

Social Democratic Herald

VOL. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1898.

NO. 20

The Workingman Who Gives His Vote to a Capitalist Party Throws It Away.

THE RISE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY A SURPRISE.

OUR TOTAL VOTE IN SEVEN STATES PROBABLY 8,000.

AFTER THE BATTLE MASSACHUSETTS.

The vote cast for Winfield P. Porter for governor, so far as we are able to learn, is about 3,000.

Other candidates of the Social Democratic Party in Massachusetts, as far as reported, received the following vote:

A. L. Gillen (congress 6th district) 1,468
J. C. Chase (State Senator) 1,110
J. F. Carey (State Representative-elected) 751
L. M. Scates (State Representative-elected) 674

In several Massachusetts communities the Social Democratic Party is second in local strength.

At Haverhill our candidate for governor, Winfield Porter, lead the S. L. P. candidate by 363, polling nearly twice as many votes.

Margaret Moore Avery, S. L. P. candidate for treasurer in Massachusetts, polled 622 votes at Haverhill, against 985 for Charles W. White, candidate of the S. D. P.

We had no candidate for attorney-general in Massachusetts, but the S. L. P. did. He polled 997 votes in the Essex county, the highest number cast for any S. L. P. candidate.

The Massachusetts newspapers say our vote plainly shows that there is a strong Socialistic element in the state.

At Amesbury (Mass.) Porter for governor polled more votes than any other candidate except the republican.

The Amesbury (Mass.) Daily News says the vote of the S. D. P. is a great surprise.

The Newburyport (Mass.) News admits that the Socialists have made a very distinct gain.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Claffin's vote (for governor) in wards 1, 3 and 4 in Manchester is 87. Somersworth gives him 45 and Melton 08.

Exeter gives Claffin 15. Cannot get returns, as the papers only publish the old party vote. Will send just as soon as I can get anything.

NEW YORK CITY.

Reports received thus far give: Joseph Barondess (same district) .. 800
S. L. P. (same district) 600
Louis Miller 35
Meyer Loudon 187

Our vote in New York City is at least 1,000.

The S. L. P. vote (New York City) in 1897 was 10,564; 1898, 10,453.

WISCONSIN.

Tuttle (S. D. P.) 1,624
Riese (S. L. P.) 730
Worsley (Pop.) 2,400

Our party went through its first campaign in Wisconsin with great credit. The above is the vote in Milwaukee city and county only. At this writing these are all the returns at hand. While our vote is good for a start and shows that we are the leading Socialist party, still the general apathy shown by the voters of all the parties does not seem to have overlooked us entirely, and so our hopes of polling votes enough to establish us as a party have not been realized.

The feature of the Milwaukee election is the pitiful showing made by the Pops. In the fall of 1894 the Populists cast 9,660 votes. They have thus lost over 7,000 votes in four years. The vote cast by the S. L. P. in Milwaukee county is about the same as was cast by that party two years ago.

All things considered our party did very well in this state. It was our first appearance in the state, and lack of funds made it impossible for us to do any very effective organizing. Notwithstanding this fact we made a better showing in most of the counties than the S. L. P., with its years of agitation and organization. It was our intention to send Paul Grothman through the state in the earlier part of the year to introduce our party to the rural districts and towns, but his lamentable death not only put a stop to this plan, but it was also necessary to raise a fund for his family and several hundred dollars were collected. This made it inadvisable to attempt collecting for a state agitation fund and so

the work had to be neglected. It was thus only just before election that we could do any agitation, and then we had to be very careful how we contracted expense. Outside of Milwaukee only five meetings were held, yet the expense of these, in halls, railroad fares and advertising took quite a share of our campaign fund and necessarily curtailed our active work in the city of Milwaukee. However, one speech from Debs in Oshkosh and Milwaukee would have given us a vote sufficient to establish us as an official party.

Reports are coming in slowly. The prohibitionists ran ahead of the populists!

Milwaukee—Howard Tuttle (Social Democracy), 1,624; Riese, (S. L. P.), 735. The vote of the Social Democratic Party in Milwaukee alone is larger than the entire Socialist vote in the state in 1896 by 310! In 1896 the S. L. P. vote was 651. The populist leaders fell off sadly, and the populist leaders are a dejected lot. The S. D. P. probably cast some 3,000 votes in the state.

South Milwaukee, Wis.—The populists who formerly carried the town cast but 46 votes.

Oshkosh, Wis.—Scotfield (rep.), carried this city by 600 majority. The populists withdrew their county ticket in favor of the democrats.

Sheboygan, Wis.—Tuttle (S. D. P.), 301; Riese (S. L. P.), 93. In 1896 the S. L. P. cast 313 votes in Sheboygan county.

Madison, Wis.—Tuttle (S. D. P.), 18; Riese (S. L. P.), 4. The people's party polled 13 votes.

Grantsburg, Wis.—Burnett county gave Tuttle (S. D. P.), 54; Riese (S. L. P.), 7. This makes a total Socialist vote of 61, as against 3 in 1896.

Viroqua, Wis.—Vernon county gave Tuttle 7, Riese 2. In 1896 the S. L. P. cast 3 votes in the county.

Jefferson, Wis.—Jefferson county gives Tuttle (S. D. P.), 11; Riese (S. L. P.), 8; a total Socialist vote of 19, against 3 in 1896.

Green Bay, Wis.—Tuttle, 13; Riese, 19; a total of 32, as against 5 in 1896.

Eau Claire, Wis.—Tuttle, 22; Riese, 7. A total of 29, as against 1 in 1897.

New Glarus, Wis.—Tuttle, 6.

La Crosse, Wis.—The populists who formerly carried the city, cast but 14 votes all told!

Iowa county—S. D. P., 7; S. L. P., 4. Iowa county cast 3 Socialist votes in 1896.

Brigham—Tuttle, 1; Riese, 0.

Eden—Tuttle, 2; Riese, 0. A gain of 2.

Mineral Point—(Third ward) Tuttle, 2; Riese, 1.

Wyoming—Tuttle, 1; Riese, 0. A gain of 1.

Waukesha—Waukesha county gives Tuttle, 13; Riese, 9. A gain in two years in the Socialist vote of 20.

The village of New Glarus, Wis., where we had no organization, six votes were cast for S. D. P. candidates.

The S. D. P. candidate for governor of Wisconsin, Howard Tuttle, received 1,624 votes, against 730 cast for Riese, candidate of the S. L. P., and the total Socialist vote of the city was 2,354.

NOTES.

The S. L. P. at Philadelphia shows a serious falling off: Vote—1897, 1,498; 1898, 938.

St. Louis achieved the encouraging result of 632, twice the vote polled by the S. L. P., but the combined Socialist vote of the city was 974.

Comrade Stuempfle, our candidate for sheriff of Vigo county (Terre Haute), Ind., received 260 votes. The Socialist vote in Vigo county in 1896 was only 5.

John Conway writes from New York City: "The S. D. P. lost one vote (mine) this election because I got mixed up on the ballot. Next time I will know better. I believe many others got mixed up in the same way and votes went to the S. L. P. that ought to have gone to the S. D. P."

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.

PROGRESSION BY MACHINERY.

Edison has not been heard of lately, but he has not been idle. He has just perfected a huge machine which excavates 14,000 tons of iron every 24 hours. The ore will be reduced to powder and the iron extracted by means of magnets of prodigious size. Some of this iron is already on the market, and may be relied on to bring down prices and wages.

