

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.

TRADES UNION MOVEMENT

"HISTORICALLY NECESSARY."

BY JOSEPH BARONDESS.

The Social Democratic Party has put itself squarely on record as being in favor of trades unions, considering them "historically necessary."

It has pledged itself to support the movement of organized labor even where the unions do not officially declare for Socialism, and also advised its members and sympathizers all through the land to join the ranks of the existing bona fide trades unions, and desist, by all means, from separate and distinct activity on the plea of "scientific, class-conscious new-trades unionism," viz.: "pure and simple" trades unionism.

This, in my judgment, was a proper move in the right direction.

It defines the policy of International Socialism toward the movement of the toilers; it reasserts the true mission of Socialism, namely: to ameliorate the condition of the workingman for the present and bring about the final abolition of the wage system, mustering the armies of the proletariat and preparing them for the final struggle by means of education and sympathetic persuasion, always bearing in mind that the slow progress made in this direction is not the fault of the workingmen, but of the conditions and environment under which they have lived and still continue to live.

Our class-conscious, scientific friends of the S. L. P., have, since our last convention at Chicago, thought that they have taken the wind out of our sails.

They ask: "Since you have declared against the colonization utopia and placed yourselves squarely upon the platform of International Socialism, why not join the 'only original, class-conscious S. L. P.' instead of organizing a brand new third party for yourselves?"

I, of course, understand when they ask why those who belong and sympathize with the S. D. P. do not join the S. L. P., that I, and other "labor fakirs" like me, are not included in the proposition. And right here, someone who is beyond the grasp of Mr. Leon's censorial powers, might ask the question, what they propose to do with all those who disagree with them as to their tactics, and whom they are pleased to call "labor fakirs," after the social revolution? But this hardly requires an answer, since, judging from past experiences, we know what they would do. They would, of course, do nothing wrong; they would simply expel us.

I propose, however, to answer the question as one of those who prefer the S. D. P. to the S. L. P.

There are many reasons, too numerous to mention here. It will suffice to refer to a few of them briefly. First, we object to have a padlock placed on our lips by a so-called Socialist organization and be prevented from expressing our opinions as to the policy of the organization and its officials, under threats of banishment and excommunication.

Second, because we do not believe it to be the business of a Socialist labor party to denounce every honest and useful man in the labor movement because he happens to disagree with its policies.

Fourth, because we do not believe in a system of espionage and prying into the private lives of Socialists for the purpose of inventing Quixotic stories whereby their reputations may be smirched.

For proof of this, I remind you of the famous communication of the "Engineer and Surveyor" in "The People," which stated upon positive authority that our comrade, Eugene V. Debs, was about to sell the cause of Socialism for the consideration of many thousands of dollars, and also to the statement of the editor of "The People" that comrade Debs travels around the country on free passes, procured by him from those very railroad companies who put him in jail, and who, if allowed to have their way, would forbid him to walk barefooted on their roads.

And fifth (and this is the chief reason), because the S. L. P. has betrayed the cause of International Socialism, by inaugurating their gorilla fight against the trade unions and calling into a miserable existence that miscarriage, the so-called "Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance."

When Liebknecht was in this country on an agitation tour, he addressed a meeting at Cooper Union Hall in

this city. In that address he advised the Socialists to join the existing unions and preach the gospel of Socialism, and spread its principles among the workmen by means of sympathetic agitation and instruction, and refrain from isolating themselves into a separate small scientific sect, which will be looked upon by the workers as antagonistic to their welfare.

Every Socialist approved and applauded that wise counsel and was publicly pledged to it.

But has that pledge been kept by the S. L. P.? Look at the ruins of those trades unions upon which the disciples of the Jesuitic "triangle" have forced their ruinous tactics; look at the hatred and distrust prevailing among those which have still managed to exist in spite of the destructive work done by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and see what an awful indictment these devastations in the labor movement bear against the S. L. P.

I hear them boasting and bragging over the influence and power they have to crush every labor union they come in contact with. But there is no reason to be proud of that satanic power. It requires hard work and self-sacrifice on the part of many hundreds and thousands of men to build up a union, while it only requires a comparatively small number of destructionists to do the deadly work.

Let me not be misunderstood: I do not mean to accuse these destructionists of the labor movement as being in the pay of capitalism and acting as its agent; but this I do wish to say, that neither Martin's posse of Latimer sheriffs, nor the curs of Pinkerton, could render any better service to the cause of capitalism than that done by the "scientific" ones in the name of principle.

At the International Congress of Socialist workers and trades unionists, held in London July 27 and August 1, 1896, the following delegates representing the various branches of the S. L. P. were present: Arthur Keep, Matthew Maguire and Lucien Sanial. These delegates unanimously endorsed and voted for the sentiments and resolutions which I will here quote from page 7 of its official report:

Paul Singer (M. P. and Berlin Municipal Council), said, in response to the president's opening address, among other things: "The German Social Democrats are a political and trade union party. But they see in the using of political power the best means for bringing about the emancipation of the workers. They are here to work with the comrades of all countries in the common cause. Everywhere today the conditions of the people are practically identical, and therefore all here are using more and more the same weapons. We believe trade union organization to be as important as any; but it must have behind it a great political party opposed to all bourgeois parties alike.

"There is a triple alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy; there is a double alliance of France and Russia. The workers know of one single alliance—that of the workers of the world."

What a glorious pronouncement of the truth! And it was made by the great representative of German Social Democracy, whose policy the S. L. P. of this country is supposed to follow.

"One single alliance of the workers of the world." Here it is the double alliance of the S. L. P. and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, viz., the great majority of the workers of this country, whom they are pleased to call "pure and simple."

Again, page 46, from the "Economic and Industrial Commission report:"

"The trade union struggle of the workers is indispensable to resist the economic tyranny of capital, and thereby better the actual condition of the toilers. Without trades unions no living wage and no shortening of hours of labor can be expected."

Here in America it depends upon what sort of trades unions are engaged in the struggle. If it is the "cigar makers' local alliance," struggling to take the jobs of the members of the International Cigar Makers Union, while the latter are engaged in a strike against an attempted reduction of wages by the notorious slave drivers of the firm of Seidenberg & Co. of

(Concluded on page 4.)

GODDESS OF LIBERTY, ANSWER

Goddess of Liberty, listen!
Listen, say and look
To the sounds and sighs of sorrow
This side of Sandy Hook!
Your eye is searching the distance,
You are holding your torch too high
To see the slaves who are fettered
Though close at your feet they lie.
And the cry of the suffering stranger
Has reached your ear and your breast,
But you do not heed the wail
That comes from the haunts of your own oppressed.

Goddess of Liberty, follow,
Follow me where I lead;
Come down into the sweat-shop
And look on the work of greed!
Look on the faces of children,
Old before they were born!
Look on the haggard women,
Of all sex-graces shorn!
Look on the men—God help us!
If this is what it means
To be men in the Land of Freedom
And live like mere machines!

Goddess of Liberty, answer!
How can the slaves of Spain
Find freedom under your banner,
While your own still wear the chain?
Lo! in the screech of your eagle
And boastful the voice of your drums,
But they do not silence the wail of despair
That rises out of your slums.
What will you do with your conquests,
And how shall your hosts be fed,
While your streets are filled with desperate
throes
Crying for work or bread?
ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

MUSINGS.

The worst about the manifold sufferings of the million-headed giant commonly called American workingman is that he really deserves no better fate.

I once met a miser who loved so dearly his best suit of clothes that he always wore a lot of patched-up rags rather than put on and use up his valuable and highly-prized garments. I invariably think of that man when I see how the American treats his highly-prized political liberty.

According as they are employed or unemployed, the toilers are working men or workingmen. In either case the work is always in their mind while their manhood hardly ever asserts itself.

It is terrible enough to suffer in life, but incomparably worse to live in suffering. The former is at times the lot of the well-to-do, the latter that of the disinherited poor.

