

Social Democratic Herald

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Socialists of America Unite; You Have Nothing but Your Prejudices to Lose, and the Western World to Gain.

WHY THE PARTY MUST HAVE A SOCIALIST PLATFORM FOR FARMERS.

BY VICTOR L. BERGER.

Karl Marx said in a letter about the Gotha platform (which he did not like): "Every step of a real movement is worth more than a dozen platforms." As a matter of fact, what decides the success of a movement is the manner in which the movement acts, not the manner in which it explains that action. An imperfect theory may go very well with a much more perfect practice, for apart from the theory, the instinct of the masses rules every movement, and this instinct accommodates itself much better to the logic of events than any theory. We see that the German Social Democracy of the seventies, although it was criticized very harshly by Marx for the faults of its platform, practically had hit the nail on the head, and marched from victory to victory. The theoretical imperfections of the platform were easily remedied, after almost 20 years, when the party had become the wonder of the world. It had grown so under a platform asking the impossible, i. e., asking the state of Prussia for 100 million dollars with which the laboring men were to start co-operative shops.

So we must not put too much weight on platforms as long as the general direction of the movement is right. We must not forget that we are a revolutionary party, and that in great decisive moments the best platform is only a piece of paper—nothing more. Platforms are by their very nature temporary, for they are subject to changes every year or two at the conventions. Platforms, therefore, must naturally consider questions of the present time and of momentary relief before all things—although defining the direction of the movement and the end aimed at in a general way.

For we must not forget that the result often comes in a different way, and even in a different shape, than those who sought it had figured. In 1789 the Etats Generaux (the general representatives of France) assembled to give France a constitution—the leaders intended that it be shaped somewhat after the constitution of England. Four years later the king was deposed, the queen was deposed, priests and nobles were driven from France and feudalism was dead—so everybody thought. A terrible surprise, truly. Still, even feudalism resurged to some extent, and to-day—one hundred years after the revolution—priests and nobles are a great factor in French politics. Another surprise, is it not?

And in our own history we find similar surprises. In 1775 the representatives of the thirteen colonies assembled in Philadelphia "to most respectfully and submissively petition to King George III" for certain rights other English subjects had enjoyed for many hundred years. To the genuine surprise of most of those assembled a republic was the consequence of their action—a place of eternal freedom as most everybody believed then.

In 1800 Lincoln was elected on a platform which forbade the extension of slavery into the territories. Jan. 1, 1863, witnessed the proclamation making every negro free.

We see therefrom that it is impossible to draft platforms in advance which will hold good even a few years afterward. Conditions, events, developments will shape men's action in a crisis, and not platforms. Especially is this the case in movements of the masses.

And we must before all things learn from the Socialist Party, so-called, that has been in existence in this country for thirty years—how not to do it. We must not expect actual existing conditions to mold themselves to any special rut.

But it is possible for the youngest of all Socialist movements—for the Social Democratic Party—to get possession of the political power in this country within our generation and to realize a great deal of Socialism. That is, I do not mean the rule of a certain class or a communistic state of society, but a tremendous general improvement of the condition of all the people by the collective ownership of many industries, of the mines and the means of transportation and communication.

I say this is possible within our generation, if we go at it in the right way. For the economic conditions, the method of production, the action of competition, the trust, combines, etc., have paved the way and warrant such success.

to get the people with us, or at least the majority of the people. We must get the farmers.

But how? Socialist production, as we all know, must be the result of concentration of industry. Socialism is based solely upon large production. (Grossbetrieb.) And there was no such concentration perceptible in our agriculture during the last 20 or 30 years.

On the contrary, the farms in the United States increased from 2,660,000 in 1870 to 4,565,000 in 1890. That is an increase in the number of farms of 71 per cent. in twenty years.

In spite of a few bonanza farms in California and Dakota, the average size of a farm is now only 138 acres.

The labor units employed directly in agriculture grew from 5,870,000 in 1870 to 8,300,000 in 1890—which goes to show that it is mainly the farmers and their next kin who are working on the farms. There has not only been no increase of hired help on the farms, but a positive decrease since 1870. Farm machinery has displaced 4,430,000 labor units on the farms which would find work there had there been no farm machinery invented. But so far the effect of the new inventions in agricultural machinery have only tended to strengthen the middle-sized farm, making it possible for the farmer to take care of a larger area himself.

I will try to explain the reason for this queer fact—i. e., machinery seemingly strengthening the middle class man instead of the capitalist—in my next article, when I will also give some more detailed statistics.

But I will say right here: In the end capitalism may work in the field of agriculture the same way as in manufacturing, or it may not, owing to the peculiar conditions of agriculture, which seemingly work against concentration, even in Germany, where the laws are in favor of establishing large estates in land. But however this may be, we are not at the "end" as yet, and the city proletariat cannot wait for that "end."

The city proletariat and part of the country proletariat, the miners and railroaders are ready for collectivism now—for collectivism in a great many branches. The proletariat is not only ready for it, but must have it, if generations are not to die in a sea of misery as generations of slaves have perished in times of old.

And the proletariat, even if it should unite to the last man, will never be able to have collectivism so long as the farmers are opposed to it. And if we are to wait until the majority of the farmers become proletarians we might just as well give up our fight against capitalism, for even a tenant-farmer is not a proletarian; on the contrary, he is often an employer.

All these things are facts and Socialists ought never to ignore facts.

But fortunately, the farmers are almost as much in need of collectivism in the industrial branches mentioned as we are.

The average income of a farmer, according to the census of 1890, was about \$540 a year. The average income of a wage-worker was \$440 a year.

'Tis true the farmer had his housing and some victuals free besides. But on the other hand, he missed many advantages of civilization which go with life in the cities. And he also had to exploit his own labor and the labor of his family to the utmost. The farmer as a rule is a self-exploiter to the point of "skinning."

And his boasted "independence" is rather limited. It is not the farmer nor the crop that sets the price of the products. Aside from the sheer insanity of a condition that often makes a bad crop more valuable to him than a good one—the price of wheat and other cereals is not even fixed in this country; it is fixed in the markets of the world, in Liverpool and Hamburg. And in the markets of the world our farmers have to compete with the labor of the Hindoos in British India and with the mixed races of the Rio de la Plata. For the bread of the nation is simply a ware, a commodity, and subject to competition in the open market. This cannot and will not be any different under the competitive system where even human labor is a commodity which is bought and sold in the open market.

And suppose the farmers do gain a momentary advantage by higher prices of the "food products"? It is sure to

(Continued on page 4.)

WE SHALL ARRIVE.

The Kettles are out and the Pots are in,
And black is the hue of the lot,
But the Pots are making a fearful din,
For the Kettles have gone to Pot.

Tra la!
The Kettles have gone to Pot,
The Kettles have all gone to blazes,
And the Pots (for the present) survive,
But they've got to go under the daisies,
And we shall arrive!

The Pots are going to legislate
For vessels of common clay,
And they will conduct the affairs of State
In a very superior way.

Tra la!
In a lordly, leisurely way,
The Kettles have all gone to blazes,
And the Pots (for the present) survive,
But they've got to go under the daisies,
And we shall arrive!

Meanwhile the Kettles will boil with rage,
But the Pots their noise will smother;
In public a frightful fend they'll wage,
And in a private wink at each other.

Tra la!
Significantly wink at each other!
The Kettles have all gone to blazes,
And the Pots (for the present) survive,
But they've got to go under the daisies,
And we shall arrive!

