

Social Democratic Herald

VOL. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1898.

NO. 15

There is One System which is the Best; It is the System which should Exist for the Greatest Good of Humanity.

SOME THINGS WORTH REMEMBERING BY WORKINGMEN OF AMERICA.

Editorial Note and Comment.

While the idle steal and swagger, the industrious will sacrifice and starve.

The capitalist class can sing "My country 'tis of thee," with more fervor than people who have no country.

By casting a ballot without considering what its effect will be, no voter discharges his full duty to the state or society.

Trades unions must be with us and we with them, because through the trades union the people must organize industry on the collective basis.

The world is divided into two kinds of people, those who do something and those who sit on the fence and wonder why they don't do it some other way.

Every workingman, every citizen, when casting a ballot, should consider whether the decision he has arrived at is calculated to help bring better industrial conditions than those now prevailing.

The democratic barbecue for the peace festival has been knocked out and we are to have a banquet at \$15 a plate! That is sumptuous introduction to the free lunch struggle of the approaching winter.

When workers have nothing and idlers have all, Law is a farce and a lie; When stocks go higher and wages grow small, Freedom means freedom to die!

"Socialism is impracticable!" But the first ship driven by steam across the Atlantic carried an able essay proving that such a trip could not be made. The only practicable things are capitalism and starvation—while they last.

The needs of humanity can only be met by equitable distribution of the products of labor. Those who produce wealth have the power to establish equitable distribution. When they have acquired intelligence they will exercise the power.

The single idea of our "governors" now is that we must keep abreast with the military and naval powers of Europe. The conspiracy is of the captains of war with the captains of industry to increase the prodigious burdens of the people.

One can be perfectly honest in his aims and yet at the same time quite mistaken in his methods. An honest purpose, with an inadequate method of carrying it out, is the condition in which multitudes of reformers find themselves to-day.

As the replenishing of the earth comes only through the action of moisture, of air, of heat and of cold, so the replenishing of the private fortunes of the rich comes only through labor—the sacrifice and the suffering of the producers of wealth.

It is believed in Paris that the Dreyfus case has something to do with the strike of workmen on the exposition buildings. It is said that 60,000 men are idle and that the leaders aim at a general strike, with the object of causing an economic revolution.

The poor owe a great debt to the rich. They are indebted to the rich for monopolizing land and the bounty of nature by forms of law; they are indebted to the rich for using the means of production for profit, and thus restricting opportunities to gain a living by labor.

By continuing to vote for long-trying and non-progressive parties, the voters have about reached the culmination of political imbecility. Get into a progressive movement, such as the Social Democratic Party, which stands for the next necessary step in Social and industrial evolution.

Every enemy of the rights of man, of social justice, of industrial progress, of the best interests of humanity, votes the republican or democratic ticket. Every struggling workman or business man who believes in progress, justice and humanity should vote against the republican and democratic parties.

To keep slaves ignorant of their condition is the principal requirement for the perpetuation of slavery. To educate the slaves in the principles of Socialism is the main chance for the establishment of freedom. This you can help to do by extending the reading circles of The Herald and getting new subscribers.

No degree of social distress and suffering seems to appal the capitalist robber class; and none will so long as that class feels that it can rely upon the voters to elect politicians who will do its bidding. Nothing but the discovery that the producing class has determined to seize upon the powers of government will appal the capitalist class.

In every community, every state, and in the nation at large, the voters have voted for men—with one general result, disappointment and failure to realize their expectations, where they had any. Isn't it time to vote for a principle. Keep a good principle to the front, instead of relying on good men, and we will soon all be better men than we are.

Grown folks, like children, never imitate a thing they would not like to be. Your rich Americans are not half as much "stuck" on the "stars and stripes," and "liberty," and a "school-house on every hill" for your "brats" to learn their a b c's in, as they are on imitating kings and dukes and princes and other things. Hurrah for the "social function" and \$15-a-plate peace banquets!

A great-granddaughter of the great American democrat, Abraham Lincoln, was carried into Chicago from Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, the other day, attended by a Japanese butler, an English coachman and a French nurse! The little wealth-spoiled degenerate was the daughter of Mrs. Jessie Lincoln Beckwith, daughter of Robert Todd Lincoln, son of Abraham Lincoln and successor to George M. Pullman.

If you can't get work have you ever tried to understand the reason for it? Can't you see that the great factory system, with its modern labor-saving machinery and constant improvement in methods of production, inevitably takes from men the opportunity to apply their labor? How can you expect to get work when there is none? The private ownership of the means of production is the cause of your inability to get work.

At the Socialist convention at Stuttgart Herr Fischer, a member of the Reichstag, referring to Emperor William's anti-strike speech, said: "What little monarchical sentiment survived among the proletariat has now been definitely killed. We must organize an opposition. We shall be cowardly dogs if we leave unanswered the insults heaped upon us. The emperor deems it right to throw down the gauntlet and we have the courage to pick it up."

Socialism proposes that the industries and businesses of the people, upon which society at large lives and moves and has its being, shall be put in order and conducted upon a basis that will make possible co-operation with the law of evolution, when the fittest—the useful classes, useful in power of hand and of brain—shall survive, and all be given a chance to prove their fitness, without being victimized by the beasts of rent, interest and profit.

It is our ambition to issue the Herald in eight-page form, at the very earliest possible time. Of course, this cannot be done just now, for the finances of the organization do not warrant it, but we feel that the time is not far distant when the plan can be carried out. We urge our workers to bend themselves to the work of organization with renewed energy, so that the day will not be far off when we can open our columns to a greater variety of Socialistic literature.

Concentration of the productive forces in fewer hands inevitably reduces opportunities to labor. The problem is this, that, in spite of all that the defenders of the present system can do to ameliorate conditions, the system inevitably and constantly takes from the people the opportunity to labor. Yet you can hear raised the friv-

olous objection that Socialism would destroy the incentive to labor! The present system not only actually does that, but destroys the opportunity as well.

According to that talkative and tiresome young man, James H. Eckels, former comptroller of the currency, this country has been made and can only be maintained by its bankers. We do not agree with him. It is not true. He advises the bankers to bury "demagogues" at the polls. They can't do it with votes, for they are only a handful. They may do it by purchase, as they have done before. He says the bankers have done more than any other agency to reduce interest, and that isn't true.

The "honor" of the banking fraternity is usually seen at its best when some great smash-up occurs. Thus, in connection with the collapse of the Tradesmen's National, of New York, it transpires that the president, James McNaughton, a few days before the failure, borrowed \$400,000 from the bank (belonging to other people), giving as security his stock in the Wool Exchange, which stock he knew at the time was of doubtful value. The bank's liabilities are \$3,800,000, and its assets "doubtful paper."

Here is a sample of the "model oratory" of the "prince of talkers," Chauncey Depew; at the Auditorium, Chicago, the other day, he said, in effect: "Two years ago I made a speech in this house. The country was then poor. The farmers were struggling with debt. Deficit ran riot everywhere. Behold! After twenty-four months the country is tremendously rich. The farmers owe nothing and have cash in the bank and there is a surplus at every hand." Depew is the champion buffoon and truth distorter of the republican party.

INSTALLED WATER POWER.

The application of water power for industrial purposes shows that it is advancing with rapid strides. America leads the world with a total installation of 70,000 horse power. Switzerland comes next with 32,000 horse power. France has 18,000 horse power and the great power plant at Rheinfelden, now being constructed, will give Germany the fourth place, with about 17,000 horse power. Italy has nearly as much, and Norway and Sweden are each credited with 15,000 horse power.

In Great Britain there is a total installation of about 4,000 horse power. These figures suggest that the development of water power may have a powerful influence in rearranging the centers of industry throughout the world. Switzerland, Italy, Norway and Sweden have in the new system a powerful ally that will assist to bring them well to the front as industrial nations.

KEIR HARDIE'S ADVICE.

In a signed article in the London Labor Leader of September 24, J. Keir Hardie, one of the leaders of the British Independent Labor Party, comes out strongly against every suggestion of fusion or compromise with the so-called Democratic members of Parliament, a majority of leading British literary men and artists, an army of clergymen of all denominations, most of the labor "leaders," editors of radical papers, etc., all of whom hold Socialistic views to a more or less extent. It is pointed out that at the recent Trade Union Congress 708,000 votes were recorded in favor of and only 410,000 against Socialism, that there are now 400 Socialist representatives in public administrative bodies and 350 self-supporting branches in the country, and that it would be akin to "throttling a large and growing movement to now modify tactics and adopt the halting policy that killed the Labor Electoral Association and kept the Fabians at a standstill.