Simultaneous with the news of the formation of a big flint glass frust and higher prices comes the news of the invention of a new bottle-blowing machine more perfect than any of the others now on the market, which means lower wages for the labor side of the "partnership."

Now the barbers are going to catch it. Melchior Forke, a convict in the Szegedre penitentiary, Hungary, has invented a device with which it is claimed 150 people can be shaved in one hour, or one individual in 25 seconds.

A slot machine for restaurants to displace waiters has been invented.

A trade paper says that the Remington Typewriter Company is experimenting with a shorthand device to be placed upon their machine. The claim is made that the invention is a success.

Nicola Tesla, the famous electrical inventor, announces a new method of transmitting electrical energy any distance without the use of wires. This discovery differs from that of telegraphing without wires, in that he promises to transmit through the air any quantity of energy up to millions of volts.

By a new machine for laying asphalt pavement, one man with the machine can do the work formerly done by eighteen men.

A scrubbing machine has been invented which will cut down the scrubbing expenses of large office buildings at least 75 per cent.

A new device for kneading dough has been introduced into a Chicago bakery, which does the work of ten men, and will knead 4,000 loaves per hour.

A writer in the Arena declares that 500,000 men now do the work with the aid of machinery which needed 16,000,000 people to do a few years ago.

A machine has been introduced in the manufacture of glass tumblers by the aid of which one man can make as many tumblers in a given time as could five men by the former process.

It is reported that the trust bakeries of Cincinnati are putting in machines. Some of the large plants at present employ fifty to sixty men each. With the machines in operation three or four men and as many boys will turn out as much work as the fifty or sixty by the hand process.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY.

The following very interesting article on the Socialist movement in Germany is by Richard Heath, and appeared in the October Contemporary Review:

How is it the emperor of Germany screams like a man who feels the ground slipping beneath his feet, while the Social Democrats speak with the calm confidence of those who feel their footing sure, and are certain that they will reach their goal? Is this position of affairs justified by the facts? Has the emperor reason to be seriously alarmed? Have the Social Democrats ground for believing that they are going to succeed? The emperor has on his side the army, the landowners and the capitalists. The Social Democrats have only the working classes. And, of course, the emperor might carry out his threats, call in the army and crush the whole movement. But he cannot do this without an excuse sufficient to satisfy his own conscience and that of Christendom. But such an excuse the Social Democrat leaders will not give him. Legality is a component part of their ideal society, and they are not likely of their own accord to go beyond its limits. Moreover, their followers are by nature inclined to imitate their example.

While bringing its forces into an extraordinary discipline, Social Democracy appears to have spared no pains to train them mentally, and to make them feel that its aim is not merely a political and social one, but that it extends to the whole of life. According to Herr Gühre, the workingmen at Chemnitz are ardent students of

natural science, their teachers being pure materialists who labor with much earnestness to instruct their disciples in a new conception of life, from which all supernatural ideas are eliminated, and which is wholly occupied with things secular. The press, the lecture hall, and the debating club are brought into requisition. From the former team manuals of elementary science, apparently suited to the workman's wants, for he buys them greedily and studies them religiously. In Chemnitz three bookshops were wholly devoted to the sale of Socialist literature. As to Social Democratic newspapers and magazines, no less than one hundred and thirty were in 1892 published in Germany. Lecturers are sent all over the country, finding halls and club rooms in all the great centers. In Berlin the Socialists have three times as many meeting places as there are churches, and while the latter are empty the former are crowded with audiences, ranging from three hundred to one thousand men and women. The teaching is carried on among the children, and there is even an attempt to win the mothers. Two of the large Berlin theaters are regularly used as a means of propaganda. The plays put on the stage are carefully chosen, and are made the subject of expositions, four halls being used for this purpose. Here six hundred or seven hundred persons may be seen eagerly listening, while, perhaps, for two hours some noted critic explains a play of Ibsen, about to be performed at the theaters in question.

In the rise of the idea of national unity in the war of independence, the Hohenzollern dynasty has found a means of mounting step by step to the great position of being the representative of the unity of Germany and its lord protector. And naturally its lordship in the church has grown until it is now imperial. The Evangelical church, over which it directly presides, appears to be more completely a creature of the state than any other church existing. The mutual admiration expressed by the emperor and his church is, when it is understood, somewhat explained. But it has greatly helped in the alienation of the mass of the people from the church, and it threatens still greater dangers in the future. The one side looks for the increase of power in the throne, the other for the increase of power in the people; and the mediating power of the church, or rather of Christianity, no longer existing, the struggle will continue till the throne or the people succumb, and then will arise a tyranny which will either turn German Protestantism into a worse Caesar worship than that existing under the Roman empire, or one that will crush out German Protestantism altogether. This state of things has had its natural result. The commingling of the gospel with cannons and bayonets, factories and stock exchanges, has produced Social Democracy, with its thoroughly New Testament ideals of universal brotherhood and mutual responsibility.

OLD WOMEN ON THE BENCH.

Out in Indiana, a good many years ago, a certain old lady summoned as a witness, came into court wearing a large poke bonnet, such as was then much affected by rural folks. Her answers to the questions put to her being rather indistinct, the court requested her to speak louder, though without much success.

"The court cannot hear a word you say, my good woman," said the judge.

"Please take off that huge bonnet of yours."

"Sir," she said, composedly and distinctly enough this time, "the court has a perfect right to bid a gentleman take off his hat, but it has no right to make a lady remove her bonnet."

"Madam," replied the judge, "you seem so well acquainted with the law that I think you had better come up and take a seat with us on the bench."

"I thank your honor kindly," she responded, dropping a low courtesy to the court, "but there are old women enough there already."—Law Notes.

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

SHOEMAKER'S UNION ANNOUNCEMENT.

At the request of the union officials the following statement is published: To Organized Labor and Fair Consumers:—We take pleasure in informing you that the factory of the W. L. Douglas Shoe Company, Brockton, Mass., has been organized in every department, in accordance with the laws of our organization, and our union stamp, number 45, has been issued to that factory.

In connection with the union stamp contract is an agreement, duly signed by the firm and our organization, by which it is agreed that for three years all matters of dispute which we are unable to adjust are to be submitted to the Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration for final settlement, and that no strike or lockout shall take place at any time for any cause, pretext or excuse.

We ask the patronage of all organized labor and fair consumers for the union stamp product of this firm, in common with all other firms using the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Fraternally yours, BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION, 620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

JOHN F. TOBIN, Gen'l Pres.
HORACE M. EATON, Gen'l Sec.
Treas.

DOOM OF THE SMALL DEALER.

The New England Grocer, one of the oldest trade journals in the country, sees clearly the handwriting on the wall. It says:

"One thing is certain; if the present tendency is not checked, if the small dealer is doomed, and with him the men whom he employs, the town in which his money is invested, the property of those who rent houses and apartments to his employees; if this in fact unpreventable, then is a wise paternal government a necessity, and Socialism (not anarchy, an entirely different thing) will gain new converts every day. Better a governmental monopoly than a monopoly of selfish, greedy capitalists.

