

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION SEVENTH YEAR, NO. 17. WHOLE NUMBER 317



OUT "SAFE" UNIONS.

L. BERGER WRITES OF THE RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS AND THEIR MISSION.

After a hard struggle continued for several decades the working class throughout the civilized world has finally gained the right of organizing for the protection of their common interests and for the purpose of ameliorating their condition. The time is not long past when such general...

WISCONSIN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ATTENTION!

WISCONSIN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ATTENTION! LABOR DAY AND FALL FESTIVAL! THIS GALA EVENT...

shop Messner of the Milwaukee recently endorsed the New World as a good Catholic to take. He did endorse the New World in its attacks on Socialism...

Who Dare Deny!

"WE HAVE ARRANGED THE PROGRAM FOR BOTH PARTIES, AND ARE WILLING THAT THE VOTERS SHOULD EXERCISE THEIR CHOICE OF MEN." - James Buel, Secretary, National Bankers' Association.

LABOR DAY EDITION.

Send in your orders for the Labor Day edition without delay. Time is short. The leading feature will be a verbatim report of Eugene V. Debs' speech at Indianapolis, Sept. 1, formally opening the presidential campaign of the party.

Is it the capitalist who employs labor...

Is it the capitalist who employs labor, or is it the demands of the people that compels work? Think this over and see at which end of the question you arrive.

Father J. A. Ryan, a Catholic priest of Chicago...

Father J. A. Ryan, a Catholic priest of Chicago, has been used by Henry P. Fogarty as co-respondent in a divorce suit against Anna Fogarty, who sang in Ryan's church.

The Chicago Tribune, true to its capitalist instincts...

The Chicago Tribune, true to its capitalist instincts, is trying to show what a terribly abused and impoverished people the Chicago pork packers are because of the rules of the unions.

Richard Braunschweig, an organizer for Gompers...

Richard Braunschweig, an organizer for Gompers and after Gompers' own heart, and an old-time Anarchist of Chicago...

Here's an odd fact: Every man who spends his life in long daily hours of industry...

Here's an odd fact: Every man who spends his life in long daily hours of industry under the wage system is practically certain to die poor!

Jack Crawford, known far and wide as the "poet scout," had a few minutes to spare at Terre Haute the other day while waiting for a train to make a Chautauqua date.

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Walter Wellman begins a letter to the Philadelphia Press...

Walter Wellman begins a letter to the Philadelphia Press, as follows: "Like a chapter from Carlyle's 'French Revolution' reads the story of the past year in the beautiful state of Colorado.

Chicago, July 30.—The Bureau of Charities has resolved to give any help to the people who have been thrown out of work...

Chicago, July 30.—The Bureau of Charities has resolved to give any help to the people who have been thrown out of work and reduced to want through the meat workers' strike.

If the above isn't a fine little eye-opener, what is!

If the above isn't a fine little eye-opener, what is! There is generally a motive back of every act, and anyone who makes a study of industrial and commercial activities knows that the motive back of charity giving by the rich, organized or individually, is a personal and a selfish one.

The Vanguard, under Herald auspices, is out and it is a fine number.

The Vanguard, under Herald auspices, is out and it is a fine number. If you haven't seen it, you can easily rectify the matter by sending a half dollar to Manager Bistorius of the Herald company.

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Let us quote from the report of the strike commission, consisting of Labor Commissioner Wright, John B. Kernan of New York and N. E. Worthington of Illinois, two attorneys appointed by Cleveland:

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"These strikers at Pullman are entitled to be believed to be motivated by the contrary in this matter, because of their conduct and forbearance after May 11. It is in evidence, and uncontradicted that no violence or destruction of property by strikers or sympathizers took place at Pullman, and that until July 3 (when the federal troops came upon the scene) no extraordinary protection was had from the police or military against even anticipated disorder." (Page 38.)

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DEBS ON CLEVELAND.

THE REPLY WHICH McCLURE'S MAGAZINE REFUSED TO PUBLISH.

[Following is the gist of the reply of Comrade Debs to Grover Cleveland's article on the great railway strike of 1894, which McClure's Magazine refused to publish.]