Freedom without equality is health without food.

Someone wanted me to tell him how it happens that those who are opulent enough to be noble are yet so very mean. By way of answer I told him the following old oriental fable of THE HOG AND THE DOG:
"Pray, tell me, piggy dear," said the Dog, "how is it that thou who art so very fat art yet such a hog?"
"Well," quoth the other, "I could never have got so fat had I not been a pig."

If you have exhausted in vain all your efforts by way of gaining a hearing for your noble cause, try love.

To teach Socialism, appeal to reason by all means. Do, however, bear in mind that the most efficient advocate in the court presided over by Judge Reason is the Human Heart.

"They tell you Socialism is not a home-made but an imported article. So is 'Hamlet' and the very language of America. They tell me I am not a born citizen of this 'Republic.' No more was George Washington. They claim that the S. D. P. is so very young and insignificant. True, but how did they themselves look when they first saw the light of day?"

The forest is full of mighty beasts of prey, and we who are in it keep up a constant struggle to remain alive. All the time, however, we work for a safe home and healthy conditions when we shall be out of the woods. Ponder over it a little, and you will see the relations existing between Trade Unionism and Socialism.

M. WINCHEVSKY.

It is openly charged by a staff correspondent of the Chicago Daily News at Washington, that Secretary of War Alger is at the head of a syndicate of Michigan boomers who are going into Cuba to gobble up all the special privileges they find lying around, and that Alger has used his official position and opportunities to secure a lead on the balance of the commercial pirates already on the island or headed for it. It's a long descent from a "war for humanity" to a scramble for the monopoly of franchises in Cuba, and American capitalists are capable of the most shameless excesses in this colony business.

WHY THE PARTY MUST HAVE A SOCIALIST PLATFORM FOR FARMERS.

BY VICTOR L. BERGER.

II.

Facts are stubborn things and, therefore, you must figure with them. For a long time it was a dogma in Socialist circles that machinery is playing the same part in the field of agriculture as in the field of manufacture, and that capitalism is fast dispossessing the small and middle farmers, and that the bonanza farmer—the agriculturist on a large scale—is taking their place. But this theory has not been borne out by experience.

While the census of the last 20 years shows that in the field of manufacturing the small artisan and independent tradesman have mostly disappeared or are disappearing rapidly, the number of farms has during that period increased greatly, as stated in my former article. There were 2,660,000 farms in the United States in 1870, and 4,565,000 farms in 1890—an increase of 71 per cent. Nor has the average size changed very much in that time. The average size was about 131 acres in 1870—and 138 acres in 1890. But this small growth in the average size is not the result of the existence of the so-called bonanza farms, which are so few and far between that they do not cut any figure at all. Nor is it due to the putting together of farms. It is the result of the homestead law, which made the average of most of the new farms 160 acres, and thus increased the former general average a little.

The prevailing small proprietorship in the field of agriculture is also illustrated most strikingly by the average value of the farms in the different states as shown by the census. (Special Report No. 98.)

The average value of a farm in Mississippi is only \$1,138. In Arkansas it is \$1,382.

Alabama's average farm is worth \$1,332, and Maine's is \$1,449.

Georgia's average farm is rated at \$1,627, while Tennessee's is \$1,663.

The average value of a farm in South Dakota is \$1,846, while in South Carolina it is \$1,851.

New Hampshire figures in the list with an average of \$1,940.

The average in Texas is \$2,158, and in Vermont it is \$2,405.

Virginia's average farm is valued at \$2,747. Michigan figures in the census list with an average of \$2,768 per farm. Wisconsin's average farm is worth \$3,065, Connecticut's \$3,115.

The average price for the farms of Kansas is \$3,129, in Massachusetts \$3,158, in Indiana \$3,200, and in Nebraska \$3,396.

Ohio is quoted with an average of \$3,829, Florida with \$3,921, and Iowa with \$3,960.

The farms of New York are worth an average of \$4,010, the farms of Pennsylvania \$4,222, those of Colorado \$4,379, and of Washington \$4,632.

The average for a farm in Illinois is \$4,862 and in New Jersey \$4,891.

The average value of a farm in Nevada is \$11,188 and in California \$11,235—owing to artificial irrigation and to uses as fruit and vine land.

The higher average value in Illinois and New Jersey is due to the neighborhood of large cities.

The average size of a farm in the United States is 138 acres.

So we see the small (or rather middle) proprietorship prevails in every state. There are some so-called bonanza farms in the Joaquin and Sacramento valleys, and also a few in North Dakota, but they are few and of no account when compared with the number and total acreage of the small farms. The smaller averages in some of the Southern States is caused by the "patches" of the negroes.

Nor is another populist "axiom" true, i. e., that the small farmer is eaten up by the mortgages and dispossessed by the "eastern shark" and "money lender," and that in this way the concentration of land will soon take place.

Those "eastern money lenders" have so far dispossessed very few American farmers. For, to begin with, a farm is an elephant on their hands as a rule—bringing little or nothing when rented. Furthermore, when a farm is taken possession of by such a "shark" that does not mean concentration and production on a large scale. It only means production by a tenant and on the same small scale as before. In other words, the effect of capitalism is not the same as in manufacturing. In manufacturing capitalism concentrates and changes the method of production entirely by using grand ma-

chinery, by a complete division of labor and by driving out the small producers. In agriculture the same method of production remains even when the farmer loses his farm and becomes a tenant.

This circumstance is of the greatest importance to Socialists.

A dispossessed farmer makes one more tenant, but the mode of production remains the same.

But even this populist contention that the farmers are fast becoming tenants is not borne out by the facts. According to the census of 1890—and that is the only thing we can go by (see Extra Census Bulletin of Jan. 3, 1895), there are 13,690,152 families in the United States, of which nearly 5,000,000 are farmers.

In regard to the families occupying farms the conclusion is that 34.08 per cent. hire and 65.90 per cent. own the farms cultivated by them.

Of the owning farmers 28.22 per cent. own their farms subject to incumbrances, and 71.78 per cent. own free of incumbrances.

Among every 100 farm families, then, on the average 34 hire their farms, 19 own them with incumbrances and 47 without incumbrances.

Upon examining the result for farm proprietors we find that this percentage would be even higher if it were not for the negro population down South. For it is found that if we take the white farmers alone 71.65 per cent. are owners, such is the case with only 20.78 per cent. of the negro farmers.

The same census states that while 28.22 per cent. of the owning farmers are subject to incumbrances; over half of these indebted farmers (i. e., 66.05 per cent.) have incumbrances of less than \$1,000—which incumbrances, by the way, would make very little difference to the cause of Socialism anyhow, as long as the method of production does not change.

The average earning of a farmer is \$540 a year. This is very little, considering that on the average there are 5.7 heads to a family on a farm, which would make about 25 cents a day per capita. But to this we have to figure that the farmers get their housing and most of their victuals as eggs, milk, green stuffs, etc.

But, little as this may be, it has kept the farmers as a class in existence.

The reason for the entirely different effect of capitalism in the field of agriculture than in the field of manufacture is before all things that the machine, the revolutionizer of the modern world, could not play the same part in agriculture as in manufacturing, not having the same advantages.

The main advantage of the great capitalist over the artisan or the small manufacturer is that the capitalist can invest his capital profitably by working his great and costly machines all the year round, even nights if necessary, and thereby being able to produce cheaper than the small fellow. The capitalist loses this advantage in the field of agriculture, where the machine can be worked only a few weeks in the year and then must necessarily stand idle the rest of the time.

The capital invested in the machines, therefore, also remains idle nine or ten months of the year. The loss of profit, i. e., interest on the capital invested there is proportionately greater as the machines are costlier.

