

Social Democratic Herald

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NO. 12

The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the Transformation of Private Competing Capitals into Public Co-Operative Capital.

LIVE SPECIMENS OF PROPAGANDA. TWO INTERESTING LETTERS.

An Invitation to a Charity Ball.

Socialists as a rule make spicy letter writers. This is because they usually have something to say that others are too timid to say or too much slaves to the conventional things of society to say. I give you herewith two letters written by different Socialists of my city on differing occasions, as I regard them as good live specimens of propaganda work. The first was written in response to an invitation to attend a charity ball, given by the dollaromaniacs of the town. Here it is:

"Mrs. James Clinton Spencer, Dear Madam:—Your kind invitation and ticket for the charity ball at hand. I am very sorry, madam, that my convictions do not permit me to make use of the same. Your motives and the motives of the other ladies and gentlemen about you in arranging this affair are no doubt perfectly honorable. But I am not a believer in charity.

"Charity nowadays is a false jewel. It spoils the giver and the taker, and both should equally blush for shame at the mere thought of it. For only the sick are by nature destined to rely on mercy and charity. A healthy man can, by a few hours of daily labor, produce far more than he needs for the maintenance of himself and family. I speak it out plainly: a healthy man, capable of and willing to work, ought, therefore, in the nature of things, to prefer to use force rather than to beg; that is, after being deprived of all means to sustain himself in a peaceful and honest way. For there is an abundance of most things necessary for life, and others could easily be provided.

"Existing society, and the present state of order (or disorder) are responsible that millions of people are often compelled to suffer hunger and want. The state must keep these millions from despair or the rich are threatened with a war of extermination. And, therefore, not private persons, but the state and its organs must undertake the work of supporting the poor, and not as charity—it must be done as a duty or a tribute. And the thing is bitter enough then.

"Therefore, my dear madam, you will pardon me for not being willing to participate this time, while on proper occasions I am always willing to do my full share, financially and otherwise, toward the amelioration of the oppressed classes.

"Yours very respectfully,

Letter No. 2 was written to a woman interested in reform movements, whose intentions are good, but who was puzzled as to why all the enemies of plutocracy could not combine in the spring election, when the Democrats had put up a capitalistic fox for mayor and were trying (and they succeeded) to catch the workingman's vote with a fake public ownership platform and a fusion with the leaders of Populism. The reference to an article in the Social Democratic Herald concerns a contribution in the first issue, showing how small politicians traffic in the labor vote for personal advantage. It was headed, "Obstacles in the Way."

The action of the populists in betraying their workingmen followers into the hands of a capitalistic party was so flagrant that the Social Democrats found it necessary to put out a poster of warning. The poster made quite a stir, saved many laboring men from casting votes for capitalism in disguise, and also raised a howl from the leaders who were in the fusion business. The woman to whom the letter was written was exercised because the poster was against men whom she considered reformers, and she asked a friend who was a Social Democrat for an explanation. He explained by writing the letter, which is as follows:

"Dear ———:—The marked article in the Social Democratic Herald which I send you to-day will give you some idea of the sort of thing the 'pink poster' was issued in protest against. The people's party built up a strong and formidable organization in Milwaukee, with the help of the Socialists, who supposed it was to remain a party for the worker and not for the small flector of labor, the would-be big flector. Apparently in the interests of the small flector of labor (who is 'radical' in his animosity toward the big flector, who is crowding him to the wall), but really in the interests of a certain number of fellows who wished to trade for personal, political advantage, the party was turned over to the democratic party—a capitalistic party—the work of years was sold for a mess of pottage, and to-day the peo-

ple's party in Wisconsin is a pitiable beggar and an insignificant bully, with a firstclass rating on the list of fake political organizations. Instead of waging battle for the purification of politics, the people's party in Milwaukee has helped make the political waters brackish!

"In spite of the miserable game the leaders were playing in selling out the workmen for office, these fellows had the impudence to wait on Mr. Debs, when he arrived in the city to speak in the spring campaign, and to ask him not to make speeches for the Social Democrats—for his own party, mind you!

"The Social Democratic party is a self-respecting and progressive body; the party is enlisted in the fight against the present crushing system of society, and it means to compromise with nothing short of justice. The system woefully despoils the industrious class and all society has to suffer in consequence. Our party does not shrink from any duty that is clear to it, and when it finds the workers of Milwaukee humbugged by the people's party leaders, it puts up a pink poster to warn them of the true state of affairs, and will do so again, and again, and again, if the necessity arises. We do not fear consequences; we are not temporizers. We cannot be bullied or cajoled. Let the fellows who are making game of the laboring people take full warning. The cause of toil is too sacred to be bartered in the political market place.

"Just a word before I close about 'reformers.' Thoreau said: 'There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to one who is striking at the root.' Socialists are not 'reformers,' for 'reformers' are simply hacking at the branches of our bad conditions. Socialists detest the word 'reformer.' Instead of being steps toward a reorganization of society on lines of exact justice, most reforms are aimed at rescuing the present system from its inevitable doom at the hands of social evolution, however the real purpose may be disguised. The 'reformers' want to ease up the present robber system so that it will enable the small business man to compete a little longer with the big business man. There is no true morality in it. Their claim to be working in the interests of the toiler is sheer hypocrisy. When the board of health condemns a rookery in the slums the owner cries, 'Oh, let me off a little longer. I will cover up its rottenness with a little reform whitewash.' Shall we agree to such reform as that in the social and industrial field? Surely not. Socialists are revolutionists, not reformers. Reforms are in the interests of the master class, who wish to lessen (but not abolish) the discontent of the producing class. They do not bother their minds about the distress of that class, if they can only trick them into being contented with a system that robs them. I send you a pink poster, with my compliments.

"Respectfully yours,

WAYFARER.

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.

The government will have to pay one of the largest telegraph bills ever rendered. It will be for services during the war. The toll to Manila is \$2.25 per word, to Porto Rico \$1.84 and to Santiago 75 cents. From the beginning of hostilities to the signing of the protocol the telegraph office at the war department sent and received 125,000 telegrams.

A bank broke the other day at Sturgis, Mich. When the cash in the vaults was counted the amount found was \$250. In the last few days prior to the closing from \$12,000 to \$15,000 had been deposited. The reports say the depositors are "very angry." They will "probably receive 10 cents on the dollar," the report adds. "The bank enjoyed the confidence of its patrons,"—as all "busted" banks did before it, and as all that are preparing to "bust" do.

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.

TO OUR COMRADES!

The summer's heat is ended, and with the bracing air of autumn comes the call to duty. The slogan has been sounded, and every true comrade will hasten to his post.

The Social Democratic Party has made a grand beginning. In its councils harmony and enthusiasm prevail. In every department there is confidence and good-will. The local branches are composed of true Socialists, and, with but few exceptions, are in excellent order. The party has made many of its nominations for the fall election, and now steady work, unabating energy and unflinching courage are required to make the record of the campaign a certificate of the party's soundness and splendor.

Therefore, each comrade to his task—alert, dutiful, determined. The very mustering of the forces is an inspiration. The contemplation of the battle makes the blood flow quicker and the heart throb faster. What ecstasy for the soul not dead or stupefied! By its vivifying magic even the rag of poverty becomes a royal robe and the face of misery glows with the soul-born promise of deliverance.