In the July issue of McClure's magazine ex-President Cleveland has an article on "The government in the Chicago strike of 1894." That there may be no mistake about the meaning of "government" in this connection it should be understood that Mr. Cleveland has reference to the federal government of which he was the executive head at the time of the strike in question, and not to the state government of Illinois or the municipal government of Chicago, both of which were overridden and set at defiance by the executive authority of Mr. Cleveland.

It is certain that of his own knowledge ex-President Cleveland knows nothing of the strike he discusses; that the evidence upon which he acted officially and upon which he based his conclusions was ex parte obtained wholly from the railroad interests and those who represented or were controlled by these interests, and it is not strange, therefore, that he falls into a series of errors, as may be proved beyond doubt by reference to the "Report on the Chicago Strike by the United States Strike Commission" of his own appointment.

When the strike at Chicago occurred did President Cleveland make a personal investigation? No. Did he grant both sides a hearing? He did not.

I aver that he received every particle of his information from the capitalist side, that he was prompted to act by the capitalist side, that his official course was determined wholly, absolutely by and in the interests of the capitalist side and that no more thought or consideration was given to the hundreds of thousands of workmen whose lives and whose wives and babies were at stake than if they had been so many swine or sheep on the way to the shambles.

In reviewing the article of ex-President Cleveland I wish to adduce the proof of my exceptions and denials as well as the evidence to support my affirmations, and if I fail to relieve the great body of railroad men who composed the American Railway union of the criminal stigma which Mr. Cleveland has sought to fasten upon them, or if I cannot produce satisfactory evidence that the crimes charged were investigated by the other side, the side in whose interests President Cleveland brought to bear all the powers of the federal government, I will agree to publicly ask forgiveness of the railroads, apologize to the ex-president and cease my agitation forever.

He says the strike was provoked by a reduction of wages. This is not true. The fact is that although wages had been repeatedly reduced the employees did not strike. They appointed a committee to meet the officials and ask why, IF THEIR WAGES HAD TO BE REDUCED, THE HIGH RENTS THEY WERE OBLIGED TO PAY THE PULLMAN COMPANY WERE NOT CORRESPONDINGLY LOWERED.

How did President Cleveland begin operations in the Chicago strike? Among the first things he did, as he himself tells us, was to appoint Edwin Walker as special counsel for the government. At the time President Cleveland designated Walker, upon recommendation of the railroads, as special counsel for the government, for which alleged service he was paid a fee which amounted to a fortune, the said WALKER WAS ALREADY THE REGULAR COUNSEL OF THE CHICAGO MILWAUKEE & ST. PAUL RAILROAD.

It is thus made clear that President Cleveland and his cabinet placed the government at the service of the railroads. Edwin Walker, the railroads' own attorney, made the agent of the government and put in supreme command of the railroads and government forces! Upon Walker's recommendation Cleveland acted, upon Walker's demand the federal soldiers marched into Chicago, upon Walker's command the great government of the United States obeyed with all the subserviency of a trained lackey.

The implication that runs through Mr. Cleveland's article is that the railroad corporations were paragons of peace and patriotism, law and order, while the railway employees were a criminal, desperate and bloodthirsty mob which had to be suppressed by the strong arm of the government.

The Pullman strike began May 11, 1894, and was perfectly peaceable and orderly until the army of "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts," as Superintendent of Police Brennan called them in his official report to the council of Chicago, Edwin Walker, attorney of the General Managers' association at the command of Cleveland, ordered the strike.

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Beaten at every point, they schemes all frustrated, outgeneraled in tactics and strategy, the corporations played their trump card by an appeal to the federal judiciary and the federal administration. To this appeal the response came quick as lightning from a storm cloud.

Peace and order were fatal to the railroad corporations, violence was as necessary to them as was peace to the employees. They realized that victory could only be snatched from labor by an appeal to violence in the name of peace.

First—Deputy marshals. The very day they were appointed the trouble began, the files of every Chicago paper prove. The report of the strike commission does the same.

Second—Fires (but no Pullman palace cars were lighted) and riots (but no strikers were implicated).

Third—The capitalist owned newspapers and Associated Press flashed the news over all the wires that the people were at the mercy of a mob and that the strikers were burning and sacking the city.

SOCIALISM AND THE CITY. By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD.

