

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 29.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, JANUARY 6, 1900.

Whole No. 79.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

"Twas the night before Christmas," and I was thinking of the old angel-song of peace and good will. Naturally I fell to wondering about the fulfilment of the ancient prophecy in our modern life. As I thought, my eye was caught by the headlines of a Boston Globe, lying on my table. Picking it up I made a catalogue of its contents. Among the things recorded on the eve of Christmas were the following: Six assaults, seven murders, one bank failure, seven robberies, four accidents, four suicides, ten business failures, two strikes, one kidnaping and two wars! Then, somehow, the words of the old anthem seemed to die away in the distance, and amid the sweet music of the Christmas memories there swelled a discordant note that drowned and destroyed the melody. And then I knew that Christmas and capitalism were incompatible. So long as one is a reality the other must be only a dream.

American soldiers in the Philippines are all wearing what they call "dog checks." These are lead medals that are worn, to assist in identifying the dead and severely wounded. These medals are singularly well named, if only by a coincidence. The names of the checks are remarkably appropriate to the occupation of the wearers. The soldiers who are out in the East are simply "dogs of war," held in leash by the hand of capitalistic commercialism, and used to hunt down the Filipino patriot who seeks to evade the gentle grasp of American exploitation. It is a war of principle, not principle, and the rich take interest in it in order that they may take interest out of it by and by. And so these war-dogs, with their dog-checks, are used to round up the unwilling recipients of American prosperity, and to make an impression with their lead teeth on those benighted heathen who refuse to be otherwise impressed by the glories of our Crokerian civilization. They are part and parcel of the process of benevolent assimilation, whose triple factors are bullets, bibles and beer.

Laroy E. Nichols, a jeweler of Chelsea, Mass., has just filed a bankruptcy petition, with liabilities of \$3,147, and assets of \$75. In the same list of recorded failures were many others whose assets bore the same relation to their liabilities. A glorious system! The laws of present business are such as to place a premium on roguery and rascality. As I once heard Margaret Haile say in an address in Lynn, it permits business men to "fail successfully." I once knew a man in Canada who failed three times in business, and then retired, a "self-made man!" And now, by a strange fitness of name this man of Chelsea is allowed to pay nickels on the dollar, and to pay Nichols most of them. If Socialism is wild and visionary it could not be worse than the planless and crime-fostering system we now have. Every settlement of cents on the dollars is a proof positive that business, as it now is carried on, is but the cloak of commercial thieves.

The January disbursements of interest and dividends in New York will foot up to the tidy sum of \$150,000,000. This is the largest amount, thus paid, in the history of trade in this country. Those who catch this golden stream in their stock buckets will doubtless be optimistic American patriots. They will be firm believers in prosperity. They will doubtless reckon the amount they receive as "earnings." But is it? Whence comes this torrent of wealth that flows into the sea of finance in Wall street? The stream of wealth is like any other stream. A river is simply the accumulation of the drainings of the land through which it flows. And this golden stream is but the drainings of the industrial fields. It is composed of the filchings from the laboring class. Many a poor man's purse has been drained, and his fountain of happiness drawn dry in order to swell the volume of this river of interest and dividend. Through every village of our land flows a stream of tribute to this mighty torrent. Earnings, indeed!

Some strange Christmas echoes come to my ear, showing the incongruities of life under our present system of business. A certain Wilmington school teacher was arrested on the charge of shoplifting. Before the judge she made the pathetic statement that her fellow-teachers were giving presents to their scholars, and as she had no money to do so herself, she resorted to theft. A pitifully poor excuse, you say. Granted; but what possible excuse can there be for a system that makes resort to such means necessary? I know of a man, a commercial traveler, whose purse had been emptied into the stream of wealth of which we spoke. His wife wrote to him, asking for a little money for Christmas needs. He couldn't give it, and not

caring to face her without the means of making Christmas happy, as of old, he committed suicide. Foolish? Wrong? To be sure, but that doesn't mitigate the criminality of those who perpetuate the social environment that causes such acts.

Here is a contrast to the above. On the Saturday afternoon preceding Christmas the clerks and employes of the Central Trust Company of New York were given a present amounting to 40 per cent of their salaries. One of the officers of the company, whose salary was \$5,000, received \$2,000 as a Christmas box, and all the rest in like proportion. The report says their pockets bulged out with their wads. This liberality was not the result of Christian love. That latter commodity does not figure among the forces of Wall street. It was simply because the "pickings" had been good. It was the story of which the commercial traveler's suicide was the sad sequel. It was the division of the property of the labor—Christ, crucified upon the cross of commercial greed by capitalism, whose henchmen thus divided the spoils. O for the risen labor—Christ of Socialism, at whose appearance these minions of capital will fly and fall in dire confusion!

One more echo of the Christmas time. At the reformatory prison in South Framingham the criminals confined therein were given a Christmas dinner, a Christmas concert and a Christmas tree. Everything was done for their comfort and pleasure, and an enjoyable day was spent. No one will doubt the rightness of the matter, or deny that it was a commendable act. But there were thousands upon thousands of people outside jail walls who had no Christmas dinner, or concert, or tree. They spent the day as they had spent the miserable day before, and would spend the miserable day after. They were hard-working, honest, well-meaning people, but yet the felons inside prison walls fared better. Had they been less honest, less industrious and less worthy, the nation would have given them a Christmas dinner free. My friends, let us stop all our absurd talk about civilization and Christianity, until we have raised labor to at least the level of crime. Let us work for the social system that shall make productive labor the criterion of merit and the measure of reward. And that system is Socialism. Merlin.

JEFF AND HAM...

A JUVENILE WAR ON THE EXPANSION QUESTION

I've got two boys, and I tell you they're just dandies. Their first names are Jefferson and Hamilton, but I call them Jeff and Ham for short. Jeff, he's the smartest lad you ever see. Why, he knows more than his dad ever will know, and as for his schoolteacher, why, he can't touch any part of Jeff. Ham, he is a proud little cus and inclined to be a little dudish. He won't play with the poor boys at all, and says when he gets big he's going to be a banker. Jeff, he is different. He likes the poor boys and is always trying to do something or other to help them. I heard these little chaps quarreling the other day over this expansion question and you ought to have heard them. Let me see if I can remember it. It went something like this:

Ham—Say, Jeff, what do you think of this war in the Philippines?
Jeff—It is all wrong—outrageous.
H.—Nonsense; wars are necessary.
J.—No, they're not, when people are civilized.
H.—But wars do the civilizing.
J.—Yes, but there is a better way to civilize people than by killing them.
H.—Haven't enlightenment and civilization always followed wars?
J.—Perhaps, but do you think it required gunpowder to do it? If we encourage boxing nations up by tariffs, and otherwise preventing free and friendly intercourse between them, we may have to resort to some radical measures to carry civilization to them.
H.—But nations get dyspeptic and narrow, and selfish without a war once in a while to take their minds off of domestic cares.
J.—Perhaps, but isn't war a rather expensive way of curing dyspepsia and isn't there some better way?
H.—Well, there are too many people—the cities are terribly congested.
J.—And would you, therefore, kill some of the people to get them out of the way?
H.—It does seem rather rough, but what would you do with them?
J.—Put them to work. Change things so that everybody will have an opportunity to earn a living.
H.—But war gives lots of people employment.
J.—Yes, and takes just so many people away from useful occupations, and to that extent decreases the world's productive power.

H.—But if you stop wars you will practically put an end to love of the flag and love of country and to patriotism.

J.—So much the better; patriotism is a cover under which all rascals hide. I wish there was less love of flags and more love of humanity.

H.—But look at the good wars have done.

J.—But weren't there cheaper ways of doing it? Think of the billions of dollars wasted on gunpowder, arms and battleships, the billions of dollars in destroyed property, to say nothing of the billions of human souls sent to perdition. The good things from wars have come high.

H.—Without wars we would have no Deweys, and Schleys, and Wheelers.