For this reason the introduction of machinery in agriculture has so far had only the effect of strengthening the middle-sized farm. The owner of such a farm just buys machinery enough to enable him to take care of a larger area himself and to dispense with the hired help. While it is true that on the few bonanza farms existing they have introduced machinery of the largest scale, and have employed a large number of men during harvest time, who were discharged after the labor was done, the experience was not such as to warrant imitation by other capitalists. The reason is plain. The costly machines could be employed only during short seasons. The great saving which is the main advantage of production on a large scale is lost thereby. The Sherley estate in Pennsylvania and other big estates prefer, therefore, to rent their land in parcels of about 160 acres each and let the tenants buy their own machinery.

Another reason for the lack of concentration in the field of agriculture

(Concluded on page 4.)

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WHERE TRADES UNIONISTS WILL FIND THE S. D. P.

The trades 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 both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

—Social Democratic Party Platform.

Socialism means right-use-ness.

It will make sanity catching instead of suicide.

It will promote contentment instead of crime.

It will afford security to all instead of a surfeit for a few.

It will come with the economic evolution from capitalistic gluttony to universal co-operation and the right use of capital.

A republic under the sway of capitalists is worse than a monarchy under the sway of a king.

The capitalists' rights and liberties in Cuba are to be protected by an army of 100,000 men.

So far as progress and civilization are kept on the move, it is the workers of the world who furnish the motive power, and not financiers.

Expanded opportunities for capitalists abroad and contracted opportunities for humanity at home seems to be the American policy from now on.

The imperialism of capital favors the imperialism of an expanded territory. New territory furnishes new opportunities for plunderers.

A true Democracy must be based upon a recognition of the social and natural rights of all men, with equal opportunities for all to live and to grow.

The object of the trusts is to reduce price in behalf of the people! As an example: The Standard Oil Company has put up the price of oil to 97 cents a barrel—an advance of 32 cents in less than six months!

O, how tired the average business man is of competition! And when is the average business man going to learn that there is no other system but Socialism to succeed the economic waste and wreck we are now in?

The "practical" man thinks it is quite the proper thing for a city to have and control fire engines and operate a fire department.

The "visionary" Socialist thinks it quite as proper for a city to have and control the means for making fire engines and to build and operate its own factories.

The English nobility who, like the Earl De La Warr, with £200,000 added to his bank account, and others with large amounts, gave the use of their names to Hooley, the promoter, are now willing to disgorge to preserve

their "prestige." But if Hooley had not failed, they would have stayed with him so long as he paid them for their "prestige."

Prosperity was something Charles A. Gerald, owner of a small piano factory in Chicago, could not stand. He took an inventory of recent financial reverses and shot himself. Gerald was a man 60 years old, and highly esteemed.

Congressman Loud, the postal reformer, with a congressional committee is spending public money investigating evasions of the law regulating second-class matter. We have yet to learn that he proposes to investigate the methods in vogue among the railroads to rob the government.

To have good times you must have such industrial conditions as will enable the workers, while producing abundantly, to consume in proportion to their production. But private ownership of the means of production renders that impossible; good times there cannot be until these means are Socialized.

The Westinghouse Air Brake Company has declared cash and stock dividends amounting to 150 per cent. on its stock during the past twelve months. If this struggling company is to continue to contribute to the welfare of the people, it should immediately be given the protection of the government!

Two hundred printers, pressmen and feeders walked out of the W. B. Conkey printing plant at Hammond, Ind., last Monday because the company proposed to run the office as an "open shop" on the Indiana scale. This company received a free site and a bonus of \$75,000 from the city of Hammond to move out of Chicago.

The other day over 200 employees in the public works department of Chicago were laid off and nearly all the men in the bridge department put on half time. Cause: "Appropriations exhausted." And yet there is an abundance of public work that ought to be done and the insecure and out-of-repair bridges are a constant menace to life and impediment to traffic.

In the Church of the Strangers in New York City there is a bronze plate on the wall near the pulpit with this significant inscription:

Erected
To the Glory of God
and in Memory of
CORNELIUS VANDERBILT
By the
Church of the
Strangers.

The Socialists of Germany subscribed 400 marks toward the fund for the widow of the late Paul Grottkau. This proves the international character of our movement and at the same time disproves the vainglorious claim of the S. L. P. bosses that theirs is the only recognized Socialist party in this country. Mr. Grottkau devoted his entire life, both in Germany and in this country, to preaching scientific Socialism, yet refused to join the S. L. P. and was a member of the Social Democracy.

The vulgar rich and the arrogant mob of plutocracy, with a majority of the capitalist hirelings who love the clank of their chains, deceive themselves with the notion that we shall have prosperity because we have hitched onto our commercial juggernaut a few thousand square miles of territory! But the relief the blind rich mob promises and the blind ignorant mob expects, will not come; the war will only deepen the grave into which the whole fabric of capitalism must eventually fall.

A good square meal of soup, meat and vegetables for four pence is what Sir Thomas Lipton proposes to give the poor of London. But what will Sir Thomas do for the poor of London, who, like the poor of Chicago and New York, haven't got four pence? That there is great distress in London is evidenced by the fact that Sir Thomas is preparing to feed 10,000 per day. If the scheme works he will put more money into it. But it will not work so long as the poor lack the four pence. Your charitable dribbles will solve nothing, Sir Thomas; the poor, Sir Thomas, stand wedged by the pressing of Time's hand against an inward-opening door! That door must swing outward before the poor are relieved.

One of the witnesses put upon the stand at Oshkosh in the preliminary trial of Thomas I. Kidd and others, charged with conspiracy to incite riot, was Henry Gould, secretary of the Gould Manufacturing Company of that city. On cross-examination Gould confessed to an attempt to induce Marshall Kimball, secretary of the Woodworkers' Council of Oshkosh, to furnish records that would tend to incriminate Kidd. Gould said on the stand:

"I had a conversation with Kimball in regard to the prosecution of Kidd. I asked Kimball to furnish me the records of some papers that would convict Kidd. He said he could not furnish anything. I offered him a permanent situation in Kansas and to pay his fare there. I don't remember whether I offered him a sum of money or not, or

whether I offered to pay his mother's fare to Kansas. I might have done so."

And the manufacturers of Oshkosh have the immaculate gall to prosecute the man who puts his life into the defense of people who live on rye bread and coffee, and does it with such things as Gould.

John Pettit, the trusted representative of the English queen in her New York real estate speculations, has disappeared, after practicing fraud in the transfer of valuable properties. Not even connection with one of the most "honorable" and "august" families in the world was a sufficient bond to save him from ways that are dark and tricks that are vain! Her imperial majesty, the Queen of England and Empress of India, should now commission Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, to manage her American business. It would be so jolly, you know, to have the prospective heir to the British crown running a skinning outfit in New York.

While Chauncey Depew gives it out that "we are going to have an army of 100,000 men," and the railroads are starting an agitation for "government protection," and Yerkes and Leiter are manipulating the street railway interests of Chicago for the purpose of securing an extension of franchise, and the capitalists of the country at large are getting ready to exploit the slave labor of Cuba and Porto Rico, every day brings fresh news of the wretchedness of the working people at home and their inability to gain a living. A few days ago, in Chicago, a poor fellow named Harold Humphrey, a machinist, driven to desperation at the sight of his wife and child slowly starving to death, because the present industrial system has no place for him to earn bread, stole \$1.85. At the police court Humphrey said:

"I did not care for myself; I could stand it. But when I thought of my poor wife and my infant child at home their suffering drove me wild. They had not tasted food for three days. I could not get work, so I decided to rob, steal, or do most anything to procure food for my wife and child."

But such incidents are common, everyday experiences all over the land. And that is why we must have a large standing army—to care for the Harold Humphreys.

PROF. HERRON'S PAPER.