Hardie says further: "Frankly and fairly, for the hundredth time, I have no belief in politics unless politics be infused and inspired with the revolutionary spirit. I hate the rotten world of capitalism, and I consent to live in it only to destroy it. For the patchers and menders I confess an unmitigated contempt. Possibly this is not wise, but it is true. The wisdom of the capitalist politician is sometimes a stranger to truth. As long as production-for-profit remains the economic basis of the state, misery must be the lot of the major portion of the people. To proclaim that material social improvement can be effected without removing capitalism, private and public, is the idlest political trifling. It is the natural occupation of so-called Liberals, Moderates and Progressives."

ROSA PROLETAIRE'S CAMPAIGN LETTERS TO BROTHER JOHN.

A Vote for Capitalism Prolongs Misery and Starvation.

My Dear Brother John:—I see you still find time enough to write long letters to Rosa. To tell you the truth, John, I don't appreciate your tape worm communications at the present time for the simple reason that I believe there is more important work to do just now than wasting so much time with private letters to "My beloved Rosa."

Of course, I never doubted your love, but this love of yours will soon fade away in my eyes if you fail to do your proper share in the campaign work for the cause of Socialism. In times of war your place is on the battlefield; in times of peace you may again take up your "lovely" correspondence.

John, please do what I tell you. There is a Social Democratic Ticket in the field in your state. You say: "I'll vote the Social Democratic Ticket!" All good and well. This, however, is not sufficient to represent a first-class Socialist as you have repeatedly pretended to be. It is your duty to get among your fellow workers and teach them the gospel of Socialism.

You say: "Unfortunately I am not an agitator; I am not a speaker." John, it makes my blood boil when hearing a man speak so childishly. Unfortunately I am but a woman and you lords of creation have not yet granted me the right to vote. Were I a man, or were I a voter, I would stand in front of the polling place from sunrise till sunset and tell every wage-worker squarely and openly that he ought to be put to the whipping post for voting the old capitalist party tickets.

"She speaks like a Russian policeman! We are free American citizens and that whipping post business won't work with us!" This is about the reply some workmen will give me. No matter what they may say, John, I should apply some radical means to cure some of you male Americans of your indifference.

While admitting that I am using harsh language, I claim it is fully justified. Is it not a fact that the workman and father is helping to starve and enslave his own wife and children the moment he votes the capitalist party tickets? Yes, his vote for capitalism is a vote for the prolongation of the present starvation system of society.

Talk about Russian policemen! Can Russian policemen be any worse than your free American deputy sheriffs of Hazleton, who shot and killed twenty-two poor, peace loving miners a year ago? You would better keep quiet with your boasting of American freedom as long as you permit a reign of terror and militarism, as for instance at this very hour in Pana, Ill.

I think it is a shame that a woman—a poor creature of the weaker sex—must rush into print and tell the "free American citizens" of pitiable wage-slaves what they should do to become human beings! And I am afraid that things will grow much worse if we women do not rush to the front and make good use of the cowhide the very moment any one of you "free American citizens" is caught selling his vote for a drink of whiskey or beer.

Think what you please of us women! If we ever get the right to vote we will not sell this right for a free drink. We will use that right to secure bread and butter for our children, a decent home, a decent livelihood for all the people willing to do honest work for a living.

Some of you fellows are still shouting for the old parties? Are you not ashamed? Look at your wives and children! Look at your fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters! See how they work in slavery and live in misery. Then think of the prosperity the Harrisons and Cleverlands and Mark Hannas and McKinleys have promised you for years!

Wage-worker, please answer: What is Socialism? What are the aims and objects of the Social Democratic Party? You don't know. You should know it by this time. Socialism demands a social reconstruction. Socialism means bread and freedom for all who work.

Socialism means the expropriation of the expropriators; it means the Socialization of the means of production and distribution. Socialism means the establishment of a state of society that guarantees to every man, woman and child the right to life and happiness. The earth and all the products of nature and labor belong to all men and no capitalist or syndicate or trust has any inalienable right to confiscate the human rights of his fellow men.

Capitalist society is completely bankrupt. It has not even the moral power, or rather, it fails to feel any responsibility to give to the millions of wage-workers even the pittance of a living. You may speak with horror of the slaves in ancient Greece and Rome, but did you ever read in history that millions of the Greek and Roman slaves were starving? A hundred years hence posterity will speak with horror of the five million starving people that called themselves "free American citizens."

Brother John, your excuse does not hold good. I take it for granted that you are not an able speaker; but you are a good and eloquent reader. What prevents you from visiting one labor organization every evening during the following week and read to your fellow unionists the campaign letter of "My beloved Rosa"? Your love to Rosa amounts to very little if you fail to carry out my advice.

In conclusion I cannot help congratulating our comrades throughout the country for the splendid progress of our Social Democratic Party. Ten or more new branches in two weeks is a splendid show. Push the good work, comrades!

Work for the Social Democratic ticket!

Your beloved sister,
ROSA PROLETAIRE.

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

Of the two Social Democratic parties recently formed in Russia, nothing can be heard of them (says a special correspondent of the London Clarion) and this silence must be explained by the fact that as soon as the manifesto of the first formed party came to the knowledge of the Russian government, the police began a crusade against all Socialists or persons suspected of Socialism. About a fortnight ago I had a letter from Russia informing me of arrests in the South, undertaken even on a large scale. Now we learn by Reuter's telegram that:

"According to a dispatch to the Berliner Tageblatt from Cracow, numerous factory operatives have recently been arrested at Warsaw and Lodz on the charge of being engaged in a Socialistic propaganda, and numbers of pamphlets, in the Polish and Jewish languages, which had been printed in London and elsewhere, have been seized. At the present time over 200 of these workmen are imprisoned in the Citadel of Warsaw, and will probably be exiled by administrative process.

"In stating this," he continues, "I do not mean to say that those arrested belong to the organized and federated Socialists (the police always make blunders in arresting those people who are not required), but that this police crusade has unhinged the regular progress of propaganda, organization, and especially of communication with other countries. The Russian revolutionists are always more reticent and more cautious in their correspondence at such periods."

The publishing house of Chas. H. Kerr & Co. is no longer connected with The New Time magazine, but is engaged solely in the book business. A new profit-sharing plan has been adopted in the conduct of the business. By this plan those becoming stockholders to the extent of \$10 are privileged to purchase the company's books at half the advertised retail prices. Full particulars will be sent on application to Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

THE ALPHA AND OMEGA OF SOCIALISM IS THE TRANSMUTATION OF PRIVATE COMPETING CAPITAL INTO UNITED COLLECTIVE CAPITAL.—Dr. Albert Schaeffle, Austrian Economist and Critic of Socialism.

Social Democratic Herald.

SHED EVERY SATURDAY

BY THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

JESSE COX, Chairman.
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.
EUGENE V. DEBS. VIGOR L. BERGER.
FREDERIC HEATH.

NATIONAL SECRETARY—THEODORE DEBS.

CONTRIBUTING STAFF:

JOS. BARONDESS, F. G. R. GORDON,
VICTOR L. BERGER, FREDERIC HEATH,
JAMES F. CARREY, G. A. HOEHN,
JESSE COX, MARGARET HAILE,
EUGENE V. DEBS, LOUIS E. MILLER,
EUGENE DIETZGEN, WM. MAILLY,
CHAS. R. MARTIN, SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

EDITOR—A. S. EDWARDS.

No papers are sent to anyone on credit. If, without having subscribed, you are receiving it, then it has been paid for by a friend and no bill will follow.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:—One Year, 50c; Six Months, 25c. Address

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD,

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



CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 15, 1898.

FUND FOR PRINTING OUTFIT.

Previously acknowledged\$67.00
Robt. Meister, Milwaukee 3.50

PILLAGERS PILLAGED.