And perchance, must sooner than you trow,
It may strike the vessel of delf,
That 'twould not be a bad idea, you know,
To legislate for himself.

Tra la!
To make his laws for himself!
The Kettles have all gone to blazes,
And the Pots (for the present) survive,
But they've got to go under the daisies,
And we shall arrive!

—The Clarion.

William Dean Howell's Socialism.

"After all, we are our brother's keepers, though a Cainic society has been denying it ever since the first murder. We are put into one another's custody in this world; here, where so many things are in doubt, this is unquestionable. Up to the present time our notion of a custodian has been some sort of jailer. Society really provides no other for the weaker brethren. We imprison people whom we find wandering about without a home; we imprison utter poverty; we imprison hopeless misfortune. We may not all of us think that a very fine thing; but we have to draw the line somewhere, and if we are brought to book about it, we shrug and ask, What are we to do? Are we to give tramps a decent lodging? Are we to secure to poverty the means of livelihood? Are we to succor misfortune without shutting it up and putting it to shame?"

"These questions, which are of our own asking, must be of our own answering. It is not that misery is growing, but that it is growing intolerable, if not to the sufferer, then to the witness. We have come a certain way toward humanity, and it seems to be the parting of the ways. One path will lead us onward to the light; the other will take us roundabout, and back to the darkness we came out of. In this age a man denies the claim of humanity with much greater risk to himself than formerly. He is in danger of truly becoming a devil; not the sort with horns and hoofs and forked tails, who were poor, harmless fellows at the worst, but the sort of devil who acts upon the belief that every man must take care of himself.

"That is the belief which society, as a whole, acts upon now, as far as it can; but personally we are each more or less ashamed of it, and reject it more or less openly. It is the rule of business, but it is not the rule of life; because it is in the experience of every living soul that men cannot take care of themselves.

"It is not yet so apparent to us all that men must take care of one another; but in the history of the race that is the most obvious lesson. The stronger man must take care of the weaker, as his jailer, on the old lines; and in conformity to the ideals of the stone age in political economy; or else he must take care of him as his brother.

"Jailer or brother, which shall it be? There is no middle choice, and there never was; and if we do not choose brother, jailer will choose itself. There is something terribly active in evil; it is positive, full of initiative. The weed comes, and flourishes against the hoe; the useful plant must be coaxed to come, and must be carefully tended; the flower must be cherished. All morality, all civility, is the effect of trying to be good."

With the exception of one small concern, which can make no trouble, the manipulators of the wall paper trust have succeeded in effecting a national combination, and will proceed to advance prices.

"Lead-workers," says Professor Oliver, "miscarry in much larger proportion than other women; and the children born generally die in convulsions."

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE TRADES UNION MOVEMENT.

BY ROSA PROLETAIRE.

My dear brother John.—I will grant your request and answer your questions as well as my limited knowledge will permit. You ask:

1. "Is there any difference between the old Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party of America?"
2. "If so, would you kindly give me all possible information on this point?"

There is no difference in principles. Both parties stand for the abolition of the wage and profit system, and for the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. There is, however, a great difference in the tactics applied by these two organizations which I shall make clear in the following lines.

During the last decade the S. L. P. management succeeded in building up a Chinese wall between the Socialist party and the general labor and trades union movement of this country, and this progress-checking wall was finally decorated with the crown of a "Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance." In name a national trades union federation, in reality an organization of alleged Socialist unionists formed for the main purpose of antagonizing and breaking up old bona fide trades and labor organizations. A crown of thorns for the general labor movement!

To this kind of work, carried on under the cloak of Socialism, the Social Democratic Party enters its emphatic protest. The Social Democratic Party of America, in strict accord with the International Socialist movement, openly and firmly declares that the tactics employed by the S. L. P. towards the general labor movement are entirely unsocialistic, that such tactics are a disgrace to the International Social Democratic movement; that by such tactics the disorganization, instead of the organization, of the wage working proletariat will be brought about.

The Social Democratic Party of America has clearly and concisely stated its position towards the trades union movement. The trades union resolutions adopted at the Chicago convention are part of the platform of the new party. Like the demands for the farmers, the trade union resolution belongs to the Social Democratic Party platform, and the platform should never appear in print without the trade union resolution. By taking this position the Social Democratic Party simply followed the tactics of the International Social Democracy, thereby also carrying out the decisions of various international labor congresses.

The S. L. P. officially sanctions and assists the "Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance." The "S. T. and L. A." is organizing little rival unions to the bona fide national trades unions of the printers, bakers, brewery workers, cigarmakers, etc., thereby not only endangering the organization of thousands of wage-workers, but also assisting the capitalist employers in fighting bona fide trades organizations. Whether this be done consciously or unconsciously is not for the wage-workers to decide; suffice it for them to know that such mischievous work is done by an organization claiming to be the advance guard of labor in its struggle for emancipation.

The platform of the Social Democratic Party contains the following clause:

"The trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution."

Now, Brother John, think of the "Socialist" union labels put into circulation by the "S. T. and L. A." in opposition to the labels of the Typographical Union, Bakers' International Union, Cigarmakers, etc., pause and think of the "cooperation" existing between the S. L. P. and these trades organizations! To this kind of "cooperation" the Social Democratic Party objects. Queer as it may appear, the official organs of the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. seem to be ashamed of their own union label, for, if I remember correctly, not even the "N. Y. People" bears the Socialists Trades and Labor Alliance label. This reminds me of a boss brewer who never tasted a drop

of his own beer, because his stomach could not stand the adulterated beverage. The "Estielas" own union label seems to be too strong a laxative for the official organs of the S. L. P.

The assertion has repeatedly been made that the tactics of the S. L. P. toward the trades union movement of this country was the same as the tactics followed by the Socialist labor parties of Europe. This is not true. Neither in England nor in France, neither in Belgium, Germany, Austria, Scandinavia, Spain nor Italy, have the Socialist parties ever organized rival organizations to old-established, bona fide trades unions, as facts will show.

In England our Socialist comrades, Hyndman, Quelch and others of the Social Democratic Federation, Keir Hardie, Tom Mann, Ben Tillett and Blatchford of the Independent Labor Party; John Burns, the Battersea labor leader—all of them have been active in the general trade union movement disseminating Socialist ideas and educating the old trades unionists in the grand principles of a world-wide Social Democratic labor movement. The fact that such prominent Socialists as Mann, Tillett, Thorne (of the powerful Gas Works Union), and Barnes (the secretary of the splendid British Engineers' Union) are to-day the first officers of some of the most powerful trades unions of England, is ample proof that the Socialists of England have never tried the "Estielas" medicine patented by some of the S. L. P. leaders in New York.

In Belgium our comrades Anseele, de Paep, Volders, Bertrand, Vandervelde, etc., worked among the trades unions for many years before the economic and the political movements became practically one and the same. On April 13 and 14, 1879, i. e. nearly 20 years ago, the Socialist Party of Belgium convened in Brussels and accepted the following in its platform:

"In the economic field the party will always assist the wage-workers in their struggles to increase their wages, and fight against the encroachments of capitalism upon labor, etc."

In France men like Jules Guesde, Lafargue (of the Marxists), Allemande, Vaillant, etc., have kept up the agitation in the general labor movement until entire national trades unions, with many thousand members, have become thoroughly and completely imbued with the principles of Socialism, and are now practically one and the same with the Socialist parties.