The growth of the Socialist movement all over the world for the last ten years has shown that its religious aspect (in the non-sectarian, non-devotional sense) has come more and more to the front, just as the Christian Socialists themselves have grown nearer to scientific principles. To the agnostic Socialism serves as a religion, to the worshipful Socialism brings forth the true altruistic quality of the devotional religious. In England the stress of the times has forced the various churches into the movement in greater or lesser degree. In this country the same thing is surely developing. Indeed, one is amazed when one thinks of it that the religious teachers of the country should not long ago have been in the forefront of the advancing column. While it is a mistake to call Jesus of Nazareth a Socialist, he represented the true Socialistic nature, a nature that could not possibly avoid being a Socialist if plunged amid the conditions that exist in the economic and social world to-day.

The article in another column by Prof. George D. Herron is the substance of an address which he delivered recently before the students of the Agricultural College of Kansas. Every line breathes the true Socialistic spirit. Professor Herron is set down as a Christian Socialist, and the more sectarian of the scientific school of Socialists have in the past regarded Christian Socialism as a sort of hybrid affair and have scarcely resisted a desire to treat such Socialists with contempt. Fortunately Socialism is broadening and we feel that we but state a truth when we say that Social Democrats would be pleased indeed were there a thousand Professor Herrons to proclaim true humanity throughout the land. For there is, after all, only one Socialism, however various it may manifest itself in its unclarified state.

MARION CRAWFORD'S SOCIALISTIC VIEW.

F. Marion Crawford, the well-known author, was interviewed in Cleveland recently. Asked what in the affairs of men was of most interest to him, he said: "The Social movement, of course. We must all be Socialists, in a sense. It seems to me to be coming inevitably in Europe, and something will happen in this country. Hundreds of men are working on inventions to reduce the need of labor, and every labor-saving invention deprives some men of work. What will be the outcome? I cannot tell. I believe there will be a revolution in Europe, probably with bloodshed. Something must break forth there. It will not come to-morrow, or next day, but I expect to live to see it. In America I believe the change will come peacefully, perhaps by legislative process."

Mr. Crawford took pains to add that he did not know how far he was a Socialist himself, but indicated that he leaned in that direction. This seems to give point to a remark credited to Grant Allen to the effect that

the leading authors of America were practically all Socialists. As a sign of the times, at least, this is encouraging.

THE STRUGGLING RAILROADS

The Railway Review has the following on the "helplessness" of the railroads:

The point has been reached in the operation of our railroads where, if they are to continue, to contribute in the highest degree to the welfare of the people, they must have the protection of the government. Humiliating as it may be, it is nevertheless a fact that they are powerless to protect themselves, even against themselves, to say nothing of foreign lines.

No one will dispute the proposition that the railroads, which, as was shown in a recent issue of The Herald, are making profits by the millions on watered stock, are entitled to the protection of the government!

They should be protected by the government because they are "powerless to protect themselves," as has been shown in their dealings with the state legislatures!

They are entitled to protection because of their ability to ruin individuals and communities and dictate legislation in their own interest.

They are entitled to protection because of their humane treatment of employes and their generosity to the wives and children of their maimed and murdered victims!

They should be protected for all time to come because of the patriotic part they took in the late war!

They should be protected because they are the cause of the large deficit in the postal department, through exorbitant charges for mail cars and rates for carrying mail matter!

By all means, give the struggling railroads more government protection! All the poor, helpless corporations in this country must be encouraged to "contribute to the welfare of the people!"

WAR AND ITS MANAGERS.

When the sick soldiers from Santiago arrived at Montauk, Long Island, they were left without food and compelled to sleep on the ground. This was probably because Secretary Alger was too busy with plans for the campaign of the commercialists to be inaugurated in Cuba.

Forty-five men in camp at San Francisco refused to drill on the scant fare furnished them. They were hungry and weak, but the honorable and humane officer in charge ordered them all arrested and marched them up and down the camp for three hours.

A regiment of soldiers marching from Manassas to Thoroughfare Gap, came across the grave of Gen. J. T. Duke, a noted Confederate officer who was killed at the second battle of Bull Run. They promptly disinterred the coffin, and a surgeon, taking the skull, extracted from it the gold-filled teeth. These were distributed among the miscreants as mementos of the Spanish war, but the supply giving out and there still being a demand for relics, the skull was broken to bits and passed around. An attempt was made to keep the affair secret, but it soon leaked out, and General Shafter, hearing of it, ordered the coffin reburied. That the "coffin" was reburied will doubtless be comforting news to the friends and relatives of General Duke.

A surgeon at Ferdinand, Fla., said that while visiting division hospital he saw typhoid vomit on the floor beside a patient's bed that had remained there five hours. In a nearby cot lay a malarial case ready to absorb the poisonous germs. Many other tales equally as hard are told by reliable surgeons.

Some time ago Attorney Ackerson of Niagara Falls wrote a letter to Secretary of War Alger calling his attention to the shameful way in which two regiments of General Sheafe's brigade were abused on a needless forced march on a boiling hot June day, merely to win a champagne bet made by the officer in charge of them. The troops were marched fifteen miles in four hours and a half, through stifling heat and dust, with but two stops of six minutes each. More than half the men were prostrated before they reached the camp, and at least one man died on the way. The Michigan lumberman, too busily occupied with plans to reap commercial advantages from the war for himself and his personal friends, has not done his duty by bringing the drunken officers to account, and the men are barred by military law from taking a hand in the exposure. How nice it is to be a volunteer soldier of a free republic.

In 1893 John Cudahy, lard and pork king of the Chicago Board of Trade, failed for \$1,514,000; he agreed with his creditors to pay 50 per cent. of his obligations in cash, and the balance in instalments within five years. The time expired last Wednesday, and on that day Mr. Cudahy signed a check for \$390,000, wiping out the last of his great debt. An example of what can be accomplished by industry and saving! There are in this country unlimited opportunities for those able to work hard and save!

Orders for bundles should be sent to us in advance; they will be filled at 50 cents per 100 copies. Our friends will materially help the circulation by sending out copies every week.

THE "INDIVIDUALISM" OF TO-DAY.

BY PROF. GEORGE D. HERRON.

The most fatal difficulty in the way of economic change and social hope is in the empty individual maxims which teachers of various sorts persist in offering as social remedies. "If men's hearts are only set right," says the religious teacher, "the system of things will be set right." "Any man can get on," says the authoritative commercial instructor of both priest and people, "if he is only honest and industrious." Yet all classes alike are more or less shamefully conscious of the sneaking piety and wanton commercial hypocrisy of these individualistic observations. To begin with, the present economic system denies any adequate moral responsibility to the vast majority of human beings; and there is no individual responsibility where there is no ability to respond. We destroy the ability of the people to respond morally, and then hold them morally responsible. We deny the people moral rights, and then demand of them that they be morally right. We build civilization on the backs of the people, and then piously enjoin them to get up. We fasten yokes and fetters on the people, and then blame them for not "getting on."