General Harnden says in an interview that the land on which the Pillager Indians live is not suited to agriculture, but that it is covered with a fine quality of pine, and that he thinks one of the prime causes of the recent outbreak "is the desire of the lumber corporations to get the Indians sent elsewhere, in order that they may strip the lands." There you have it! Commercialism is at the bottom of the affair, you see. Simply the gospel of greed again put in practice. The lumber corporations (made up of lip-service churchmen, you may be sure, who recite the tenth commandment on Sundays) wanted the pine, so they stirred up the Indians to revolt. Then the government sent its troops there, and several officers and men who had had no hand in the crime against the Indians were killed. It would be better to say that they were murdered, and by the lumber pirates. Commercialism doesn't stop at murder, when its greed is aroused.

But there were other things bearing on the case, which explain why the Indians were ripe for revolt. Anyone reading the dispatches—even as they appear after being edited by capitalistic hirelings—can see that the Indians had been miserably used by the authorities. In order to make fees they were arrested for trumped up or trivial offenses, dragged across country to be fined, and then turned loose, to get back home on foot as best they might, while their persecutors pocketed mileage that was not actually used. The capitalistic papers haven't the decency to accord the red men a fair hearing in the matter, but as in the case of all insurrections, are doing their best to create a prejudice against them on the part of the public. And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, etc. Your time, Mr. Voter, to say what you think of such business, is at the polls on election day. Don't forget!

LABOR COPARTNERSHIP.

In his new work entitled "Labor Copartnership," Henry D. Lloyd points to what has been the most remarkable achievement on co-operative lines in America. While co-operation in England has been industrial, "ours has been political." "The achievement of America," he says, "in uniting in one common life and one co-operative citizenship, the African and European, and even Asiatic types, which elsewhere glare at each other with hatred across frontiers of bayonets, is the greatest triumph of co-operation which the history of civilization has yet shown." The book is a record of the author's observations among the co-operative societies of Great Britain, and as such is valuable. It shows that the great co-operative society, known as the "Wholesale" reaches the \$200,000,000 mark this year, but "it is avowedly operating on capitalistic lines as to its employees, giving them none of the profits, and none of the control." It goes into many details connected with recent co-operative ventures, in which there appears nothing of extraordinary promise. The distinctively great co-operative movement of England was started fifty years ago. It struck its roots at a time when the consolidation of industry had hardly begun, as the writer says. And this is an important fact to remember. "We are a different people," he says, "and our circumstances are different." Industry to-day in

America, "does not seem to have much farther to go to bring us to the consummation of an industrial feudalism which will make impossible any individual, or even co-operative initiative or independence."

If America had accomplished the greatest achievements possible for it through political co-operation, to which Mr. Lloyd refers, which we claim it has not done—that there are still greater achievements ahead—there might be some reason for adhering to the well-trying and quite exploded idea of escaping the "consummation of industrial feudalism" by colonization or community building. There is neither comradeship, nor justice, nor sincerity, nor toleration, nor hope in that direction. There is a hollow profession of altruism that becomes petty persecution and tyranny, of friendship that flatters and betrays, and of justice that ignores the commonest principles of equity.

MALLOCK'S MISTAKES.

W. H. Mallock has broken loose again. W. H. Mallock is one of those odd fellows who are frantically trying to make people believe that capitalism is heaven-sent and heaven-protected, and that every protest against the present system is the mouting of jealousy, laziness and stupidity. In the literary field he is the lackey of capitalism, a special pleader for the competitive system. Some time ago he published a series of articles in the reviews to show that the captains of industry were the real producers of wealth and that the workers ought to be mighty glad that there was a class smart enough to furnish them with employment.

Mr. Mallock has lately written a book on "Aristocracy and Evolution," which has been variously received by the critics. "Sociologist" Giddings holding that it is a work of high merit, while some of the orthodox believers in commercialism criticize his "great-man" theories, and consider his definition of "ability" as a productive power distinct from "labor" as far-fetched and impossible. Something about the scope of the book will be found in another column, and we will shortly print a review of it.

Mr. Mallock is a fit spokesman for the wealthy class, and he puts forth the usual excuses and arguments to show that such a class is the greatest gem the world possesses. We have only time to touch on one point, and it is not new. In fact, it is oft repeated by the apologists and special pleaders for the capitalistic system. He refers vaguely to "statistics" to show that the aggressions of capital on Labor are not great, BECAUSE "wages have risen." If it were possible to show that there had been a slight increase in wages this would not prove that capitalism is not exploiting labor. Even the fact of the steady rise in the standard of living would more than off-set any paltry increase in wages that craftily handled statistics might be made to show. A very good reason for the misery of the people is that the rate of wages has not advanced to keep pace with the advance in the standard of developing social life. But that is not the point we wish to make.

To the Socialists the great injustice lies in the fact that the vast increase in the productivity of labor has brought ruin on the worker instead of prosperity. While great advances have been made in the productivity of labor, labor has not shared in the tremendous gain of wealth resulting therefrom. This is a thing the Mallocks refuse to see. Not only does it not share, but on the contrary, labor has been particularly harassed by the changed conditions, so that instead of participating in a blessing it must shoulder, unassisted, a curse. Crowded out from the beneficence of its own increased productivity, it must struggle against itself and its members must trample on each other in frantic efforts to retain the diminishing number of jobs, under the implacable lash of the necessity of keeping life within the body. Superficial reasoners look for external ways to relieve the congested labor market; others who hold for social justice, see but one humane and just way: to divide the benefits of the socially lessened labor burden among all the workers according to their respective efforts.

The Socialist goes even further than this. For he says that none others shall share. He who is not a worker has no claim on the common beneficence. The Socialist would reverse the rule as it is applied to-day, for today the benefits of increased productivity accrue to the employing and the plutocratic wings of the capitalist class. That class is in no sense a laboring class, as Mallock would like us to believe. It is a speculative class, pure and simple. It speculates in labor, buying it for the least possible price and looking for all favorable opportunities to make as much profit out of it as possible.

"The New Economy," a new work by Laurence Gronlund, author of "The Co-operative Commonwealth," has just been issued from the press of Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago. It offers a peaceable solution of the social problem, and is Mr. Gronlund's masterpiece. It is handsomely printed and bound, and sells for \$1.25. In a subsequent issue the book will receive adequate notice.

"THE ABOLITION OF WORK."

As a believer in the "silly superstition that work is necessary to man's existence," I must enter an emphatic protest against the sentiments expressed in a recent issue under the title "The Abolition of Work." As the points raised in this article are extremely interesting, and as similar ideas have lately been voiced in our Socialist press, it seems necessary that those of us who think differently should also be allowed to present our side of the question. A writer in The Coming Nation wrote an eloquent article not long ago, in which he said that work would be practically eliminated altogether under Socialism, and that we should supply our wants by pressing electric buttons! Another Socialist paper has stated within the last few days that no work was done for its own sake, and that all work, now and in the future, could only be done under the incentive of future reward. Now comes forward "The Whatnot," in the London Clarion, with a couple of articles, describing his preposterous "Important Discovery," of the fact that "Work will in time become absolutely unnecessary." These articles ought certainly not to have been inflicted upon the American reading public!

I would like to recommend to "The Whatnot," and his disciples, a course of reading in William Morris, where they would learn to understand the true dignity of work and its place in a Free Society. The votaries of this creed of Idleness are merely in rebellion against the unspeakable conditions, under which almost all work is done to-day. Take away the ugly factories and their brutal bosses; cut down the hours of labor; give each man the task that he chooses, and the freedom to put his soul into his work—and we shall hear no more about the abolition of work, an ideal as unnatural and repulsive as it is ridiculous.

It is quite conceivable that a Socialist society would make work, rather than abolish it. The craftsman's joy in his work—the joy of creation of which every man has some knowledge—would find its fullest expression in a society based on brotherhood and fellowship. Men would no longer consent to remain drudges tending machines. They would insist upon winning back pleasure into all their tasks, and would no doubt return to many of the older methods. Machinery would only be used to overcome the drudgery of unpleasant and sordid work.

"The Whatnot" gives some strength to his second article, by copious quotations from that beautiful writer but very erratic thinker, Richard Jefferies. "I hope," says Jefferies in one of these passages, "that succeeding generations will be able to be idle; that they may enjoy their days, and the earth and the beauty of this beautiful world; that they may rest by the sea and dream; that they may dance and sing, and eat and drink." Every Socialist has this same hope, and all that Jefferies pictures will be possible in the society for which we are striving. But surely workers will realize this hope in a way that idlers never could. Has Tolstoy ceased to love the blue sky and the green fields since he took to the plow? Has Edward Carpenter no longer anything to learn from the woods and the flowers because he works day by day in the open air? Did Morris cease to dream when he labored with his hands at Merton Abbey factory? A thousand times no! Work has brought them into closer contact with nature; and so it will be in the future.