The same is true of Scandinavia, Austria, Switzerland and Italy, and to a great measure even of Spain and Portugal, the result being a healthy and strong Socialist labor movement in these different countries.

If the same energy had been expended for a systematic Socialist propaganda in the various trades organizations as has been wasted in the work of fighting the bona fide labor movement, the Socialist movement in this country would be more powerful today, and there would probably be but one united Socialist party in the field.

We know what trades unions can do and what they cannot. We shall not flatter the weakness of the trades unionists, but point out the insufficiency of trades unionism in the proletarian struggle for emancipation, and educate the economically organized wage-workers up to Socialism and true Social Democracy.

The Social Democratic Party also objects most emphatically to the methods employed by the leaders of the S. L. P. toward all people, Socialists and non-Socialists, who happen to have an opinion of their own. Good Socialists, comrades that were fighting in the front ranks of our movement for years, have been denounced as fakirs, traitors, etc., have been suspended and expelled right and left without any just cause whatsoever. Truth, right and morality have repeatedly been disregarded. The Social Democratic Party of America calls attention to the Statutes of the International Workingmen's Association (organized by Marx and Engels in 1864), which contained the following pledge:

"The first International Labor Congress (of Geneva in 1866) declares that

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Carroll D. Wright has said that "Two hours and fifteen minutes daily work by each able-bodied man [with the modern instruments of production, of course,] if systematically applied, would produce all the food, clothing and shelter that people need." And Mulhall, the English authority, says that the energy or working power of the United States in 1865 was 128,000 millions of foot tons per day, a greater working energy than that of Great Britain, Germany and Austria combined. Yet we have a nation of 75,000,000 of people concerned chiefly with "keeping the wolf from the door," living, in the main, "from hand to mouth," instead of ascertaining how the working power of the nation can best be utilized to the end that all individual and Social wants may be supplied without waste, and the minimum expenditure of labor power. And among the 75,000,000 the only fellows who know how this can be done are the Socialists.

There is a limit to the mad race in which no individual is really safe, no matter how things seem to "come his way;" in which millions fall, and all that the winners do is to perpetuate misery and injustice in the world.

Under capitalism the larger the product the sooner and longer are mills and factories shut down, and the more misery prevails. But under Socialism the larger the product the larger would be the provision for the consumers who produced it.

Wage-slaves have voted to protect property and the class which possesses property; but it does not appear that the possessing class anywhere votes to protect the creators of property.

To encourage association for the robbery and degradation of humanity is the correct and proper thing; to advocate association for the security and betterment of humanity—when called Socialism—is visionary and insane.

The rich, like the politicians who serve the present system because it secures them, thrive on the people's superstitions, and the hoary superstition that the rich must have all the wealth so that they can have all the power. Has surfeited one man and stripped a million.

The law calls the profits of labor property, and the creator of the property a pauper.

The predatory rich proceed with their devastations on the assumption that they have a right to rule. By legal and illegal methods they have come into possession of the surplus values of labor. By making laws and breaking laws they have come into possession of government. There are humane and progressive rich people, but the predatory ruling rich are inhuman and retrogressive, and the sooner the people realize it and become their own rulers by carrying out the principles of the Social Democratic Party the better for them and for freedom.

Harry C. Vrooman, one of the Vrooman Boys, and until recently pastor of a Congregational church at St. Louis, has joined the Commonwealth Colony in Georgia.

The Herald has already carried the messages of the Social Democratic Party around the world. From Melbourne, Australia, we this week received a subscription and order for books. Our correspondent, Comrade A. C. Cassinir, offers to send occasional letters from that part of the world. Comrade Cassinir is secretary of the Victorian Socialists' League.

The strike of the packing house laborers at Omaha, which was participated in by over 5,000 men, and resulted in victory for the strikers, received the active support of "Mother" Mary Jones, who was on the ground and rendered timely assistance to the men. The Western Laborer says: "She made close inquiry into the merits of the strike and declared, 'Civilization owes those men, their wives and babies better treatment than that I will go down and do what I can'—and she did. She made speeches to the men Thursday night, Saturday afternoon and evening. She was down there Sunday all day and evening, and Monday she made five speeches, the fifth one being made at the jollification meeting in the evening. The committee wanted to pay Mother Jones her expenses, but she declined to accept their money. She was a great help to the committee in keeping up the courage of the men and advising the managers on the policy to pursue. Mother Jones has endeared herself in the hearts of the packing house men, and it will be many a long day before they will forget her."

The trusts are marching on to victory—and the great industrial revolution. The wall paper combination is perfected, and now the masters of economic power will be looking about for another opportunity. And the people, what are the people doing? The briefless lawyer, the workless artisan, the helpless and unorganized laborer, the merchant without customers, all feeling the pressure more keenly every day—and the trusts go marching on! United at the ballot box, to strike for economic freedom to enlarge the functions of the trusts publicly administered, there is nothing they could not accomplish. And such a glorious movement the trades unionists of this country could dominate for the general good. Strike at the ballot box through the Social Democratic Party.

THE PARTY POLICY.

A California correspondent propounds the following question: "Does the S. D. P. expect, like the utopian Socialists, to convert a great majority of the American people over to the full ideal of Socialism before they will work actively for the adoption of the first steps?" The answer is that the party expressly and unreservedly declares in its platform in favor of certain demands, which are the necessary first steps toward ideal Socialism. While members of the Social Democratic Party are ideal Socialists, holding firmly to the proposition that all the means of production and distribution shall be restored to the people, and administered on a national scale of cooperation by organized society in the interest of the whole people, they endeavor to keep two feet planted firmly on the solid earth and be guided by facts and the logic of events. In presenting its program of practical demands, the party is acting in perfect good faith, and whenever and wherever candidates are nominated to represent the party, they will stand as representatives of the policy of the party and favor all the "first steps" included in its platform. If our friend will carefully examine the platform, he cannot fail to be convinced that the party is in favor of all the practical Socialism likely to be attained in at least three or four national campaigns.

The writer also wants to know whether the party will put up its own candidates. It most certainly will; has already done so in Indiana and New Hampshire, and is preparing to take the political arena in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Illinois and Missouri. We hope to have our friends' assistance in California, in order to bring that monopoly-owned state in line with others, where the Social Democratic Party will soon be a potent factor as the only broad and tolerant Socialist party in America, with practical steps to engage it at the near end and the Co-operative Commonwealth as its ultimate goal.

OUR BOASTED DEMOCRACY.

"The President and Secretary Alger," says a press dispatch, "have not overlooked the sacrifices made by the officers of Shafter's army, and have determined to do what they can to provide for their families. A few vacancies among the second lieutenants in the regular army exist and these will be filled by appointing the sons of the officers who lost their lives on the battlefield. The war department is now taking steps to ascertain the particulars regarding the families of these officers."

Such items as the above should make the people pause and reflect. It should show them that our boasted democracy is a cheat and a delusion. Now, why should the President single out these particular men for commiseration and tears? Surely the families of others who were killed in the war are just as deserving, probably more so, for the privates come principally from the poor and dispossessed class. Moreover, there was real patriotism, well meaning at least, on the part of the poor fellows willing to offer up their lives for what they considered duty to country, as mere units of the rank and file. It is hardly so with the officers, who have more or less prominence and glory out of the thing. Their portraits grace the magazines, and when one of

them falls his name goes over the land in the dispatches, and a nation mourns. The identity of the private is sunk in the mere announcement: Fifty men killed, or two hundred men killed. In all decency, therefore, should not the private receive more consideration than the betinsed leader? Yet, so crazy and topsy-turvy is our general feeling in such matters, that the friends of the obscure private who goes down to the bloody ground unwept and unsung, look to the actor of the high officials in directing their attention to the officers as a thing to be applauded. We feel that the officer is made of a little whiter meat than the men under him, and he gets our attention and our sympathy. The capitalistic atmosphere we breathe, heavy with its poisonous false morality, stunts and gnarls our humanity. And then, too, we have our feeling for leaders as a relic of the days of feudalism, when the common people bowed submission to the lords above them, and looked upon them as being superior to common mortals.