The Social Democratic Party has buckled on its armor for the economic struggle. Its clarion call is heard on the highlands and in the valleys. It is pledged to the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of Socialism. Its principles are founded in the economic bedrock, and its triumph is assured.

Let each branch become at once a living, throbbing factor in the fight. Gather in every true supporter of our principles and spread our literature far and wide.

Pay your dues at headquarters and meet in the real Socialistic spirit every demand that membership imposes. The Social Democratic Herald improves with each issue. It is sound, wholesome and effective. It is a credit to the organization, and deserves the widest possible circulation. Let us all unite in the work with all our hearts.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Terre Haute, Ind.

NO NEED FOR ARMIES.

Representative men in each of the European countries were recently asked to answer two questions concerning Holland. One was: Do you believe that Holland as a power has any need of an army and a fleet? The other was: Do you think that if this small kingdom were to disarm its existence would be more threatened than at present? From among the answers from Englishmen the following two are interesting as coming from well-known Socialists:

Walter Crane: I do not see that a country like Holland requires a great naval or military organization, which in any case could hardly cope with the huge armaments of the great European powers, and can only be a burden upon the people to little purpose. I do not think, therefore, that Holland would be in appreciably more danger in case of disarmament than she is now. The real strength of a country lies in the capacity of its people and its productive power, and in so far as it is not dependent for its food supplies upon foreign countries.

Alfred Russel Wallace: In case of war between Germany and France, or between either of these countries and England, it is certain that were Holland and Belgium completely undefended, they would be overrun by one or both of the combatants and would thus have to endure some of the worst horrors of war, and perhaps ultimate loss of national freedom. Some force, therefore, is necessary to preserve the inviolability of the frontiers. But the agency to which I look to with greatest hope is the extension of the feeling of Social brotherhood among the workers of the different nations, leading them to refuse to invade other countries, or to fight at all except for national defense or in aid of nations justly struggling for freedom. This should be a fundamental principle of all Democratic or Socialistic associations.

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

DISPLACEMENT OF MANUAL LABOR BY USE OF MODERN MACHINERY.

It Has Been Continuously Progressive.

Answering Hon. Carroll D. Wright's assertion in the Chautauquan of August, 1897, that labor-saving machines do not, in the aggregate, displace labor, but that machinery creates new vocations which tend to take up all surplus labor, C. Wood Davis, in the July Forum, makes a contrary assertion, and supports it with a formidable array of figures.

Mr. Davis shows that according to Mr. Wright's report of 1886, 600 men employed in making agricultural implements were then doing work formerly requiring 2,145; that in the earlier petroleum industry every barrel was carted to the railway, but that on the completion of a well in 1886 connection was made with the pipe-line, and the oil was carried to market in a manner dispensing with the labor of 5,700 horse teams and 11,400 men, in handling a daily output estimated at 57,000 barrels; that in the manufacture of paper 90 per cent. of the labor had been displaced, as had 99 per cent. of that formerly employed in the production of paper hangings; that in making shoes one man was doing the work formerly done by sixty; that new processes had displaced 95 per cent. of the labor involved in making given quantities of carpets, 88 per cent. of that engaged in the making of certain kinds of hats, 75 per cent. in making flour, and very high percentages in most other industries.

Displacement has been continuously progressive, the eleventh census showing that in 40 industries the productive power of the labor unit was 50 per cent. greater in the ninth than in the eighth decade.

The two-row cultivator is an instance of how labor is made in the aggregate. It displaces half the men heretofore employed in cultivating given areas, and weighs a fourth less than the two implements it has displaced. But three-fourths as much material and labor are involved in its construction; the railway employs but three-fourths as much rolling stock, fuel and labor in its carriage; the dealer handles but one machine, where before he had the work and profits resulting from the distribution of two; while the cook upon the farm has her work reduced one-half.

Mr. Davis shows that in 1832 57,500 cotton mill operatives, tending 21.7 spindles each, worked 1,362 pounds of cotton each, while in 1890 211,600 operatives, tending 64 spindles each, worked 5,946 pounds. Population increased during this time 375 per cent., or 30 per cent. more than the increase (285 per cent.) in the number of persons employed in cotton goods making, despite the fact that during the time we had ceased to import so great an amount of such goods as formerly, and had become considerable exporters. There was, moreover, an increase of 90 per cent. in unit consumption of goods; the unit's power to produce cotton goods increased more than three times as fast as unit consumption. In 1832 7,340 workers furnished 1,000,000 persons with goods made from 10,000,000 pounds of cotton, whereas in 1890 1,980 workers would have sufficed, the reduction in labor employed equalling 73 per cent.

The substitution of steel rails for iron rails has reduced employment about one-fifth. In the total product of steel and iron, it is shown that in 1880 140,800 workers produced 4,269,000 tons, while in 1890 175,500 workers produced 9,784,000 tons—an increase in product of 128 per cent. and of labor force of 25 per cent. An even greater reduction of labor force compared with product is claimed for the years since 1890.

The greatest displacement of men by machinery appears on the farms. From 1870 to 1890 farms increased 71 per cent., and farm workers 41 per cent., the ratio of labor units to 100 farms falling from 220 to 185. "Had labor units been in the same ratio to harvested acres in 1890 as in 1870 some 12,730,000 would have been employed on the farms instead of 8,300,000 only. Thus it appears from official data that in a brief twenty years farm machinery alone effected the destruction of employment equivalent to constant work for 4,430,000 labor units." Even the units employed in making agricultural machinery decreased from 3,811 in 1870 to 3,755 in 1890.

To show that new vocations have given employment to men, Mr. Wright has given estimates of numbers employed in alleged new industries. The total foots up the insignificant number of 247,000.

"But what of the future?" asks Mr. Davis. Instead of the farm absorbing, as heretofore, one-fourth more people than we import, it will hereafter pour a constant stream of employment seekers into the urban districts—unless the surplus labor units born upon the farm shall be placed in a standing army.

"That the anticipated progressive displacement of labor by machinery is not imaginary is apparent from innumerable facts, among which may be named that the setting of tobacco and other plants is effected by machines; that the seed potato is cut by one machine and planted by another, while the product is dug by a third; that the 'self-feeder' of the thrashing machine displaces two men; while 'blast-stackers' and gasoline engines will, when in general use, reduce the labor of thrashing 75,000,000 acres of grain annually in the equivalent of constant work for 150,000 men; that the two-row cultivator will displace labor in cultivating 110,000,000 acres of rowed crops in the equivalent of constant employment for 130,000 men; that in the pastoral regions the 'hand-shearer' has been displaced by machines making 3,600 clips per minute; that Mr. Edison is, with a handful of men, demolishing mountains and converting them into iron ore and building sand, while on the Mesaba range the steam shovel now mines and loads ore which displaces that formerly mined at an average labor cost of one dollar per ton; that the pneumatic atomizer enables one unskilled laborer to paint more freight cars than can fifteen skilled hand workers, while with the eight-pound pneumatic hammer the workman drives more nails, rivets more boilers, caulks more seams and cuts more stone than can twenty men with older appliances. The list of such recently invented labor-lessening and employment-destroying devices is endless.