Under Socialism the man who talked about the "Abolition of Work," would be laughed at for a fool. In those days all work will be joyful, and therefore beautiful. For has not Morris defined Art as "the expression of man's joy in his labor?"

LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

Congregationalist, Boston: The physical health of many modern cities has been immensely improved by careful, systematic attention to sanitation. During the greater part of the last century the death-rate in London was about fifty per one thousand each year. It had decreased to 24.8 in 1850 and fell to 17.7 per one thousand last year, though the population of the city has doubled during that time. The death-rate in London is now only a little larger than in rural districts of England. The moral health of great cities can be as greatly improved by careful study of conditions and systematic efforts. It is being improved, for physical and moral health influence each other and advance together.

Baltimore Herald: Some startling figures on the subject of lunacy in Great Britain are presented in the fifty-second report of the commissioners in lunacy, which shows that there was an increase in the last calendar year of 2,607 in the number of patients, and that the year before there was an increase of 2,919. The average annual increase during the last ten years was 1,933. Inquiry, however, shows that the increase is confined wholly to pauper patients, and that it is due to the fact that the county and borough authorities now send to asylums numbers of cases which were formerly dispatched to the workhouses if they were not kept at home. Thus there is no real increase, the growth being only apparent.

YOU GAVE NEITHER WORK NOR MEAT.

There's blood on your new foreleg;
shrubs, squire;
There's blood on your pointers' feet;
There's blood on the game you sell,
squire;
And there's blood on the game you eat.

You made him a poacher yourself,
squire,
When you'd give neither work nor meat;
And your barley-fed hares robbed the garden
At our starving children's feet.

When packed in one little chamber,
Man, maid, mother, and little ones lay,
When the rain pattered in on the rotting bride-bed,
And the walls let in the day.

When we lay in the burning fever,
On the mud of the cold clay floor,
Till you parted us all for three months,
squire,
At the cursed workhouse door.

We quarreled like brutes, and who wonders?
What self-respect could we keep?
Worse housed than your hacks and your pointers;
Worse fed than your hogs and your sheep.

Our daughters, with base-born babies,
Have wandered away in their shame;
If your misses had slept, squire, where they did,
Your misses might do the same.

When to kennels and liveried varlets
You have cast your daughter's bread,
And, worn out with liquor and harlots,
Your heir at your feet lies dead;

When your youngest, the mealy-mouthed rector,
Lets your soul rot asleep in the grave,
You will find in your God the protector
Of the freeman you fancied your slave.

—Canon Kingsley.

PRODUCTION BY MACHINERY.

The following is taken from an address to C. H. Stockell before the Socialist Club of Nashville:

The first annual report of the Commissioner of Labor of the United States contains the following: "In the manufacture of agricultural implements new machinery during the past fifteen or twenty years has, in the opinion of some of the manufacturers of such implements, displaced 50 per cent. of the number employed."

According to the State of Illinois Labor Commission's report, "the price paid miners in the machine mines is about one-half that paid for hand mining; already one-third of the hand miners have been displaced."

In the Year Book of Agriculture of the United States for 1897, page 585, you will find: "On account of the increase of farm tenancy, and because of the diminishing demand for labor due to the increasing use of machinery, the number of agricultural laborers declined from 48.9 per cent. in 1870 to 43.6 per cent. in 1880, and to 35.8 per cent. in 1890." In the same volume, page 604, you will find: "Machines and improved implements in raising corn reduced the human labor cost per bushel 70.5 per cent., and reduced the time of human labor from 274 to 41.3 minutes, or 84.9 per cent. A very remarkable reduction in human labor is in the shelling of corn, which is from 100 minutes per bushel when the work was done by hand, to 1 minute when the steam sheller is used, or 99 per cent."

On page 606 of the same volume: "When farmers reaped their wheat with sickles and bound the straw by hand, hauled the sheaves to the barn and thrashed the grain with flails, these operations, applied to one bushel of wheat, required the labor of one man 160 minutes, whereas this work is now done, by the use of a combined reaper and thrasher, operated by steam, with four minutes of human labor."

The self-feeder of the thrashing machine displaces two men, while the blast stacker and gasoline engine will, when in general use, reduce the labor of thrashing in the equivalent of constant work of 150,000 men.

The two-row cultivator will displace labor in the equivalent of constant employment for 130,000 men.

The hand shearer has been displaced by machinery making 3,000 clips per minute.

The giant steam plow and the steam planter displaced thousands of farm hands.

It required a good worker to gin five pounds of cotton a day. Now two men with a machine will turn out 4,000 pounds.

A boy now attends a machine in manufacturing iron nuts that formerly required eight men to make them.

In the good old days a quick worker was required to sew six pairs of shoes in a day. Now one operator can stitch one thousand pairs.

Two machines handled by two girls can now turn out 240,000 screws. Not many years ago 20,000 screws was the most that twenty skillful workmen could turn out in a day.

A tonguer and groover and surfacing machine, with one man and two boys, can turn out more and better lumber than four hundred old-time

joiners could with their planes and machetes.

A modern spinning machine can be handled by a child, and it will turn out more and better work than 18,000 spinning wheels such as our grandmothers used to make clothes with.

One boy now attends enough stocking knitting machines to turn out 5,000 pairs a week.

In making of horseshoes 449 men out of 500 have lost their jobs.

One man with one nail machine does the work of one thousand by hand. Eighty-five per cent. of hand labor has been displaced in the manufacture of watches.

Twenty-four out of twenty-five men have been displaced in the manufacture of musical instruments.

The new machinery for handling coal from the piers to the vessels does what it formerly required thousands of men to do.

The steam shovel now mines and loads ore which formerly was handled at an average labor cost of one dollar per ton.

The pneumatic atomizer enables one unskilled laborer to paint more freight cars than can fifteen skilled hands.

With the new Diamond match machines 300 girls can turn out as many matches as 8,000 workmen by former methods.

I have not the time to go on with the countless illustrations of the displacement of labor by machinery, for it would require hours to mention them, consequently thousands of similar instances must be left unmentioned. I may say, however, that it is estimated that the new mechanical power placed in competition with the workers during the decade from 1880 to 1890 was equivalent to forty millions of men.

Every new machine should be an occasion of rejoicing for all as conducive to the relief of the workers and to the general advancement and happiness of the race, but instead of this every new machine is looked upon as an enemy, and an interference with the industrious laborer's effort to gain a subsistence.

The rapid introduction of machinery into every department of human effort intensifies this feeling until a few more labor lessening and employment destroying devices and a little more monopolization of natural opportunities and men will have an abundance of time to think over the question as to whether machinery is detrimental to the workingmen under the present economic system.

It is so manifest to me that machinery is detrimental to the workingmen under existing conditions, where the owner of the machine receives incalculably the greater benefits from its use, that I wonder everybody does not see it. Certain it is that the welfare of the worker is never considered in the introduction of new machinery.

Machines are introduced to displace with labor and for the increased output; they are used to save labor and to save time, and all of the advantages resulting from their introduction under existing conditions go to the owner of the machines. If the workingmen own them they are benefited; if not, and the larger proportion are not owned by them, their introduction is necessarily detrimental to the worker's interests, and every new machine but emphasizes that fact and establishes all the more firmly the worker's slavery and degradation. The same number of unrewarded hours, the same drudgery, the same everlasting arising at daybreak and toiling till dark, and awaking again with body prostrated, goes on. The industrious workers are the sustainers of the world, they are the producers of wealth; certainly they are entitled to more than this; yet we all know that they are sacrificed to the greed and degrading speculations of idle men, who pass on regardless of the destitution spread before them. Nowhere is this more apparent than where machinery is used.

It is true that the price of everything made by machinery is reduced, and it would seem advantageous in this respect, but it must not be forgotten that machinery deprives the workers of a job. Without wages workers cannot buy back the products of the factory, and the increasing army of the unemployed, driven to idleness by the introduction of machinery, who now need but cannot get the necessities of life, emphasizes this. The worker who is employed lives in dread of the future, for any day a machine may force him into the ranks of the multitude who have been driven by this merciless competitor to enforced idleness.