Nearly all the evils which we are in the habit of attributing to bad hearts are in reality the moral fruits of our economic struggles and inequalities. It is a Biblical ethical exactness and social insight which leads Mr. W. D. Howells to conceive of economic inequality as the sum of "almost all the sins and shames that ever were." "In the body of this death," he confesses, "they fester and corrupt forever. As long as we have inequality we shall have these sins and shames, which spring from it, and which live on from inferior to superior." "The study of the causes of poverty," says Professor Marshall, "is the study of the causes of the degradation of a large part of mankind." Notwithstanding that many of the poor lead less incomplete lives than many who have wealth, "for all that," he declares, "their poverty is a great and almost unmixed evil to them." "What are the results of your observations and investigations?" I asked of an ardent rescue-worker, who had spent five years in dealing with what we are pleased to call "fallen girls," and who began his work without the slightest hint of the existence of an economic problem. "Do you see that great department store?" he asked in reply. "The system there embodied is the cause. In that department store, three thousand girls are employed at an average weekly wage of three and one-half dollars. Upon that wage they are expected to live, and appear neatly dressed in their places of work. At best their life is one of hopeless, rayless poverty. The evil we seek to remedy comes almost as a matter of course. This store is but an instance of a whole system of things that drags down thousands where individual effort can lift up one. There is no remedy but a changed economic system." The experience and testimony of a rescue-worker applies to the whole range of moral evils which we point out as causes, when they are in reality effects. Perhaps half a million people will sit down in the saloons of Chicago to-night; not to get drunk or even to drink, for vast numbers of them do not drink at all, but because the saloon is the only social shrine, the only municipal drawing-room, in which the greater number of citizens can get together as human beings and "shake their hearts out" to each other, as the Germans say. In this sense, the saloon fulfills a public and profoundly religious function, which the church and municipal system have alike failed to offer, it is the only social refuge which gives warmth and color, relief and fellowship, to millions of toilers. The drunkenness and crime which follow are the direct fruits of the social system. In her last years, Miss Willard declared poverty to be the cause of drunkenness rather than drunkenness the cause of poverty. We privileged classes are wickedly insensible to the fact that, to the majority of human beings in what we call Christendom, the sensations of drink and sexuality are the only experiences which make life interesting; the only things that give anticipation and romance to life; the only sacraments of human fellowship, save the common misery and poverty.

A newer and truer evangelistic effort will throw its energy and ardor into the system of things which destroys human lives by the thousands where the old evangelism can save one. An evangelism that has a genuine interest in really saving individual souls, instead of a subtle and self-deceiving interest in its own success as to numbers, will lay the ax at the root of the tree of economic evil, upon which all manner of moral evils grow as natural fruits. It is because evangelists and philanthropists have refused to face the economic sources of moral evil, to confess the economic supports of moral superiority, that their honesty is rightly questioned and their appeals either unheard or heard only with contempt.

If members who change their address will promptly notify this office, they will receive The Herald and be saved the time and expense of writing to know why they don't get the paper.

WITH THE CHAFF BLOWN OUT.

New York's great public library is to cost \$2,500,000.

A social democratic party has just been organized in Russia.

Twenty Socialists were elected to the municipal council of Zurich.

August Bebel was converted to Socialism by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

The Berlin Vorwärts says Socialism has made its entrance into Russia for good.

Forty-five per cent. of the shoes imported into British colonies are said to be of American manufacture.

Massachusetts in 1847 granted to Boston the right to establish the first large municipal free library.

The first free library in the world, supported by municipal taxation, was established at Peterboro, N. H., in 1833.

During 1897 the Danish Socialists added 109 municipal councilmen to the 94 they had at the beginning of the year.

M. Lantulus, the deputy from the Guadeloupe Island to the French Parliament, is a negro. He is also a Socialist.

At one time Lasalle and Bismarck were on friendly terms; the Socialist agitator once claimed to have converted the latter.

The postoffice department has 195,000 employees. This is more than any other nation on earth has on its pay roll for this purpose.

Michigan labor statistics show that the average wages paid in the state are as follows: Men, \$1.62 per day; women, 73 cents; children, 34 cents.

In 1891 there were only 2,739,743 tons of coal mined by machinery in the mines of America; in 1896 the amount had increased to over 12,000,000 tons.

Tom Mann began his work in the labor movement as a single taxer, but soon became a Socialist and in 1885 joined the Social Democratic Federation.

J. L. Joynes, writer of the "Catechism of Socialism," which has been extensively circulated in the United States, was formerly one of the masters in Eron College.

The total number of women over eighteen years old employed in the factories and workshops of the British islands is about 500,000, of whom 11 per cent. belong to trade unions.

One small little two-hour practice off Santiago, says an exchange, cost the workers of America \$750,000. That meant 750,000 bushels of wheat shot away, or 15,000,000 loaves of bread fired from the cannon.

In South New Jersey nearly all of the factories have company stores and most of the business goes to them. The other merchants and the workmen are making an effort to wipe the stores out of existence.

The trades of the German Socialist members of Parliament are as follows: Thirty-four members are artisans, five merchants, seven authors or editors, four lawyers, two schoolmasters, one analytical chemist, one a pharmaceutical chemist, one lieutenant; Von Volmar and Von Elmars, the two aristocrats in the party.

Filippo Turati, the Socialist member of the Italian Parliament from Milan, has been sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment for alleged participation in the recent bread riots. On the other hand DeFelicie is returned triumphantly at the head of the polls by Socialist workmen at a bye-election, defeating the government's candidate.

Professor Hertzky, of Vienna, has recently proved that in thirty-six days all the work necessary to support the Austrian nation could be performed, and in thirteen days all the usual luxuries of life could be produced. If the labor was spread over the whole year, no man would need to work longer than one and a half hours a day. Heigho for Socialism!

The Russian imperial family is the richest of all royal houses, and probably among commoners also. Apart from his salary as a ruler, which amounts to two and a half millions yearly, the Czar owns 21,000,000 acres of land in different parts of Russia. These yield more than \$2,000,000 per annum; \$500,000 of this is paid in allowances to 46 grand dukes and duchesses, and the remainder is at the disposal of the Czar.

A recent publication of the Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics gives the following table of average weekly wages for that state in recent years:

	1872.	1881.	1890.
Blacksmiths	\$16.44	\$16.38	\$16.00
Boots and shoes	12.71	11.06	11.93
Building trades	15.66	11.09	15.80
Cabinet making	14.21	11.51	13.91
Carpenters	4.98	5.94	8.21
Carriages	17.31	13.43	13.51
Clothing	9.71	10.90	9.07
Machinery	13.84	16.48	10.86
Metals and metallic goods	6.06	13.42	9.52

An automatic booking office has been started at most of the German railway

stations. The principle on which it is worked is much the same as the penny-in-the-slot system, only instead of the penny you put in the amount of the fare. There is a long row of these boxes, and over each is written in large letters the names of the stations, and underneath the amount of the fare from the station you are in. When you have put in the right amount the drawer below opens and your ticket comes out.

A military tribunal in Italy has sentenced the editors of three of the people's papers, one a Catholic publication, to penal servitude and imprisonment. Madam Kulicorf, a Socialist authoress, was given two years. Are we making the most of our right of free speech in this country? Some day it may be taken away.

It is stated that in view of the danger which the German government apprehends from the growth of Social Democracy, and the possibility that the agents of this party will continue active propaganda among government officials, it is intended to issue a strong rescript to the officials of all government departments, warning them to avoid all connection with the party or with Socialist newspapers, and threatening with instant dismissal from the service those officers who have identified themselves in any way with the party.

The Independent, New York, says the death-rate for children under two years of age in New York city was, in 1883, one hundred and seventy-three in the thousand. The work of Mr. Nathan Straus in selling sterilized milk warranted pure began to show itself in 1895, when the death-rate was brought down to one hundred and sixty; and in 1897 it was lowered to one hundred and thirty-seven. It is now proposed to locate stations at different points in the city where pure sterilized milk can be bought—milk which has been inspected and approved by the board of health.

It is about a year since Mr. D. Ogden Mills' fine hotel for working men of small means was opened in New York. The receipts and expenditures for a year, partly estimated, are as follows: Receipts: restaurant, \$26,000; room rents, \$109,200; rent from stores, \$3,120, making a total of \$138,320. Expenses: taxes on \$500,000 assessment, \$10,700; repairs, \$500; incidentals, \$500; gas and electric lighting, \$7,000; 150 employees, at an average of \$9 per week, \$72,000; water tax, \$1,500. Total, \$92,000, leaving a net profit of \$46,320 on an outlay of \$1,000,000—a four and one-half per cent investment.

Mrs. A. P. Stevens, at one time factory inspector in Illinois, said at the Denver convention of women's clubs:

"A tour through the factories of any state where good labor laws have not been passed will show the need of great study of the industrial problem. It would require hours to relate my experiences in the factories of Illinois. Their unsanitary condition was horrible in many instances before the inspector was appointed. To-day they have improved vastly. The union of the men in labor organizations brings much good legislation, and every citizen should support the organizations."