EVOLUTIONARY LAW IN MUNICIPAL SOCIALIZATION.—THE SOCIALIZING PROCESS IN MUNICIPAL INDUSTRY, AND ITS RESULTS FOR THE WORKING CLASS.

PROFESSOR E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, N. Y. City, has indicated the operation of the evolutionary law as applied to the development of public ownership...

private hands and used for purposes of extortion or profit, like the highways in medieval Europe, or the early bridges and canals.

In the second stage they are affected with public interest, and are turned over to trustees, who are permitted to charge fixed tolls, but are required to keep the service up to a certain standard...

In the third stage the government takes over the service, but manages it for profit, as is still the case today in some countries with the post and the railway system.

In the fourth stage, the government charges tolls only to cover expenses, as until recently in the case of canals and bridges, and as is the theory of the postal system and of the municipal water supply with us at the present time.

In the fifth stage the government reduces charges until finally there is no charge at all, and the expense is defrayed by a general tax on the community.

It is evident to any casual observer of society that the above statement will apply not only to the media of transportation and communication, but also to many other things. Especially it is applicable to enterprises municipal in their character, as is proven by the recent developments of our modern cities.

To those who have never gone over the ground at all, it is worth while to recognize the long list of enterprises and functions which have been private at some time in the history of the city, and which have by the very gradual degrees mentioned by Professor Seligman become so completely socialized that none but the rankest imperialist would dare to suggest that they be taken again out of the public hands.

of these was at one time "private," and has become "public" only by the same kind of a troublesome process which is today thought by so many to be something radical and unheard-of.

In the days when government was vested in an individual, taxation was a distinctly "private" matter, as we should view it today, and was handed in the interests of the particular persons who happened to "own the franchise." Police protection, i. e., protection for property, could only be had by those able to furnish their own police.

No one really believes that these things have been done, on the whole, with any purpose of benefitting the working class. And even where a man like John Burns of London (England) has succeeded in having his way to some extent, because his way was a better one for the men who work, he has only been allowed to make the experiment in the hope and promise that a showing could be made which would, after all, be really better for the masters also.

By the promise of facilitating "business" on the whole, and by the magical influence of reducing the "rates" or taxes, the class in control has been led into this new path. That they take a real pride in their accomplishments, in the better service and cheaper cost, in the shorter hours and better wages of the men, and also in the more honest government which invariably accompany the changes which we have been discussing—there can be no doubt.

But this pride is vastly strengthened as yet by the wholesome consciousness that "it pays," i. e., it "pays" the capitalist class as a whole.

On the other hand, the Socialist who would ridicule these items in the list of events important for social progress will make a great mistake. For, as one of the authors of the Fabian Essays has said: "It is the municipalities which have done most to socialize our industrial life."

To begin with, even the matters of better and cheaper service, while bringing their first benefits to the capitalist and his class, are not without their value for the advancing proletariat, in the way of raising the standard of service to which, that class becomes accustomed, and so educating them in the things that pertain to and make for civilization.

But there is something which holds within it more promise still than these, because it shows how the working class can be treated when once the pressure for "profits" or "dividends" is taken off the manager, and the ones employed are only a small portion of those who have even a theoretical ownership in the plant which they operate.

It will be observed that those given on the same line under Public and Private Ownership are occupations which may fairly be compared for the amount of ability required, or the previous training necessary, while in one instance the service is identical and the locality the same. It is well known that the common rule for public employees is the eight-hour day.

Notice, Philadelphia. Everybody wishing to subscribe for the "Social-Democratic Herald" drop a postal to Jos. P. Nick, 517 N. 8th St., and will receive prompt attention.

This paper may be had ten weeks for ten cents. Try it.

Continued on page 4.

Notice to Camden, N. J., readers. L. Juster, 17 Hudson St., Camden, N. J., is authorized to take subscriptions for this paper.

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The National Socialist Platform for 1904. (As Adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904.)

We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born...

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have...

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage.

As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable.

Into the midst of the straits and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or constructive force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the way...

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as far as we are entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and common good.

RAWS ON THE ELECTION.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE POLL DISCOVERS MANY SOCIALISTS.

Chicago Tribune has been... presidential preferences... Debs is for the workingman... A vote for Debs is a vote against trusts and capitalists...