In another article is printed the story of our representative's observations at the food emporium of Houghton & Dutton. It is a plain, unvarnished tale of actual fact. This concern, on Sunday, announced in big type that it had renamed its grocery department, 'Food Emporium,' because grocery department would now be a misnomer, as it is 'a provision store, grocery store, bakery and food fair all combined in one; and such it is in very fact. There is no disputing it. The standard goods are on sale, and the public is led to believe that all prices are low, because a few are cut. Tuesday sugar was advertised '20 pounds for 98 cents; but the firm say this was a mistake. Perhaps they had a gentle hint that it wouldn't do to cut under refiners' prices.

"They deliver goods in Boston and suburban cities, but they do not have the expenses of order teams, and they get spot cash for all goods sold. Many of the clerks are women and of course receive women's wages. They do not bother with kerosene and molasses; the poor grocer can sell these staples. In a word department stores

"They stab the grocer.
"They knife the druggist.
"They paralyze the stationer.
"They squeeze the bookman.
"They annihilate the hardware man.
"They injure all trades.
"They benefit none.

"And
"A good deal of the time
"They fool the people.
"In spite of these facts
"People whose property is depre-
"ciated.

"Men whose living is endangered.
"Women whose husbands' wages are
"decreased,
"Children whose future will be made
"harder.

"Buy at the department stores.
"Yes!
"Even grocers' wives
"And grocers' clerks
"Patronize them.

"Verily,
"Co-operation's wanted; not the sort
"That thrives on 'stores' while
"tradesmen die in want,
"But honest hands in mutual interest
"clasped."

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IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

TO THE COMRADES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY:

A proposition having been made (by a comrade in Belleville, Illinois, to the National Executive Committee) to publish the Social Democratic Herald on terms much more economical and satisfactory than can possibly be obtained in any large city, the committee has determined to accept the proposition of our Belleville comrade, and to change the place of publication of our National Party Organ from Chicago to Belleville. By this arrangement a very great saving in the cost of getting out the paper can be effected and the money thus saved can be used in sending out organizers and in other propaganda.

Belleville is a city of some twenty thousand inhabitants, and is situated about eighteen miles from St. Louis, Mo. Our comrade, Edwards, will reside there and continue to edit the paper. He will have the assistance of other comrades residing in Belleville. But the headquarters of the National Executive Committee will remain in Chicago, and Comrade Theodore Debs will continue as secretary-treasurer and general organizer at room 56, No. 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

In making this change the National Executive Committee feel that their action will meet the approbation of our comrades. No disadvantage can arise from it that will not be fully compensated for by the advantages to be gained by the change. All manuscripts and reports for publication should be addressed to A. S. Edwards, Belleville, Ill. All financial contributions and dues should be sent to Theodore Debs at the above address.

JESSE COX,
Chairman National Executive Committee.
SEYMOUR STEDMAN,
Secretary National Executive Committee.

REQUEST FROM THE EDITOR.

The editor of THE HERALD will not only be glad to receive, but urges comrades and readers of the paper generally to send in newspaper clippings of all happenings of interest bearing in any way upon the Social problem. If our friends, in their reading of the capitalistic press, will bear in mind that the editor cannot read all the papers and has no way of getting them if he could, and will act as assistants to this extent, they will render an important service to THE HERALD and very few straws that tell which way the wind blows will escape us.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

You can never settle the social question with charity.

Among the early public improvements in Cuba will be workhouses and prisons.

Events seem to be taking that Socialist leaven out of the People's Party very rapidly.

The £10 shares of the Coats Thread Company sell at £80, and its profits last year were \$8,500,000. That's prosperity for the manufacturer, but where does the workingman come in?

The independent strawboard manufacturers outside the American Strawboard Company are tired of independence and "competition," and have decided to organize on a co-operative basis. They will begin by shutting down all but two of the mills now

running, and a big boom is expected in strawboard stock. There will also be a big boom in the army of the unemployed. On with the combine! Close down plants and put up prices!

Walter Crane, the English artist and Socialist, and co-laborer with William Morris, has been appointed principal of the Royal College of Art, South Kensington, London.

It can make no difference to the working class whether manufacturing plants in America are owned by Englishmen or Americans, since Capitalism, whether operated by Yankees or Johnnies, is the same. And so there is no need for alarm over the extension of British investments in this country. However, as a matter of news, the English are now acquiring possession of the church and school furniture factories. They have organized a capital of \$6,000,000 and will generously take in the thirty-eight factories in the United States.

When Mark Hanna makes the admission that the chances for success in the struggle for life in this country are vastly less to-day than they were some twenty years ago, as he did recently to a Cleveland newspaper, he is in danger of putting himself outside of that eminent and respectable body of old women and profound idiots who insist that everybody is prosperous because they themselves have something to eat and that "employment is seeking labor." Whatever the result may be, however, to Hanna, he has told the truth for once.

Farmers in the vicinity of Menomonic Falls, Wis., were recently made the victims of a confidence game. Capitalists started a beet sugar factory there with a plant said to be worth \$168,000. The farmers took to growing beets and delivered their products to the capitalists. Now the concern has gone into bankruptcy, owing the beet growers \$15,000 for beets, of which it is said they will never get a cent. When the farmer runs against a skin game he is sure to get beat; but in this case the other fellows got the beets and the farmers got some more experience. It's astonishing how much experience is necessary to make farmers think.

Thursday of last week was a doleful and a dreary day in Chicago. A cold northeast wind from the lake added to the discomforts of rain and snow. It was a bitter day for the poor!

Late in the afternoon a poorly-clad man, 35 years old, cold, hungry, despairing and wet through to the skin, entered the county building and took up a position near a radiator in a secluded corner.

Toward midnight he was found with his arms resting on the radiator—dead. He was destitute of underclothing, and such apparel as he had was old and ragged. His face was thin and drawn and lack of nourishment was plainly visible.

Nothing was found in the pockets but a bit of soap—not the smallest clue to his identity—but the reports think he had seen better days!

Between him and a two-foot wall was gold—money—which men must have before they can eat bread, for he leaned against the county vaults.

O, the irony of fate! If he could but have told his story!

Let us no longer be surprised that ordinary folks misrepresent, because they have not comprehended, Socialism. Read this and see how one with a world-wide reputation as thinker, writer and humanitarian, can fall into the grossest blunders and narrow absurdities. Count Leo Tolstol has put his signature to this astounding statement:

"The most widely-accepted political economy to-day, that of Karl Marx, recognizes the existing condition of society as being what it ought to be, and not only does not demand that people should change this condition or show them how they ought to live in order to improve their condition, but, on the contrary, demands a continuation of the cruelty of the existing order, in order that their—i. e., the Marxians—(more than doubtful) prophecies of what must happen if people continue to live as wrongly as they do now—may be fulfilled."

How are the mighty fallen!
John Preston, editor of the American Fabian, says in the October number of publication:

"I stood on the arena of the Colosseum at Rome one day last spring and heard an Italian orator describe the bloody conflicts, the gladiators' shows and the slaughter of the Christians that once took place there. 'You must understand,' he said, 'that the Christians were not massacred for their religion. Religion was free in Rome. Each one worshiped whatever gods pleased him. Nobody cared. But the Christians were regarded as enemies of the state. They were seeking to overthrow the government. They were, and here the orator swept his arm over the assembly, they were what we call "Socialists" to-day.'"

Socialist is here used as an epithet, and somebody has said that epithets govern the world. According to this Roman orator, since Jesus was opposed to the government of his time, he must have been "what we call a Socialist to-day." And doubtless many

a Christian capitalist thinks so "in his heart."