A Russian Social Democratic party has been organized in spite of the activity of the police. A manifesto has been printed by the secret press and a central committee formed. An official organ will be clandestinely published. Judging from the manifesto of the party the former "terrorizing" tactics will be discarded. This may and may not work. It seems to be the necessity to inaugurate revolutionary movements by inspiring fear, in despotic countries at least. The early Socialists had to preach class hatred before they could make their appeal on nobler and higher lines.

The Clarion mission van, which is doing great service among the English towns, recently halted in the vicinity of Holmesfield, in the Cordwall valley, where Edward Carpenter, the Socialist, lives. The members of the van party walked over to Carpenter's place and spent an hour or more as his guests. His cottage is a modest one, they report, and the garden well kept. They walked through the garden and afterward assembled on the shady banks of a brook and enjoyed a sort of general interview with the noted writer.

Dr. Richard M. Pankhurst, one of the most persistent workers for Socialism among the ranks of the English comrades, is dead. The reward for his devotion to humanity's cause was what many a Socialistic worker in this country has had to put up with—financial embarrassment and no help from society. In calling for a subscription for his family, the Clarion says:

"As the reward of a life's devotion to the common folk and their cause, and the consequent boycott of him, professionally, by the clients who pay, Dr. Pankhurst has died leaving (when the creditors are settled with) practically no means whatever. Even his most intimate friends have never known till now the pecuniary struggle he was making, especially during the last few years, to 'keep the flag flying,' as he phrased it, until his children were educated and grown old enough to fend for themselves; yet never a complaint was heard to pass his lips. And now he is suddenly cut off; his widow and four children are left to face the world."

PLATFORM OF THE S. D. P.

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 or 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.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

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 Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 3338 Iowa avenue.

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

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stengel's Hall, corner Monroe and Pearl streets, every Monday evening.

Colorado Branch No. 1, of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Marian Steele, Secretary.

The Executive Board at a recent meeting had under consideration the adoption of a party button, and decided to call on the comrades for suggestions and designs. A limited space will be devoted in The Herald to the ideas of members on suitable designs.

If every member of the party would make it his or her special individual duty to procure one new subscriber each week to The Herald, the paper in a few weeks would have a circulation larger than any Socialist publication in the country. It should not be a hard task for anyone to do this: One new subscriber every six days at 50 cents; or two at 25 cents. Let us make it an unwritten obligation to the party and The Herald to push our paper.

The branches can do nothing more effective for the success of the movement and the upbuilding of the Social Democratic Party than to report regularly each week what is going on. Space in The Herald will always be found for branch news. As the comrades at Denver are interested in the work of our Boston friends, so Boston would be glad to hear from Denver. This mutuality of interest should result in co-operation all round to make "Among the Branches" the reliable expression and proof of a living, active movement throughout the country. Let us hear more from the branches.

The method for removing members of the Executive Board, printed in last week's paper by mistake as "an amendment to the constitution," is the plan adopted by the Executive Board in accordance with provisions of the constitution for the removal of members of that body. The constitution says:

"Sec. 7. Any member of the board may be removed by a two-thirds vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies."

The article in last week's paper simply provides the manner in which a member of the board may be removed.

Mrs. Mary Jones and Mrs. Helen Ferry Smith have been appointed organizers for the party and will start out together in a few days from Omana, traveling by wagon to organize branches and canvass for THE HERALD.

It was perhaps too much to expect the comrades to exert themselves in the way of organization during the extremely hot weather which has been general since the 11th of June. Still the work has proceeded with marked and gratifying success, considering all the drawbacks and discouragements. Comrade Winchewsky of New York writes this week: "You will soon hear from us. We mean to give a good account of ourselves in a very short time. New York will come to the front again."

From St. Louis, where the comrades are very active and No. 3 is distinguishing itself as an aggressive organization, Comrade A. F. Hancusler writes: "I need THE HERALD as bad as my dinner."

Nathan Kemelhor sends in a list of subscribers from Chelsea, Mass., and says, "I love to read the Social Democratic Herald, and for that reason I ask my friends to subscribe."

Reports of new branches and reorganization for the week are as follows: Branch 9, Massachusetts, reorganized as a branch of the S. D. P.; also Branch 11 of the same state, making Massachusetts practically solid for the party.

Branch 2, Utah, at Salt Lake.

Branch 2 of Pennsylvania, at Erie.

Branch No. 19, the "Knee-Pants Makers' Local," of New York, has been reorganized and become a part of the Social Democratic Party.

Number 2 of Ohio is sending in subscriptions for THE HERALD.

The Wisconsin comrades are confident of a lively and more than usually interesting fall campaign.

Branch No. 1, Illinois, is growing steadily in membership.

Baltimore comrades report that they will put up a local S. D. P. ticket.

Comrade G. F. Mather of Seattle, Wash., has got down to the kind of work that counts, work that will in a short time, with a few men like him in every state, give The Herald a thumping big circulation. Comrade Mather sends us a list of 37 subscribers.

To secure one new yearly subscriber each week for THE HERALD would seem to be an easy task for every member of the party. It would require neither a great amount of time nor energy. It is possible for every comrade to do this every six days. THE HERALD is no man's paper; it belongs to the party; for that reason members of the party should work for it. Only six weeks old and we have a comrade working for it in Australia; don't miss your opportunity at home, but send in one new subscriber every week.

LET US HEAR FROM THE BRANCHES.

Comrades, can you guess what column I turn to first when I get my little Socialist Herald? Why, to the "Among the Branches" column, of course. I want to see what all the rest of you are doing; and I am disappointed when the column is short. It ought to be filled to overflowing every week. People can't be expected to do much in August, I know; but you are doing something. Let us all hear about it. I consider that the most important use of an official organ is to keep the members in touch, especially in a country of such vast distances as ours, and keep them informed as to what is going on in every part of the country. This column can be made a source of strength and courage to the membership. If all will send in little accounts of what they are doing and going to do.

In Boston we have our meetings on the Common every Sunday afternoon, from three to five. We have good audiences and sell from 50 to 100 Heralds.

One little plan of ours is perhaps worthy of adoption in other places. We have procured lists of subscribers in and around Boston, to various Socialist and reform papers and are following them up by sending literature, personally interviewing everyone of them we can reach, and trying to show them that our organization is the one for them to work in. We are meeting with good success, too.

Another thing we are doing. Desiring to show to the trades unions in Massachusetts that Socialists are not their natural enemies, as they have been led to believe by the "tactics" of the S. L. P., we have procured an extra supply of the Herald containing Rosa Proletaire's article on "The Social Democratic Party and the Trades Union Movement," and are distributing them freely among the unions. Our friend from Puckerbrush was right in saying that Rosa is a mighty level-headed old gal; and I only wish that article of hers could be in the hands of every union man in the United States. BOSTON.

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 cooperative 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.

PUCKERBRUSH ALLIANCE.

Puckerbrush, Ohio, Last Saturday. Mr. Debs and all the rest of you:— What we sed to preacher Gard made him rantankerous, and at our last meetin' he just more'n flamedooded patriotism, and about the poor cubyns he sed: "The United States cud not sit camly by and refuse to extend a helping hand to the priest-ridden and down-trodden people of tyrinized Cuby. Providence has surely been on our side or we wud never wun such a easy victory. I believe in the American school house, the flag above it and the bible within."