EARNINGS OF RAILROADS.

The capitalist press, always loyal to its masters, is accustomed to making the assertion whenever railroad interests are in need of defense, that greatly reduced rates, with no proportionate reduction in cost of service, have had the effect of "impairing values," "cutting off profits," or leaving the roads without an adequate return on investments. That the roads pay, however, and pay big, nobody really doubts, and Henry Clews & Co., the New York bankers, prove it beyond all question in their "Investment Guide." This little booklet says on its title page: "The time consumed in a thorough study of its contents will be amply repaid by the knowledge gained." We quite agree with the "authors." For example, it shows the gross earnings, operating expenses and net earnings of leading railroads to be as follows:

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$30,621,230.10
Operating expenses	22,867,188.81
Net receipts	7,754,041.29
Baltimore & Ohio Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$25,582,122.31
Operating expenses	20,012,093.81
Net receipts	5,570,028.50
Boston & Maine Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$10,550,687.37
Operating expenses	13,609,108.05
Net receipts	5,947,581.32
Canadian Pacific Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$24,049,534.65
Operating expenses	13,745,758.70
Net receipts	10,303,775.95
Chicago & Alton Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$6,673,606.29
Operating expenses	4,153,678.90
Net receipts	2,519,927.39
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$40,000,186.40
Operating expenses	25,041,914.65
Net receipts	15,024,251.75
Chicago, Mil. & St. Paul Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$30,486,767.99
Operating expenses	18,577,639.08
Net receipts	11,909,228.91
Chicago & Northwestern Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$30,977,243.48
Operating expenses	19,938,821.06
Net receipts	11,038,422.42
Great Northern Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$21,736,225.30
Operating expenses	12,622,418.48
Net receipts	9,113,806.82
Illinois Central Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$22,110,937.04
Operating expenses	15,735,684.39
Net receipts	6,375,252.65
Louisville & Nashville Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$20,372,307.65
Operating expenses	13,849,218.04
Net receipts	6,523,089.61
New York Central & Hudson Riv. Ry.—	
Gross earnings	\$44,280,139.92
Operating expenses	29,648,146.54
Net receipts	14,631,992.78

It is unnecessary to quote more from this valuable little work, since every chapter tells the same story. In nearly every case the taxes paid by the roads are included in "operating expenses." That item also covers every detail of expense, from the presidents' salaries to cotton waste.

Prof. Edward Carpenter, the English Socialist, says that this age might reasonably be called the disease producing age. Very Good. But it might also with propriety be called the immoral age. Not immoral in the restricted sense of being obscene, but in its broader application. We have immoral views of the relations of life, as, for instance, the recent recurring exhibitions of vainglorious savagery with regard to the war. In trade such a thing as healthy morality has disappeared. Honest goods scarcely exist at all, and in goods whose nature precludes adulteration, such as fruits, for instance, deception is practiced in stating their place of growth. So alarmingly has this practice grown that organized steps are being taken to meet it. The plan most in favor is a system of state trademarks, duly protected by law, which growers and manufacturers may use as against competing articles from other states. Such a trademark on a box of California fruit would be proof positive that it did not come from Missouri, or on a Wisconsin cheese that it was not a filled cheese from Elgin.

The New York Sun says most of the cable dispatches about the war are the forgeries of a gang of news counterfeiters located in the metropolis.

A SOCIALIST IN OFFICE.

That an alert and intelligent Socialist, once admitted to office and given an opportunity to serve the people, can make things a little interesting for the other fellows, is illustrated in the game fight that Comrade James F. Carey, a member of the Social Democratic Party and president of the Common Council of Haverhill, Mass., has carried on to preserve the eight-hour regulation for the street employes of Haverhill.

In the early part of the year Carey introduced an order for an eight-hour work day for city employes without a reduction in pay. After a fight he got it through. It went into effect. Every man that employed laborers found it operated against his interest, so a fight was started to repeal it and to return to the old time, nine hours. The alderman passed two orders repealing the law. When these orders went to Carey's branch, the Common Council, he fought them and they were killed there. At a special meeting with only a bare quorum present, all the ones that had previously helped him kill the repeal being absent, six in number, the repeal was again tried. Carey immediately moved to amend by inserting eight hours in the order, and made no talk as he wished to ascertain how the vote would stand for repeal. His amendment for eight hours was lost, 6 to 2. He then knew that if a vote was taken upon repeal that the eight hour law was dead, so he determined that no vote would be taken. He made motion to amend, points of order, question of privilege, etc., until the acting president and the members were all tangled up. He then told the members who voted with him to ask permission to retire so as to break the quorum. The acting president refused it; a member cannot leave the chamber without permission, and a rule prevented him from taking the chair while a matter that he had debated is still pending before the house. He then got him to ask for unanimous consent to introduce another matter which they were required to act upon; of course, entirely foreign to the eight-hour matter. They at first refused; Carey had the floor all this time, and only yielded to his colleague to renew his request for unanimous consent. After he had kept the floor about two hours, they in the meantime trying to end his remarks, about 12 m. he informed them that he was good for all night easy, they gave unanimous consent to the presentation of the order urged by his colleague. When it was before the house Carey then had a right to take the chair. He took it; settled the order, a trifling matter, and then gave his colleague permission to retire. He flew and the quorum was broken, the meeting adjourned for lack of such. The Council looked dazed, and Carey gave them the laugh and wended his weary way homeward with the eight-hour law still in force, despite their majority of 6 to 2.

PATRIOTIC CORPORATIONS.

Postmaster General Bissell's report for 1894, p. 53, and Wilson's for 1895, p. 31, show that the average price for carrying the mail was 8 cents per pound, and this for an average distance of 448 miles. The Texas and Southern Pacific Railroad carries caps, boots, cassimeres and hardware for eight-tenths of a cent per pound from New Orleans to San Francisco, 2,500 miles, or five times the average haul of the mail for which 8 cents a pound is paid; that is, the government pays fifty times as much. On an investigation before the Interstate Commerce Commission, George R. Blanchard testified that the express companies carried milk to New York, a distance of 396 miles, at a charge of one-sixth of a cent per pound, returning the cans free, and that the distance could be increased to 1,000 miles and there would still be a profit at one-sixth of a cent; while the government pays for the transportation of the mails over the same lines 8 cents for an average of 448 miles, besides paying for the annual rental of the cars largely more than 200 per cent. on their cost. Joseph A. Choate, who appeared for the railroads in the same investigation, testified that at the rate of one-third of a cent per pound on 40-quart cans there would be a profit of 200 to 300 per cent.

The amount paid the railroads for the rental of the postal cars is \$3,600,000 annually, a sum more than enough to build outright double the number of postal cars the government has in use. There are 500 postal cars in use, costing \$3,500 to \$4,000 each. These the government could build for less than \$2,000,000, and their average life being twenty years, it follows that at the present rental of \$3,600,000 the government is paying \$72,000,000 for the property it could acquire for \$2,000,000. On the Pennsylvania railroad the government pays annually \$7,327 per car for the rent of 80 cars, which could each be bought outright for less than half the money. Thus over 200 per cent. is paid by the government as rental of postal cars that it should own.