A poor woman of slender build and refined face—scarred with sorrow—aged about 30 years, went into the shop of a pawnbroker in New York City and offered for a small sum of money her wedding ring.

The pawnbroker would give her but 25 cents for the ring, and she drew from her breast a pin marked "Baby." The broker gave her half a dollar for both.

Nervously handling the silver coin, her gaze fell upon a razor in a trayful of articles. She picked it up and said: "I will take this in place of the money." The broker smiled at this doubling of his profits!

Taking three or four steps from the counter, the poor woman raised her hand throat high—the razor glistened for a moment—with the courage of despair she plunged it into her neck, severed the jugular vein and sank forward in a spouting torrent of blood.

On the margin of a newspaper she had written: "May God and my children forgive their mother! Verdict: 'Temporary insanity,' but such is not the case," and the newspapers printed her picture, asking, "Who Knows this Woman?"

BURDEN OF MILITARISM.

The French Review of Reviews gives the following figures relative to the moloch, militarism, which sucks at the vitals of the European powers: The standing armies of the whole world (permanently under arms) number 5,250,000 men; in war time 44,250,000 soldiers can be mustered out. The per capital tax for military purposes is 5 francs in Russia, 13 in Germany, 9 in Italy, 10 in Austria, and 18 in France. Every fifth male adult is a soldier in Europe; and in France there is one soldier to 9 persons; in Germany one to 12 persons and in Russia one to 40 inhabitants.

A TRUE PATRIOTISM NEEDED.

By Prof Frank Parsons.

It is marvelous how much a man will do for his country, and how much it will do for him when foreigners are involved; and it is equally marvelous how little either will do for the other sometimes when only domestic affairs of a "peaceful" nature are concerned. Twenty odd years ago a British subject by the name of Cameron was imprisoned by the king of Abyssinia without cause assigned. It took the English government six months to discover that fact. When it did, the release of Cameron was at once demanded. King Theodore refused. Within ten days after the refusal was received 10,000 soldiers were on board ships of war sailing down the coast. They landed, marched 700 miles under a burning sun, climbed the lofty mountains to the fortress of Magdalen, where the Englishman was captive, then gave battle, battered down the stone walls and the iron gates, went into the fortress, down into the dungeon and took out that one, British subject, bore him across 700 miles of tropic lands, put him on a white-winged ship and sped him to his home in safety.

That was a grand thing for a great nation to do. It cost Great Britain twenty-five million dollars and hundreds of lives, but she would have done it if it had cost every life and every dollar she could command. But let Mr. Cameron get into trouble at home. Suppose he is poor and can find no work, except in a London sweat shop at two or three dollars a week, or in a dingy mine at 50 cents a day, or on a street car line where he has to work sixteen-hours a day—will the nation protect him from industrial imprisonment and abuse? Will it spend ten thousand lives and millions of dollars to save him from industrial oppression? No, it will leave him to fight his own battles against such injustice at home, although it may make him as miserable as he was in the mountain fortress and injure his moral nature more, and although he may be quite as unable to hold his own against the adverse powers at home as to battle with the king of Abyssinia.

A JOURNALIST'S INSTRUCTIONS.

An American Journalist recently wrote the London Clarion a letter, which contained the following paragraph: "In my weekly instructions I am strictly forbidden to mention anything favorable to Socialism and Socialists, or utter one single word of praise in favor of any labor reformer whom the corporations condemn. And I am not to utter one word of complaint or of accusation against railroad companies, nor any other great incorporated industry. I must not advocate less hours of labor, nor insist that labor-saving machinery has displaced men and women in the manufacturing world, nor harp on child labor, nor write disrespectfully of the millionaire church members, nor advocate any change whatever in present conditions. If I can entertain the public without touching on any of the above forbidden subjects, my position will remain open, and I can earn bread for myself and loved ones; but if I allow the suppressed truth to leak out, I will be turned out to swell the ranks of American 'trampdom.'"

WAGES OF LABOR AND PRODUCTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Advance sheets of the forthcoming report of I. H. Clark, chief of the bureau of statistics of Pennsylvania, give the individual earnings of 2,381 wage-earners for the year, and of 244 wage-earners for six months. Pig-iron workers in furnaces made from \$1.32 to \$2.10 a day of 12 hours. Eighty-six persons in the Bessemer department of steel works made average yearly wages of \$366.20. The highest earnings were made by vesselmen and iron-melters, amounting to \$673.81. The average yearly earnings of workers on steel blooms and slabs were \$514.11. The wages of hammermen rose as high as \$1,742.10 and rollers \$1,259.07. The average of eight beaters was \$628.48, and of 30 helpers \$428.06. The highest daily wages made by a leverman was \$2 and the lowest \$1.45. The daily wages of firemen was \$1.37 and the lowest \$1.19. The average yearly earnings of 48 billet-workers was \$383.53. Steel rail workers made average yearly wages of \$429.87, and 303 tin-plate workers averaged \$669.98, and 275 window glass workers \$592.21.

In 364 establishments enumerated these decreases are shown, as compared with 1892: Number of persons employed, 19,110, or 13.77 per cent.; aggregate wages paid, \$15,294,456, or 22.54 per cent.; average yearly earnings, \$490.71, or 10.17 per cent.; value of production, \$58,318,488, or 21.45 per cent.

The total production of pig-iron for 1896 was 4,026,350 gross tons, of the value of \$45,172,039. There were employed in its production 11,484 persons, whose average daily wage was \$1.37.

The value of the capital invested in the manufacture of iron and steel rolled into finished form (three establishments not reporting), was \$120,620,912. The number of persons employed was 53,573; average time of employment, 257 days, and average yearly earnings, \$444.89, or \$1.77 a day. The total classified production in tons of 2,000 pounds is shown to be: Bars, skelp, hoops, etc., 2,339,205; plates and sheets, 732,995; cut nails, 31,428; rails, 762,442, or a total of 3,757,070 tons, with a value of \$119,029,762; or \$31.68 per ton.

On the subject of "tin plate" the report of the bureau of statistics shows the total production of black plate last year was 158,306,490, an increase of over 50 per cent. as compared with that of the previous year. The value increased from \$3,252,924 to \$4,633,161. The average daily wage decreased from \$1.87 to \$1.80. The black plate and dipping works combined had a total product of terne and tin plate of 139,588,703 pounds, or a total production, including the 60,491,728 pounds black plate not tinned, of 200,080,431 pounds, as against 159,630,996 pounds produced last year, with a total value of \$6,520,559, as against \$5,716,448 the previous year. Pennsylvania still holds her place as the largest single plant producer of tin plate in the world.

The average daily wage of the 229,706 persons represented in the tables of the bureau of statistics was \$1.41. The average number of days employed was 277; the aggregate wages paid, \$90,647,319; value of production, \$399,842,380, and value of production to each person employed \$17.40.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

Whoever expends energy of mind or body in devising and creating things, is entitled to his product.

Wake up! Why should we toil for those who toil not?

Wake up! Why should we sigh, that others may laugh?

Let us be just enough to shoulder our own burdens, and to decline to bear the burdens which belong to others.

Let us not "eat, drink and be merry," but let us eat and drink to be wise and good. Wisdom and Goodness are the supreme ends. Let us pull together to attain these. Cast a ballot for the right to be right.