"Till recent years no enduring dearth of employment has resulted in the United States—only, however, because of an existing safety valve in the arable public domain, and because we were one of a very limited number of machine-using peoples. But Germany having in the latter respect become our peer, Russia, with a vast population, being ready to follow her example; Japan already a machine user on a large and rapidly increasing scale; China about to be forced to become such; India, a large and increasing user of cotton machinery, and almost ready once more to ship her textiles to Europe; nearly all Central and Eastern Europe preparing to compete with the Western nations—under these conditions it is probably not too early to ask what the situation is likely to be when a thousand millions or more, who inhabit countries now using little, if any, machinery, shall become machine users and compete with the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France and Belgium for external markets—and where such markets are likely to be found."

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We have only to look at statistics to find how the big fortunes are rolled up. The latest statistics show that the average wage per year paid in this country is \$435, while the average yearly product of the laborer is valued at \$2,360! This means that the worker only gets 17 per cent. of the wealth he creates, while the non-workers get the other 83 per cent. Under such circumstances no power under "the skies" could keep some men from getting poor and some from getting rich. We still hear the master class blandly talk of the American workmen being higher paid than those in other countries, but if you want to take their breath away just tell them that in Great Britain the worker gets 20 per cent. of his product, while in Italy he gets 40 per cent. The American worker produces more and only gets higher wages because he does more work.

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"WAGES ARE GOING UP."

The state mine inspector's returns in Ohio shows that the average time worked by the coalminers of that state in 1897 was less than half the number of working days in the year. This made the average wage throughout the year \$16 a month. Conditions in the Pennsylvania mines are still worse. Oh, yes, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, wages are going up. It is the favorite claim of plutocracy through the daily press, which it owns, that the cause of discontent on the part of the miners is the mischievous work of the agitator. As a matter of fact, these poor brothers of ours are so cowed by the economic forces that crush them to the earth that they are almost without the power of resistance or protest. The best thing that could happen to the people of this country would be to have an army of conscientious agitators sent out into all the wage hells of the land, crying with all the strength that conscience gives, to the downtrodden to rise up in the might of numbers and demand a reconstruction of society. And they should be shown at the same time that the hardest blow for freedom can be struck at the ballot box.

HURRAH FOR US!

The war which was undertaken in the name of justice and on behalf of humanity for the Cubans is coming rapidly to be seen as a conquest for commercial gain, and nothing more. We are now told by Mr. F. B. Thurber, president of the United States Export Association, that "production has outrun consumption," and therefore additional markets must be found for American products. The opportunity of American capitalists comes now with the close of the war, and must not be thrown away. And so Mr. Thurber proposes that such territory as has fallen into our lap, as a result of the "war for justice and humanity," shall be retained.

"Production has outrun consumption." We have in the United States seventy millions of people, all well housed, well clothed and well fed.

Seventy millions of people wanting nothing, and all prosperous!

Seventy millions of people with unrestricted access to the means of life!

Seventy millions provided with every comfort and every luxury known to our higher civilization!

There is a plethora of riches in every home; there isn't a loose bellyband in the land!

There is no want anywhere and no fear of want!

Never in the whole course of history have any people been so universally well supplied with everything that makes life worth living!

"Nobody is poor; everybody is rich!"

"Production has outrun consumption!"

Hurrah for Us!

A SAPIENT EDITOR.

The following nugget of wisdom on Labor Day is from the sapient Minneapolis Tribune, which, it is almost needless to say, is a republican newspaper:

"The observance of such a day promises to become as universal as the observance of the Fourth of July. And what more fitting than that the emancipation of labor should be celebrated as widely as the political emancipation of a nation?"

It would be interesting to know when labor was emancipated in this country. Labor has about the same rights before the law as a helpless child in the grip of a ferocious beast; it enjoys as much freedom as Prometheus chained to the rock. It is in the grip of a brutalizing system, which those who receive the awards of are indisposed to abolish or even to modify. It is chained down to the necessity not alone of supporting itself, which it does with one-fifth of its working time, but of supporting the private owners of capital and providing them with luxuries. And yet we are told that labor is emancipated!

It would be additionally interesting to know when the nation achieved "political emancipation." The truth is that the republic is rotten before it is ripe, for women are no more parts of this nation, politically, than the Filipinos. The chances of the latter to be "politically emancipated," by being made American citizens, are better today than are the chances of American women.

A CAPITALIST SOLUTION.

Mr. Charles A. Conant, in the North American Review, gives what he styles the economic argument for "Imperialism." "The accumulation of capital, beyond the demands for its profitable use in new productive enterprises," he says, "forces the opening of new fields of endeavor." He makes it clear that new discoveries and inventions have enormously increased the productive power of the United States and Europe, so that the only outlet for machine production is in "developing the decadent nations." And this he proposes shall be done by "equipping the new countries with the means of production." There are two other possible solutions, he admits, but both are discarded. The first is "the Socialistic solution of the abandonment of saving," and the second "the creation of new demands at home for the absorption of capital." While the writer is somewhat mixed in his use of terms, the solution he proposes is clear enough. We are to "equip the new countries with the means of production."

If Mr. Conant had thought more on the subject, he would perhaps have seen, though he might not have stated it, that his solution will not solve the problem at all. It is not a solution. As a matter of fact, the "decadent nations" which he has in mind, like Japan and China, are not waiting to be equipped with modern machinery, they are equipping themselves. And, once equipped, and acquainted with capitalist methods of production and capitalist treatment of labor, it is conceivable that in a dozen years the Celestial exploiters of capital would be independent of "us" and in a position to dictate to "we" world-savers in a competitive market. We know that these people have made marvelous progress in manufacturing in recent years. We know, too, how little they can live on and thrive. They are not inventive people, it is said. But they are wonderfully deft and imitative, and a Chinese or Japanese can do anything that they have seen anyone else do. China has iron, and copper, and coal—more of the latter than any other country in the world. They have 400,000 square miles of coal-fields of extraordinary richness. They also have plenty of people to mine it. There will be no job there for an American miner; no job for an American machinist, an American carpenter, an American house-smith, or tinsmith, or blacksmith. The Chinese will take care of all the jobs. Then the dexterity of the Japanese is a matter of world-wide notoriety. They out-do us now in many lines of production; they are a progressive people. Equip them and the Chinese with the modern machinery of production and it will be a few years only before they will do most of the manufacturing for the world.

Mr. Conant will have to try again; his "solution" will not do. All capitalist "solutions" are inadequate.

The coopers of Chicago are in the midst of an interesting discussion of the question whether they shall permit themselves to be disrupted by the introduction of machinery in barrel-making or demand the control of the machines. And, as will be seen by an extract in this paper, the ex-president of the International Typographical Union raises the question whether the trades union is capable of dealing with economic conditions. The machine and what to do with it is the question. The machine forces Socialism.

Every member who receives The Herald should regard it as a duty to the party to secure one or more subscriptions at 50 cents per year. The paper is yours, and the movement will grow with its circulation.

CIVILIZATION THAT IS HERALED BY LABOR DAY.

The civilization of which Labor Day is the herald is to be the opposite of that which has produced the slums of industry and the camps of war.

The horrors of Camp Wikoff, Camp Alger, Camp Thomas are not the fruits of war. They are the fruits of capitalism—of the religion of Self-Interest. Where the Spaniard has slain us by tens the American has slain his own by hundreds by army contracts and "pulls" for incompetents and politicians.

The country stands pale with rage at the tragedy of the fever, the hunger, the nakedness, the delirium visited upon those who have labored for it on the fields of battle. But capitalism, business, has been visiting these horrors year in and year out on those who labor on all the other fields not less necessary to our safety and honor.