The Socialist ticket is the only one a true man can vote.—Teamster. Because I believe in the brotherhood of man.—Teamster. Debs is the workingman's friend.—Teamster.

Statistics for the Consideration of American Voters.

By Ex-Senator R. A. Dague of Alameda, California. Since 1850 improved machinery has increased the productivity of labor forty fold. The late Mr. Gladstone said: "By the aid of machinery the manufacturing power of the world doubles every seven years."

The American people produced \$2,000,000,000 more than they consume. It is because of this surplus production of all civilized countries that the guns are thundering at the gates of other nations that foreign markets may be opened up.

There are in the United States 16,000,000 families. 8,365,000 families live in rented houses, and the houses of 4,700,000 families are mortgaged.

What does the Republican party propose to do in the face of this alarming condition of things? Nothing worth mentioning except to continue to maintain a high tariff. What does the Democratic party propose? Very little, except to maintain a tariff a little lower than the Republicans.

Doings of the Milwaukee Socialist Aldermen.

Aldermen: Tenth Ward, Albert J. Welch and Frederic Heath; Eleventh Ward, Edmund Melms and Gustave Wild; Twentieth Ward, Emil Seidel and Carl Malewsky; Twenty-first Ward, Edward Schranz and W. Grantz; Twenty-second Ward, Nicholas Petersen.

make it possible for the two Milwaukee roads to get possession of the stock and to then shut out all other roads. This has a significant look. Action on the establishment of a municipal light plant was again delayed.

Getting Russianistic. That the Japanese government is inclined to adopt some of Russia's tactics in suppressing political progress is seen in the following editorial from Heim Shimbu, a Socialist paper printed in Tokio: "If any one thinks that there are not more than two hundred professed Socialists in Japan, he must think it strange that the government is rather nervous over our propagandism."

pendence upon capitalism, the possessor of the instruments of labor and exchange. NAT'L. H'Q'ARTERS.—Locals desiring a French organizer to visit their districts during the campaign should write to the National Secretary, Boylston Bldg., Chicago, at once, as a tour from Comrade Louis Gouzien of Charlevoix, Pa., is being arranged.

Have an 8-Hour Law. Twenty-seven states, and territories besides the United States, have an 8-hour day law. There are six states where eight hours are prescribed as the limit for a day's work unless specified to the contrary.

The following have prescribed eight hours as the maximum day's labor upon public works: California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Idaho, Kansas, Maryland (Baltimore), Minnesota, Nevada, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Porto Rico, Utah, Washington, West Virginia and Wyoming.

LAST WE HAVE THE YANKEE "MERRIE ENGLAND,"

"Socialism Made Plain,"

By ALLAN L. BENSON. Author of "CONFESSIONS OF CAPITALISM." Mr. Benson was formerly editorial writer on the New York Journal, being editor of plain, direct and thought-compelling English.

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When purchasing cigars see that this label is on the box. Union-made Cigars.

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

NOTE: In some states the organization is known as the Socialist Party, in others as the Social Democratic Party. Where the term "local" is used it does not refer to trade union locals, but to the local body.

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND. Mother Jones will be the Labor Day speaker at Cleveland. Mrs. Ida Crouch-Hazlett has been holding some big street meetings at Helena, Mont.

ligio-philosophical garbage before the working class as the summit of economic wisdom. It looks to me as if some 'revolutionary' Socialists in Minnesota had been getting their Socialism from thirteenth century almanacs.

ACROSS THE HERRING POND. M. Gerault-Richard is at present carrying on an interesting controversy in his journal, La Petite Republicaine, one of the two French Socialist dailies, with M. Lasies, a Bonapartist. The subject is "The Plebiscite and Socialism."

The story that Comrade Lucian Sanial of New York in addressing a meeting in Chicago said that the emancipation of the working class would not be brought about by the ballot, has been punctured. It was an invention of the capitalist press.

SAN FRANCISCO.—We have just arranged the biggest debate that ever took place in the history of our Socialist movement, between Arthur Morrow Lewis, organizer, and Herbert W. Ready, author of "The Labor Problem," which has flooded this coast to over a hundred thousand copies, and who will represent the capitalist class in general and the Citizens' Alliance in particular.

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