SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

THIRD YEAR. No. 16.

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1900.

Whole No. 118.

National Campaign

IT IS INFINITELY BETTER TO VOTE FOR FREEDOM AND FAIL THAN TO VOTE FOR SLAVERY AND SUCCEED—EUGENE V. DEBS.

Magnificent Audience Greets the Presidential Candidate of the Social Democratic Party at Central Music Hall

THOUSANDS TURNED AWAY

Two Great Meetings on Sunday at which Debs Spoke to More Than Fifteen Hundred **Bohemians and Germans**

SPEECHES OF DEBS AND HERRON

Debs and George D. Herron would speak in behalf of Socialism and the speak in benair of Socialism and the Social Democratic Party, Saturday night, September 29, at Central Music Hall, Chicago, was sufficient, despite the rather paltry notices given to the fact in advance by most of the daily newspapers, to pack that historical meeting place from platform to the last chair in the gallery. Every seat was taken and hundreds stood up from an early hour in the evening until a few minutes to twelve, when Prof. Herron concluded his significant and masterly address. It was an occasion which marked distinctly the entrance of American Socialism into the arena of American national politics. It was a demonstration the full significance of which not a single capitalist newspaper in the city dared to publish. It was a magnificent inauguration of Candidate Debs' national campaign and a fresh proof, if any were needed, of the love and confidence in which he is held by the common people who hate despotism and love freedom. For an hour before the speakers' arrival the audi-ence, one of the most enthusiastically demonstrative ever gathered within the Central, sang the newest Socialist songs, with pipe organ accompaniment, under the leadership of F. G. Strickland. The campaign yell, now familiar to all Chicago, was repeatedly called for and given with an earnestness that was tremendous:

Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah! Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah! Hoo-rah! Hoo-rah! Socialist candidates, rah, rah, rah!

Long after every seat in the hall was occupied, thousands of people surged and struggled at the entrance to gain admission. So determined was the crowd to get in that it became necessary to station a line of policemen across the main entrance, and a great concourse of people, estimated at one time as high as 5,000, were held back by main force. During the evening most of these people heard Socialist speeches, delivered to enthusiastic overflow meetings, by Comrades Geo. Koop, Berlyn, Howard Tuttle of Wis-consin, A. S. Edwards, Eugene V. Debs and others.

While the vast gathering of people on State street was seeking admission to the hall, not less than 2,000 Socialists, with two bands of music and flags, banners and transparencies galore, assembled on Market street for the parade, which, though not large, proved to be one of the most picturesque and exuberantly happy ever seen on the streets of Chicago.

The Central Music Hall meeting was presided over by Comrade J. B. Smiley. Two companies of singers, one English and the other German, added to the interest and success of the meeting. Chairman Smiley's opening address was couched in most felicitous terms and made a fine impression upon the splendid audience that listened. At the close of his remarks introducing Comrade Eugene V. Debs, the memories of the great strike of six years ago were revived by John Lloyd, one of the "Old Guard of '94," who stepped upon the platform and presented to Comrade Debs a gorgeous bouquet of red roses bound with a white ribbon, on which was printed the letters "A. R. U." Here irred the first great demonstration of the evening. The first speaker stood eady to deliver the first speech in the rst national campaign of the Social Democratic party of America. The reception was tremendous in its earnestness; it was, as one daily newspaper said, "a great ovation to a public man." gain and again the vast audience rose round after round of applause; handchiefs, flags and banners were waved, nen and women cheered and yelled for any minutes, as Debs, smiling and

The announcement that Eugene V. | modest, bowed in acknowledgment. When the storm subsided he spoke as follows:

DEBS' SPEECH

Ladies and Gentlemen:-

No words of mine can possibly express my appreciation of this beautiful testimonial (a bouquet of roses) of the esteem and love of my old comrades, the members of the American Railway Union. I can only say that, like the rosebud under the influence of sunshine and snower, my heart opens to receive their

The only vital issue in the present campaign springs from the private ownership of the means of production and it involves the whole means of production and it involves the whole question of political equality, economic freedom and social progress. This fundamental issue has been studiously ignored by both the Republican and Democratic parties; it has been clearly stated and squarely met by the Social Democratic party. The alleged issues of the old parties are all rooted in the existing economic system, which system they are ing economic system, which system they are piedged to preserve and to perpetuate, and which the Social Democratic party is pledged to abolish.

The contest to-day is for the control of government by three separate classes, with conflicting interests, into which modern society has been divided in the development of the company that the control of the control the competitive system. The capitalist class is represented by the Republican party; the middle class is represented by the Democratic party; the working class is represented by the Social Democratic party. Each of these par-ties is committed to the economic interests

of the class it represents.

The Republican platform is a self-congratulation of the dominant capitalist class, "Prosperity galore, give us four years more."