Besides the annual \$3,600,000 for rental of postal cars, the sum appropriated to railroads for hauling the mails is \$29,000,000, an amount fully \$15,000,000 in excess of a fair and moderate charge.

WITH THE CHAFF BLOWN OUT.

Mr. Yerkes, the manipulator of city councils and street railways, has persuaded Mr. Joe Leiter, the fallen gambler, that he can retrieve his fortunes by a brilliant coup in merging the street railway systems of Chicago into one company. It is said that Leiter will have \$3,000,000 to manipulate the scheme.

At Cleveland, Ohio, August 1, 1,300 wireworkers employed in mills connected with the American Steel and Wire Company went on a strike against the last of a series of reductions which have put wages 50 per cent. below the scale prior to the formation of the trust.

The promotion of independence and a higher civilization for the Cubans by the enlightened American government is to be undertaken with an army of 100,000 men. An armed camp under control of Americans in place of an armed camp controlled by Spaniards!

A workingman's child was killed by a street car in Jersey City, N. J. Parents sued for damages and were awarded \$5,000. Corporation went into the Court of Appeals and had the sum cut down to \$1,000, but plaintiff was given the option of demanding another trial in the lower court. Again the case was tried, and again a verdict for \$5,000 was given by a jury. Thereupon the corporation went into the Supreme Court, and Judge Gummere, of that court, ruled: "The law is plain and every sentimental verdict of this nature will be set aside by me if I am presiding in the case. It is my right to bring in a verdict for nominal damages, such as six cents or a dollar. That I would allow to stand, as the railroad company, for instance, that might have caused the death, could better stand the costs, probably, than the plaintiff." The wise judge also said: "Children are an expense, as a rule, and not a pecuniary benefit to their parents. Yet it is generally accepted that the larger a man's family is the more likely is he to die rich." It was necessary to leave the "chaff" in this item.

A remarkable new invention is reported from Vienna. By utilizing photography for weaving purposes a man is now able to accomplish in 15 minutes what it would take a designer months or years to complete, according to the size of the design. It will mean the displacement of thousands of handworkers, their place being taken by the photo-electric apparatus. In three minutes the purchaser of a silk handkerchief will be photographed by an apparatus in the loom itself, the design photo will be prepared by the same machine, and then it will make a silk handkerchief with the purchaser's likeness woven into it.

Louis Adler, the first voluntary bankrupt in Chicago to file a petition under the new law, says his liabilities are over \$36,000, and his assets a gold watch worth \$25.

A new electrical riveting machine to be used in the erection of large buildings, etc., and that can insert 1,200 rivets in ten hours; a needle-making machine that revolutionizes the industry by destroying hand production and turning out 260 needles per minute; and a new stereotyping process that operates automatically and displaces many skilled workers, are new labor-saving devices announced as entering the market.

Revised figures of the recent election in Germany, which it is said the official tabulation will not materially change, are as follows, showing a comparison with the vote of 1893:

Table with 3 columns: Parties, 1893, 1898. Rows include Social Democrats, Clericals (Centre), National Liberals, Conservatives, People's Party, Government Party, Anti-Semites, Independents, Poles, S. German People's, Bavarians, Agrarians.

In a circular just issued by the Consumers' League of Massachusetts attention is called to a meeting held in New York City, at which plans were made for a national federation of leagues. Representatives were present from the six existing leagues—that is, of New York, Brooklyn, Syracuse, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Massachusetts. The object of the federation was stated to be the support of a consumer's label, which shall guarantee that the articles to which it is attached have been made under proper factory conditions. The league in Massachusetts, which held its first meeting last February, has now a membership numbering considerably over one thousand.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

The office of the National Secretary has been changed from 519 E. Sixty-sixth street to room 56, 126 Washington street, Chicago. Correspondents will please be guided accordingly and send all communications intended for the secretary or the Herald to the new address.

It Must Include All.

The Social Democratic Party Must Have Within Its Ranks Members of Every Nationality—Broad and Tolerant.

An American Socialist party must, as a matter of course, stand for the transformation of the United States of America into a National Coöperative Commonwealth.

To be properly American this party must embrace all the elements that go to make up the America of to-day, and possess those qualities which are recognized as distinctively ours.

America is nothing if not cosmopolitan. To be American a Socialist party must include people of almost every nationality under the sun. It must have Germans, French, Irish, Scotch, Italian, Swedes, English, Jews, Russians and Negroes, and even Canadians, as well as descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers and Daughters of the Revolution. The blood of all of these is mingled on American battlefields. Their labor power of brain and hand has produced American wealth. Together they have labored to build up and maintain our boasted American institutions. They all alike are robbed of the fruits of their labor by the American capitalist system, and starve and suffer and struggle under it. And they all alike must be included in the American Coöperative Commonwealth! With "Workingmen of the world unite!" for our motto, shall we, the Socialists of this one country under the sun where the workmen of the world are already united in one nation, seek to divide them and to call this or that one a "foreigner" who must be excluded from our movement? Because of having within her borders these various nationalities, America has, perhaps, a bigger task than any other country. It is comparatively easy to unite Englishmen in England, Italians in Italy, and Germans in Germany; but to unite all three, and a dozen other nationalities in America would be beyond the power of anything except the economic and moral forces that are hurrying us along to socialism. Our foundations must be laid broader and deeper than those in any other country, but the superstructure can be raised correspondingly higher and grander. These foundations can and ought to be laid in a broad and tolerant international spirit: What does our grand red flag stand for if it be not for the common brotherhood of every man that is born upon the earth, for our common humanity without distinction of race, or creed, or sex? Let us hear no more of American Socialists if by that term you mean only descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers. Rather let it be the glory of our new Socialist party that it is truly American in that it holds within its ranks members of every nationality that goes to make up the American nation, and is animated by that spirit and those qualities which all of these combine to make characteristic of America.

To be American a Socialist party must have a plan of action that embraces every state in the Union. The convention, and the developments since that time, have demonstrated that we already have fourteen states well under way. In seven of these, viz., Wisconsin, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, New York, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the movement is strong, well organized and able to take care of itself. In the other seven we have a good nucleus from which to work. To get a foothold in the other thirty-one states of the Union will give our organizers plenty of work for a while.

Then, to be American a Socialist movement must also be businesslike. It must know what it wants and how to get about getting it. Socialists do not want much, you know; only the earth (for the people thereof); and the S. D. P. only wants that part of it known as the United States of America; and as a means of getting it it wants the political power. It wants to put Socialists into every law-making body in the United States, and a Socialist in the presidential chair. There is a task for you, comrades, that is worth while undertaking! Surely in the face of it there is no room and no time for jealousies, self-seeking or pettiness of any kind whatsoever.

And in the meantime, long before we can have the perfect National Coöperative Commonwealth, we want, for our immediate relief, to shorten the hours of labor, start public works for the employment of the unemployed, old age pensions, national insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment, equal civil and political rights for women, and a lot of other good things which you can find out by reading our platform. Another point, to be businesslike, and therefore American, we must get to work right among the wage-workers, and not think to convert them by standing off in a corner and calling them names, or passing resolutions waiting upon them to enlist under the banner of any party. They will not come to us, we must go to them. I am tired of hearing people say, "How shall we reach the working people to teach them Socialism?" There will be no trouble about reaching them if you are beside them and in the midst of them in their struggles against their

oppressors, where you ought to be. . . And lastly, and above all, to be distinctively American a Socialist movement must "get a move on." If the Social Democratic Party doesn't poll more than 30,000 votes inside of one year from date, why, it had better go out of the business and let some one try it that knows how, that's all!