H. S. G. LAKE.

THE SAFEGUARD OF FRANCE.

An interesting Paris correspondent calls attention to a fact that may have been overlooked by Americans when reading of the demonstrations of mobs in the foregoing city, and that is that laborers and mechanics are not very conspicuous in the turbulent manifestations of patriotism, being rather on-lookers who betray not a little contempt for the mobs, which are as a rule composed of petite capitalists, professional patriots, and the bum element and the scum of the city generally. It is that silent, unknown force that prevents the politicians of the army from springing a coup d'etat and seizing the reins of government. The army officers understand that Paris is no longer isolated, and that thousands upon thousands of workers could and would enter the city not only from surrounding towns, but from neighboring countries as well, all fully prepared to resist the destruction of the republic and the restoration of the monarchy, the re-establishment of the empire or the introduction of a military dictatorship. It is admitted that the splendid

discipline of the Socialists and trade unionists, who are united by a spirit and fraternalism that is not met with in any other political, secular or religious association, is the hope of the republic, and that it is highly improbable that this quiet, compact and powerful labor force can be intimidated or stampeded by the loud-mouthed anti-Semites and the corrupt army politicians.

THAT PROPOSED CHANGE.

Editor Social Democratic Herald:—At our branch meeting in October we discussed informally the question of dropping the term "democratic" from the name of our party and it was the unanimous opinion, I believe, that it is an element of weakness in this country, owing to the ignorance of voters who connect us thereby with the fossilized party of the past of the same name. We have, it was argued, as much reason to adopt the term "republican," which attaches to the name of the party in Ireland, as "democratic," by which it is known in other monarchial countries. Personally the name of "Socialist" without trimmings is good enough for me, and I think I can sail in under that name for a "good time coming" hustle with as much enthusiasm as under any that can be devised.

The emblem under which we go on the official ballot in New Hampshire is a globe belted by the shibboleth "Socialism." I know of no better one. The uplifted arm and hammer, be it known, has been appropriated by a class that believes in smashing things, and that quite as often smash friends as foes. One cannot see it without construing it to mean a narrow movement of a class striking against the mass of society. A class conscious struggle with a vengeance bound up in it. Socialism is broader than that. It contemplates no revenges and it would include people of every class. The lower strata of society left to itself has not developed Socialism. It has intensified anarchic conditions, but with the elements of Socialism and true fraternity found in the middle and upper strata of society, Socialism has developed along broad and liberal lines, and is developing around the wide globe. By the same token, our International Party should not be hampered by such a term as "labor," which would indicate that it was meant to divide society along the distinctively labor class line. They who cling strenuously to that threatening uplifted hammer, and to that narrow prejudiced term in this country are, in my opinion, doing it because there is money and power in it for them, and not because they have the slightest idea that this nation of broad-minded people, already politically democratic, can ever be brought into such a narrow, threatening and unfraternal attitude as a majority. Socialism, with the world for its objective, and the socialized world as its ideal, is good enough for me.

SUMNER F. CLAFLIN.

I notice in the Social Democratic Herald of October 15 a suggestion to drop the name Democrat from the party, and the party name be simply Socialist Party. Now, in the opinion of the writer of this, no wiser step could be taken, but I must beg to differ with Brother Mellen on his assertion that we are not afraid of the word DEMOCRAT; perhaps there are some that are not afraid of it, while there are thousands that are, and I frankly acknowledge that I am one of them. Not that I am a stranger to the name, and its full meaning, or to the party that does and has borne the name of Democrat for the last hundred years, and under the delusion that I was carrying out the principles embodied in that name.

I have voted the so-called Democratic ticket for thirty years, only to find that all there was democratic about it was the name alone, and while we all know that the word has always been used by a party to smother every principle it implied, and also as a covering for every manner of trickery and fraud that human ingenuity could invent. Is it any wonder that we should begin to look at it with suspicion and distrust? And that something is lurking underneath that cover, more fatal to the interests of the laboring class than in the days of CHATTEL SLAVERY.

I believe the time has come when the word DEMOCRAT should be cast aside by the Socialist Party as a soiled garment, to undergo its purification by the slow and sure process of time.

D. F. HUNT.

Antrim, N. H.

HARVESTING BY MACHINERY.

An interesting article appears in a late number of the Scientific American descriptive of a harvesting machine used in the wheat fields of California. This harvester is pulled by a traction engine and has been built to cut a swath of 52 feet. Heretofore the standard machine cut only 16 feet and required from 30 to 40 head of stock to handle them. Seven men constitute the whole crew. The monster machine cuts, threshes, cleans and sacks barley at the rate of three sacks per minute, each weighing one hundred and fifteen pounds.

THE MAN WITH THE STONE HEAD.

Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that we are living in a revived Stone Age, having for companions, workers, and brethren, many millions of—well, mostly stone-headed men.

Men with heads impervious to reason, deficient in logic, incapable of understanding, destitute of feeling, and in thorough ignorance of self-salvation; men incapable of thought beyond today; men without ameliorative prospect or altruistic hope; men who are content to wallow in their slough of helplessness—content to join hands and live in the constant hell of despair; content to die the early self-inflicted death of dumb indifference; content that miserable and culpable apathy should obliterate their view of the Promised Land—which might have been theirs to occupy.

To me these hard-headed men represent the unsolvable problem of my existence; certainly they are the greatest sorrow of my life.

Stone-headed and granite-minded: O, the pity of it!

How difficult it is to convince the thick-headed worker of his mistaken position of being outside Socialism, every missionary Socialist seriously knows and acutely feels.

When I meet Sam Toughbrain (which is my other way of denouncing the Stony One), and endeavor to make use of the shining hour for Socialistic persuasion, both he and his brother Sammie meet my advances and arguments in divers antagonistic styles, sometimes commingled with incredulous pity, oft with a fine scorn that directly impugns to me present or coming insanity.

During the last few months I have had experiences; and the objections of the sample Sammies are as here followeth:

"Socialism is all bally rot; a case of always dividing up, promoted by those who have nothing to divide."

"No matter what you say, mister, I says as how you and your Anarchists are striving after what you don't get; you means to upset society, you do—but you'll find as our government is too strong for you and your pals. I'd sweep you bally perishes off the face of the blooming planet if I had my way."

"Am I my brother's keeper? Yes, did you say? Now, look here, old man, tell that rubbish to the miners! I'm not having any. Here, Sam, half-a-mo; this 'ere bloke says as we are all brothers! S'help me, did you ever hear such rot? Brothers! If we're brothers, we must have come from a thieving family; that don't care a bally stiver for the relationship! Brothers! Why, man, you don't know what you are talking about! We're all enemies, trying to do one another, and seeing as nobody does any; catch as catch can, that's our motto, and I expects, if truth's known, that's your motto, too."

"Everybody has the right to do the best for himself, and to keep all that he can get. Even if a communal system were introduced, we should eventually drift back to our present individualism."

"Labor is too well looked after at this present; it is the employer who is the sufferer. And, mark you, there's coming a time shortly when wages must lower, simply because the providers of necessary capital can't stand the constant strain of having their pockets picked."

"You're a lot of Jack Cades, and your last end will be like his!"

"And very much more of similar selfish purport and effect. Selfishness, is the drag on the wheel."

"But I do thank the gods that all the seed does not fall on stony ground or ears. And I'm full of hope that the scoffers of to-day may return to bless in the near and coming to-morrow."