J.—I wish we had none. The people are mad over military heroes, just as they are mad over Fitzsimmons and Jeffreys and Sharkeys. They all fight for applause or for money or because it is their business, and they work up a sentiment of patriotism over it and think they have saved the nation's honor.

H.—Why, I am ashamed of you, Jeff. I don't care for prize fighters, but I do love war fighters when fighting for a principle.

J.—Nonsense. How many wars are fought for principle? The British are fighting for principle now, but it is spelled with a "pal." Sometimes there is real principle, but generally, nowadays, wars are declared for bankers when they want more bonds.

H.—But how about the Boers?

J.—Ah! there is not only principle, but they have been from the first on the defensive. So were we in 1776. So are the Filipinos. I think we are justified in defending by force and violence if necessary.

H.—You are opposed to violence then?

J.—Yes, to all kinds of violence—even to capital punishment, whipping of children and any kind of homicide.

H.—You admit, though, that violence is natural.

J.—No, I don't. Unequal conditions make all this unnatural excitement. It also makes all this petty meanness, dishonesty and hypocrisy. War is the natural result of our brutal social order.

H.—Do you attempt to defend the position taken by the Filipinos in rebelling against our flag?

J.—Yes, I applaud them. They are in the same position as we were in 1776. They are not the aggressors. They are fighting for liberty just as we were.

H.—But do you want us to give up those islands for other nations to prey upon?

J.—That is a Wall street argument. In the first place, they are capable of taking care of themselves, but if they were not, what's to prevent our protecting them just as we have protected South America?

H.—But don't we need these islands? Aren't they the key to all the wealth of the orient?

J.—On that basis we need the whole orient. Why not take China and Japan, on the ground that they are not able to govern themselves properly? Do you approve of greed and grab?

H.—No, but our commercial interests demand them.

J.—Whose commercial interests?
H.—Why, our big shippers, etc. They need markets.

J.—Well, why not give them markets by removing tariffs and having free and Christian intercourse?

H.—They won't do it. They are a lot of barbarians and they won't trust us.

J.—Can you blame them? We can't cure them of barbarism by shooting them, and as for trusting us, who can blame them for not trusting us.

H.—Why, Jeff, we are a mighty, Christian nation.

J.—Mighty, but not Christian. Aguinaldo helped Dewey defeat the Spanish at Manila. He had long been fighting for independence, and he had every reason to believe that we would help his people to get it; but we betrayed them.

H.—No; they betrayed us and fired upon us.

J.—Not till our emperor had shouted: "Who will dare haul down the flag" and "Where it has once floated there it shall always float." This put them on the defensive and made them justly suspicious.

H.—Well, you know they are incapable of self-government.

J.—No, I don't. Any people are capable. Dewey himself officially notified our government that they were more capable of self-government than the Cubans were. We might have made a fine nation of them had we carried to them love and education, rather than bullets.

H.—Why, your namesake was an expansionist.

J.—Not the kind that you are. He might have favored expanding our border line, but he never could have written the Declaration of Independence if he favored expansion by the sword.

H.—But he did, didn't he, several times?

J.—No. But if he did he was wrong. I don't rest my case on Jefferson or on any other man. The present expansion

is for the benefit of the franchise grabbers. McKinley seeks to be a king.

H.—But in the competition of nations we must keep pace.

J.—Don't you see anything but money, profit, gain? Is there no moral side to this question?

H.—Oh, you are too sentimental—talking about government by consent and all men being born equal. Be practical.

J.—Yes, and make a new golden rule—Do others or they will do you!

H.—No, but look at it from a business standpoint.

J.—Business? O Business, what crimes are committed in thy name! Did you ever think who was paying for all this Business?

H.—I suppose you think the poor are.

J.—Yes, the toiler. He foots the bills. He creates everything and gets only a bare existence. He makes the guns and battleships and goes to war to be shot down by them while the capitalists clip coupons.

H.—I suppose you want us to retire from the Philippines and stand before the world disgraced.

J.—Disgraced? We could not have more disgrace. To declare that the Filipinos were to have independence under our protection would not be dishonor, and it would immediately end the war provided congress or some other responsible body or person, other than William I, was behind the promise.

H.—And would you then haul down the flag?

J.—Yes, just as we have in Cuba.

H.—And bring Dewey's great feat to naught?

J.—Yes, just as we have Schley's. H.—How about the \$20,000,000?
J.—Charge it to profit and loss. Or, better, take it out of the king's salary. It was his fault; not that of congress. Congress had to sign the treaty.

H.—But the war is all over now, and why not keep still about it till everything is quiet.

J.—The war isn't over and it never will be over. Every week the censored news said it was over; the back-bone of the rebellion broken; Aguinaldo captured; army dispersed, even to way-back last winter, but somehow somebody is getting killed all the time. Brave Lawton was the last.

H.—But it will soon be over now.

J.—So the British said after the first year of the Revolution.

H.—Why, Aguinaldo has no following to speak of—most of the inhabitants want to lay down their arms and join us.

J.—Who told you so? It is false. Believe half you read and divide it by two, and you will have about half the truth.

H.—But hasn't McKinley done the best he could under such embarrassing circumstances?

J.—No. He has been a tool in the hands of the powers that elected him. He has changed our whole national character as the one great example of a free republic. He has destroyed the spirit of '76. He has made us a nation of conquest. He has made it impossible for us to now mediate between the Britons and Boers.

H.—Why, you are a regular traitor, Jeff.

J.—Aaron Burr, in the beginning of this century, became a traitor through his insane desire to found an empire at New Orleans; he to be the great emperor, finally, over all America. McKinley is the Burr of the end of the century!

H.—You are worse than your namesake, Jeff.

J.—You are just exactly like yours, Ham.

Here the conversation ended, and I was glad of it, because if the dinner bell didn't ring just then, I bet those two little cusses would have come to blows. I tell you that lad Jeff is a James Dandy! Uncle Bill.

BOOK NOTICE

"To What Are Trusts Leading?" is the title of a sixty-four page pamphlet written by James B. Smiley. The title does not entirely indicate the breadth of the subject treated. The author reviews shortly the past economic status of the laboring class and their exploiters and shows the present inequality and the causes thereof in a clear, simple and forcible style. The pamphlet is most excellently adapted for Socialist propaganda among the educated and uneducated. It is rare that we meet with a pamphlet so interesting in the general treatment of the subject of Socialism and particularly the phase applicable to trusts. Price, 15 cents. S. Stedman.

We will send free by mail the "Pocket Library of Socialism" to anyone sending us five yearly subscribers to The Herald at 50 cents each. The "Pocket Library" consists of ten books on Socialism, for which we should charge you 5 cents each, or 50 cents (complete) if you ordered them from us. By helping The Herald circulation, as suggested, you get them free.

A GOOD JOKE ON THE CARPENTER

Walking along the busy streets of Chicago, I noticed several shoe stores, two or three in each block. Of course, I supposed that there were too many shoes and not enough people to wear them; and I thought the shoemakers had made a mistake in making so many thousands of shoes more than the people needed.

That night I took a train—or the train took me—to a distant city, and on the way out the railway tracks led us through many crowded streets lined with factories and tenement houses. By the dim gaslights I could see many children, and men, and women walking in the snow with worn-out shoes, parts of shoes, and no shoes at all; and then I knew there were plenty of people to wear all those fine shoes in the stores.

What would those merchants think if I sent them each a postal card telling them I saw three hundred people on one street who needed some of their shoes? I make horseshoes—hundreds of them every week. Of course, I don't need them myself, because I can't afford to keep even one horse. They are no good to me for food and overcoats, unless I sell them or trade them off. So that's just what I do. Some people prefer hand-made horseshoes, so I sell them at a good price and make \$15 a week. I haven't time to look up customers, so I sell to a general store. They get \$25 for the shoes I make.