MARGARET HAILE.
Boston, Mass.

ORGANIZED LABOR.

The attitude of the Social Democratic party toward organized labor and trades unionism is defined in the following resolutions, adopted June 11, 1898. These resolutions represent the unanimous sentiment of the party:

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial conditions in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible.

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle causing dissensions and disruptions.

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

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

CAUSE OF DEBS' ILLNESS.

On the 18th of this month, one year ago, Eugene V. Debs received a sunstroke that has impaired his health, and, no doubt, shortened his life. It was in the midst of the great miners' strike in the coal fields of West Virginia. Early on that morning Debs and the writer started to cover the Monongahela district of West Virginia, and, if possible, to suspend operations in all the mines of that region until the miners could receive justice and a living pay. We commenced talking to miners' meetings at about 8 o'clock in the morning. At noon we divided, one taking up the valley and the other down. At 2:30 in the afternoon Debs, tired and worn out, for he had already made four speeches, reached Montana, a small mining camp in the lower end of the district. A meeting had been arranged in a small grove, but the coal police had taken charge of it and had thrown their dead lines across the highway, and no one was allowed to enter the grove or trespass on the company's property. When Debs arrived he found the miners all in the middle of the road, but fearless Debs was not to be daunted by a few Pinkerton hirelings of the coal operators. He bared his head and stood there in the middle of the road, exposed to the hot July sun for over two hours, addressing the miners upon the necessity of organization, and bidding them to stand together in behalf of their honest rights. But it was too much for human endurance. Debs reached his buggy, reeling under a sunstroke. From the effects of that he has never recovered, although he would not give up, and the next night found him addressing a miners' meeting at Wheeling. From that moment he had to put on glasses, and he has never been the Debs he once was since that memorable afternoon. Yet there are those in the ranks of organized labor, and even in the ranks of the Miners' Union, who will question and criticize this great man who sacrificed a portion of his life in their behalf.—Motorman and Conductor, July, 1898.

TRADES UNIONISM AND THE S. D. P.

[F. G. R. Gordon in the Brauer-Zeitung.]

The trade union is the oldest form of labor organization. The trade unions of England to-day are only the advanced and improved form of the old crafts and guilds. From the first the intelligent workers have been compelled to defend themselves, and only for these guilds and unions the working class would to-day be in a most hopeless and a far worse condition than they are.

Through the development of the capitalist system of industry came the development of the unions into national organizations or federated unions. But as the system developed the strike and boycott became less and less a power until to-day the trust is all-powerful. As the guilds advanced to the union, so will the union advance to a political union.

This will not and cannot be accomplished in a day. If the S. L. P. had had the good sense to follow the example of the Social Democracy of Europe, they would have already gained the sympathy of the trade unions of America. But the S. L. P. have adopted an abusive and destructive policy toward the trade unions.

They first made the attempt to control the K. of L., and the A. F. of L., and failing, they turned about and fought both organizations, calling every labor leader "fakir-fakir-fakir!"

That there are labor fakirs in both the K. of L. and the A. F. of L. no one doubts. That there are, likewise, labor fakirs in the S. L. P., I do not doubt.

What position shall the Social Democratic Party have toward the trade union? Simply brotherhood. The S. D. P. being a Socialist party and knowing that a majority of the "labor fakirs" are honest men who have been called "fakirs" only because they failed to join the S. L. P., and knowing that the trade union is an honest effort of the membership for better conditions, knowing that the trade union fight is a class struggle for better conditions, knowing that the trade unions are progressing toward political action, the Social Democratic Party will help to fight their battle, and its members are pledged to be stalwart combatants in the unions of their trades. If the S. D. P. does this, and it will, it will not be long before the trade union movement of America will be a powerful help to the Social Democratic Party.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

The whole aim and purpose of Socialism is a closer union of Social factors. The present need is growth in that direction.—Richard P. Ely.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—William Morris.

Let no man fear the name of "Socialist." The movement of the working class for justice by any other name would be as terrible.—Father William Barry.

The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of coöperative action.—Imperial Dictionary.

A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.—Webster's Dictionary.

The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry.—Worcester's Dictionary.

A theory or polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, "To everyone according to his deeds."—Standard Dictionary.

Any theory of system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

The London Correspondent New York Medical Record, says: Bryant & May were fined for not reporting cases of "phossy jaw" recurring in their factory. The medical adviser of the company has naturally been the subject of comments as to his conduct in the matter. The law has been vindicated so far as the fines go, and the inspectors seem to have been awakened up by the prosecution. Two cases have been before the magistrates at Gloucester this week.

This week over 12,000 operatives were thrown out of work at Fall River, Mass., by the closing down of mills.

ORGANIZATION.

Instructions for organizing local branches will be sent by the National Secretary.

Copies of the constitutions now before the members for discussion and amendment, printed in pamphlet form, sent for 3 cents each.

Members of the old branches on joining the Social Democratic Party have only current dues to pay, and not the admission fee.

THEODORE DEBS,

National Secretary,

Room 56, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.]

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, secretary, 614 Chestnut street.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Mondays at 8 o'clock sharp at 614 State street. Frederic Heath, secretary, John Doerfler, treasurer.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 13th and Wroning streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 3338 Iowa avenue.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Frank Whitney, Roanoke building, secretary.

ST. LOUIS, ATTENTION.

Branch 1 of the Social Democratic Party will meet at its headquarters, No. 1223 North Broadway, Friday, August 5, at 8 p. m. Comrade G. A. Hoehn will deliver an interesting lecture on the subject: "Socialism and the Woman Question." No comrade and sympathizer with our cause should fail to attend. Bring your friends along. Ladies are especially invited. Free discussion after the lecture; also initiation of new members.

SECRETARY.

ACTIVITY AT BOSTON.

The Boston city committee of the S. D. P. met July 27 and organized with delegates from five branches in and around Boston. The suspended work was taken up just where it had been dropped about a month before. Meetings on the Common will be resumed next Sunday, and the work of organizing our city will be taken up with renewed vigor and hopefulness.

This is substantially the same committee that in December last started the work in Massachusetts which grew to such fair proportions in six months. Throughout the state we already have ten branches in line, and—well, I don't believe in whistling till I am out of the woods, but, comrades, you can watch out for good news from Massachusetts before long!

MARGARET HAILE.

Sec. C. C. of S. D. P.

Boston, Mass.

AMONG THE BRANCHES.

A new branch of the Social Democratic Party has been organized at Kansas City, Mo. G. J. Storz, 1330 W. Ninth street, is secretary.

Branches No. 9 and 16 of New York City have joined the S. D. P. by vote of the members.

Branch No. 1 of Massachusetts after full deliberation has decided to join us.

Branch No. 16 of Massachusetts, Haverhill, reports in favor of the S. D. P. and is organized for an active part in the next campaign.

Branch 11, Malden, Mass., was organized under our banner July 31. It starts with a good membership.

A German branch, No. 4, Roxbury, Mass., starts out with a fine membership.