Merrie England

BY ROBERT BLATCHFORD

A PLAIN EXPOSITION OF SOCIALISM.

POSTAGE PAID

10c.

100 COPIES, \$4.

850,000 COPIES SOLD IN ENGLAND.

Revised from Latest London Edition.

SEND ORDERS TO

Social Democratic Herald,

126 Washington Street,

CHICAGO, ILL.

AMONG THE BRANCHES.

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 5c per month.]

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.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening at Koch's Hall, 104 Randolph St. Frank Whitney, Roanoke building, secretary.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3 Sunday afternoons of each month, at Reichwald's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis. J. ZORN, Secretary.

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

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

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza. The branch issues a call for a general conference of Philadelphia Socialists for Friday, 8 p. m., September 30, at 223 North Twelfth Street.

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

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, secretary, 602 Chestnut street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of the month at Volkman's Hall, corner of Twenty-first and Centre streets at 8 p. m. Edward Koepfer, secretary.

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 Doerfer, treasurer.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Wednesday at 605 S. Third Street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, secretary.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at Thirteenth and Wyoming streets. Jno. Shepherd, 3416 Wisconsin avenue.

The comrades of Branch 6 of Indiana, located at Indianapolis, will celebrate the organization's first anniversary October 16.

Comrade G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis, one of the true-as-steel, untiring workers for Socialism, and editor of the Arbeiter Zeitung, goes to Wisconsin October 15 for a week or ten days to help in the campaign.

Our comrades are holding meetings every night in New York City. Thousands of people turn out nightly to hear Socialism expounded, and it is not uncommon for thousands to stand and listen for two hours.

A grand demonstration will be held by the St. Louis comrades on Sunday, October 30, at Bohemian Gymnasium. There will be a concert with labor songs, recitations, and a ball. Comrade Seymour Stedman, secretary of the Executive Board, will be there as the principal speaker of the day, and altogether it promises to be a memorable event.

The organization of a branch at Bridgeville, Pa., has given the movement a good start in that vicinity, and with active workers like Comrades James Cole and Nic Ehl, more will soon be heard from.

The Milwaukee Central Committee of the S. D. P. will give an entertainment and ball at the Freie Gemeinde hall, Sunday, October 16. Comrades Hoehn, of St. Louis, and Howard Tuttle, candidate for governor of Wisconsin, will make short addresses. Admission 10 cents.

Two new branches organized this week at Amesbury and Worcester, Mass., attest the fact that the S. D. P. is a growing movement. The work of the fall and winter promises large results. Keep The Herald to the front, comrades, and send in new subscribers.

WANTS A CHANGE OF NAME.

Somersworth, N. H., Oct. 4, 1898. I would like to propose a question to be submitted to the comrades of the different branches throughout the country for their consideration, which is this: Why not drop the word Democrat from the name of the party? Not that we are afraid of a word, and especially the word Democrat, but because of the corruption associated with the word, a word which has been dragged through the mire by the so-called Democratic Party. The mention of that word in connection with our party work gives some people the horrors. A great many people are dissatisfied with both the Republican and Democrat Parties, and would, I think, vote for Socialism, but with the word Democrat connected therewith would not do so. I would propose therefore, that the word Democrat be dropped, and the party name be simply "The Socialist Party." May we hear from others on this question. Approved by Somersworth Branch. CHAS. H. MELLEN.

Montreal's new charter gives full municipal suffrage to all women who occupy houses subject to taxation, whether as lessees or as owners.

WISCONSIN.

The campaign in Wisconsin is but just opening. All the parties seem to have been holding off with the idea of making a short and sharp campaign, and we Social Democrats are not at all sorry, for we have not the funds for an extended campaign. Our people are not millionaires, and while they give liberally as becomes men engaged in a moral cause, still their liberality is not great compared with that of the money-sated capitalists, who are assessed each campaign by the old parties. The situation, so far as our party is concerned is somewhat complicated by the fact that this year the Pops were unable to make a bargain with the Democrats, and are thus forced to stand alone. The Republicans are counting on this fact as being in their favor, and as a consequence the Pops will get considerable encouragement from that source. Still, the Pops have been running things in such a peculiar way—that is, certain leaders have—that they are not likely to hold very many of their old-time votes. Some voters will be caught, of course, for the Republican papers are booming the Populist Party as hard as they dare to. As stated last week, we will have a large edition of our platform printed for distribution. This will be of eight pages, and also contain an address to the voters and several telling illustrations. It is safe to say that it will be read by the people, owing to the form in which it is gotten up, as well as from its merit in logic and the hope it will inspire in the voters to go to the polls in their OWN interests. We are congratulating ourselves on the character of the men on our tickets. They are all determined fellows, who feel the dignity and the righteousness of the movement and who are personally popular. Last week mention was made of the perfidy of one Frank J. Weber, who pretended to be a Socialist and to have no use for other parties. At his earnest appeal he was made a member of one of the branches, only shortly afterward to enroll himself as a campaign speaker for the Pops. Last Friday, Branch No. 1 unanimously expelled him. Last spring our candidate for mayor was not a member of a union, there being none devoted to his particular branch of work. Mr. Weber made use of this as a pretext for not voting for him, and then went to the polls and voted for the Democratic nominee, a fleeing lawyer of the slimmest kind, who was mixed up and a leading figure in an investment company that even the state supreme court was forced to denounce as a fraud on the people. What can we think of a man in the labor movement who passes by a laborer who is nominated for mayor and votes for a minion of capitalism! The Local Social Democracy is preparing for a grand entertainment to be given at the Freie Gemeinde Hall on Fourth street, next Sunday. There will be good speakers and lots of entertainment, and all for the small admission fee of ten cents. The proceeds will go to the campaign fund. Comrade G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis will arrive in Milwaukee next Saturday to make campaign speeches in German in the state.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LABOR DAY.

Editor Social Democratic Herald: I notice in the St. Louis Arbeiter Zeitung a letter from Wm. Mailly of Nashville, in which he says that the labor day celebration at that place was marked by a new phase—that of the absence of old party politicians as labor day speakers. To me this sounds a gladdening note, and I think the Socialists all over the country should hereafter make a hard fight to banish the old politician from all labor demonstrations. I would also make the suggestion that efforts be made hereafter on Labor Day to get as many child laborers as possible in the parade. These, with appropriate banners, would stir up public sentiment as nothing else would. COPELAND WILLIS.

THE PARTY WE WANT.

What can a political party do to aid Socialism? Much, if rightly conditioned. Conceive of a Socialist party made up of Socialists, of unselfish Socialists, of intelligent, high-minded, manly Socialists, who meant what they said and said what they meant, who were thoroughly in earnest, and as honest and sincere as earnest; that had courage, conviction, faith, devotion and unconquerable determination that could not be led aside by office or corrupted by spoils, that only cared to carry elections, when carrying elections was real victory and a gain for Socialism. A party with such qualities would undoubtedly be an aid to the Socialist movement. It could give an added impetus to it, commend and attract. Its campaigns would make more Socialists. Each election would mean new converts. Such a party would be an aid to Socialism.—Rev. F. M. Sprague.



There is a certain kind of Socialist that I feel like pitching into. I am sort of spoiling for a fight and so select the first victim that comes to mind. The Socialist that I am gunning for is the one that doesn't believe in Socialist parties.

Being in an especially pugnacious mood, as I have already hinted, I am out for big game.

Something over a year ago Herbert Casson wrote to The Coming Nation, and among other things said that he did not believe reform parties were of any value to the movement that they stood for, and that they dissipated energies that should have been used in creating public opinion, which was after all the real law-maker and president. The American Fabian reprinted what he wrote and grew almost hysterical in its phrases of approval. Casson has recently become editor of The Coming Nation, and almost his first words under the new auspices are along the vein of those that so pleased the American Fabian. "Let other papers boom their schemes and parties," he says, "but The Coming Nation will stand for the spread of Socialist principles," etc. Now this is tough to have to stick a javelin into a man like Casson, but as I said before, I am in a vicious mood and must have a victim. Yes, Casson will have to answer.

Who is it needs relief in this country, as well as in every other civilized country on the globe? These who toil. Toil is in chains.

How can toil free itself? By asserting its might and breaking asunder its chains. It has the strength already if it will but use it.

Socialists, the world over, are bidding Labor awaken to its might and break its chains. And this isn't intended as a narrow class fight, either. But it is proposed on the knowledge that all men should toil, and that the demand of Labor, therefore, is really in the interests of all men.