"For 'twill come—that Socialistic to-morrow! At the same time, it is a very hard task to bring a stony visuality into line with the optic that sees and the heart that feels for the oppressed—that aches for the serf unconscious of his chains and debased condition."

"Some day! Some day the bandage will be removed, and then the worker will see things—and will be prompt in the use of his remedial sight; then his only regret will be the wasted period of his slow past and life darkness."

"And the effacement of this regret will only come in the lives that live after him."

"Theirs will be the clean slate, and theirs the marvel at the history of the stone-headed times."

"How we of democratic faith hunger for the enlightenment of these stone-headed ones! How shall we wake the sleepers? Is the problem ever haunting us?"

"And the answer is—
Plod on; be not discouraged; education must win.
Under heaven there is no weapon like unto it.
Let us, in the face of every obstacle, act the schoolmaster of progression.
When the multitude of pupils shall have been taught to spell and feel Democracy;
Then—
But that's another story, to be related in the good time coming."

Spite of Sam Toughskull and his

macadamized friends, we are progressing.

Let consolation be our sweetheart; she cheers us in the knowledge that Thirty Years Ago and Now are as Socialistically different and wide apart as the poles, inasmuch as the fruits of the hard toil of democratic conversion are apparent and real.

Only be devoted in this tiring and oft unthankful task, and eventually—
Labor will overcome everything.

Meanwhile, let us take heart o' grace.
Let us be married to the Consolation that—

The sculptor, Truth, is hard at work on the Stone Head; and the name of his graving tool is—Education.—John Democrat, in Justice.

REFERENDUM AND SOCIALISM.

The "Referendum," Shoals, Ind., publishes the following letter to the editor:

N. H. Motsinger, Shoals, Ind.

Dear Sir and Brother:—Your favor of the 10th inst., with enclosures received. Replying I have to say that I am a Socialist and that I cannot give any of my time exclusively to the referendum. This is a part, a necessary part, but only a part of the Socialist program to which I am committed. You will never be able, in my opinion, to organize any formidable movement upon that or any other single issue. The battle is narrowing down to capitalism and Socialism, and there can be no compromise or half-way ground. In the present state of ignorance of the masses the referendum would probably be a suicidal weapon in their hands. Not until a workingman comprehends the trend of the economic development and is conscious of his class interests will he be fit to properly use the referendum, and when he has reached that point he will be a Socialist. I would be happy to meet you for an exchange of views, but I leave the city in a day or two and will not return for several weeks. I know of your sincerity and honesty and hope that in the not distant future I may have the pleasure of taking you by the hand.
Yours fraternally,
EUGENE V. DEBS.

STANDARD BEARERS.

Two members of the Legislature in conservative old Massachusetts elected on a strictly International Socialist platform by a party not yet six months in the field, should make the heart of every true Socialist in America throb with joy and hope for the future progress of our movement.

Being the first Social Democrats elected in this country, the eyes of the Socialist world—and I may add capitalist world as well—will be centered upon these two standard bearers of our party—they are the heralds of the new time when the welfare of humanity will outweigh the interests of corporate wealth in legislative halls, every temptation will be placed in their way, every influence of the sleek lobbyist will be brought to bear to swerve them from the straight path into the camp of political corruption, but we hopefully look to them to crown their victory with a record that will make the name "Social Democrat" a synonym for steadfast adherence to principle, purity of purpose and unswerving devotion to the liberation of mankind from wage slavery.

Comrades of the Social Democratic Party, the achievements of the Massachusetts members of our party has set the pace for the balance of us. Persistent agitation, organization and systematic distribution of literature should be pushed forward from this time on, until our cause is won. No comrade can afford to be careless or lukewarm in this important work; every member of the Party can and ought to do something to help on the industrial revolution, if nothing more than making some fellow-worker discontented with being a wage slave. Let us work for a greater victory in 1900! If we work we will win! As one means of giving an impetus to the Social Democratic movement, I would suggest the advisability of sending Comrade Debs to the International Labor Congress that meets in Paris in 1900. As delegate to that international body of labor representatives, he could render invaluable service to the cause of labor in America. We need to come into closer relations with our co-workers over the sea, and to send a recognized labor leader like Debs to represent us would be proof of our appreciation of the importance of their deliberation.

As Social Democrats we owe it to our party to be represented in that congress, and to send "our Gene" to speak for us would be only a slight expression of the value his comrades put upon his ability and unselfish service for humanity.

Three St. Louis comrades have voluntarily subscribed fifteen dollars (\$15.00) as a starter for expense fund.
ANNA F. SMITH.

DURING THE NEXT THIRTY DAYS THE CIRCULATION OF THE HERALD SHOULD BE INCREASED TENFOLD; WHETHER IT IS DONE DEPENDS ON THE MEMBERS. IT IS EVERY MEMBER'S INTEREST TO LEND HIS EFFORTS TO THE WORK; IT IS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE THAT WE "SPREAD OUT." DON'T PUT IT OFF, BUT ACT AT ONCE AND SEND US NEW SUBSCRIBERS.



Prince Kropotkin, the famous anarchist, who has been very roundly abused by the capitalist press since the assassination of the Austrian empress, he being charged with inciting such crimes by his writings, has written a reply to the charges. Grant Allen, the English Socialist, has claimed that Kropotkin was in reality a Socialist without knowing it, and this reply certainly lacks the usual anarchistic rant. Among other things, the prince says: "It is nothing new for me to be accused and held responsible for every violent act committed. The Russian government has always liberally paid the writers of such articles. . . . I was greatly pained when I first heard about the new victim to the social struggle—the Austrian empress, who was already very unhappy even before the death of her only son. What other feeling but deep sorrow could it awaken? The women and children ought at least to be spared in the horrible struggle of the present as well as in the still more terrible struggles that the future may have in store for us. . . ."

"Tucheni was a child of the street, born in misery and squalor. Later he was taken to the barracks, where he was taught the art of murdering father, mother, wife and child at the order of his superiors. In Milan he witnessed the wholesale murder of hundreds of workmen; he saw how they were unmercifully shot for three days long in the streets, without anyone taking the trouble to ask in what the poor children that fell victims to the bullets of the soldiery were responsible for the uprising of the people."

"Do you not think that if our children were raised in the same surroundings and under the same influences, every feeling of pity would be extinguished, and, instead of human kindness, they would grow up full of deep, unrelenting hatred to all those who enjoy the riches of life without interesting themselves in the fate and sufferings of the rest of humanity? There are some people who believe in the beneficial influence of capital punishment as a warning to malefactors. Politicians, clergymen, philosophers, believe it; why should such as this Lucheni, this proletarian, this beggar, have a higher perception of right and justice than they have?"

"So long as such wholesale slaughter of hundreds of workmen as that in Milan shall be perpetuated, so long as the riches of the earth are to be enjoyed by few, so long will new atrocities of the kind committed at Geneva happen again and again. This, is my reply."

Daniel De Leon, who ran for the assembly in New York City, makes the charge that 700 Socialists in his district were bought up! This sounds odd coming from the man who has over and over boasted of the "cock-sureness" of the S. L. P. support.