Last week at the lodge we had a good joke on one of the carpenters, because he doesn't own a house. Only our joke didn't last very long. "Now, let's see," he said. "Here's thirty of us, and we work in nearly every kind of trade. Joe raises onions, radishes and turnips. He takes them to the store and sells them for \$2. We buy them for \$3.50. Your horseshoes bring \$25, but you only get \$15. Well, that's enough. Thirty of us sell what we make, or help to make, in factories, for \$210 a week, and we thus average \$7 a week wages. But what we make sells for \$600. Now, as we only have \$210 between us, we can only buy back of each others' products a little more than a third of the things we made."

"Let's sell to each other," said Will, the painter.

"I don't want your paint," said half the men in the room.

"Nor my horseshoes," said I.

"And what good will two hundred thousand nails do us, or the part of them John makes, if I can't get lumber from Michigan?" said the carpenter. "Also, how can I live without my coffee, tobacco, rice, grapes, cotton, my Friday fish and Sunday orange? None of these things grow around here."

"Go without," said I.

"And be a wild man?" asked the carpenter. "Give up all the benefits of what civilization we have evolved to," said the doctor, "and begin over?"

"What I want to know," called out the painter, "is more than I've found out so far. What becomes of the other \$400 worth of things we couldn't buy back?"

"Foreign markets." "Gone to Cuba." "Ask the Filipinos," were the various answers he got.

The reply of the carpenter set us all to thinking. He said: "As only one-third of the people do useful labor, and the other two-thirds must live off the one-third, we, the workers, get only one-third of what we produce. The other two-thirds go to the middlemen, clerks, lawyers, soldiers, insurance agents, speculators, stockholders, and to those who do the useless labor of building warships, making guns and supplies for the army."

"So I make a hat for a lawyer, a hat for a soldier, and the third hat is mine," said a worker in a hat factory.

"Yes," I replied, "only you just stand by a machine while it makes the hat. You only know how part of the hat is made."

"Well, you see now why I don't own a house," said the carpenter. "I build three houses, or, rather, a thousand of us build three thousand houses, so that the third house belongs to me; but I had to trade off my house for clothes, food, etc., just as you traded off your horseshoes and paint."

"The joke's on us, too, ain't it?" said Joe, the gardener. "I couldn't eat all my cabbage heads; I'm enough of a cabbage head already."

"I don't want my paint," said Will. "I want a living—a whole living. One-third ain't enough."

"Yes," said the carpenter. "You want all your paint, and I want all my houses. We all want all we make, so that we can have a whole living instead of one-third."

That closed the meeting. Our lodge is in a fair way to become a local branch of the Social Democratic party.

Horseshoe Joe.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

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

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, \$3.00. Six months, \$2.00. 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.

79 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 80 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 6, 1900.

WAGES AND PRICES

In common with editors of his stripe, Henri Watterson of the Louisville Courier-Journal takes great pains to tell us that the harvest time of labor is here, and "no one need be idle," he says, in spite of the fact that every day brings with it overwhelming proof that men are hungry because they are the victims of enforced idleness. Mr. Watterson lingers with greatunction over the statement that wages have risen and work is plentiful, but never a word has he about the rise in prices, the increased profit going to capital. True, there has been an advance in wages over the scale prevailing one or three years ago—an advance ranging from 5 to 10 per cent. But why does Mr. Watterson not tell his readers, the wage slaves, of the 25 per cent raise on fresh meat? Does he not think the slaves would be interested in knowing something about the 35 per cent raise on brooms or the 30 per cent raise on coal oil? Does he not know that the slaves would rejoice to learn that the capitalist class starts the new year with a raise on everything the poor devils have to buy running from 25 to 200 per cent? What interest has "Henri" in keeping this comforting information from the slave class, except that he is a supercilious journalistic retainer to the slave-owning class?

A CASE OF DIVISION

The assignee in the case of Erastus Wiman, a promoter of large commercial enterprises, has announced that he has just \$6,658 to divide among sixty-three creditors whose claims amount to \$913,000. That sort of division is common enough, but if Socialism proposed anything so wild how the jaspers would howl! Do you see what chumps the great middle class is composed of? They prefer a division that allows them \$105.50 each instead of \$14.492 which was due them, to the system of Socialism that would give them all they earned. Looking at the matter from the middle-class point of view, their stupidity surpasses that of the working class; the latter do all the useful work and complacently submit to a system of division in the proportion of one portion of the product to a workman to five for a capitalist. That one portion enables the working class to barely exist; on the other hand, it is evident that when the middle class has to submit to a division of one to one hundred and thirty-seven, that class has no chance whatever in the "struggle for existence." And while the services of this latter class in the evolution to better social conditions have been important, there is no cause for regret over its passing. The division is all right; it inevitably means addition to the ranks of the Socialists.

SOCIALIST POSITION CONFIRMED

The Standard Oil company gave another confirmation the other day of the Socialist contention that the economic system controls the educational, religious, judicial and political institutions of society. Attorney General Monett of Ohio was announced to lecture on "Trusts" before the People's institute of New York. Some time ago, through Abram S. Hewitt, the Standard company gave \$300,000 to the institute and promised to add a subscription of \$200,000. When it became known that Mr. Monett, who has been fighting the Standard, had been secured to speak, an order went forth that his name must be withdrawn or the money subscribed to the institute would be forfeited. And, of course, the command of the capitalist magnates was obeyed with alacrity. The audience had assembled to hear the lecture, but the officers announced that Mr. Monett would not appear, and the people were dismissed.

While the capitalist class thus suppresses free speech, controls the churches, universities and the people's institutes, the people are babbling about freedom and the flag. They tell the Socialist they want their individual freedom; but under capitalism they are not free to say their prayers or praise their Gods in a church where commercialism instead of Christ does not rule; they are not free to attend a university where the curriculum is not commercialized and the limit-line to research is fixed in the interest of gluttonous capitalism;

they are not free to hear free speech in alleged popular institutions; they are not free even to live except through the condescension and charity of their economic masters.

The people! The people are slaves! The masses are the creatures of a class!

UNDER THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

There is a class of producers and a class of parasites.

There is a class which produces wealth and a class which appropriates wealth.

There is a possessionless working class and a class in possession of the luxuries of civilization.

There is a class haunted by the fear of Want and a class lashed by the passion of Accumulation.

There is a class sweltering in the factory and the mine and a class satiated with the pleasures of the club and the parlor.

There is a class whose lack of comfort and pleasure is due to an overabundance enjoyed by another class.

There is a class which, separated from land and capital, is dependent for existence upon a class which controls both.

There is a class which, supporting by its labor the institutions of government, must submit to laws made in behalf of another class which controls government.

These social classes are necessarily in conflict—conscious or unconscious. The class which is in possession of the means of production is interested in retaining the present system of capitalist industry, the other is becoming more and more conscious of the necessity for elimination of the personal factor in the ownership of the means of life and the substitution of social ownership.

DUES AND REPRESENTATION

We feel called upon to give notice betimes that only branches in good standing will be entitled to representation at the approaching national convention, and that only members in good standing will be entitled to sign the credentials of delegates.

The convention meets at Indianapolis, Ind., on Tuesday, March 6, 1900, and to be entitled to representation the dues of a branch must be paid in full and including the quarter ending March 31; and the same is true of individual members. No member is qualified to sign the credentials of a delegate unless his dues are paid during the same period. This is the rule agreed to by the party, and in the examination of credentials it will be the duty of the committee to see that it is enforced and that the credential of any branch not in good standing be rejected and the name of any member not in good standing be stricken from the credential.

It has also been provided that no branch or member shall be entitled to representation unless admitted at least thirty days prior to the opening of the convention. The opening day being March 6, the last day of grace is the 4th day of February. Branches instituted and members admitted after this date will not be entitled to representation. This should be clearly understood that there may be no unnecessary expense incurred in sending delegates not entitled to seats.

A large number of points declare that they are "about ready to organize," and a great number of persons say they are about ready to join. If they would be represented in the most historic convention ever held in the United States they should bear the 4th day of February in mind and come in before that date.