What is the quickest way to wake men up? There's the point.

Comrade Casson thinks one way. I think another. I think it a duty to go to the ballot box in conscious organization to ask relief. He thinks it better to hold aloof from politics and parties and to spread the word of Socialism from man to man. Oddly enough he does not believe in my way, but I believe in his—that is so far as spreading the word round. But I don't believe in holding aloof from politics—that sort of thing is to me cowardice. It may be disagreeable to have to go into politics, but it's a duty just the same.

Not that Comrade Casson hasn't a right to his opinion. Perish the thought! I believe he is just as honest in his view as I am in mine. But I can't see how he can make a distinction between political propaganda and educational propaganda. Both are educational, and political propaganda opens up ways of getting at people that can be had in no other way. It is true the history of this country is strewn with the wrecks of parties, as he says. What of it?

But I notice that capitalism doesn't lie buried under any of those wrecks. Having a mission in the word capitalism is vital and will be so long as its mission is being fulfilled. Its decay will come in its own proper time.

The fact that there are dead parties simply signifies that there were false issues which met speedy decay. That is the law of growth. Had one of these parties of the past been a Socialistic party—one of clear-visioned Socialism, and not the kind that scatters like a blunderbuss—decay could not have overtaken it.

A virile principle, one that has a historic mission, cannot decay until that mission is fulfilled.

If Socialism is a false principle it will die. If it is a genuine one, it will live.

We Socialists are perfectly willing that it should be put to the test in political campaigns or anywhere else. If it cannot vindicate itself in public discussion and is shown to be a mere mistaken notion, we will accept the verdict as becomes men.

We do not want to advocate a false measure or principle. The freer the discussion the better we shall like it.

Then there is another way to look at the matter. That is in the light of duty. It is a profound duty that every intelligent man express himself at the ballot box. To do less is to be an arrant coward.

This government is supposed to represent the convictions of the majority of its people. The people therefore have a sacred duty to perform. There must be no shrinking, no specious cry of "slimy politics."

How, then, would Mr. Casson handle the conscientious Socialist vote? Shall there be no party ticket that will express his aims for the government? Must he content himself with picking out a "good fellow" on this ticket, and

another on that, or shall he refrain from voting because if he cast one or the other of the old party tickets or the populist small-fleece's ticket he will be endorsing something he does not at all believe in—therefore actually voting dishonestly? How is it, Brer Casson?

There is a good deal about politics that is unpleasant, but politics is a DUTY, nevertheless, and A GREAT MANY DUTIES ARE UNPLEASANT.

Of course Brer Casson will claim that we can obtain our ends just as fast by creating a public sentiment that will force the old parties to adopt more and more of our Socialistic measures. I don't take much stock in that claim, but even if it were so, would it be the honorable, manly way of fighting. Would it not be a plain shirking of duty?

The people want Socialism, we will say. They are able to get it if they will make the demand at the polls, shoulder to shoulder. But they are timid and they may soil their clothes and their motives may be judged from the low, coarse plane of morals of the degenerate commercialism of the day. Therefore they ignore their duty as men demanding a virtuous measure, and support the false measures of the sly old parties, in the sly hope that they can sneak in a few ideas of their own and thus eventually get their whole programme adopted.

To me this is a pitiful confession of cowardice. It is more, it is dishonest. Let us, make our honest demand in an honest way.

If, however, Mr. Casson wishes to avoid the disagreeable duties connected with party maintenance and its work on the hustings, we have no particular objection, provided he votes straight Socialistic on election day and does not discourage those who are doing their disagreeable duty in the political field.

If he thinks the quickest way to get meat is to ask for a sandwich, why that's his lookout. What I protest against is that he should utter discouraging notes to those who are facing the enemy full front.

And now I must say that I feel better. I have attacked Casson and my pugnacity has been appeased for the time being. I don't know how he will take it, but if he doesn't discourage me by jumping on my anatomy too hard I may muster up courage to attack him again some time. In the meantime please take me at my own valuation, as

THE PHILOSOPHER.

THE POOR NEW YORK FARMERS.

An interesting book is the Report for 1897 of the New York Labor Bureau. Thirty-one questions were addressed to prominent farmers, whose names were furnished by legislators, bearing on the matter of their personal prosperity and the condition of agriculture in their localities; and extracts from their replies are published. About eighty of the extracts show varying degrees of concern as to conditions, and not more than ten seem satisfied with their own success, or believe that success is easily possible to all. Following are a few quotations from the extracts:

"My farm has not paid for what it has cost to run it for the last three years."

"Losing money instead of making expenses."

"The more a man did, the farther he ran behind." (That is, during the last three or four years.)

"Have lost \$350 in the last three years."

"Expenses exceed income at present prices."

"Agriculture has been so depressed the past few years that many men are more hopeful, I believe, than they would be if they kept an itemized account and balanced the books at the end of the year."

"Have run behind \$1,000 to \$1,200 per year."

"Always in debt, and keep sinking deeper in every year."

"I have appraised my property at one-half of what it cost eight years ago, in order to keep in touch with the shrinkage of everything."

"Am frank to say that farmers who are in debt are having a hard time of it, and so are men who are working farms on shares. Laboring men, also, with large families to support, are feeling the effects of the hard times. It is a hard time for all of us, and has been for four years past. Farms are selling for one-third and one-fourth of what they cost ten or fifteen years ago."

"A large proportion of the farming lands of this county is under mortgage, and a good deal of it for more than it will bring at a forced sale. Farms that cost \$60 an acre twenty years ago can now be bought for \$20. Many farmers are not making enough to pay taxes. Everything is cheap to those who can purchase, but dear to those who have no money."

"The value of land has depreciated one-half in this section during six years. The fact of the matter is, farmers are fast becoming poor."

"If the hard times of the past two years continue, every farmer in debt will go under, sure."

"Our farm cost \$75 to \$150 per acre, and probably would not bring \$50, if so much."

"Grape culture is extensively followed in this county, but last year's crop, in consequence of its abundance and low prices, did not pay expenses." Many of the New York farmers complain of local misfortunes as the cause of their troubles. Army worms, grasshoppers and drouth visit some counties, but the very abundance of the crops in other counties makes the low prices which do not pay for marketing. A milk combine has brought down the price paid to farmers for milk to 1 1/2 cents per quart and less, for the great region which supplies Greater New York, but the consumer is not benefited by the ridiculously low price.—Ella Ormsby in Commonwealth.

THE COMING OF SOCIALISM.

The advent of collectivism will be gradual, one advance post falling at a time, and it will be in possession of the whole field before mankind is well aware of its arrival. It will not be what all the lazy and good-for-nothings of to-day wish and expect it to be, nor what its opponents fear it to be. It will evolve human nature to a perfection which we can at present but dimly conceive, inasmuch as it will give scope for the development of our better qualities only. Man will nobly compete with man for the benefit and happiness of all. Art, science, and literature will flourish more brightly than ever, and be accessible and a joy to the whole community. No emaciated faces, no half-dressed, starving children, no vengeful looks and scowling eyes will meet us at the street corners. Labor will be ennobled, and it will be a pleasure to work and to live.

And when the world has grown bright and happy under its beneficent sway, people will look back upon these days of misery, and hatred, and jealousy, and oppression, and corruption, with astonishment and sadness, and while the pitying tear falls from their eye, their feeling will crystallize in the sigh, "Oh, ye of little understanding and of little faith!"—R. Duden, in Westminster Review.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

OBJECT.

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.

CANDIDATES OF THE PARTY.

Baltimore, Md.: For Congress, Charles Backman, William Fox and C. E. Taylor.

New Hampshire: For Governor, Sumner F. Claffin; for Congress, first district, Charles H. Mellen; second district, Edward E. Southwick.

Terre Haute (Vigo county), Indiana: For judge of the superior court, Samuel M. Young; prosecuting attorney, Charles D. Wilgus; treasurer, Clarence E. Kingery; auditor, William Ehrenhardt; clerk, Charles R. Waltz; recorder, John S. Kingery; sheriff, Herman Stuempele; coroner, Andrew J. Melville; commissioner, second district, Samuel R. Hoar; surveyor, Mook Turtle; joint representatives, Frank Storz and James Oneal; representatives, Otis M. Schroer and William C. Casey.