The Vienna (Austria) Arbeiter Zeitung (Social Democrat) has occasioned a good deal of merriment by publishing each morning the speeches made the following evenings by the German emperor in his tour through the Holy Land. The speeches had been prepared before hand by the emperor, but no one knows how the Socialist paper got copies of them. Someone telegraphed the emperor about how they were received at home and his highness tore up his prepared speeches for the balance of his trip.

Indianapolis.—We had no Social Democracy ticket in the field. Our friends, the S. L. P. cast a vote of 269. At one time they had a vote of over 600. They claim a gain, however, as their vote two years ago was but 180.

WHY?

The Philadelphia Tageblatt, an organ of the S. L. P., has the following significant editorial on the decadence of that party in the large cities:

To say that we feel angry about the fall of the Socialist vote in Philadelphia expresses our feeling but mildly. All that we had gained last year has again been lost. Why? There was agitation enough. There must be a cause for everything. What are these causes? Perhaps the standstill of the Socialist vote in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, which is recorded by the New York Volkszeitung, may be a hint in that direction. Why is there a growth of the Socialist vote in the smaller cities and towns, a remarkable growth at some of these places? Why progress there and stand still in the large cities? Is it because there can not be any rows between the S. L. P. and the trades unions? It is a fact that the S. L. P. meets the active and passive opposition of the trades unions, while it should be the party's duty to win the trades unions for the Socialist movement. . . . The S. L. P. platform is all right. But can the same also be said of the S. L. P. tactics?—Philadelphia Tageblatt (S. L. P. organ).

AMONG THE BRANCHES.

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 2c 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 afternoon of each month, at Kehlwald's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis. J. ZORN, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 13th and Wyoming streets. Wm. Ruesche, secretary, 3358 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, 602 Chestnut street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of the month at Volkmann'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 Doerfler, 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.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 778 Twenty-fifth street.

Massachusetts is rapidly increasing its membership. Haverhill admitted 12 members at one meeting and Brockton 13.

There will be an important meeting of the Terre Haute branch Sunday, November 27, which all comrades and friends are requested to attend.

Comrade Lewis has organized a new branch at Pittsburg, Pa., of which W. Bohn, 244 Addison street, is chairman, and J. H. Lewis, 2318 Jane street, is secretary.

A new branch has been organized at Louisville, Ky., by Comrade Moorman. The branch meets every Sunday at 3 p. m., at Fruechtenicht's Hall, southeast corner Jackson and Breckenridge streets.

During the week commencing November 14, Comrade Eugene V. Debs has filled appointments as follows, in Michigan: Munsing, November 14; Negaunee, November 15; Ishpeming, November 16; Escanaba, November 17; Norway, November 18. To-night he speaks at Iron Mountain; Marquette, 20; Houghton, 21; Calumet, 22; Hancock, 23; Lake Linden, 24; Bessemer, 25; Ironwood, 26; and Ashland, Wis., 28.

SERVICE AND EXAMPLE.

He thought he could not wait
The coming of the day,
To do his Master's work,
So eager for the fray,
But a voice said to him:
(It seemed the voice of Fate),
"They also serve
Who only stand and wait."
He waited by the ramparts,
He traversed 'round the wall,
Listening in the mornings
And night-times for the call,
Old age found him waiting,
Chill Death called him late;
"Here am I," he answered,
"Standing by the gate."
God said to him:
"Thy service is not late,
They also serve
Who only stand and wait."

A youth who saw him standing—
Inspired by the man—
Also waited, hoping
The coming of the van,
To him the call came early,
He led the brilliant fight,
And victory crowned his efforts
Ere the coming of the night,
"Thank God," he said; for victory,
But sure 'tis not Fate
I owe it to the man who
Could only stand and wait."
—Edmund Norton.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM

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

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

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is

responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

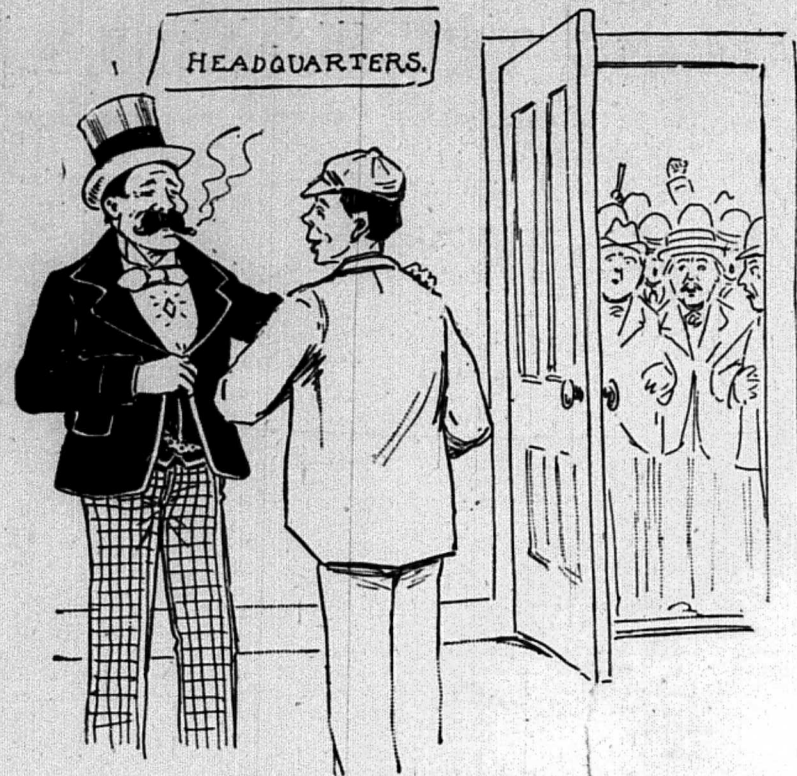
2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.

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.

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.



IT'S THE SAME OLD GAME OVER AGAIN!

POLITICIAN (after election)—"Well, Jim, you worked hard for me and you shall be rewarded. I'll see that you get a job in the water department."
 CHORUS OF UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN OUTSIDE—"But where do we come in?"

EUGENE V. DEBS ON THE ARMY QUESTION.

(From the Cincinnati Post.)

Now that the war has been practically terminated, a multiplicity of new questions are budding on the "thorny stem of time." Among these the central, commanding proposition is, "What shall be done with the army?" and upon the answer depends the character and to a large extent the perpetuity of the Republic.

Stripped of all verbiage designed to confuse the mind and obscure the issue, the question is "Shall the United States of America succumb to the rule of militarism, which dominates the old world?"

Back of this interrogatory, in shadowy outline, looms the "man on horseback" awaiting the answer, not of the American people, but of the select few to whom, under our benign representative system, they have surrendered their sovereign prerogatives.

Militarism is defined by Webster as "reliance on military force in administering government."

For years, especially since great labor strikes have alarmed capitalists and incidentally disturbed the country, the way has been quietly, gradually cleared for the introduction of legislation into Congress providing for a substantial and permanent increase in the standing army. Every conceivable reason, except the right one, was put forth in justification of the demand. General Miles caught the spirit long before the war with Spain or any other country was ever dreamed of. He boldly made the recommendation and in support of the proposition ventured nearer than any other in disclosing its true purpose by putting it upon the ground that the country should be "prepared against internal dissension."