A PITIFUL SPECTACLE

It is a pitiful spectacle to see how the brethren who want "reform in the name of Jesus" fail to agree as to methods. There were Christians in the Social Reform union who, with strong assurances of faith in men, wanted no party because they had no faith in men who want the things they profess to want; and the Willard Hall Christians not only wanted a party, but have actually organized one on the basis of a union of Christians only, and on that basis claim to be working "in his name"! They all predict the direst calamities for society in the near future; many of them claim to be Socialists, and pray for the cooperative commonwealth, and yet they want that conditionally, and the conditions keep humanity divided. Men's religious idols stand in the way of kinship and progress.

The social problem is fundamentally an economic one, a material question. It is not to be solved except through the organization of the exploited and dispossessed masses; it is not to be solved by organizing Christians as such; no organization whatsoever, short of one that recognizes the iniquity of class ownership of nature's resources and social capital, can solve it. Such an organization is the Social Democratic party, and this party embraces in its membership Jew and Gentile, theist and atheist, Christian and non-Christian, the elemental factors of human society.

Socialism lays its emphasis upon the rights and interests of all the people, and points out at the same time that these interests and rights are jeopardized by class ownership of the means of life. Christians may organize a party, or, refusing to do that, present their ideals and preach altruism in sentences of sur-

passing beauty, but Christians cannot solve this world-wide problem. Atheists may organize a party, too, and proclaim anew the gospel of materialism, but atheists cannot solve this problem. Neither a dissertation on the golden rule and the divinity of Christ nor a scientific demonstration of the non-existence of soul contains the solvent that can transmute the base elements of capitalist industry into the finer forms of a nobler civilization. The problem is purely economic; Socialism and the new ethic which Socialism inevitably generates is the universal solvent, the only guaranty for the era of man-kinned, brotherhood, peace and good will.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Says President Hadley of Yale: "The man who would sink the interests of a class in a supposed general public interest is but depriving that class of its own natural safeguard in the struggle for existence." Which is pure rubbish. Here is another and a sounder view: "The man or class who would sink the general public interest in the interest of a class is but depriving the general public of its natural and social safeguards in the struggle for existence." The Yale spokesman for social piracy and capitalism had better do more thinking and less talking. A man in his position should think first and then talk. What a commentary on the times when the president of the leading institution of learning sets the interest of a class above the interest of society!

A few hours passed last Saturday with the reformers in the Social Reform union, and again the following day with the United Christian party, convinced us more strongly than ever that the Social Democratic party is on the right course and that Socialists are the most practical people, since they alone really grasp the social problem in all its historical significance and present-day importance. That the principles of Socialism are acceptable to most of those at the head of the union is no doubt quite true, but we suspect most of them also look for it to come from the top down, instead of—as it surely is coming—from the bottom up.

The Socialists of France have bridged the chasm and come together. The congress recently held, while affirming the principle that the Socialist party, representing the working class in antagonism to the capitalist class, is necessarily opposed to all bourgeois administration, agreed that Socialists may, under special circumstances, and with the consent of the party, take part in such administration. Differences were got rid of, a constitution for the guidance of the party in the future was agreed to, and the unity of the whole party was declared with acclamation amid the greatest enthusiasm.

The Republican state committee of Massachusetts filed a statement of its disbursements of money for the year 1899. The committee says that its total expenses were \$12,417.85. The interesting item in the account to Social Democrats is the fact that \$1,000 of the money went to the Haverhill Republican club, and Haverhill was the only city in the state that received a special contribution. This amount was, of course, only a small part of the money sent to Haverhill. Next year Brockton will be in line for special financial aid, too, but we shall "skin 'em" there, just as was done at Haverhill.

The conference of the Social Reform union adopted a resolution declaring its object to be "education looking towards political action," and the non-partisan idea recommended by Chairman Bliss was turned down. Curiously enough, some one in attendance proposed adding to political action the words, "through the Republican or Democratic party, if possible." The conference, with all its confusion, declined to adopt the suggestion. The union will organize no party, and the logical place for the Socialists in the union is the Social Democratic party.

The Salvation Army at Cleveland fed the poor of that city Christmas time, and Mark Hanna, who was present to patronize the occasion with his august person, said that the providing of a square meal was not charity but "the overflowing of kindness in the hearts of the people." He added that it was to such sentiment that "we look for the future of our country." A fine prospect, indeed, for the poor! One square meal on one day in the year while they are plucked on the other 364 days by capitalist gourmands of the Hanna stripe!

The government and capitalist class of Hungary are greatly disturbed over a depletion of the population by emigration, which is assuming such alarming proportions that they are talking of special legislation to prevent the slaves getting away. A country without slaves to do the work is of no earthly use to the capitalist class. People are of no account to capitalists so long as they remain contented, but when they get rest-

less and begin to move out, the labor-skinners begin to howl.

Mrs. Perry Widdrington, an English Fabian who spoke in Chicago last week, doubtless had a good line on the Socialist movement in Great Britain when she said: "Inertia is the hardest thing the friends of Socialism in England have to face. Another bane is the too great loyalty of trades-unionists to old leaders. Some of the latter should be got rid of in order that the more up-to-date union men may throw their influence with the Socialist party."

"All of the people enjoyed an unusually happy Christmas as a result of the unprecedented prosperity of the past year," the capitalist papers tell us. But during Christmas week Judge Tuthill of Chicago had a dozen helpless and homeless children before him—drifting and superfluous children, who had no Christmas and whom prosperity never touched.

The real cause for the continuance of old parties and the multiplying of new ones on all sorts of issues and palliatives that will not seriously embarrass the capitalist system is a lack of understanding of the real issue. When the class struggle is comprehended, men will get together in a Socialist party for the settlement of the economic problem.

While a salute was being fired and taps were sounded over the body of Rhinehart Grupp at Washington, the other day, his mother and six dependent children in Chicago were suffering for food and clothing. Grupp was a victim of the Maine explosion; his mother was a victim of an insane and barbarous social system.

When the old party politician tells you that this is a nation of free homes, ask him if the assertion is proved by the fact that of the population of greater New York 2,061,372 persons live in cheap and unhealthy tenements—not "flats" or "apartments," but cheap tenements. This from the report of the board of health.

The unanimous decision of three judges of the Montana Supreme court that Attorney Wellcome was guilty of the corrupt use of money in securing the election of W. A. Clark (Democrat) to the United States senate convicts said Clark of bribery, and furnishes another instance of Democratic purity!

The two most noteworthy facts at the beginning of the new year are that the milk of human kindness has been turned sour by the rattle and roar of war conducted by Christian nations, and that the Socialist movement, which is opposed to war and militarism, is spreading throughout the world.

One of the most distressed newspaper men in the country is the editor of the Republican-Democratic-Prohibition-capitalist Haverhill Gazette. It really is pitiful to see how impossible it is for the gentleman to accept the inevitable and become reconciled to the growing influence of Socialism.

THE PASSING CROWD

The legal fraternity is supposed to constitute one of the superior intellectual classes in the community, and the truth requires me to admit that its members as a rule are men (beg pardon, and women) of unusual attainments and ability. But in rubbing elbows with the Crowd I have found exceptions, the last one on Christmas day. Calling at my favorite stand for a cigar after dinner, I was introduced to Mr. —, a lawyer, and was soon engaged in discussing with him the subject of Socialism. During our brief conversation I spoke of the increasing knowledge of political economy among the people.

"Political economy!" he repeated; "Why, the people are interested more in political extravagance!"

I said to myself as I walked leisurely homeward: "Such a man, by a stretch of charity, may know the revised statutes of Illinois or the rules of a justice's court, but he is ignorant of a subject that plenty of workmen understand." And my respect for the workmen rose ten points. S. D.

In the Passing Crowd not the least important element is the children. And in the kaleidoscopic social and other changes the juvenile, like the older person, will often wonder where he is at.

"Mama," said a youngster in a West Side family the other day, "What are we now?"

"I don't understand, Frank."
"I mean—well—we used to be Presbyterians, didn't we?"
"Yes, and now—"
"Wait. Then we turned Methodists. And now we are—"
"Well, what are we?"
"Socialists!" J. H. T.

