of stupid curiosity on their faces, without any spark of sympathy for the champions of freedom. The people that did sympathize with us did not dare to express it openly, for fear of sharing our fate.

We were placed in two cars. At the moment the train started some of our comrades, forming a choir, gave vent to their feelings in a popular song. How often had the songs of this choir brightened our life in the prison and enabled us for a few brief moments to forget our sorrow! This time, also, the song worked a charm, brightening the faces of the departing and diverting their attention from the present to the past and future. But still more vivifying was the revival of nature, so far as we could see and feel it through the iron barred windows of our moving prison. I felt as though a boy again. With what a rapture of delight did I breathe the moist, warm and fragrant air of the spring, coming from

the tender buds of the young meadow plants, the fields and forests! I was almost intoxicated from ecstasy and joy—like a child at the sight of his mother, from whom it had been separated by cruel people. The golden sand, the silvery lakes, the green, dark and shady groves and forests of birch and all the features of the monotonous landscapes of my poor country! With what a fervor they seemed to greet and embrace me!

In the flood of these remembrances and hopes I hardly noticed the time. We had arrived at Nishni Novgorod. The weather was hot and sultry, but we had nevertheless to march on foot through the uninhabited business portion of the city, where the once famous, now declining, fairs of St. Makar were held, in order to reach the harbor on the Volga.

Here we were placed on board a large barge, towed by a steam vessel. This floating prison or "barsha" is covered on all sides with a strong wire net, so that it reminds one of a huge cage in a menagerie. The prisoners were packed in the dark cabins of the barge like herring in a barrel. Everywhere there was a deficiency of air and light. The political prisoners had a separate cabin, which was little, if at all, better than the other parts of the barge. My occupation during the voyage consisted in staying from early morning till late at night on deck, watching the high banks of the mighty waters that carried me farther and farther from my family and nearer and nearer to my place of exile. Strange visions sometimes crossed my mind. It seemed to me that the waters of the mighty Siberian rivers were swelling with the tears of the numberless exiles who had crossed them.

Nature about me was full of a wild, grand and enchanting beauty. The villages scattered along the banks of the river seemed like bashful beauties peeping from behind the cover of the dark forests. The gaping passes of the mountains in their sombre majesty formed a sharp contrast with the white masses of snow, which were melting away under the kisses of the ardent sun. The little islands which dotted the limitless expanse of waters, how full of poetic secrets they looked! The primitive pier buildings of the inhabitants, their queer canoes, their variegated dress and Mongolian cast of countenance made upon me the impression of a new enchanted world. But especially marvelous was the rapid change of seasons as we moved northward. Everything around us was blooming when we approached the village Surgess in the evening. The nightingale sang her love song in the bushes of an islet as we passed by. But the next morning we were aroused from our berths by the extreme cold. I dressed myself quickly and stepped on deck. Winter reigned indisputably around us with all his cruel rigidity.

(To be Continued Next Week)

Freedom in Social Democracy

Rightly speaking, there is no democracy other than Social Democracy, for, as Matthew Arnold points out, the field of conquest of democracy is social freedom, not political freedom; and only those who recognize this great truth are animated with the breath of the new life which first stirred in Great Britain when the workers began to throw aside the old political shibboleths, to mistrust the middle-class political parties, and to organize under the Red Flag a party of their own. Young as it is we are already sufficiently vigorous to secure some meed of social reform, and Social Democracy will go from strength to strength till it has secured for all full social freedom—the right to work, the right to leisure, the right to enjoy the glorious heritage which man's conquest of the material universe has already secured for all the children of men, though the huckster class, by fraud and violence, delays yet a little while the succession of the people to their heritage. King Demos is only a roi faincant, but Social Democracy is a real power which will one day win the world for the workers, and no political tricksters will be able to play the pranks in its name which are performed in that of King Demos. That poor gibbering shadow of a king has brought shame upon the name of the "sovereign people," who, in their ignorance, make themselves the tools of political knaves and tricksters, but the Socialists who have spoken with no uncertain voice against the wrong that may be perpetrated in the name of King Demos have vindicated the honor of democracy, for which they, and they only, have authority to speak.—J. Hunter Watts in "Justice."

DEBS' LECTURE TOUR

Table listing lecture dates and locations: Hiteman, Ia., November 11, 1899; Chicago, Ill., 12, 1899; La Porte, Ind., 13, 1899; Rochester, N. Y., 19, 1899; Troy, N. Y., 21, 1899; Bradford, Pa., 22, 1899; Condersport, Pa., 23, 1899; Shamokin, Pa., 24, 1899.

Address communications to L. W. Rogers, Manager, Box 909, Chicago, Ill.

Buffalo Conference and the Democratic Party

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CALL TO ACTION

ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today without from one to a dozen Socialists who are not affiliated with a Socialist organization. At the last State election in Missouri votes were cast for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party in nearly every county in that State.

In almost every community a thoroughly wide-awake and earnest Socialist with little exertion could in one week effect the organization of a Branch of the Social Democratic Party.

The Declaration of Principles and Political Demands of this party will be found in this paper; read it and you will see that the party is a straight, uncompromising Socialist organization, recognized as such in the International movement for Socialism.

The triumph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organization, and without it nothing can be accomplished; this party is controlled by no individual nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership through the referendum.

The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching importance to the people and especially to the intelligent, wealth-producing people of the United States; the latter have surely by this time begun to see the futility of any longer giving support to capitalistic parties.

Socialists should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncompromising Socialism, and to do this the cooperation of every unattached Socialist in the work of organization, where he lives, is necessary.

The Social Democratic Party is now organized in more than half the States; it consists of Local Branches, State Unions and a National Council. A Local Branch may be organized with five members. It will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President next March.

Full instructions and all necessary supplies for organizing Local Branches may be obtained from the National Secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights. That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, one of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product. That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization. That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate 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 societies in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with the historical mission 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, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; and all other natural resources.
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, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

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