The State Convention of the S. D. P. in Wisconsin will be held at Milwaukee, September 2.

THE PLATFORM.

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

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially due share of their product.

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

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the 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 wing, and that both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

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

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

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

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

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

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

9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and pensions in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

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

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States of the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

Who Makes the Law?

THE SUPREME COURT OF ILLINOIS TAKES ITS OPINIONS FROM A CHICAGO CORPORATION—CITATIONS PROVE IT.

That the courts of this country construe the law to favor organized capital has been asserted by Socialists, because they realize that the judicial and political systems of the present time are the outgrowth of capitalism and favor the system of which they are an inseparable part.

The street railroad company then appealed to the Supreme Court, which affirmed the Superior Court's decision, and the Appellate Court's decision against the street railroad company.

Appellant (railroad company) filed a petition for rehearing, in which, for the first time he (railroad attorney) discussed appellee's citations, and the writer of * * * opinion (of the court) took appellant's (railroad company's) version of those cases, without going through the books himself, and copied it into his opinion, typographical errors and all; this is clearly shown by the following comparison between the majority opinion and the rehearing petition, p. 19.

There are over twenty cases cited, but space confines us to a few:
The Majority Opinion of This Court.
Diney (Dinney) v. Foy, 38 Barber, 18, was an action against a sheriff for neglecting to arrest a debtor upon an execution against his person, and this cause of action was held assignable.

The Railroad Co.'s Petition for Rehearing.
Diney v. Foy, 38 Barber, 18, * * * was an action against a sheriff for neglecting to arrest a debtor upon an execution against his person, and it was held that there was a wrong to the property rights or interest of the judgment creditor, which would survive to his executors and administrators, and was, therefore, assignable.

Robinson vs. Weeks, 6 How. Prac., 161, was an action for taking and converting personal property brought by assignee, and it was held that the assignment was good.

Moore vs. Massine, 32 Cal., 590, was a case where it was held that a claim for damages caused by a trespass on land is assignable.

National Exchange Bank vs. McLoon, 73 Mo., 498, * * * assignment by an heir of the owner of a ship destroyed by the Alabama, of his claim against the United States for such destruction. Held good.

Grant vs. Ellis, 26 Mich., 201, This case holds that an action in trover for converting timber is assignable.

Finn vs. Corbit, 36 Mich., 318, This case holds that a right of action for trespass to property is assignable.

The fact that the opinion of the court is so identical with the railroad company's brief, considering the many citations of Ackley's attorneys, must convince any reasonable man that the opinion of the Supreme Court of Illinois was virtually written by the North Chicago Street Railroad Company's attorney, and as a proposition of law this opinion stands alone.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

ROSA PROLETAIRE.

[Continued from first page.]

the International Workingmen's Association, and all societies and individuals belonging to it, recognize truth, right and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another and their fellowmen, without respect to color, creed or nationality.

No Socialist movement can, or will, ever succeed that is not based on truth, right and morality.

I want you to understand, brother John, that these lines are not written for the purpose of fighting the S. L. P., but solely and expressly to point out the difference in the tactics of the two Socialist parties of this country.

The members of the S. D. P. of A. must not lose one minute's time, but begin an energetic propaganda, especially among those thousands of proletarians already organized on trade union lines. The Socialist movement of America has undergone a serious, but unavoidable, crisis during the last few years; the movement has broken the shell that prevented its further growth; the disturbances in the Socialist ranks that may appear to the superficial observer as a sign of weakness and disorganization, indicate in reality a healthy development of the movement, a general desire and endeavor to put the movement on a sound, solid basis, to call a halt to wrong methods of propaganda, to avoid a repetition of serious mistakes, etc. All this talk about the inharmonious among the Socialists is out of place. The time will come when the Socialists of this country will be united in one organization, but that time will never come if we are afraid of placing our present party organizations on solid ground, or if we are too timid to clear the field of the ill weed so that the tender plants of Socialism may take root, grow, bloom and bring forth delicious fruit.

THE RISE OF HUMANITY.

Lecturer Lewis J. Duncan, of the Milwaukee Ethical Society, gives the following picture of the gradual and inevitable rise of humanity out of the lower forms of creation, showing in masterly way the tendencies and inspirations that have done their part to lead the way for the Socialistic impulse. He says:

"Peace and good will, righteousness and love, that is the supreme principle that creates and governs the universe, and which is steadily lifting humanity away from the brute and unto the fullness and stature of the perfect man. But war is the vehicle by which, at the present, that task is being accomplished. Peace through strife—that is the paradox of history.

"Unmitigated and bitter has been the struggle that, from the first appearance of animal life on the earth, has been waged for the satisfaction of hunger and for self preservation. These two laws of animal nature brought on the struggle for existence; a cruel, and deadly struggle antedating man millions of years, and still waging on every side of us. Biology has given us a partial history of this struggle; the whole of it may never be known. Under this unceasing and constant necessity for self defense and nourishment the animal was driven to thinking out, as best it could, how to secure its food with least danger to itself, and how to escape and repel the assaults of its enemies. . . . In such a struggle it was inevitable that the species that acquired the best intellectual equipment in a given environment would obtain the best food and the greatest security. Time forbids that I should enter into the details of this fascinating history of the origin and development of the species.

"Along a pathway of blood we can follow the history of the rise of the human mind from brute desire to high human virtue, from instinct to philosophy to the yearning for peace, from the fierce hunter to the industrious, wisdom seeking, home loving, noble,

phy, from greed to self denial, from craft to honesty, from the thirst for warm hearted and free manhood and womanhood we know to-day. And the end is not yet.

"The millennium is not yet within human vision. Man, the fighter, is still fighting; only the base of his warfare is changed from the political to the industrial fields. Nevertheless it is the same old warfare, operating by the same stern laws, and serving the same end of developing intelligence and putting strength into human virtue. This is the reason why modern industry seems so much like military warfare. All the charges that moralists hurled at war they are beginning to hurl at industry. In truth, modern industry is saturated with immorality. Men are actuated by immoral motives in the pursuit of wealth. They obtain it by immoral means, put it to immoral uses, and bring upon society the immoral results. Modern industry affords an outlet for the worst human passions. By it, the unscrupulous are elevated to where they can rob and oppress the more scrupulous and unfortunate, and so fill the earth with keenest suffering. Does military warfare involve widespread and terrible suffering? So do our strikes and lockouts of the industrial warfare. The laws of trade respect nothing; not even honor. Our great corporations are foes, full equipped for battle in devastating competition, conducted by strategic movements for the position of advantage in attack or defense, or locked in the shock of battle. Our industrial leaders are great and sagacious generals, holding their forces by martial discipline, and the laborers are common soldiers possessing only the restricted freedom and suffering the inconspicuous fate of common soldiers. Doubtless our business men would be glad if strict truthfulness, perfect justice, and sweet human sympathy could be the supreme law in trade; but it is a warfare where deception, selfishness and treachery is the law, and the man who would succeed must obey it or go down in the battle. Said a man in trade one time, 'Truthfulness is all right in the abstract, and always admirable, but if a man is going to succeed in the woolen business he has got to romance a little.' I doubt not the same is true in other trades."

"Yes, the moralists are right in charging industry, as they did war, with crime. War gives its prisoners in loathsome prisons to famish, and sends its survivors home shattered for life. Industry gives men, women and children in unwholesome tenements and factories to famish in body and soul. War took men from their homes and held them in military servitude. Industry takes both men and women, holds them slavishly to money-getting, and compels them to fight its battles in reeking sweat shops and foul basements and garrets. War deadened the humane sentiments and hardened human hearts. Industry does the same. And society is loaded down with woes and heartaches that are unheeded and unredressed, and lives that are wallowing in the slough of unfathomable humiliation and pain.