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

OFFICIAL CALL

Annual Convention of the Social Democratic Party, March 6, 1900

In accordance with the action of the members in determining the time and place for the national convention of the Social Democratic party in 1900, the National Executive board of said party directs that said national convention be held at the city of Indianapolis, in the state of Indiana, for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, to be voted for at the presidential election on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it, and that said convention shall assemble at 10 o'clock in the forenoon on Tuesday, the 6th day of March, 1900.

The representation at said convention will be by delegates, chosen in accordance with the referendary vote of the members and reported in this number of The Herald, as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

With the hope that the deliberations and action of this convention, an event of historic importance in the development of Socialism in the United States, may redound to the credit of the delegates and the glory of our cause, fraternally
Jesse Co., Chairman.
Seymour Stedman, Secretary.

Abolish it Altogether

The country has had prosperity; is having it yet. It is actual, not fancied. But what sort of an age are we living in, and what sort of an industrial system are we working under, that prosperity should mean adversity, and that every brief season of national welfare must beget its tragic reaction?

It is easy to blame the recklessness of the speculators and gamblers. It is easy to say that the unusual crash was caused by the folly of an unusual number of people who got drunk on the "good times" and plunged, and that they had no business to do it, and deserved their punishment. But what of the innocent depositors who will lose their money in the banks that failed, and what of the wives and children of the speculators on the wrong side of the market, who have been reduced to penury and want through no fault of theirs?

Must a season of prosperity always mean a speculative riot, with wasted capital and misdirected credit? Must public welfare always have its victims? Must the brief, unstable well-being of the many always demand the sacrifice of a few? Perhaps so; but recent occurrences in Wall street are almost enough to shake the confidence of the complacent philosophers who hold that the existing industrial and social orders can't be improved.—Chicago Journal.

On the second day of last July the National City Bank of New York bought from the government, through the treasury department, the old United States custom house property on Wall street, the purchase price being \$3,265,000. A certified check for the amount was delivered to Secretary Gage. Soon after the check was returned to the same bank for collection, and the money, which was for property supposed to belong to the people, has never been covered into the United States treasury, but has remained in the hands of the bank. This statement comes from the New York World. Furthermore, besides having the use for loaning purposes of \$3,265,000, the National City bank has for a half year collected rent for the building from the government. The bank has thus cleared on this bold transaction—up to Dec. 28—6 per cent on the purchase price of the property, \$96,337, and 4 per cent rental, \$130,600. And this was a present, if the story is true, from Mr. Gage at the expense of the people. This is the sort of government the reformers want to mend. But there is no cure for it; it cannot be mended; it must be ended as Socialists propose.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the...

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall...

Read article headed, "Dues and Representation," and act now.

The comrades have evidently taken a prominent part in the holiday festivities. Only one new branch is reported...

No Change of Name

The central committee of the Bohemian branches, Nos. 2, 3 and 5, of the Social Democratic party of Chicago, Ill., at a meeting Dec. 30, 1899...

Resolved by the central committee of the Bohemian branches of Chicago, That in case of negotiations between the national executive board of our party...

Signed by Frank J. Hlavacek, Max Solfronk, Anton Trvdy, F. J. Peter, Vaclav Kotas, Ferd Wimez, Ferd Svoboda, Jos. Kozak, Edward Lokaj.

Boston Reorganizes

A reorganization of the party locally along the lines of aldermanic districts, of which we have eleven, is now under way...

There are now seven branches in the city. All but Branch 1 and Branch 29 were fairly well confined to their districts...

Branch 29, which was a duplicate in a degree in the territory of Branch 1, will go to Roxbury. Branches are to be organized as quickly as possible...

John Weaver Sherman, Sec. Boston City Committee.

Branch 7, Evansville, Ind., will give a public entertainment at Weber's hall on the evening of Jan. 7. Music will be furnished by Bergman's orchestra...

Branch 9 of Wisconsin indorsed the resolution of the central committee of Milwaukee opposing any change in the name of the party or in its spirit and tactics...

The comrades of Milwaukee closed the old year by capturing the Federated Trade Council, electing a full board of Social Democrats for the first time in the history of that body...

Big-Hearted People

Two large-hearted social reformers have visited Canada during the past week, of whom a few words may fitly be spoken.

Mayor Jones of Toledo spoke thrice in Toronto on Sunday. He believes in the people and they believe in him. He has amassed a fortune as a manufacturer, but like N. O. Nelson, another large-hearted millionaire manufacturer, of St. Louis, he uses his money to improve the condition of his employes and workmen everywhere...

are many toilers in every industrial center, but he has the disposition to use his talents in the service of mankind. Those who hear him are always impressed by his earnestness of purpose...

Eugene V. Debs is another of the many men of today, and his meetings during the past week in Hamilton, St. Thomas, Brantford and London were attended by many of the most prominent residents in those cities. We have always had a warm spot in our heart for Debs since the convention of locomotive firemen in Toronto a year ago...

OUR LETTER BOX

Editor of the Herald: As a member of the S. D. P. I wish to express my opinion on the question of unity with the anti-boss faction of the S. L. P. At least I, for one, cannot see any difference either in tactics or in principle that should divide us into two parties...

New York. Elias Aaronson.

ON TO OHIO

Editor of The Herald: I believe that political wisdom would be shown should the Social Democracy now turn its attention to the state of Ohio and concentrate its energies during the campaign of 1900 on that state. What are the conditions? One hundred and ten thousand voters gave support in the last campaign to Major Jones. This means that party alignments have been broken up...

Rockland, Mass.

AS TO UNITY

Editor of The Herald: About one year ago I wrote advocating the union of the Social Labor and Social Democratic parties. I recognized at the time that the rank and file of the Social Labor party were honest and intelligent Socialists, with very few exceptions...

The objectionable elements of Boston and vicinity of the Social Labor party, those whose conduct for years past has brought disrepute to Socialism, are all in the deleon factions, and a merry fight of it they are having. That faction, no matter how small, is always large enough to find more time to fight Socialists than it has the capitalist system. It would be better to have a dozen Socialist parties than for us to unite with a body containing some whom I could mention who are known to all. The anti-deleonites of the Social Labor party contain none that I know of but what I would be glad to unite with for the common cause. The best way it seems to me is for our party to invite them (anti-deleonites) to join us in a

body. Wherever there are two organizations—Social Labor party and Social Democratic party—let them come together as one. As for name I do not see how it can be other than Social Democrat, a name honored all over the world by all Socialists. Squire E. Putney.

A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW

Editor of The Herald: For many years the Socialists of this country have been hoping for the day when Socialism would take hold of the minds of the American people and begin to get possession of the political power. Up to within recent years this seemed to be a vain hope, and various reasons were given why Socialism did not succeed here, while in European countries it was fast rising to that measure of power which would soon give it the right and the might to revolutionize society there...

In 1889 the Social Labor party, which represented the Socialists of the country on the political field, concluded—at least certain "leaders" did—that the only hope of success lay in what was termed an "aggressive policy." In the preceding years the membership had sought to inculcate various labor and radical political organizations with their doctrine by permeation. This was alternated by separate action politically, as occasion prompted, and with it all there came but small success, though the longer heads among the membership saw that this permeation would in time produce some results. But the aggressive policy was inaugurated. It was an attempt to outdo the discipline of the party in Germany, heedless of the fact that there a despotic and arbitrary government had to be reckoned with, while here political freedom ruled and the boast of a "free country" was in almost everyone's mind. The aggressive policy soon showed its true animus. Out of such a soil bosses and sub-bosses developed, with clashes and semi-clashes between them, as was only to be expected. Inquisitorial methods, heresy-hunting and a hateful form of propaganda were gradually substituted for the old methods of procedure, those who disapproved being brushed aside or driven from the party—and still Socialism seemed to get no nearer the American heart and mind.