Then I got up and says, "If Providence aimed our canuons and other shutin' irons, who's doin' it to us with yeller fever at the present time bein'? But just to change the subject, I want to read about some of the reconcentrados, listen:

"They are the victims of the rankest kind of injustice, which is apparent when the cost of the structures they occupy is compared with the rents they are forced to pay. Company houses, as a rule, are poor and of cheap construction—good houses being the exception. In the ———— there are houses under the control of various companies which rent for \$6 per month and which consist of three small rooms. They are without cisterns or cellars and have no fences about them except as they have been provided by the tenants themselves. There is usually one well for every twelve or fifteen houses. These houses were erected a few years ago at a cost not to exceed two hundred dollars and are on the tax duplicate to-day at an assessed valuation of \$25. Two years' rent would to-day build a better house than any of them, and no doubt many of the workingmen would endeavor to secure houses for themselves were it possible to obtain the land to build on. This unfortunately cannot be done, as it is nearly all under the control of one company."

"Well," says preacher Gard, "don't you think the Cubyans is all rite for fitin' agin such robbery, and the U. S. is all rite for helpin' lick the robbers?" "Gess that's so," says I, "but I ain't readin' about Cubyans."

"Oh, then that's sum more of your kalamity howlin' out of what you call a reform book, is it?" says he. "Not muchee," says I, I ketchted you that time. Where I red it blank, it shad be Hocking Valley, and I red it from page 114 of the Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for Ohio, which I just had sent me from Columbus, and all of which is got up by good republkin officers. Now, listen while I read a little more from pages 115 and 116:

"Not many miles distant on the same line of railroad is another mining camp of seventy or eighty company houses which presents a scene of unparalleled wretchedness. About half of them are located in the valley with the mine sidetracks and coke ovens directly in front of them, while a steep hill ascends in the rear, on which the other half are built. They consist of two rooms each, although some of them have a small board shanty attached for kitchen purposes. All are placed upon a foundation of wooden posts, and but few are plastered, while fences are unknown. There are no garden spots and weeds are everywhere. Two wells supply drinking water for the camps, one on the hill and the other in the bottom."

Accordin' to modern theology this is the kind of a place to manufacture angels—fur the sweet bye and bye. Now, Mr. Gard, supposin' you fill up the school house with bibles, and hang flags all over the outside, what good'll that do these people? The fellers that is robbin' these people has mostly got front seats in church and pays the priests and preachers to tell the people to be law-abidin', and be satisfied with the station in life that God has placed them in. They saddle off all their dirty work onto God, cause he don't seem to be very close around. Just imagine one of those old miners up in paradise settin' on a big gold brick, thryin' to thump a harp with his fingers that is callused as a nigger's heel, and as stiff as Tom Crilly's old horse. I think if they have the referendum up there the miners wud all vote fur a little more pleasure here below. I tell you it is time to help the recontraados at home, and us Socialists is enlistin' fur the war, and we are goin' to have a revolution—not with bullets, but with ballots. We want a little more decent livin' on old terry firmy.

On page 113 of this book you can find out how much wages these people earned—from 67 to 80 cents per day counting the time actually worked, and you will also see how the machines is drivin' the men out of their jobs. Send a card to the Commissioner of Labor, Columbus, Ohio, and get a copy fur yourself. It's good republkin authority.

The president's hammer cum down, and we had to stop—fur the time bein', but we ain't done yet.

Yours to the end,
JONAS HARRISON.
P. S.—Nancy, that's my wife, has been ritin' to aunt Mag and tellin' her that the Social Democratic Party would likely eivalize sum of the S. L. P. fellers, and if it did nothing more, it wud be a good thing. Mag rote a letter back that made me smile. I smuck it out of the bureau, and here is the funny part:

"It may perhaps be possible, as you suggest, to eivalize the S. L. P. I dare-

say it would also be quite possible to domesticate that little black and white animal of our woods that so forcibly makes his presence smelt when it is out on an egg-hunting expedition to your barnyard—but somehow people do 'not think it worth while." Whew! I had a bully inf at Nancy, and she'll be mad when she sees this.

J. H.

SOCIALIST CHIPS.

You are not a Socialist when you are only affecting and aping to be one. Dissimulation and self-conceit will never conquer a world.

The competitive system is an endless breeder of parasites; and parasites breed corruption and rottenness, and where these are extant there is destruction and ruin.

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," the great watchwords of the French Revolution, a hundred years after, mean industrial equality. Give us industrial equality, and political, social and religious liberty will come along with it.

The millions whom concentrated and organized capitalism has made utter dependents, it is true, have votes; but, alas! how foolishly they sell their birthright for a miserable mess of pottage. They are no wiser than Esau was.

The American plutocracy is not godless and beset with sin, for they freely spendeth millions for charity and religion and education; but 'not a cent do they prescribe for the establishment of justice and equality among men. You see, their God believeth not in this latter dispensation.

If that much talked of territorial expansion is a go some of the blatant howlers in favor of it now may soon have occasion to wail at the metamorphosis it will entail in these United States, socially, politically and economically. And the workingman will be the first to squeal, for first he'll feel—"Javenus" in Coming Nation.

ANGLO-SAXON COWARDICE.

The man who speaks English never accepts anything until it is thrust upon him. Generally he does not accept it until it is forced upon him by revolution. Afterward he will say that he likes it very much and that he was always striving to get it. There is a strange admixture of cowardice and courage, of daring and conservatism, of reformatory tendency and stolid reactionism in the Anglo-Saxon constitution. If the race were practically as adventurous in the direction of ideal betterment as it is in the way of geographical adventure, seafaring, conquest, colonization, and government, then by the agency of this courageous but immobile division of mankind the world would long ere this have reached a millennium.

But the English-speaking people hold back from any rapid approach toward ideal conditions. The whole product, therefore, of the civilization which the Anglo-Saxon stock has produced is essentially like an old English cathedral, which, beginning in a shanty, has never demolished anything, but always added to it and covered it up; and to this day should anyone search in the heart or remote wing of the cathedral for the original hut, and should he propose to remove it with its rat-holes and bat-haunts, the whole race would be up in arms for fear the existing order might be disturbed, religion injured, and society be visited with the vengeance of heaven on the score of sacrilege!—John Clark Ridpath, in August Arena.

ITALY'S CRISIS.

That Italy is in danger of a revolution, says the Clarion, has been revealed by the recent riots. The dissatisfaction is not with the monarchy, but with the abuses which the constitutional regime allows to continue. The land is almost exclusively in the hands of wealthy owners, who lease their estates for 50 to 62½ per cent. of the gross production. The rental is not allowed to fall below a certain minimum, and if the tenant cannot pay up in one year his debt goes to the next. Hence he is always in debt.

The tenants are robbed right and left by the landlord's stewards; they have been promised for years the right to buy out the landlords, but the latter have been able to prevent the realization of this plan. Actually, the tenants are nothing better than slaves. Ruined fields, destroyed forests, unregulated rivers, and impoverished towns are the result. The cities are full of an army of useless officials, who exercise to the full extent their corrupt sway.

The soil of Italy is rich—it should bear thirtyfold—yet the harvests are only tenfold. But the people are tired of working for the "signor," who waste their money in Paris and Monte Carlo, or for the thievish officials. The people hoped for reform through the King, but they see that he is in league with the other plunderers, and their only hope now is in Socialism.

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TRADES UNION MOVEMENT.

(Continued from first page.)

New York, it is termed a "class conscious (?) struggle." If it happens to be a strike of the 1,400 members of the Brotherhood of Tailors of New York, for the abolition of the task system, then the high priests of the S. L. P. assert that it is not a "class conscious struggle" at all, but it is "nothing more than a noise made by a lot of geese."

Again, on page 47 of this report, the same committee introduced the following resolutions, which were passed unanimously, without one dissenting vote:

"Therefore, the congress declares the organization of the workers' trades unions to be an urgent matter in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, and in connection with similar resolutions passed at the Brussels and Zurich congresses, considers it to be the duty of all workers, who endeavor to liberate labor from the yoke of capitalism, to join the unions and their respective trades.

"In order to make the trade unions as effective as possible they are recommended to organize as national trade unions in their respective countries, thus avoiding waste of power by small independent local organizations. Especially difference of political views ought not to be considered a reason for separate action in the economic struggle; on the other hand, the nature of the class struggle makes it the duty of organizations to educate their fellow members up to the truths of Social Democracy."