Camp Wikoff and the other camps are only dress rehearsals of a drama of greed—greed for money and greed for office and titles—which now holds the stage in every department of our government and business life.

There are camps of typhoid, starvation and destitution in every mining field, manufacturing town and commercial and financial metropolis. They are not merely as bad as these in which we are now uniforming our soldier sons with winding sheets; they are worse. The victims at Montauk and Chickamauga are fighting men; those, more numerous, crippled every year by the perpetual malaria of avarice and the yellow fever of the Almighty Dollar in New York and Boston and Chicago are largely women and children.

Our trade and industry are wholly in the management of the capitalists, and our government is wholly in the hands of their politicians, and this is what they have brought us to in peace and war, at home and on the field—slums and camps, workless men and working children, the soldier dying of typhoid on the wet ground within three hours of the richest city of the world, because the capitalists and the politicians, given a million and a half dollars a day by the people, cannot or will not give him roof, food, bed or medicine nor even a pure drop of water.

Against this civilization of Making Money the spirit of Labor Day raises the flag of the better civilization of Making Men.

The celebrations of Labor Day are the primary meetings of a new constitutional convention the people are getting ready to hold to declare the commonwealth in which equal rights shall mean that the riches created by all shall be owned and managed by and for all.

On some Labor Day a new spiritual revelation will descend on the congregation of the workers which will revoke the ancient curse against labor, and in setting all to labor for others as they would that others should labor for them will make labor free, fruitful and reciprocal, and therefore the greatest of earthly blessings, the surest foundation of law and order, and the highest act of worship in the religion of love and the golden rule making man the creator of a diviner life "on earth as it is in heaven."—Henry D. Lloyd, in New York Journal.

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.

For twenty-six consecutive years, with a fidelity and regularity characteristic of multitudes of wage slaves, Charles Miller served the Vandana Railroad Company as a brass cleaner; did it until he was 70 years of age and too infirm to work. Then he was discharged. A small pittance paid to him as wages had not enabled him, with all the thrift of those twenty-six years, to save anything for his declining days. When he was turned down Miller was penniless and went straight from the company's shop to the poor house. A few more years of private ownership of railroads and we'll have the millennium.

"The Cubans may not be able to govern themselves," says the Chicago News, "but they have put four presidential tickets in the field." And American capitalists have put twice four presidential tickets in the field, with a net result of wresting the government from the people and administering it in their own behalf. This they will see to it is done in Cuba, and in a few years the Cubans will find they have presidents in collusion with Yankee capitalists.

More negro miners have been taken to Pana, Ill., and business men of the town are leaving the place. Only the patience and thorough discipline of the old miners themselves has prevented riot and bloodshed, which the operators and the authorities have tried hard enough to bring about.

It seems that almost the greatest result of "Spanish horrors in Cuba" is starvation; that is also the greatest result of capitalistic horrors in America. The only difference between starvation here and in Cuba is that the Cubans made a vigorous kick about it.

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COLLAPSE OF A POLITICIAN'S TRICK.

The Socialists and the Liberal party in England are laughing at the collapse of the scheme for pensioning old people. At the election in 1895 one of the cries was, "Vote for Chamberlain and old-age pensions," and it was necessary for the Conservative government to do something to show that it intended to support the scheme. Accordingly a committee was appointed to investigate the whole subject, and it has just presented its report. It examined thoroughly all the plans suggested by Mr. Chamberlain and others, as well as one contributed by one of its own members, Sir Spencer Walpole, and it finds them all impracticable. The report of the committee is designed to show on the one hand that the theory of governmental pensions is unequal and pernicious, and on the other that it is unnecessary! Ahem!!

And then the sly old capitalists making up the committee end their report with this sad old chestnut:

"Before closing our report we desire to refer to one consideration which the course of our inquiry has strongly impressed upon us. It is that a large and constantly increasing number of the industrial population of this country do, already, by prudence, self-reliance and self-denial, make their old age independent and respected. We entertain a strong hope that the improvement which is constantly taking place in the financial and moral conditions of labor will do much to deprive the problem we have had to consider of the importance now attaching to it."

One of the schemes, that of Sir Spencer Walpole, proposed that every person of sixty-five who had half a crown a week of assured savings should get another half crown from the local authorities, half the cost to fall on the rates and half on the imperial exchequer. It was estimated that less than one in four of the 2,000,000 of aged men and women in the United Kingdom would receive anything under this scheme, and they would not be the most necessitous, nor would they necessarily be the most deserving. Thus the immediate evil which demands a cure—the destitution of so many decent people who have worked hard all their lives—would not be touched by Sir Spencer Walpole's proposal.

Some idea of how the Socialists regard the matter may be gained from the following comment in The Clarion of London:

Isn't it comic? Lord Rothschild chairman!

Then look at the cost of the scheme. The committee had such a tender regard for the pockets of the taxpayers that they hesitated to put further burden on their heavily laden shoulders. Yet they say, "we do not question that the state could bear the necessary additional burthen if the welfare of the community really demanded it."

There is evidently no doubt in the committee's mind that the welfare of the community does not demand it. The 1,330,000 old people whom they estimate would come under any pension scheme are of no importance. Human lives are cheap to-day.

Why should we bother about the old people? Sweep them into the lumber-room and let them rot. . . . They say, "we consider that state aid cannot be justified unless it is limited to aiding the individual when circumstances beyond his control make it practically impossible for him to save from his own earnings an adequate provision for old age."

The insolence of it! Circumstances beyond his control! There is to be no help for a man unless he is completely despoiled by the robbers. He must have led a starvation existence for sixty-five years, he must have received just enough food and clothing to keep him from dying, then he will be graciously helped out of the fund he has himself built up. . . .

Workingmen must not lose sight of the fact that these revolving measures are only concessions to their growing power, intended to lull them into a false security, while the robbers devise other means of retaining their spoil.

They must not forget that it is not old-age pension schemes that they want, so much as the right to the full fruits of their toil. The right to live a decent, healthy life in their working days, and the right to a comfortable living when they are full of years and honor.

And this they can only have under a system of Socialism, where every man would receive all the wealth he created.

The London Spectator (Reactionary) says: "We believe that the first necessity of the English people, and indeed of the general proletariat of Europe, is a decided, though not necessarily very large, increase to their weekly wages. With the exception of the specially skilled in the finer trades or the

thoroughly skilled in the rougher trades, they do not get enough silver at the end of the week to meet the new conditions of civilization—the necessity, that is, for better housing, for some modicum of instruction, and for those club subscriptions without which they cannot enjoy the advantages derivable from carefully managed association. The second great necessity is honorable provision for workmen against the only source of weakness which involves no reprieve, and cannot be escaped by anybody, namely, old age."

Says the capitalistic Springfield (Mass.) Republican:

"There is a 'socialism' which would pauperize, demoralize, and corrupt, and this pension scheme and all others that strive to bring government into the attitude of a guardian and patron of the individual, is of that stamp. There is a 'socialism,' on the contrary, which strives simply to introduce conditions of substantial equality in economic opportunity—which aims to help men to help themselves, and this is a very different matter. Public ownership or control of what are called natural monopolies is styled socialistic, but the advocates of such a policy seek simply to remove inequalities of opportunity, which discriminate against labor and capital in general to the especial profit of the labor and capital which has obtained the monopoly. Old-age pensions and all like schemes are to be avoided for the very reason that they place the individual on a very different footing and make him a dependent ward of the state. He is thereby relieved of the necessity in great measure of looking out for himself, and when that happens the average human being will not undertake very strenuously to concern himself about his means of livelihood."