But the break was bound to come some time, and come it did. Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth," followed soon after by Bellamy's "Looking Backward," are really entitled to the credit. Gradually an English press grew up and it came to pass that the country was filled with Socialists who were not members of the Social Labor party. Socialism had escaped from the fetters of that sectarian organization. The visible passing of the Social Labor party began when the Social Democracy came upon the field. It came with a mission, and when a year later it took a stand for uncompromising political Socialism, there was no longer a doubt of its destined supremacy. The spirit of the Social Labor party which prompted all sorts of misrepresentation of the rival party came finally to full flower in the person of Daniel DeLeon. Disintegration began to set in. A factional fight led to a split in the party, and now one faction, denied the use of the party name by the courts (and, consequently, the party platform), is quite likely to be merged into the Social Democratic party.

While this situation on the field of political organization has developed, the Social Democratic party has been going from one political victory to another. Its name has become fixed in the minds of the people and press of the country, and to the old, battle-scarred Socialists it has demonstrated that this country is not hopeless for successful Socialist propaganda, but that when the propaganda and the political attack are carried on under the right auspices and in the right spirit, this country takes its place alongside those of Europe. The European successes, long envied by us, will now be repeated on the shores of the new world. The Socialist battle line has now become international, not only in name, but also in fact.

All this suggests its lesson. Nothing must be done that will either embarrass the triumphal advance of the Social Democratic party or change its spirit. Any readjustment of the Socialist forces that may take place by reason of the split in the ranks of the Social Labor party must not be allowed to weaken the standing of our party before the country or nullify the value or the prestige of its victories. Neither must it be allowed to bring in a change in the party spirit that would bring discord or stagnation upon us. Anything tending to reproduce in our ranks the petty bossism or the inquisitorial methods obtaining in the Social Labor party must be studiously guarded against. Every true Socialist wants to see the ranks of Socialism in this country closed up. He has long dreamed of Socialist unity, and now there seems a change to partially realize it. Under the circumstances our members may be pardoned for being a little impatient. But in such matters it is always important to make haste wisely. The more prudent, cautious members

must counsel with the more impulsive, to the end that the integrity of the movement be not impaired, and that the Social Democratic party be not blocked in its mission just at the threshold of a successful advance upon the lines of the common enemy. O. B. Server.

Quarterly dues, payable Jan. 5, are past due. "Pay, pay, pay"

SHOES AND SOCIALISM

(From the New York Sun, December 24, 1899.)

Municipal elections in cities of Massachusetts take place in the month of December, but not all on the same day of the month, though all of them occur on a Tuesday. At this year's election two cities which elected Socialist mayors were Haverhill and Brockton, and the question has been asked what reason there is to explain such a demonstration of preference for Socialistic notions in a conservative state like Massachusetts and it is pointed out as an interesting fact, which is more than a coincidence, that both Haverhill and Brockton are largely engaged in shoemaking. Haverhill elected the present Socialist mayor a year ago, so that the triumph of Socialism there is no new thing.

The number of Socialistic voters in Massachusetts, whether allied with the Socialist Labor party or the Social Democratic party—the two groups of Socialistic voters—is now larger in proportion to the electorate than in any other state, but the most curious feature of their activity is that they are most numerous in the towns in which boots and shoes are manufactured. By the federal census of 1890 there were 80,000 factory shoemakers in the United States drawing collectively \$40,000,000 a year in wages. Of these shoemakers 10,800 were in the town of Haverhill, Mass.; 8,100 in Brockton, Mass., and 12,100 in Lynn, Mass. These three were the chief shoe cities of the country and in each of them, oddly enough, the Socialist party has made its chief headway politically, electing in two of them Socialist mayors. What connection there may be between the manufacture of shoes and the making of Socialist votes is not easily stated. By some persons it has been ascribed to the labor troubles between shoemakers and their employers, but this is a view of the case which does not stand examination, for difficulties in other trades in the same state of Massachusetts have been just as common and just as serious without adding to the Socialist vote.

By others it has been pointed out that perhaps an explanation of the case is to be found in the composition of the foreign population of the shoe cities. By the Federal census of 1890 there were 14,000 foreign-born residents in Lynn, of whom 5,800 were Canadians, chiefly French Canadians, and 5,500 natives of Ireland, there being few Germans or Russians, the two countries from which, chiefly, Socialist voters are drawn. By the same census the foreign-born population of Haverhill was 6,000, of whom 3,200 were French Canadians and 1,700 natives of Ireland. The foreign-born population of Brockton was 6,300, of whom 1,600 were French Canadians and 2,400 natives of Ireland. In other words, it may be said that the population of these shoe cities, so-called, is for the most part native-born, and that in none of them is the number of foreign-born voters sufficiently large to justify the statement that the support of Socialism is due to foreign influence, and, moreover, the foreign-born vote of all three cities is recruited in each case from among those who have little partiality for, and little tolerance of, the projects and principles of Socialism. There are in other parts of the United States few Irish Socialists and there are still fewer French-Canadian Socialists, the two cities of Lowell and Fall River, which by the last federal census had 15,000 French-Canadians each, showing little favor to Socialist candidates.

The conclusion, therefore, seems reasonable that there must be something in the business of shoemaking which inclines the worker to the support of Socialist candidates and that this tendency is most marked in American or rather in New England workmen, native-born.

The government sells bonds to get money. Then it takes back the bonds to get rid of money.

It pays interest on the money it gets, and the New York bankers charge more interest on the money it gets rid of. It is a wonderful system.—Chicago Journal.

PROPAGANDA FUND

Table with columns for name, location, and amount. Includes 'Appeal to Reason' (Kans), 'Eug. V. Debs' (Ind), 'Branch No. 9, Milwaukee' (Wis), etc.

DEBS' LECTURE TOUR

Table with columns for location, date, and amount. Includes 'Masonville, Ill' (January 6, 1900), 'Muscatine, Iowa', 'Sioux City, Iowa', etc.

THE NEW YEAR

[From Haverhill Soc. Dem., Dec. 20]

A YEAR FOR THE WORK

The year 1900 differs from preceding years only in an increasing opportunity for agitation in behalf of Social Democracy, and the only message it bears to Social Democrats is—WORK.

And while our hearts may ever thrill responsive to the victories of the past year, our lives illuminated by the growing brightness of the gleams of the camp fires of the future, let our memories recall our class through all the ages of the past, toiling up the heights of time, bearing the "burden of the world," their hearts a sepulchre of blasted hopes, their souls a region of strangled aspirations, their lives a record of exploitation, of wrongs, of inequality—recalling this each day afresh—"Lest we forget."

Haverhill, James F. Carey, Member Massachusetts Legislature.

"ON TO WASHINGTON"

Standing today on the threshold of the new century we can partially realize what the years of struggle for economic freedom have accomplished, and what we may hope for in the years to come.

Many weary years of agitation have come and gone since the truth of Socialism was first proclaimed to the American toiler; years of struggle, which to some have seemed hopeless. But today, at the close of the nineteenth century, every true Socialist should be filled with joy and gladness at the result of these years of labor, and look to the new year with renewed hope and undaunted courage.

I believe the year 1900 will be the most eventful one in the history of the Socialist movement in America. It will mark the beginning of the end of the social revolution. Through the victories it has won the Social Democratic party stands as the true representative of the Socialistic movement in America, and its entrance into the field of national politics in 1900, with Eugene V. Debs as its candidate for president, the first alignment of the forces of Socialism and capitalism will take place.

Organized on national and scientific lines, the Social Democratic party will win the support of all true Socialists, and force the defenders and apologists of capitalism to unite for the battle which will be fought in 1908, when a Social Democratic president shall occupy the White house at Washington.

Our watchword should be, "On to Washington."

With this as our battle cry, we will sweep on to victory and the co-operative commonwealth. John C. Chase, Mayor of Haverhill, Mass.

A YEAR BRIGHT WITH PROMISE

The Social Democratic party during the coming year has an opportunity to make history that shall be of deeper significance to the human race than any of the pages that have been written of the past. For the coming year is to usher in the first skirmishes of that great struggle that will terminate in the triumph of right—the co-operative commonwealth, the brotherhood of man, to which all the struggles of the past have been tending. The coming year will stretch out the hand of opportunity for every comrade to grasp, and no matter how humble the effort, its praise will be written in letters of fire in the history of the future and its sacrifice given the full meed of praise.