Wisconsin: For Governor, Howard Tuttle; Lieutenant-Governor, E. P. Hassinger; Secretary of State, Thomas C. P. Meyers; state treasurer, August Mohr; attorney-general, Richard Elser; superintendent of public instruction, R. O. Stoll; railroad commissioner, Charles Richter; insurance commissioner, Eugene H. Rooney; Congress (fourth district), Louis A. Arnold; sheriff, Charles A. Blodgett; clerk of courts, Nicholas B. Schwinn; county clerk, F. W. Rehfeld; county treasurer, Philip Segel; register of deeds, Gustave Richter; county surveyor, Carl Malewski; coroner, Fred Bruckhuesen.

Missouri: Judge of the supreme court (long term), Albert E. Sanderson; judge of the supreme court (short term), G. A. Hoehn; superintendent of public schools, James A. Rendall; railroad and warehouse commissioner, George Storz; judges of the circuit court, Jacob L. Franz, J. C. Wibel and Joseph Filler; judge of the court of criminal correction, Anton Loy; judge of the probate court, William Ruesche; recorder of deeds, A. F. Haensler; clerk of the circuit court, L. Stoll; clerk of the court of criminal correction, William Brandt; clerk of the criminal court, Nic Berlingen; clerk of the probate court, Charles Specht; prosecuting attorney, Martin Erd; assistant prosecuting attorney, W. H. Scott; sheriff, F. Meier; coroner, Stanley D. Peet.

Massachusetts: For Governor, Winfield P. Porter, Newburyport; Lieut. Governor, Isaac W. Skinner, Brockton; Secretary of State, Charles H. Bradley, Haverhill; Treasurer, Charles W. White, Winchester; Auditor, Charles L. Greeves, Amesbury.

THE REPUBLICAN AND THE BISHOP. A PASTORAL VISIT AND ITS RESULT.

From Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables."

"I weep for all," said the bishop.

"Equally!" G— exclaimed, "and if the balance must be uneven, let it be on the side of the people, as they have suffered the longest."

There was again a silence, which the Republican broke. He rose on his elbow, held his chin with his thumb and forefinger, as a man does mechanically when he is interrogating and judging, and fixed on the bishop a glance full of all the energy of approaching death. It was almost an explosion:

"Yes, sir; the people have suffered for a long time. But let me ask you have come to question and speak to me about Louis XVII.? I do not know you. Ever since I have been in this country I have lived here alone, never setting my foot across the threshold, and seeing no one but the boy who attends to me. Your name, it is true, has vaguely reached me, and I am bound to say that it was pronounced affectionately, but that means nothing, for clever people have so many ways of making the worthy folk believe in them. By-the-by, I did not hear the sound of your coach; you doubtless left it down there behind that clump of trees at the cross roads. I do not know you, I tell you; you have informed me that you are a bishop, but that teaches me nothing as to your moral character. In a word—I repeat my question, who are you? You are a bishop, that is to say, a prince of the church, one of those gilded, escutcheoned annuitants who have fat prebends—the bishopric of D—, with 15,000 francs certain, 10,000 francs casualties, or a total of 25,000 francs—who have kitchens, liveries, keep a good table, and eat water fowl on a Friday; who go about, with lackeys before and behind, in a gilded coach in the name of the Saviour, who walked barefoot! You are a prelate; you have, like all the rest, income, palace, horses, valets, a good table, and like all the rest you enjoy them. That is all very well, but it says either too much or too little; it does not enlighten me as to your intrinsic and essential value when you come with the probable intention of bringing me wisdom. To whom am I speaking—who are you?"

The bishop bowed his head, and answered, "I am a worm."

"A worm in a carriage!" the Republican growled.

It was his turn to be haughty, the bishop's to be humble; the latter continued gently:

"Be it so, sir. But explain to me how my coach, which is a little way off behind the trees, my good table, and the water fowl I eat on Friday, my palace, my income, and my footman, prove that pity is not a virtue, that clemency is not a duty, and that '93 was not inexorable."

The Republican passed his hand over his forehead, as if to remove a cloud.

"Before answering you," he said, "I must ask you to forgive me. I was in the wrong, sir, for you are in my house and my guest. You discuss my ideas, and I must restrict myself to combating your reasoning. Your wealth and enjoyments are advantages which I have over you in debate, but courtesy bids me not employ them. I promise not to do so again."

"I thank you," said the bishop.

G— continued, "Let us return to the explanation you asked of me. Where were we? What was it you said, that '93 was inexorable?"

"Yes, inexorable," the bishop said; "what do you think of Marat clapping his hands at the guillotine?"

"What do you think of Bossuet singing a Te Deum over Dragonnades?"

The response was harsh, but went to its mark with the rigidity of a Minie bullet. The bishop started, and could not parry it, but he was hurt by this way of mentioning Bossuet. The best minds have their fetishes, and at times feel vaguely wounded by any want of respect on the part of logic. The conventionalist was beginning to gasp; that asthma which is mingled with the last breath affected his voice; still he retained perfect lucidity in his eyes.

He continued, "Let us say a few words more on this head. Beyond the revolution, which taken in its entirety, is an immense human affirmation, '93, alas, is a reply. You consider it inexorable, but what was the whole monarchy? Carrier is a bandit, but what name do you give to Montreuil? Fouquier Tainville is a scoundrel, but what is your opinion about Lamorgnon-Barville? Maillard is frightful, but what of Saulx Tavnanes, if you please? Father Duchene is ferocious, but what epithet will you allow me for Pere Letellier? Jourdan Coupe Tete is a monster, but less so than the Marquis de Lonovis. I pity Marie Antoinette, archduchess and queen, but I also pity the poor Huguenot woman who, in 1765, while suckling her child, was fastened, naked to the waist, to a stake, while her infant was held at a distance. Her breast was swollen with milk, her heart with agony; the babe, hungry and pale, saw that breast and screamed for it, and the hangman said to the wife, mother, and nurse, 'Abjure!' giving her the choice between the death of her infant and the death of her conscience. What do you say of this

punishment of Tantalus adapted to a woman? Remember this carefully, sir, the French Revolution had its reasons, and its wrath will be absolved by the future. Its result is a better world; and a caress for the human race issues from its most terrible blows. I must stop, for the game is all in my favor—besides, I am dying."

And ceasing to regard the bishop, the Republican finished his thought with the following few calm words:

"Yes, the brutalities of progress are called revolutions, but when they are ended this fact is recognized; the human race has been chastized, but it has moved onward."

The Republican did not suspect that he had carried in turn everyone of the bishops's internal intrinements. One still remained, however, and from this, the last resource of monseigneur's resistance came this remark, in which all the roughness of the commencement was perceptible.

"Progress must believe in God, and the good cannot have impious servants. A man who is an atheist is a bad guide for the human race."

The ex-representative of the people did not reply. He trembled, looked up to the sky, and a tear slowly collected in his eye. When the lid was full the stream ran down his livid cheek, and he said in a low, shaking voice, as if speaking to himself:

"O, thou! oh ideal! thou alone existed!"

The bishop had a sort of inexpressible commotion; after a silence the old man raised a finger to heaven and said:

"The infinite is. It is there. If the infinite had not a me, then I would be its limit; it would not be infinite; in other words, it would not be. But it is. Hence it has a me. This I of the infinite is God."

The dying man uttered these words in a loud voice, and with a shudder of ecstasy, as if he saw someone. When he had spoken his eyes closed for the effort had exhausted him. It was evident that he had lived in one minute the few hours left him. The supreme moment was at hand. The bishop understood it; he had come here as a priest, and had gradually passed from extreme coldness to extreme emotion; he looked at these closed eyes, he took this wrinkled and chilly hand and bent down over the dying man.

"This hour is God's. Would you not consider it matter of regret if we had met in vain?"

The Republican opened his eyes again; a gravity which suggested the shadow of death was imprinted on his countenance.