Sly old capitalism!

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.

FAMINE AND RIOTS IN CHINA.

No friend of China can view without sadness the present condition of her unfortunate people. The creator has blessed them with a salubrious climate and a fertile soil, yet millions of people die every year for lack of food. It cannot be said that the people are at fault—they are sober, industrious, and thrifty, and have all the qualities that are needed in the production and accumulation of wealth. In every part of the world save China they do accumulate and grow prosperous. Nor must the suffering be charged to over-population. There is no such density as is found in England, Belgium, or India. The distress this year is widespread and appalling. In nearly every part of the empire murmurs of discontent are heard. The Yangtze valley is full of starving refugees from less fortunate districts. Typhus fever rages among them. They have pawned everything but their rags for food, and the price of rice is double what it was four or five years ago. It is already higher than during the troublous times which ushered in the Taiping rebellion. The effects of this rise in the price of foodstuffs are seen here. Painters, carpenters, tailors, and barbers have successively struck for higher wages, and, however unjustifiable the resort to violence on the part of some to bring their masters to terms, we cannot but sympathize with the toilers whose wages are kept at such a mark that any increase in the price of food means less food and food of a poorer quality to eat. All around us we hear of rice riots, with assaults upon local officials and destruction of property.

Hunger has ever been a fruitful source of revolution. There is a limit to human endurance, and even such conservative writings as the Chinese classics justify the overthrow of a government that leaves the people to die in the ditches and deny that it is regicidal to slay an oppressive ruler. The people of China are patient in the extreme. They are not turbulent, but law-abiding, and with a reasonably just government they cannot be driven to disloyalty. It is ominous therefore that at this time the murmurings should be so loud. The people turn their wrath largely upon the officials, and this is not altogether unjust. The official sets himself up as the father and mother of the people. It is his duty to provide as far as possible against the calamities that bring suffering. More attention to public works would prevent many of the disasters that have wrought so much ruin. A stricter enforcement of the law would prevent poppy culture altogether.

It is unfortunate that the action of our government has been made the excuse for the further oppression of the people. The taking over of the likin collection by the customs releases an army of leeches in whom the parasitic habit has become fixed, and new methods of squeezing must therefore be invented for their support. The collection of the likin by the custom service means an honest administration of that department and a great increase in receipts, and there seems no justification, therefore, for additional taxation, but additional taxation there is, and with the high price of food this added burden is intolerable.—Shanghai Celestial Empire.



In this great "daddy land" of ours it is said that the people rule. Well, who are "the people?" It is important to decide this, for the happiness of society depends on it. Statistics show us that the population is divided into classes, and that there is a rich class numbering 1 per cent. of the people, a middle class numbering a trifle over 100 per cent., a poor class numbering over 38 per cent., and a very poor class numbering 50 per cent. Of the poor class it is safe to say that at least half live by wage labor, and so we can add this half to the very poor class, and thus safely say that the wage workers of the country number about 70 per cent. of the entire people. At present the country is governed by the rich class and the upper part of the middle class, or, let us say, the entire middle class. That means that 11 per cent. of the people controls the government and that the government is run in the interests of that small number. The Populists want the small business man to run things, their idea being that the small business man represents democracy. The small business man makes up about 20 per cent. of the people. Now, then, which do you favor? Do you favor government by the rich class, who number but 11 per cent. of the people; do you favor the Populist plan of having 20 per cent. rule, or do you favor the demand of Social Democracy, which says that 70 per cent. shall have the right to decide how the government shall be administered and in whose interests? Do you see the point? This brings me to something I want to say about the People's party.

Why is it, I ask you, that just as soon as the populist party began to secure success it began to die? Surely there must be some reason for such a phenomenon. I was reading the other day that in Alabama where in August the Democrats elected their state ticket with a tremendous majority, the populists were so badly beaten that it is doubtful if they will ever again make an organized effort to get control of the state. The party lost over half its votes. In Kansas, the home of populism, Judge Rightmore, who was a candidate for the supreme justiceship on the populist ticket in 1890, is on record as saying that of all the nominees on the ticket that year not one supports the party ticket this year. In Wisconsin, the home of the secretary of the national organization for years, the party is on its last legs, so depleted in numbers that it has not dared to go into an election without fusion, so its members cannot be counted. This year it was unable to impress the Democrats with the importance of its following, and thus fusion fell through. It put up a state ticket, and is still frantically trying to make a trade with the Democrats so as to escape showing its weakness at the ballot box. It is much the same in other states. Politically, to use the language of the street, the people's party is a dead duck. Now why is this thusly?

One reason, of course, was the fatal error of fusion. I do not overlook its importance as an explanation, but it takes more than that to explain why a party should become weakest when it had reached the stage of strength. There must have been something wrong in the structure of the party. Its principles must have been erroneous ones, for truth does not decay when given opportunity to assert itself.

Let me give you my opinion. To my mind the people's party was a party of false pretenses. Its real strength in the rank and file came from the laboring class, the leaders came from the small business men's class—a class of wage exploiters, who, while they may have had good intentions toward labor, could only see public policy through their own middle-class eyes and from the small employers' standpoint. So long as the working people could be deceived into thinking that the party stood for their interests they gave the party their votes. At first they could not distinguish the real class interest that lurked in the leaders' criticism of monopoly and money power, but gradually they did distinguish. They found the fight on the money power and on corporate greed was not uttered in the interests of the dispossessed wage-workers, but in the interests of the small employing class, which was not opposed to the wage system, but only jealous of the big fleecers because they were monopolizing the fleecing market and driving the small business man—the small fleecer—out of "business." As this truth dawned on the wage-workers they began to lose interest in the people's party, and thus we have seen in the last few years an increased interest in Socialism, for the wage-workers, and even many of the small business men, who realize that under the competitive system they are doomed, see at last that their only hope lies in a party standing abso-

lutely for the people. Those of the small business class who have come to us have been able to see the iniquity of the wage system and to wish it abolished, even though the necessities of the case oblige them to remain profit takers. They are able to see clearly that their own interests do not lie in keeping the profit system in existence. And so from this class some of our hardest workers have come.

As the people's party withdraws from the field and leaves the issue clear between the two capitalistic parties on the one hand and the party of the people on the other, the true interests of Socialism will be conserved if we can prevent the organization of another muddle-headed party to take the place of the populists' organization. If a stampeding party of this sort does not come upon the scene, the militant Socialistic advance will be rapid indeed during the next few years.

THE PHILOSOPHER.

A GOOD THING.

I have just received the September number of Progress, a magazine of over eighty quarto pages (7 1/2 x 10 1/2), illustrated. This is the first number I have ever seen, though it is the beginning of Vol. IV. It is published by the University Association, whose work is, in part, "to carry on the work of self-culture by individual effort, or in local centers or organizations, along the lines of normal school, university and world's congress extension."

Previous volumes have been devoted to "Universal History" and "Universal Literature." The present volume is to be devoted to "Political Economy, Political Science and Sociology." The course runs through twelve numbers, each number being divided into courses under each of the heads noted, with weekly reviews and questions.