Let no comrade underestimate the deep significance of the coming year, for already the rays of the dawn of industrial peace are flashing here, and there above the dark hills of industrial slavery, and the wage earner is blind indeed who cannot see them.

The coming year will see the towns and villages of the republic rising to the call of duty, not as they did in the days of '76 and of '61, with the blare of trumpets and the sound of drums, but through organization and their greatest of all weapons, the ballot box.

The past year and its victories are pointing the way to greater efforts and greater achievements, and the coming year is already making imperative demands on those who have fought the good fight and those who are just entering the battle for human rights. The coming year should see every district of the old Bay State organized thoroughly for effective campaign work and every worker made to realize the condition of his class. It should see the national movement built up to such proportions as to be able to deliver to capitalism a crushing blow in the coming national election. The coming year should see several other good men and true elected to assist Comrades Carey and MacCartney in the good fight beneath the gilded dome.

Comrades of Massachusetts and of the nation, the coming year is bright with promise for you and your class, but it demands untiring efforts and self-sacrificing work by day and by night. Let no one of you feel that he or she has done enough, for the twentieth century looks to you for the ultimate fulfillment of all the past and present promises of evolution. Chas. H. Coulter, Mayor of Brockton, Mass.

Let no one of you feel that he or she has done enough, for the twentieth century looks to you for the ultimate fulfillment of all the past and present promises of evolution. Chas. H. Coulter, Mayor of Brockton, Mass.

EUGENE DEBS FOR CANDIDATE

Predictions are dangerous things to handle, especially political predictions, for there are always new factors coming in to disturb the working out of the prophecy. If the policy of the S. D. P. is wisely outlined and vigorously carried out, I give it as my judgment that we shall see the following developments:

1. Eugene V. Debs will be nominated for the presidency. He is the historic figure around which, so far as persons are concerned, is gathered this movement. If we had better organization in the different states, he would poll a million votes. As it is, we should be content if he polls 350,000.

2. Rightly managed, a campaign in the state of Ohio would show astonishing results. There we have 110,000 voters who have broken away from the old parties. They have supported a man who called himself a Socialist. The name, therefore, has no terrors for them. They will be adrift in 1900, as Mr. Jones has limited himself, and cannot work for any political party. If we go into Ohio and work, we will poll from ten to thirty thousand votes. We ought to make great gains also in Idaho. The mining outrages were perpetrated through a silver Democratic governor, allowed to continue under William McKinley's administration and with no word of protest from William J. Bryan.

3. The year 1900 will mark the defeat of Bryan for the presidency. This will mean the definite beginning of the disintegration of the Democratic party. The masses of the people can then be brought under the sway of socialism.

4. McKinley will be elected (barring death and accidents). His next administration will mean the rapid maturing of the trust system, the growth of the insolence of the imperialism of wealth, the rapid disappearance of the middle class, the desperation of the people, who, under the leadership of the Social Democracy, will rise by the millions in 1904 in political rebellion.

5. So far as the state of Massachusetts is concerned, the most important thing before us is the completion of the organization. To accomplish this we must have some one who shall devote all time to this work. A paid state secretary and organizer must be appointed. If this is done, we can easily double our last vote in 1900.

Frederick MacCartney, Member Massachusetts Legislature, Rockland, Mass.

THE GIRL AT THE LOOM

Here is a town of countless looms, By corporations run, And here girls work in stifling rooms From risq till set of sun. Swift-moving wheels and shuttles make The mill to its foundations shake.

Here, female slaves, with figures slight, With frail and aching bones, Attend upon the shuttle's flight, To heap up wealth for drones. And in that noisome chamber there Is not a wholesome breath of air.

Their hollow eyes, their fragile forms, Their thin and haggard faces, Their skinny hands and withered arms, Of health betray no traces. On every feature grief has shed A gloom that shows all hope is fled.

No wonder, when that multitude, Which so much wealth produce, Scarce ever tastes a scrap of food That's fit for human use; For what with "pluck-me" stores and rent Their lives in constant want are spent.

'Tis August! Yet a hundred feet Of steam pipe downward sheds Throughout the day a scorching heat That smites on female heads. They told us that it killed a score; But what of that? There's plenty more.

We met a foreman, of that type Some folks would call a boor. We said, "Why don't you clothe that pipe; Brains can't such heat endure?" Said he, "It is not worth the pains; Besides, them things have got no brains."

Oh workmen! This is just the kind Of thing we wish to cure; And this is now the way we find Oppressors treat the poor. Join, then, the Socialistic cause, And help to clip these vultures' claws.

If you ordered the "Pocket Library of Socialism," complete, you would pay for it 50 cents cash. These booklets are all good, uniform in size and just what you would buy if you could see them. You can have the ten free by sending us five new subscribers to The Herald for one year at 50 cents each, or the equivalent in six months' subscriptions.

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 distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

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

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

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political will, 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 achieved by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

And all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democracy for the achievement of its program. 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 class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of mankind. 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 race or color.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph lines, and all means of communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The demand for labor connected with 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 investments to be made in real estate to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.

9. The demand for 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 of the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

- CONNECTICUT: Fineilver, N.H., Hartford; Holman, B., Hartford; Stedman, S., Chicago; Jesse Cox, Chicago; P. P. Ayer, Chicago; "Friend", Chicago; Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago; Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago. MASSACHUSETTS: Flanders, P.B., Haverhill; Cohen, A., Boston; Parker, Levi, W., Newton; Monette, G.T., Brockton; Bosworth, W.F., Brockton; Tate, Peter, Everett; Hitchcock, D.G., Warren; Goldman, S., Haverhill; Hough, E., Newton; Chase, Jno. C., Haverhill; Brown, J.W., Templeton; Grieses, G.S., Amesbury; Allen, Helen N., Lynn; Keown, Dr. J.A., Lynn. MICHIGAN: Kaliber, S., Grand Rapids. MINNESOTA: Gesswein, F., Red Lake Falls. MISSOURI: Fischer, Wm., St. Louis; Fallon, Henry, St. Louis; Ruesche, Wm., St. Louis. MARYLAND: Jacobson, E., Baltimore. NEW HAMPSHIRE: Gordon, F.G.E., Manchester; Howie, Geo., Manchester; Melien, C.H., Somersworth; Somersworth Branch. NEW YORK: Fales, L.O., Bensonhurst; Abbott, L.D., New York; Butcher, Wm., Brooklyn; Thomas, E.H., New York; Kahn, Arthur, New York; Ellis, F.W., New York; Lowloj, J., New York; Panken, J., New York; Weyell, Chas., New York; Mark Raphael, New York; Philip Graber, New York. NEW JERSEY: Pankopf, Carl, Jersey City. OHIO: Beevar, Jos., Cleveland; Zorn, Julius, Cincinnati; Brann, F., Cleveland; Altenbreand, C., Cleveland. PENNSYLVANIA: Lewis, J.H., Pittsburg. TENNESSEE: Enloe, Dr.B.H., Nashville; Hamilton, W.A., Nashville. TEXAS: Price, R.S., Houston. WISCONSIN: Berger, V.L., Milwaukee; Knooney, E.H., Milwaukee; Ziegler, F., Milwaukee; Doerfler, John, Milwaukee; Baumann, G., Milwaukee; Arnold, L., Milwaukee; Meister, B., Milwaukee; Henman, C., Milwaukee; Tuttle, H., Milwaukee; Heath, F., Milwaukee; Branch 4, Milwaukee.

NOTES OF THE SCIENCE OF LIFE

AN EXTRAORDINARY COURSE OF PRACTICAL LESSONS IN PHYSICAL AND MENTAL DEVELOPMENT, THOUGHT TRANSFERENCE AND PERSONAL POWER. Price of the notes, \$2.00, or 25c each, but they will not be sold out of the regular order. CHICAGO CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF LIFE SCIENCE 1541 CENTRAL BOULEVARD CHICAGO, ILL.