And right after the congress adjourned, the delegates representing the S. L. P. returned into its folds, where they reported these proceedings, which in turn were unanimously and enthusiastically concurred in and accepted. The result, however, is this: That immediately thereafter rival unions were organized against the International Typographical Union, Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union of America, Garment Workers, Brewers, International Bakers' and Confectioners' Union Weavers, and the National Stone Cutters' Union.

Not long ago I came across a building in process of erection in New York, where the Building Trades Council ordered a strike against an attempted reduction of wages. To my astonishment I found there a lot of men, with red S. L. P. buttons blazing from the lapels of their coats, still continuing to work, as though nothing had happened. I asked them why they did not stop work while their fellow workers were on strike, and their answer was simply this, "We are Socialists and consequently belong to the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which does not recognize any strikes called by fakirs."

Then there comes the political campaign and the S. L. P. goes into politics and cries aloud, "Do not become scabs on election day while you are union men all the year round." To which the organized workmen of America respond, "We have no use for you, becoming union men on election day while you are scabbing all the year round."

When the miners were on strike, our comrade Eugene V. Debs devoted all his efforts and energies to help their cause, not attempting to stipulate any conditions that they must accept; the Socialistic catechism, cut and dry, or lose their strike, while Mr. De Leon sat comfortably in his chair at William street, republishing from the New York Sun accusations of bribery and misappropriation of funds against the national officers of the miners' union.

"But," our S. L. P. friends argue, "we are not opposing the poor workingman; we are simply opposing their false leaders and their fake unions." But this is just the "excellent programme" which plutocracy has adopted. Did not the railroad corporations follow the same tactics during the strike of 1894? Have they not "simply opposed the leaders and their fake unions?"

It must be borne in mind that the outcome of strikes affect the wives and children of strikers as well as themselves.

Now supposing you meet a child on a cold, stormy winter night, whose father was out on strike for several weeks, you see this poor child freezing to death, barefooted and hungry. If you are an ordinary mortal, not having a scientific class conscious diploma in your pocket, you are shocked at the sight of this horrible scene; you are moved to tears, and you would take the child home and comfort its parents. I should not be a bit surprised if you were to praise the heroism and unselfish devotion to the cause of this child's parents even more than you would that of Dewey. But if you happen to be a scientific class conscious member of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, you cannot afford to waste your sympathies in behalf of "pure and simple, who blindly follow their fake leaders."

Pursuing such wretched tactics any Socialist and Socialist movement should be despised by honest men. But right here appears upon the scene the Social Democratic Party of America, which is destined sooner or later to win the support and cooperation of the American workingmen, and thus march on, fulfilling the mission of a true International Socialist party, and the cause of Socialism in this country shall, and will, triumph in the end.

PLATFORM FOR FARMERS.

(Continued from first page.)

is that the more scientific and intense the culture of the land becomes, the smaller is the area we need in order to make a living. We all know that the gardeners succeed on very small patches. Prince Kropotkin stated that in the future three acres of land will be more than sufficient to feed a family in plenty. And even nowadays the average farmers by reading good agricultural papers and making use of the new achievements of organic chemistry, could even with very moderate means, by using phosphates, making manure themselves, etc., eke out a far better living than they do in reality—mainly on account of their lacking in general scientific education, which lack is certainly also a result of the capitalist system. But as it is, their chances in life are still far better than those of the workers in the city. Land still costs little or nothing, and the farmers still own their means of production.

It would be suicide to force collectivism upon the farmers as long as there are nearly 5,000,000 owners. In 1890 there were 8,300,000 labor units employed upon these farms—among them few hired laborers comparatively, the bulk being farmers and their sons. And to figure, therefore, upon a general uprising of these farm hands together with the city wage worker—as some orthodox Socialists figure—especially as long as these farm lands can with ease become farmers themselves by rent or purchase, there still being plenty of land to be had from \$2 an acre upward—such orthodox belief would mean to postpone the dawn of Socialism to doomsday.

And orthodox theory or not, the city proletariat cannot wait.

The case is entirely different in cities and towns, as we know.

There are 420 cities and towns that have a population of 8,000 to 200,000. And in these cities and towns 63.04 per cent. of the home families hire and only 35.96 per cent. own their homes.

The cities that have a population of 100,000 and over number 28 in our country.

In these cities 77.17 per cent. of the home families hire and 22.83 per cent. own their homes. The highest degree of city home tenancy is in New York and is represented by 93.67 per cent. In New York City and the nine counties in New York state and New Jersey that are neighboring to that city, 83.54 per cent. of the home families are tenants, the small farmers and gardeners making up for the more favorable average than the city of New York shows.

Sixty thousand persons possess all the property of New York City, of which about 20 persons possess about \$700,000,000 worth. 97 other persons possess \$200,000,000 worth of property. Some of these persons also possess railroad and mining stock and thus influence the destiny of the farmers.

And in regard to the centralization of the means of production and the tremendous expropriation of independent artisans, traders and shopkeepers that have taken place in manufacturing and trading during the last 20 years, be it sufficient to say that in 1870 there was not one single trust in existence in the United States. Today we have 200 trusts, and the aggregate capital invested by them is \$3,662,000,000. In Chicago the department stores have made such progress that there are about 4,000 stores in the outlying districts waiting for occupants. In our own city, Milwaukee, the recently published report of the Tax Commission shows that 200 merchants and independent shopkeepers of our city have been forced out of business during the past year, due to the sharpness of the competition with the large establishments.

In short, the smaller fortunes invested in manufacturing or commercial enterprises are attracted to the great capital as iron filings are to the magnet.

The great capitalist triumphs. The middle class man becomes a traveling agent, a saloonkeeper, a politician, a parasite of some kind, often a wage-worker, clerk, etc., and sometimes even a tramp.

And as for the position of the proletarians who could produce everything in plenty, but who cannot do so because they do not own the tools and the raw material, it is a hell without hope and without redemption. They live scantily from to-day to to-morrow, are badly fed, badly dressed and badly housed, and what is worse, every little incident may bring to them the dangerous casualty of being "out of work." And that casualty may after a little while make a good-for-nothing tramp of the best of them, make a prostitute of his wife or daughter and a young thief of his son.

The suffering of the children of the proletariat begins when they are infant babes; in fact, it begins before they are born. As a rule the children must go to work in the prisonlike factory while they are still very young. They must slave with their parents, brothers and sisters or starve with them. And by their very industry they also help to reduce the wages of their parents and thereby they still further reduce their standard of living.

In other words, the cruel Calvinist dogma of the predestination of people who are to be damned, has been actu-

ally realized by our modern wage-working class.

So it is clear enough workers in the shops and factories cannot wait until such concentration takes place in the field of agriculture as to make Socialism necessary there.

Collectivism has become possible and necessary in very many branches, especially in those that have reached the form of monopoly or trust, and have thereby proved that they have outgrown the competitive system.

Furthermore, collectivism is now possible and necessary in mining of every description, and in the ownership of the means of transportation and in the various public utilities. In all these branches collectivism could be introduced to-day. It would be possible. It would be a blessing not only for the millions of workers employed in these branches, but for the people in general and especially for the farmers.

We must explain this to the farmers and to the wage worker.

Besides, if we let the farmer question simply go by—and do nothing for the farmers—the sole effect of the further introduction of machinery on the farms will be that for a long time to come the farming population, instead of absorbing labor, will pour a constant stream of employment seekers into the urban districts.

In short, while in the field of industry the instruments of production have become centralized to such a degree that only in collective form can they be restored to the producers; this is by no means the case in the field of agriculture; here, the main instrument of production, to-wit—the soil—is generally the individual possession of the producer.

But the Social Democratic Party 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 have adopted the Farmer's Program for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city.

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