Professor R. T. Ely is the instructor in political economy; Professor Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, in political science, and Professor H. H. Powers, of Leland Stanford, Jr., University, in Sociology, assisted by specialists in each division.

Professor Ely has personally directed the preparation of the entire course, and selected all of its contributors, which fact guarantees fair treatment for Socialism.

I am delighted with the number before me. It seems to me that the division of topics and the manner of treatment could not be improved upon.

Thousands of wage-earners, like myself, have never had the benefit of college education, and in our investigation and discussion of what is most often spoken of as the question of "capital and labor" we lack a clear knowledge of the history and development of society, something which this course of study will supply in a most satisfactory manner, judging from the first number and the accompanying list of subjects and instructors for the complete course.

A membership and the magazine for the course costs \$3.75, and all who can should take advantage of it, for, as the prospectus states, "the future is full of immense and startling possibilities both of good and evil, and whether it brings new blessings or the overthrow of the precious treasures of civilization gathered together with so much toil and suffering, must depend upon the character of the citizenship of the Twentieth century. It would be difficult to name a practical problem of the day which does not have its economic, political and Sociological bearings."

I don't pretend to assume a review of the magazine before me, but simply to call attention to what seems to me a most timely undertaking, not alone for wage-earners, but for all who want to understand the question of the best conduct of organized society.

Send 25 cents to the University Association, Association Building, Chicago, Ill., and judge for yourselves. Ask for the September number of Progress, and say you saw it noticed in the Social Democratic Herald, and thus help our own publication.

Tiffin, Ohio. CHAS. R. MARTIN.

It is computed that the miners of Kansas are annually swindled out of \$500,000 by the truck-store system conducted by the operators.

"A Physician in the House," by Dr. J. H. Greer, of Chicago, is a volume of 800 pages, filled with instructive and useful information, familiarity with which would be a guide to the people in emergencies and a safeguard at all times.

The Detroit Tribune excuses the mismanagement of the war and the sufferings of the troops on the ground that if "there had been no horrors we should be tempted to go forth to the conquest of the earth." And that's the sort of rot self-complacent and intelligent people applaud.

The study of the cases of 600 children in a hospital showed that in 88 cases the fathers were out of work; in 176 cases the mothers had to work out. In many cases the total family income per week was but \$3 to \$4; and in 249 cases it was still less. Over 250 were deprived of material nourishment before the proper time, and 101 never had received it, usually because the mothers had to work away from home. Rickets and other diseases were the direct result.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WAGON MISSION.

Nebraska City, Neb., Sept. 15.
No doubt the readers of our paper, or some of them at least, would like to learn something of the Wagon Mission, its whereabouts at the present time; the work done and the plans and prospects for the winter campaign. The weather department has not been in our favor at all until the last two days. The month of August was so insufferably hot that we deemed it unsafe to attempt to travel, and it was not until the 6th of the present month that we really got our war paint on, although we held two enthusiastic meetings, both in Omaha and South Omaha, speaking twice in each place. Our first stop was at Plattsmouth, a railroad town, where there are repair shops. Here it was pretty hard work to find any one willing to even become acquainted with us. But after a lively skirmishing around, Mrs. Jones, who is a host in herself as a rustler, found one lone man who acknowledged himself a Socialist. At once the clouds lightened, our horse was put in a livery stable and we were domiciled at the Perkins house, and arrangements made for a street meeting the next night. At noon on Thursday, Mrs. Jones, the indefatigable, went to the railroad shops to notify the white slaves that a meeting would be held that evening, and to sell some copies of "Merrie England" if she could. She had got pretty near round on her beat, when the slave driver—one of them—of the company caught sight of her and ordered her off the premises. She had done her work well, however, and sold a few copies of her book. In the morning she had interviewed the Mayor for permission to hold a street meeting, and when told that we were going to preach Socialism he said, "Socialism! Socialism!! What's Socialism?" An elderly man in the office said, "Why, that's the coming political party. Let them have the best corner in town to speak from, and go and hear them yourself."

Well, we had a very enthusiastic meeting, lasting at least two hours and a half, and at the close there was a strong desire manifested for a meeting the next night. We sold quite a lot of "Merrie Englands" and some other pamphlets, and distributed many copies of The Herald and Appeal to Reason. On Friday the rain poured down so no meeting could be held that night, but on Saturday about 4 o'clock the sun shone out and we held a rousing meeting. The Socialists there are jubilant over the work done for the cause, and will probably organize a branch in the near future.

We were treated royally, and excepting the rain, have only pleasant recollections of the Plattsmouth comrades.

Sunday noon we started for Union, but again it poured and we had to apply for shelter at the home of Mr. Todd, where we were most hospitably entertained by himself and good wife until Tuesday, when the sun again shed his beams upon us and we started again for Union. After reaching that town we learned that there was to be some sort of a show that night so we concluded it wiser to push on for this city, and arrived here on Wednesday morning, after traveling over some of the worst roads that a horse ever pulled two old women over. Last night we held the first open air meeting ever held in this place by women, and had as listeners lawyers, doctors, merchants and some of the county commissioners, a thoughtful attentive audience, who were deeply impressed. To-night we speak again and hope to do great good. Women discussing Economic and Sociological questions intelligently is a new wrinkle in these parts and results must follow.

THE WAGON DUET.

The attorneys of all the railroads entering Chicago held a secret session to decide what they should do in regard to the order and ruling of the interstate commerce commission reducing from \$2 to \$1 the terminal charge on live stock taken to the Union Stockyards. One of the big live-stock commission men, who has been fighting for the reduction for several years, said:

"I was informed on the telephone that the attorneys of the different railroads at their meeting decided to ignore the order of the interstate commerce commission."

A SOCIALIST HONORED.

Socialists of all sorts and sizes will rejoice to hear that Mr. Walter Crane has been appointed to the Principalship of the Royal College of Art, at South Kensington. Mr. Crane was born in Liverpool in 1845, and was apprenticed to W. J. Linton, the Republican artist and poet. He took to book illustration, painting, and designing, and soon did work that brought him fame and distinction. He came under Ruskin's influence; and from the pre-Raphaelites, from Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and William Morris he drew his inspiration.

Mr. Crane's sympathy with all labor and democratic movements is well known. He is a lecturer on Social questions, particularly in their relation to art; and twelve years or so ago, largely under the inspiration of Morris, he threw himself with energy into the Socialist movement. He is a member of the Institute of Water Colors and of Oil Painters, and an Associate of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colors.—The Clarion.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c 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, 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 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 Doerfler, treasurer.

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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 Stuepmfle; coroner, Andrew J. Melville; commissioner, second district, Samuel R. Hoar; surveyor, Mook Turle; 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 Elsner; 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. Schwin; county clerk, F. W. Rehfeld; county treasurer, Philip Siegel; 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. Haussler; clerk of the circuit court, L. Stoll; clerk of the court of criminal correction, William Brandt; clerk of the probate court, Charles Specht; prosecuting attorney, Martin Erd; assistant prosecuting attorney, W. H. Scott; sheriff, F. Meier; coroner, Stanley D. Peet.

Illinois: For state treasurer, James Beattie, Spring Valley; superintendent of public instruction, Ward King, Streator; trustees of University of Illinois, Alzina P. Stevens, George Koop and Cornelius L. Heege, Chicago.