The matter was taken up by the press and large and influential papers were moved to give hearty indorsement to the project. But, somehow, it would not take with the people. They were uniformly and emphatically against it. They were instinctively opposed to a large standing army. They felt that it was in conflict with the spirit of democratic institutions and in violence of American doctrine and traditions. The spirit that prompted Washington in his "Farewell" to warn his countrymen against "overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty," still burned and glowed in their breasts. They knew that a large standing army is inimical to liberty; and that they can not dwell together in a fact attested by all history.

At this conjuncture the Cuban question began to agitate the country, culminating in the declaration of war. Legislation by Congress to organize and equip an army followed in rapid order. In the excitement incident to the wave of patriotic sentiment which swept over the country, all objection to increase of the army disappeared, but now that the war is ended, the question of a standing army, its size, distribution, pay and the general policy of the Government relative thereto, again appeals to the calm and thoughtful consideration of the American people.

Speaking for myself, I am of the opinion that the army should as speedily as possible be reduced to its former peace footing. That there is any probability of this being done, I do not believe. The opening came, the army expanded under the necessities of war and it will never be reduced to its former limits and limitations. The commercial spirit, born of the capitalist system, requires a large standing army to maintain its regime and en-

force its edicts, and as Congress is subservient to its will, the army will remain a fixed and permanent, if not the central and controlling factor, in our Government. There are many and cogent reasons for opposition to a large standing army in the United States. These are mainly geographical and historical.

In an historical sense the main point of difference between a despotism and a democracy is the standing army. Where there is a despotism there is a standing army, and where there is a standing army there is despotism. Henry Labouchere, the famous editor of the London Truth, in discussing the effect of a standing army in the United States, said in a recent issue of his paper:

"This army would soon crush out democracy at home and in the end some popular General would feel it his duty to save society by making himself such a President as the Constitution never contemplated."

He is right. The democratic spirit would soon decline and wither in an atmosphere charged with militarism, and if any trace of it survived, it would be speedily stamped out.

A century of national progress has been achieved with but the nucleus of a regular army, and in all the exigencies which have arisen. The volunteer army, the citizen-soldiers have been found equal to every demand of the country.

Most conclusively were the readiness and efficiency of the volunteer host demonstrated in the war just closed. Why, then, should there be any departure from our national policy at this time, and a large standing army maintained in time of peace? The answer readily suggests itself. They who favor a strong military arm are not much concerned about a foreign foe. They know that the people can always be relied upon to defend the country against aggressions from the outside. The secret of their anxiety is that they do not trust the people—their own countrymen.

The fearful poverty to which tens of thousands of workmen have been ground in the merciless mill of capitalistic competition has created discontent and anger which portend resistance on an ever-lasting scale, and it is to force and keep in subjection these victims of capitalistic conquest that the standing army is demanded.

Judicial decrees, issued at the behest of the "power behind the throne" and subservive of every vestige of liberty, will command obedience when served with the gleam of bayonet upon them. Every Federal Judge will be a Czar, and, ex-officio, commander of the forces in his jurisdiction.

The standing army is a ceaseless and stupendous burden upon the people. It gnaws at their vitals in all the circling hours of the day and night. It produces nothing. It simply devours. Viewed in its most favorable light, it is a necessary evil, and should be reduced to the minimum.

Will a large standing army add to our moral strength at home or abroad? On the contrary, it will serve as a demoralizing factor. We are strong and we are respected in proportion as we trust the people, and cultivate fraternal relations among them. We become weak and invite contempt in proportion as we seek to dominate them by brute force.

I maintain, therefore, that an increased regular army would weaken, not strengthen, the Nation, and that it would provoke, rather than allay, hostilities with other countries.

The immediate reduction of the army to its former footing would, in the moral effect it would have, add immeasurably to the strength of the country at home, and its security against other nations.

Washington laid great stress on "our detached and distant situation" and

the fact that it "enables us to pursue a different course" from that followed by European countries.

Let it be borne in mind that the march of progress cannot be arrested by armed force. All the armies of the world cannot restrain the silent, invisible evolutionary forces which are in operation, and these are tending steadily away from war and toward peace. Slowly but steadily we are emerging from the savagery of war. Its horrors are still glorified in the name of civilization, but the clarion words of Douglass Jerrold, "War is murder in uniform," are not entirely drowned in the huzzas inspired by the death and desolation wrought upon the vanquished foe.

Not all our people participated in thanksgiving to the Almighty, in obedience to the President's proclamation, for having enabled our soldiers to overwhelm and crush and mangle the soldiers of Spain, and make widows of their wives and orphans of their children.

Every consideration of civilization, every interest of humanity, commands us to cultivate the arts of peace and to discourage the horrors of war, and thus fulfill our national destiny by furnishing a model for the emulation of other nations of the earth.

What has here been said has, of course, reference only to our own country. The disposition of the countries which came into our possession in consequence of the war is another question. Spanish authority has been driven out of these countries, and that was the sole issue of the war. A reasonable protectorate should be exercised by the government over the islands she has conquered until their domestic affairs are organized, and for this purpose an army sufficient for garrison service should be maintained, which can be gradually withdrawn as this object is accomplished. Then let the inhabitants govern themselves as they see fit, and in due course of time they will work out their own destiny.

Of course, there are those who see, or imagine they see, great complications in the near future, and, therefore, insist that our country should be armed to the teeth, ready for war with other great nations at the word of command. They are not close students of the course of events. There is a movement, silent and spontaneous as the dawn, which they omit from their calculations.

Socialism, quickened into life in the womb of capitalism, is spreading over the civilized world. Its growth during the past few years has been phenomenal. The late elections in Germany, France and other European countries were a revelation. In a few years more, probably sooner, Socialism will have wrested these countries from the grasp of capitalism, and their armies will disappear as if by magic and war will be no more. Socialism is precisely the same the wide world over. In its march, hate ceases and love begins.

The German soldiers and the French soldiers who riddled each other with balls in 1870, since touched by the magic of Socialism now stand beneath the same emancipating banner and mingle their voices in the inspiring strains of "La Marseillaise."

War, all war, is the result of the conquest of capitalism. Cuba was exploited and all the cruel atrocities she suffered were inflicted by capitalism—the ruling class, the world over, here as elsewhere. With the end of capitalism war will cease. Then it will be in order to "beat swords into plowshares" and spears into pruning-hooks," and the nations of the earth will dwell together in peace forevermore.

EUGENE V. DEBS.
Terre Haute, Ind.

A SOCIALIST MEMBER.

Mr. James A. Carey, one of the first two avowed Socialists to be elected to the Massachusetts house of representatives, addressed an enthusiastic gathering in Union Hall, Canal street, last evening.

He aroused them to applause when he said, "I wish my position in the legislature distinctly understood. I shall be guided only by the will of my constituency, even if it takes me to the point of the bayonet." He then went on to describe the part the Socialists played in the recent strike in Haverhill, saying that the railroad officers, who instituted the riot, were the real rioters.

"Do not hastily condemn Mr. Scates and me," he continued, "if you do not understand all our votes, but try to understand what led us to our opinions. We appreciate the philosophy of Socialism well enough to know that the pocketbook of a lobbyist has nothing to offer which can compare with the gifts of the co-operative commonwealth, now almost within our grasp. The only price of a Socialist is the earth for the people. I am satisfied that the American people will respond to the principles of Socialism, as they have to the great movements of truth in the past.

"Our failures have been due to the fact that we did not pursue the right tactics. We elected two Socialists in Haverhill this fall because we have been using argument instead of abuse."

Boston Herald, November 12.

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

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