"On many a battlefield and in many a cemetery, we annually strew flowers upon the graves of gallant fighters who won for us a free and united nation, but whose only epitaph is 'Unknown.' How many are the heroic unknowns, who, laboring to produce for us the wealth which makes our commercial supremacy, have fallen in the stress of the industrial warfare to rest in pauper graves, unwept, unhonored and unsung? The reason of all this is plain. Ethics are low because the intellect of society is not yet lifted to a plane where it is capable of carrying on a nobly ethical industry; and as at present constituted, it needs just the fierce and devastating warfare to broaden the intelligence, and to deepen and sweeten human character. So stupid, so brutish, so ignorant are we that we will learn no other way.

"We hear much complaint of competition. It is the outcry of the moralists over again. And they are right as before. But granting all they allege against it, competition has a beneficent work to perform, and will continue until the last vestige of the brutality and ignorance which makes it inevitable is driven out of human nature.

"Industrial warfare is throwing, and for half a century has been throwing, out upon men some hot and bitter problems, which call for vigorous thinking and more vigorous feeling. Deplete their selfish interests, men are compelled to think upon the other side, and to feel with those who suffer most keenly. Thereby the universal intelligence and the universal heart is being broadened, enlightened, uplifted and made more sensitive. Already the results appear around us. There is a widespread and growing interest in scientific sociological study. Experiments of various sorts are being made, and schemes are proposed for the mitigation of those things which cause us pain, and threaten the stability of our social institutions.

"It is this warfare of factory and exchange that is bringing a light to human understanding which it could get in no other way than by the goading of its vigorous severities; and in that light begin to develop the noblest human virtues. The noble destiny of man begins to be realized as never before. Not all the measures of relief proposed are practicable—some have been tried and have failed because the times were not ripe for them. But the purpose back of them fails not, nor is it wearied."

SOCIALIST PLATFORM FOR FARMERS.

[Continued from first page.]

come right home to them by smaller consumption, advances in freight rates and higher prices for manufactured goods.

And no wonder the farmer hates railroads and the "money power." The railroads have been squeezing him fearfully and with capitalism he got acquainted mainly in the shape of a "money lender." The eastern mortgagee is his "bugaboo."

It is furthermore no wonder that he has been the easy prey of every quack who ranted against the "money power" and the "railroads," and who promised relief by getting more money "into circulation," greenbacks or silver "freely coined." The farmer's greatest trouble has been his lack of ready money with which he buys "civilization" nowadays.

Queer enough the same kind of a relief "by unlimited coinage" is hoped and asked for by the aristocratic holders of large estates in Germany—the princes, counts, and nobles—who in that way hope to pay off their debts with "cheap money" and keep up their privileged station. Only there, face to face with the Social Democratic Party, the cheap money advocates have not the presumption to claim that it would in any way benefit the laboring man or the small farmer.

But one thing that is understood by our farmer is that he must keep his farm in order to be a farmer. And they all told him—capitalists and reformers alike—that the Socialists want to take his farm away from him and make it "common property," i. e., provided they did not tell him that the Socialists simply mean to "divvy" up.

Our Social Democratic Party has a clearer insight in things economic than any other party, and it ought to spread that knowledge. Our party ought to have originality of method enough to be able to do so.

What we need is a platform which is Socialist and which also enables the farmer to stand on it. A program for the farmers which, while it points in the direction of collectivism, also lifts the farmer out of his present mire.

The farmer understands by instinct that to preserve his system of production it is an absolute necessity for him to own his implements.

Now if we can make it clear to him—and I believe we can—that it is not Socialism, but that it is the development of capitalist production that is taking the implements from the middle classes; furthermore, that Socialism will not take their instruments of production away so long as in their particular branch production is individual—we will be the natural ally of the farmer.

And as I have pointed out in an article in the Social Democrat before, we do not want the small farms nor the small industries of any description in order to introduce Socialism.

I will again quote Kautsky. Kautsky says in his famous treatise on the platform of the Social Democrats of Germany—"the Erfurter Programm" (Erfurt platform):

"It is the large production (Grossbetrieb) which makes the Socialist system necessary. Socialist production requires social ownership of the means of production. In small industries the same reason that private ownership in the implements by the individual is repugnant to social production by the many as now carried on in large production, so likewise would Social or common ownership in the instruments of labor be repugnant to production on an individual scale (Kleinbetrieb)."

"Individual production requires private ownership of the means of production. The expropriation of such producers would be the more senseless, since it is the aim of Socialism to place in the hands of workers the necessary means of production. In small industries and farms the expropriation of the means of production would mean that we should take it from the present owners and forthwith give it back to them, which would be nonsense."

"The transition does not, therefore, require the expropriation of the small tradesman and farmer. The transition would not only take nothing from them, but would give them positive advantages."

This is the stand the platform of the Socialists of Germany takes upon this question.

But the platforms of the Socialists of other countries go even farther than that. In France, there are several Socialist parties. The agricultural platform of the Socialist Labor Party of France (Marxists) even extends so far as "to positively guarantee to the farmers the individual possession of their lands under Socialism" (Congress of Marseilles 1892, and Nantes, 1894).

Such a "guarantee" is carrying goodwill too far. For as all Socialist writers agree the course of economic evolution will not be stopped by Socialism. As in the present society, so under the Socialist system, large production will develop still more, and constantly absorb such small industries as have not been absorbed during the transition and make them collective property.

But as far as our time is concerned we must explain to the people that as a matter of fact the real expropriators of the small producers and farmers are the capitalists. Socialist society will make an end to this expropriation.

It ought to be easy to show the farmers the tremendous advantages of the collective ownership in all such branches of industry, where competition has virtually ceased, and where by private ownership a comparatively few men have to say how much we have to pay for our coal, our sugar, our flour, our meat, our clothing, our iron, our railroad fare, etc.

where actually a few men have to say how well or how badly we live—in other words, how long or how short a time we are permitted to live.

It ought to be an easy matter to show the farmer the advantages of Socialism, even in the transition period with its sure and ready markets, its great, steady and regulated consumption and its pouring out of all the blessings of culture and high civilization even to the remotest farm districts by improving and infinitely multiplying the present means of production, transportation, communication and education.

In short, it is plain enough to see that the farmers and wage-workers in the cities—the producers of the nation—those who work with their hands and brain have the same interest not only in "the end," they have virtually the same interest now.

What the farmers need in that connection is proper information about the inner working and the inevitable outcome of the present system and the class struggle in a broad sense.

In view of the great strikes which have taken place in Russia, the government promulgated a law for the regulation of labor. One of the improvements stipulated that all workmen who were employed, eight out of every twenty-four hours (either day or night work) must be allowed at least three holidays per month of twenty-four hours' duration each. These reforms upon second thoughts, seem to be revolutionary, so that the Minister of Agriculture and State Domains has issued an "explanation" to the effect that their law is not obligatory for those mines and metal works which are under his jurisdiction. The Minister of Finance has also gone back to the particulars of the time regulation also.

The London County Council is about to follow the provinces and take over the whole system of the London Tramways Company.

The sale of over 2,000 pieces of real estate in Cook county, on which the owners are delinquent in tax payments began August 1.

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