"Sir bishop," he said, with a slowness produced perhaps more by the dignity of the soul than by failing of his strength, "I have spent my life in meditation, contemplation, and study. I was sixty years of age when my country summoned me and ordered me to interfere in its affairs. I obeyed. There were abuses, and I combated them; tyranny, and I destroyed it; rights and principles, and I proclaimed and confessed them; the territory was invaded, and I defended it; France was menaced, and I offered her my chest; I was not rich and I am poor. I was one of the masters of the state; the bank cellars were so filled with specie that it was necessary to shore the walls up, which were ready to burst through the weight of gold and silver, but I dined in the Rue de l'Arbe Sec., at two-and-twenty sous a head. I succored the oppressed. I relieved the suffering. I tore up the altar cloth, it is true, but it was to staunch the wounds of the country. I ever supported the onward march of the human race towards light, and I at times resisted pitiless progress. When opportunity served, I protected my adversaries, men of your class. And there is at Peteghen in Flanders, on the same site where the Merovingian kings had their summer palace, a monastery of Urbanists, the Abbey of St. Claire in Beaulieu, which I saved in 1793. I did my duty according to my strength, and what good I could. After which I was driven out, tracked, pursued, persecuted, maligned, mocked, spat upon, accused, and proscribed. For many years I have felt that persons believed they had a right to despise me. My face has been held accursed by the poor ignorant mob, and, while hating no one, I accepted the isolation of hatred. Now, I am eighty-six years of age and on the point of death; what have you come to ask of me?"

"Your blessing!" said the bishop, and knelt down. When the bishop raised his head again, the conventionalist's countenance had become august; he had just expired. The bishop returned home absorbed in the strangest thoughts, and spent the whole night in prayer. On the morrow curious worthies tried to make him talk about G—the Republican, but he only pointed to heaven. From this moment he increased his tenderness and fraternity for the little ones and the suffering.

And allusion to "that old villain of a G—" made him fall into a singular reverie, no one could say that the passing of that mind before his had

not something to do with this approach to perfection.

This "pastoral visit" nearly created a stir among the small local coteries.

"Was it a bishop's place to visit the death-bed of such a man? It was plain that he had no conversion to hope for, for all these revolutionists are relapsed! Then why go? What had he to see there? He must have been very curious to see the fiend carry off a soul."

One day a dowager, of the impertinent breed, which believes itself witty, asked him this question, "Monseigneur, people are asking when your grandeur will have the red cap?" "Oh, oh! the bishop answered, "that is an ominous color. Fortunately those who despise it in a cap venerate it in a hat."

INTERNATIONAL MENTION.

A Socialist has been elected by 1,309 against 915 as president of the Thun tribunal, Berne Canton, Switzerland.

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

There is a \$7,500,000 international sewing machine trust being organized. England is furnishing the finance and America the plants and labor.

Socialists of Spain are preparing to hold a big national congress for the purpose of mapping out a line of action in carrying out a widespread agitation.

The municipal electric lighting plant of Anderson, Ind., has earned 20 per cent. on its cost, in competition with natural gas, during the first year of its acquisition.

Switzerland enjoys the unenviable distinction of having a larger percentage of lunatics than any other country. In the Canton of Zurich there are 3,261 in a population of 339,000 persons.

During 1897 the number of employees in the factories, mines, quarries, fisheries and railways of Great Britain who were killed at work was 3,828. The number of injured was 58,285.

The new cigarette-making machine is raising the deuce in England. In Liverpool 1,500 girls will be thrown out of work and many more in other cities. The machine rolls from 500 to 800 cigarettes in a minute.

The Prussian government has extended the eight-hour workday to railroad switchmen in all the larger cities. The wages are \$1.18 a day, but the purchasing power is nearly double what it is in this country.

Before the Dreyfus scandal began the circulation of the Petite Republique, the Socialist daily paper of Paris, was barely 40,000. Now, since battling against the bourgeois-clerical conspiracy, the Republique has over 100,000 subscribers.

The Austrian government in their cruel treatment of prisoners are rivaled only by the minions of the Czar. It is estimated that 40 per cent. of the prisoners of Austria die of consumption, caused by the "dark cell" mode of punishment.

The Socialist city council of Lille, France, has appropriated liberal sums for the benefit of the poor and distressed people of that city. It has increased the appropriation for charitable purposes by nearly 500,000 francs this year, and is showing practical application of the teachings of Socialism.

At a council of the Italian ministers recently, it was decided to send another convoy of 100 political prisoners to the penal settlement of Assab, on the Red Sea. It is said that the political prisoners now incarcerated in Italy are to be classified in two categories, viz., "perilous propagandists" and "innocuous doctrinaires," and to be dealt with accordingly.

In Antwerp, Belgium, there is a municipal cab service, and a citizen who lives in the central region of the city can buy a commutation ticket for \$20 a year that will enable him to call a cab or a herdic at any hour of the day or night, and go anywhere he wishes, as many times a day as he chooses. If he lives in the outskirts of the city the price varies from \$20 to \$30 a year.

The German postmaster-general has issued a decree forbidding the postal employees, who number 80,000, from having any connection with the Socialists. It has been discovered in the course of the campaign that the department is largely permeated with Socialism. Besides the decree, other preventive measures have been proposed to oust Socialism from the postal department.

Socialists of Germany are holding immense meetings in the large cities to protest against Emperor William's recent speech condemning strikes and in favor of a law to punish strikers. There is much excitement. The Vorwaerts, Socialist daily, also publishes a secret order to the police in which the latter are commanded by the government to no longer use blank cartridges and the flat sides of swords to disperse mobs and meetings, but to cut and shoot.

According to an official report, there are 742 gas plants in operation in the United States. The total amount of wages paid by the companies operating these plants is computed at \$10,642,794 per year, while the cost of the

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY.

The following list of books is by no means complete, but it contains many of the ablest works on Economics, Politics and the Labor Movement. Any books desired, but not included in the list, will be procured at publisher's prices. Orders sent to the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD will receive prompt attention. The price which covers the cost of postage, must accompany your order. Address

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

Karl Marx. Capital. Cloth.....	2.00
F. W. Sprague. Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation. Cloth.....	1.00
Gronlund. The Co-operative Commonwealth. Paper.....	.25
August Bebel. Woman: Past, Present and Future.....	.25
Blatchford. Merrie England.....	.25
Edward Bellamy. Looking Backward.....	.50
Edward Bellamy. Equality. Cloth.....	1.50
Lissagary. History of the Commune of 1871.....	1.00
Fabian Essays in Socialism.....	.25
Charles Vail. Modern Socialism.....	.25
Ashplant. Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits.....	.15
Herbert Casson. The Red Light.....	.25
Henry D. Lloyd. Wealth Against Commonwealth.....	1.00
Thorold Rogers. Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....	.25
Volney. The Ruins of Empires.....	.25
Thomas Paine. The Rights of Man.....	.25
The Socialism of John Stuart Mill. Edited by Bliss.....	.25
Henry George. Social Problems.....	.25
Osborne Ward. The Ancient Lowly.....	1.50
Adams. President John Smith.....	.10
Richard T. Ely. Socialism and Social Reform.....	1.50
Buchner. Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	1.00

PAMPHLETS.

Frederick Engels. Development of Socialism From Utopia to Science....	.05
The Class Struggle.....	.05
The Religion of Capital and Socialism Explained.....	.05
The Proletariat and Down With Socialism.....	.05
F. G. R. Gordon. Hard Times: Cause and Cure.....	.05
Karl Marx. Analysis of Money.....	.05
Watkins. Evolution of Industry.....	.05

raw material used in the production of gas was \$14,037,087. But the total receipts of these concerns are \$56,987,290, so that there remains a net profit of \$31,000,000 for distribution among the stockholders, directors, etc. Talk about Socialists wanting to "divide up"—what's the matter with the capitalists?

We can understand, says The London Spectator, a wave of feeling sweeping over a nation and causing strange aberrations for a year or two; but, assuredly, this theory will not account for the persistent, skillfully organized, and admirably led movement of the German Social Democrats. The men at its head are, as a rule, educated and well-informed persons, who get a better hearing in the Reichstag than those of any other party. They do not give the impression of being mere enthusiasts. Sentiment, it is true, has always played its part in the German character, but the Social Democrats do not seem to have a larger share in it than other classes of the population, certainly no larger share than is possessed by their versatile Emperor.

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 con-

rol 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.

EVERY MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION CAN GET AT LEAST ONE NEW SUBSCRIBER TO THE HERALD; MANY CAN PROCURE TWO OR THREE; EVERY BRANCH OFFICER CAN EXTEND THE CIRCULATION OF THE PAPER. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALL SHOULD DO THEIR UTMOST WITHOUT DELAY. LET US HEAR FROM THE MEMBERS AND BRANCHES AT ONCE.

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.