The comrades at Terre Haute, having a full county ticket in the field, have decided to carry on a campaign with a wagon, and will cover the entire district. The method is the best for reaching the people, and the economy of it is one of its chief recommendations.

The campaign at St. Louis was opened by Comrades J. L. Franz, Albert E. Sanderson and G. A. Hoehn. The opening meeting was a decided success.

Comrade Albert E. Sanderson, candidate for judge of the Supreme Court, will speak before Branch 1, at 1223 No. Broadway, St. Louis, Friday, September 23. Subject: "The Downfall of Capitalism."

Comrade James F. Carey, president of the Common Council of Haverhill, Mass., will speak to-night for the Social Democratic Party at Brockton.

CAPITALISTIC KALEIDOSCOPE.

For the benefit of his creditors, Capt. T. W. S. Kidd, who has published and edited the Daily Morning Monitor at Springfield, Ill., for twenty-five years, made an assignment. They couldn't "kid" Kidd any longer about prosperity.

President Thomas of the "Monon"—the Chicago, Indianapolis & Louisville Railway—is reported to have sold his shares to the Vanderbilt-Morgan combine. What a tremendous job the old democratic party has to stop the growth of combines and trusts!

"It can be stated upon authority that cannot be questioned," says the St. Louis Republic, "that the deal for the organization of the Continental Tobacco Company is on again, this time with the chances largely in favor of its consummation. It will take in all the plug tobacco factories in the United States."

A writer in the Paris Gaulois contributes to that paper a very interesting statement in regard to the cost of armaments. He puts the cost of the present year at, approximately, the following amounts:

SPENT ON ARMIES.	
France	£24,880,000
Russia	30,120,000
Germany	29,240,000
Austria	14,960,000
Italy	9,440,000
England	18,320,000
COST OF THE NAVIES.	
France	£10,230,000
Russia	6,360,000
Germany	5,840,000
Austria	16,160,000
Italy	13,480,000
England	40,640,000

NATIONAL INCREASES.	
Since 1875 the annual armament expenses have increased for—	
France	£ 8,600,000
Russia	4,720,000
Germany	15,960,000
Austria	4,040,000
England	14,360,000

In the Economiste Européen, the well-known writer, M. Edmond Théry, estimates that the policy of Bismarck has cost, since 1870, £1,800,000,000, being the additional military cost to the nations.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**A MAN'S FOOD FOR A YEAR
IN A HALF BUSHEL BASKET.**

The announcement that in thirty-three years, exactly one generation hence, the human race on this globe will be brought face to face with starvation would not be credited if made by any less authority than Sir William Crookes of London, a scientist of world-wide reputation.

But that in substance is the astonishing text which Professor Crookes chose for his opening address as president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science a week ago.

By the most careful calculation he estimates that in 1931 the population of the world will have so increased that the wheat supply will be insufficient to furnish human beings with bread.

There is, of course, the possibility that unforeseen plagues and wars may so devastate the earth within the next few years as to put off the threatened famine for some years. But even then it is likely to occur within the lifetime of millions of people now living.

Leading men of science in America have been deeply impressed by Professor Crookes' announcement. Dr. Rudolph A. Witthaus of New York, professor of chemistry in Cornell Medical College, says:

"I should accept Professor Crookes' prediction of the exhaustion of the world's wheat supply as reliable. He is not likely to make a precipitate statement. He has undoubtedly arrived at his conclusion after a most careful calculation."

Dr. Witthaus then points out that this may hasten the making of artificial foods by chemical means, along the line of Dr. Lillienfeld's recent discoveries in the making of albumen.

Nikola Tesla, the distinguished electrician, tells of another way in which the food supply of the world may be artificially increased.

It is by converting the nitrogen of the air into fertilizer by electrical means, and applying this substance to enrich the worn-out wheat fields of the world.

This, in fact, is the plan which Professor Crookes proposes as being the best means of fertilizing the exhausted fields of the world, and make them capable of continuing to produce like virgin soil for thousands of years to come.

Niagara Falls, he suggests, presents the best opportunity for solving this great human problem, for here is where the wonderful electrical process of making fertilizer out of the air can be done the cheapest, owing to the almost unlimited power which Nature has here supplied.

Nitrate of soda can be produced by this means for \$25 a ton. A ton of this substance is sufficient to fertilize from five to ten acres, according to the character of the soil. This would make the fields yield, under proper cultivation and irrigation, thirty bushels per acre, which is now the average yield of the best virgin wheat fields of the Red River Valley in North Dakota and Minnesota.

Nikola Tesla states that the extracting of fertilizer from the inexhaustible source of the atmosphere is perfectly feasible. All that is necessary is the construction of a proper electrical plant to put into operation a process that has already been successfully done on a small scale in the laboratory.

It would be simply the copying of Nature's own process of fertilizing the fields. Everyone has heard that rain gathers up some nitrogenous substances of the air and carries them down to the earth and enriches the ground. Every electrical discharge in the atmosphere contributes to this process and forms nitric acid. This combines with atmospheric ammonia and becomes nitrate of ammonia, which is carried down by the rain.

By the process which Mr. Tesla suggests, Nature's process is simply carried out on a larger scale.

The actual manner of making nitrates would be the erection of a large electric plant, with a tall chimney. This would not be for carrying off smoke, on account of water power supplying the mechanical force. But in this great chimney Nature's thunderstorms would be reproduced.

At the foot of it would be a powerful electric coil and over it a high alternating oscillator. From this would extend upward in the middle of the chimney a large copper wire like a lightning rod. When the high alternating current is turned on a most wonderful phenomena would take place. The interior of the chimney would be like a mass of electric fire or glowing phosphorus.

Out of this intense chemical action the nitrogen of the atmosphere would be condensed and form at the bottom of the chimney in the form of nitric acid, to be drawn off like molten metal from a retort. This liquid could easily be reduced into salts, the form most useful in applying for fertilizer.

If all the surplus water power of the world were employed in this way it is estimated that sufficient fertilizer could be made to forever keep the wheat fields of the world productive, and enable even the oldest and most densely populated countries to raise their own food supplies.

Wheat takes up the largest proportion of nitrates from the soil, and con-

sequently makes the most nourishing nitrogenous grain food.

The nitrogen in the atmosphere is the most mysterious element of nature. It is not absorbed by plants and converted into food products or vegetable structure. It plays no active part in the processes of combustion and of animal respiration. In both cases it appears to merely dilute the powerful oxygen.

In respiration, however, it seems to be essential, for no animal could live healthily for any length of time in pure oxygen. It is thought also that atmospheric nitrogen in an indirect way contributes toward the building up of nitrogenous organic matter.

It is a singular coincidence that almost at the same time that Professor Crookes arrived at the alarming calculation that the human race has almost reached the limit of population of the world, owing to failure of food supply, another great scientist should discover how to make food directly from mineral substances.

Professor Lillienfeld of Vienna announced to the professional world a few weeks ago that he could make albumen in a laboratory.

It has always been believed hitherto that albumen could be produced only in Nature's laboratory by the vegetable world. It then becomes the essential nourishing element of all human and animal foods. The purest form in which it appears is in the white of an egg.

But Professor Lillienfeld went through the operation of producing albumen from coal tar before an assembly of physicians and scientists, and no one of the company had the least doubt that the result was all that was claimed for it.

The raw product was a dark brown powder with a taste almost identical to egg albumen.