THE HERALD IN BUNDLES

- 25 copies \$.20
50 copies35
100 copies65
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.

Vote on Representation

Table with columns for Branch For, Age, and Vote. Lists various states and their representation counts.

GALL 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 the 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 the State.

In almost every community a thoroughly wide-awake and earnest Socialist, with little effort, 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 capitalist parties.

Headquarters for Literature. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC. 1. Liberty, Debs, 5c. 2. Moral England, Blatchford, 10c. 3. Municipal Socialism, Gordon, 5c. 4. Prison Labor, Debs, 5c. 5. Socialism and Slavery, Hyndman, 5c. 6. Government Ownership of Railways, Gordon, 5c. 7. Oration on Voltaire, Victor Hugo, 5c. 8. Evolution of Industry, Watkins, 5c. 9. Hard Times: Cause and Cure, Gordon, 5c. 10. Women: Past, Present and Future, Bebel, 25c. 11. The Red Light, Casson, 25c. 12. The Pullman Strike, Cartwright, 25c. 13. Co-operative Commonwealth, Gronlund, 50c. 14. The New Economy, Gronlund, \$1.25.

MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING. 15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engines and Firemen, Hill, 50c. 16. Locomotive Running Repairs, Hitchcock, 50c. 17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop, Reynolds, 50c. 18. Air Brake Practice, Phelan, \$1.00. 19. Ready Reference, Alexander, \$1.50. 20. Locomotive Running and Management, Sinclair, \$2.00. 21. Complete Locomotives, Woods, \$2.00. 22. Twenty Years with the Indicator, Roper, \$2.50. 23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive, Roper, \$2.50. 24. New Catechism of the Locomotive, Furney, \$2.50.

Note. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 in lots of 100 copies, 25 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. No. 2 in lots of 100 copies, 60 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$3.50. Send orders to DEBS PUBLISHING CO., TERRE HAUTE, IND.

DEBS PUBLISHING CO., TERRE HAUTE, IND.

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vail Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS: The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Value. The Origin of Socialism. The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Useless Occupations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.

The Evidences of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Its Basis and Aim; Abolition of Business Dishonesty; Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc. Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.

Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off To-day Than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extravagance is the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index. 12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 85c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

Haverhill Social Democrat

Published Weekly at Haverhill, Mass., by the Social Democratic Publishing Association of Massachusetts. Subscription, 50 cents per year. Make remittances payable to J. J. Fogarty, Business Manager, Address, SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, 25 Washington St., Haverhill, Mass.

CAREY'S SPEECHES

Delivered in the Massachusetts Legislature. The popular verdict pronounced it simply "great." "SOCIETY'S RIGHT TO LAND AND CAPITAL." An argument that is irresistible, couched in language clear, graceful and poetic. Don't fail to order this. Price 5c a copy, or \$3.00 a hundred. Send orders to MRS. A. KONIKOW, 1043 Washington St., Boston.

Pacific Coast Socialists

Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature, 38 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal. Following is a partial list of the works of G. B. BENHAM, which we recommend: History of the Paris Commune of 1871, paper cover, 25 cents; full cloth, \$0.75. Gospel of Discontent (copyrighted), \$1.50. Snap Shots at Capitalism (compilation), \$1.50. Story of the Red Flag, \$1.50. Crimes of Capitalism, \$1.50.

G. B. BENHAM

38 Turk Street San Francisco, Cal.

A Wonderful System SHOES AND SOCIALISM

From the New York Sun, Dec. 24 To the Editor of THE HERALD To the Editor of THE HERALD To the Editor of THE HERALD

JOS. BARONDESS

FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE

Life Insurance effected by mail in any part of the country. Fire Insurance attended to in Greater New York and New Jersey. 6 Rutgers St., NEW YORK. The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

Pocket Library of Socialism

- 1. Woman and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD SIMONS. Shows that the emancipation of woman through socialism is the only way to her freedom. 2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NOTES. A historical study showing how socialism is coming. 3. Imprudent Heritages. By ROBERT BRATTON. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" would help the laborer. 4. Packingtown. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited. 5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE B. DANKOW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order. 6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George. 7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words. 8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism. 9. The Mission of the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VAIL, author of "Modern Socialism," etc. 10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. KERR. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class. Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid. SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar, we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind or assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO THEODORE DEBS 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

- Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth, \$2.00. F. W. Sprague—Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation, Cloth, \$1.00. Gronlund—The Co-operative Commonwealth, Paper, \$1.00. August Bebel—Woman: Past, Present and Future, \$1.00. Volney Davis—The Ruins of Empire, \$1.00. Edward Bellamy—Looking Backward, \$1.00. Edward Bellamy—Equality, Cloth, \$1.00. Lisagay—History of the Commune of 1871, \$1.00. Charles Vail—Modern Socialism, \$1.00. Ashplant—Heterodox Economics, \$1.00. Profits, \$1.00. Henry D. Lloyd—Wealth Against Commonwealth, \$1.00. Volney Davis—The Ruins of Empire, \$1.00. Thomas Paine—The Rights of Man, \$1.00. Henry George—Social Problems, \$1.00. Osborne Ward—The Ancient Lowly, \$1.00. Adams—President John Smith, \$1.00. Richard T. Ely—Socialism and Social Reform, \$1.00. Buchner—Man in the Past, Present and Future, \$1.00. Benham—A History of the Paris Commune 1871 (both 75c), \$1.00. Chas. H. Vail—Principles of Scientific Socialism, \$1.00. Heron—Between Jesus and Caesar, \$1.00. Fabian Essays, \$1.00. Koppen—The Central Question of Work and Wages, \$1.00. Paine—Rights of Man, \$1.00.

PAMPHLETS

- F. G. R. Gordon—Hard Times: Cause and Cure, \$1.00. Leonard L. Abbott—The Future of the Future, \$1.00. F. Lassalle—What is Capital, \$1.00. H. M. Hyndman—Socialism and Slavery, \$1.00. F. Lassalle—The Workingman's Program, \$1.00. Chas. H. Vail—The Industrial Evolution, \$1.00.

THE HERALD LEAFLETS

No. 1 Contains "A WORD WITH YOU, JOHN!" being an admirably prepared paper by "Wayfarer," based on a chapter in "Merrie England." "THE REAL MASTERS"—pertinent questions addressed to workers to work to work to work. "THE DECLARATION AND POLITICAL DEMANDS" of the Social Democratic Party of America. No. 2 Contains "ABOUSE, YE SLAVES!" a ringing address by E. V. Debs on Socialism and the Social Democratic Party, with a picture of the author. "HOT SHOTS!" a bunch of pithy, pointed, "up-to-date" paragraphs, calculated to make people think for themselves.

1000 copies.....\$2.00 500 copies.....1.25 250 copies......75 100 copies......35 THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

When visiting Greater New York you desire to meet comrades, go to the

INTERNATIONAL CAFE AND RESTAURANT

428 Grand St., Near Attorney NEW YORK CITY

Prompt attention and satisfaction guaranteed All are welcome

BRANCH SUPPLIES

- Charters.....\$2.00 Membership Cards (per 100).....1.00 Membership Applications (100)......25 Constitutions (each)......03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

Wanted EVERY SOCIAL DEMOCRAT TO WEAR A

S. D. P. A. BUTTON

Remember, the entire profit goes to the National Propaganda Fund. 5 and 10c. each; 50 and 100c. per dozen. For sale by Com. J. H. GRADY, 90 Winthrop St., Brockton, Mass.

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70 " " " Public Ownership .70

Order from THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Buffalo Conference and the Democratic Party

A PAMPHLET FOR THE TIMES BY IMOGENE C. FALES

Price 5 cents. Order from the Herald or Imogene C. Fales, Bensonhurst, Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Table showing the political strength of socialism from 1867 to 1898. Columns include Year, Austria, Germany, etc.