The importance of this discovery is almost beyond estimate. Artificial albumen at a low cost will most surely revolutionize the method of food production for the entire world and render possible many things that are now impossible.

An ounce of pure albumen has about twenty times the nourishing power of the same weight of meat. It will nearly equal a peck of potatoes, and has besides the quality of not interfering with the digestive apparatus, even though eaten exclusively for months at a time. It is the active principle of all animal food and the developing energy of all embryonic life.

At present albumen is expensive, except for a short period of each year. In meat it costs over 25 cents a pound. In hen eggs the cost varies from 15 cents a pound to 60 cents a pound. And if the meat and eggs are not fresh the nourishing quality of the albumen is greatly lessened.

With artificial albumen man will no longer be dependent upon living animals for meat food, but will produce them in the laboratory.

It could be made so economically as to furnish sufficient for a man's daily food for 8 cents. This means that a year's food supply would cost but \$29.20.

This supply a man could buy at one time and carry away in an ordinary market basket.

There would be no danger of it spoiling or causing excessive thirst, as all salted meats do. This prepared albumen is the ideal food, suited for all times and all conditions, and not at all likely to cause such diseases as scurvy.

Naturally one asks how albumen can be made from coal tar and why it is so nourishing and acceptable to the stomach.

Both questions are questions of atomic chemistry.

The components of albumen and coal tar are almost the same, except that they exist in different proportions in the two substances.

Albumen is composed of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen and sulphur. These are all of the principal elements of nature. Coal tar contains the same elements, but more carbon and oxygen. The atoms are all then in coal tar, and if the chemist can isolate them and then combine them in the proper proportions there is no chemical reason why albumen should not be the result.

The method Professor Lillienfeld followed to produce this artificial albumen has not been made public, but it is understood that the chemical combination is phenol, amydo-acetic acid and phospho-chloric oxide. He demonstrated its identity with natural albumen by several of the well-known reaction tests.

Albumen agrees with the stomach because it contains so many of the elements that the secretions are not exhausted in converting it into tissue cells.

It is this quality that makes it possible to eat albumen day after day for months without causing distress to the stomach.

The proportion of the human body which albumen, nitrogen and other substances form are shown in an accompanying picture.

By a laboratory process a quantity of albumen compressed into a cube slightly less than an inch through would contain four times as much nourishment as a juicy lamb chop. The same size cube of albumen would be equal to an egg in sustaining quality. It would contain six times as much as a loaf of baker's white bread.

Should artificial albumen prove all that is claimed for it there is no rea-

son to believe that man would find it necessary or desirable to live on it exclusively. In fact, his appetite would most likely object. This is one of the instances where science cannot overcome Nature. But artificial albumen as an accompaniment of starchy and sugary foods, together with a little acid, would be a boon to mankind. And if necessity called for it, albumen exclusively would sustain life a long time—at least a year longer than any other exclusive food would.

Scientists all over the world are taking a deep interest in Professor Lillienfeld's discovery. All feel that it is possible to make albumen from coal tar. And when the wonders of "synthetic" chemistry are considered there is no need of surprise.

On the subject of chemical synthesis the entire chemical world is aroused, and scores of laboratories in Germany and elsewhere are actively experimenting. For discoveries along these lines have enormous commercial possibilities in them. Substances that hitherto have been produced only by processes of nature are now "built up" in the laboratories with great exactness, meeting every test. What is more, they can be made in this way at far less cost than they can be taken from some plant, frequently a rare one. The essential element, the extract, instead of being distilled or yielded to some complicated method of treatment, is made up in the reverse way—working backward, as it were.—N. Y. Journal.

**IS TRADES UNIONISM ALONE
EQUAL TO PRESENT EXIGENCIES?**

The following is a passage from the annual report of President W. B. Prescott to the International Typographical Union, which begins its forty-fourth session at Syracuse, N. Y., Oct. 17. It is significant and worthy of note by all trades unionists:

"There is not an earnest worker in our ranks who has not been pained and grieved at the slight interest taken in union meetings, as testified by the attendance, and I am constrained to admit that from the best possible information obtainable this lethargy is becoming more deep-seated and widespread, which does not augur well for our future. And, sad to relate, the blight is not peculiar to our organization, but has been responsible for the steady decrease in membership of every considerable American union except ours. In the midst of this deplorable depression, men are earnestly asking themselves if existing trade unions are capable of meeting present exigencies. It is no answer to this to befool our mouths by emitting invective and vituperation against the questioner or his union record—though the most insistent of these doubters are within our ranks, and have served so long and honorably their probity is beyond cavil.

"Nor does it suffice to direct attention to a long list of so-called remedial laws secured in the past, or a creditable array of victories in the economic field. The inquirer knows that the passage of laws by legislatures is of little moment if they are not enforced by the executive branch of the government, and even if the enforcement of an enactment is confined to one thoroughly in sympathy with its aims, the intelligent workman has come to learn that the courts—to state the case kindly—by an overwhelming fondness for technicalities and precedents, and an unreasoning and unjust antagonism to legislative innovations competent to meet changed industrial conditions, are likely to encompass the nullification of the majority of measures of an alleviatory nature.

"Our inquiring friends are influenced by these facts, for they know, as we should recognize, that capitalism has perfected machinery for its self-aggrandizement with wonderful success within the last few years. In the industrial world, all have to admit the accomplishments of unions and their capability for continued effectiveness in many instances, but there can be no denial of the fact that perhaps the majority of those who formerly composed the union forces are not now working for employers whose actions are circumscribed—and hostility curbed—by fear of competition, but they are employees of great trusts, who calmly make their demands and resort to the barbarous method of starving the workers into submission, and, aided by skillful attorneys—whose yearly retainers probably exceed the union's income—and plant office-holders, the trust is supported by all the power of government in the delectable work of reducing wages through the agency of starvation.

"All this time the corporation is secure. It has no fear of loss of market, and any pecuniary damage resultant from the rupture may be readily repaired when the famished workers return to their labors vanquished and the wheels of industry again begin to increase the wealth of the land. Though there is usually unrestricted competition in the printing business, and we have not failed to profit by reason of it, there are not wanting indications we may in future be called upon to face situations similar to those before which weaker-aye, and some stronger—and less well equipped unions have gone down.

"Recently the Chicago publishers, acting in concert, resisted a demand of the stereotypers by suspending publication and agreeing to issue every paper simultaneously, or not at all,

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Their subscribers could obtain no papers, nor could ambitious citizens publish one worthy the name, and the employes had either to work for the provokers of this condition or leave Chicago. This was as surprising to many—though not all—of us, as it was unique in the annals of news publishing. But the publishers did nothing more than employers in other branches of industry have been doing for years, viz., suspended work with the determination that they would not resume until their terms were complied with.

"This brings home to us with especial force the question: 'Is trade unionism capable of coping with latter-day organized capitalism?' If it is, then it should be demonstrated so clearly as to convince those insistent interrogators, else we will suffer from their defection before many years have passed, as it is irrational to assume men will remain loyal to an organization that possesses for them no uplifting ideal, and which, to their mind, lives and has its being in the past, resolutely setting its face toward the setting sun, rather than welcoming the dawn of a new day.

PLATFORM OF THE S. D. P.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization

should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

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

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

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

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and pensions in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

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

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.
2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.
3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.
4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.
5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.