The Democratic platform is the wail and cry of the democratic platform is the wail and cry of the perishing middle class; calamity with-out end. The Social Democratic parform is an indictment of the capitalist system; it is the call to class consciousness and political action of the exploited working class; and it is a ringing declaration in favor of collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution, as the clarion voice of economic

Parties, like individuals, act from motives of self-interest. The platform of a party is simply the political expression of the economic interests of the class it represents. The Democratic party differs from the Republican party as the small capitalist differs from the large capitalist; it is a difference in degree only. The Socialist party differs from them both as the exploited wage-worker differs from his exploiter; the difference here is not in degree but in kind. The Republican party is in favor of expansion, the acquisition of foreign territory; a colonial policy. Why? Senator Beveridge says, because we are the trustees of Jehovah. But Senator Depew, who is a man somewhat older, may be per-mitted to answer. Mr. Depew says: "The mitted to answer. Mr. Depew says: "The markets for the products of our farms and factories accessible by the Atlantic ocean will soon be filled, but across the Pacific are numberless opportunities. Within a distance from Manila not much greater than Havana is from New York, live nine hundred millions of people, purchasing now annually from all nations of the things which they produce, to the sum of one thousand millions of dol lars, of which we furnish five per cent; that five per cent should be fifty per cent." The getting of the forty-five per cent constitutes "The White Man's Burden." Mr. Depew also What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Pekin? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa?"
Why? It is because the surplus production
of civilized countries of modern times is greater than civilization can consume; because this over-production comes back to stagnation and poverty. The American peo-ple produce two billion dollars worth more

The Democratic party is flatly opposed to this policy; it denounces it as imperialism and declares that that is the paramount issue of the campaign. The difference between these two capitalist parties upon so-called para-mount issues is so clear as to be self-evident. The small capitalists represented by the Dem ocratic party lack the modern economic equipment necessary in the struggle for the control of foreign markets. They have none of the surplus products which must be dis-posed of to avoid stagnation. Upon the other hand, the expanding markets for which the large capitalists are struggling will extend their lease of power and greatly augment it. The vast foreign trade will develop and enable them the more easily to crush out their small competitors in the middle class. This is the bone of contention between these two capitalist parties, and what is called the burning issue of this campaign.

capitalist parties, and what is called the burning issue of this campaign.

In the Republican convention, the national
convention that was held in the City of Philadelphia, a most remarkable address was delivered by Senator Wolcott, the temporary
chairman. Among other things, this gentle-

man, eminent in the council of that party, said: "There is not an idle mill in the country to-day." This in the face of the fact that at that very time there were scorees of idle mills in the country, and multiplied thousands of workingmen seeking in vain for employment. It is my judgment that the man who makes such a statement as the interface.

ment. It is my judgment that the man who makes such a statement as this in the face of existing facts, ought to be sentenced to serve a term in the anthracite coal region.

He furthermore said: "There is no man who labors with his hands in all our broad domain who cannot find work, and the scale of wages was never so high in the history of our country." Another absolute falsehood. The Republican party touches this economic question as a vital point, but, as you will observe, does not attempt to grapple with it. In their platform we find this statement: "We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidconditions, and especially to extend our rapid-ly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to creat monopolies, to limit production or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses." If the Republican party favors legislation restricting such abuses, why has it not enacted such legislaabuses, why has it not enacted such legislation when it has been in absolute control of every department of the government during the past three years? "Wages in every department of labor have been maintained at high rates, higher than ever before."

In Mr. McKinley's letter of acceptance we find this statement: "Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the republic." This is doubtless true from the standagite of the

is doubtless true from the standpoint of the interests of the class he represents. The worst that can be said about the president is, that he has been absolutely true to the party that elected him. "Combinations of capital," he says, "which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people by suppressing natural and ordinary competi-tion, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and ought to be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation. Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. Honest cooperation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and average descriptions. business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business create monopolies and control classes, should be effectively restrained."

Just where the line is drawn between honest does not attempt to any All combinations and monopolies privately owned and operated for private profit, are vicious combinations. All monopolies owned and controlled by the people, in the interests of the people, are good combinations.

We find by an examination of the Demo-

We find by an examination of the Demo-cratic platform that substantially the same statements are made upon this question: "Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition." Observe that both the Republican party and the Democratic party are in favor of competition, the existing sys-tem. They condemn its tendencies, its fraud, but they still favor the system itself. "They destroy competition, control the price fraud, but they still favor the system itself.

"They destroy competition, control the price of all material and of the finished product, thus robbing both the purchaser and consumer; they lessen the employment of labor; arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof and deprive individual energy and small capital of every opportunity for betterment. They are the most efficient agent yet devised for appropriating efforts of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. They are fostered by Republican laws and they are protected by the Republican administration, in return for campaign subscriptions and political support. Corporations should be protected in all their rights, and their legitimate interests should be respected."

Corporations are organized purely for private profit; the rights of the corporations to exploit the working class and seem to the protects of the corporations to exploit the working class and seem to the profit of the corporations to exploit the working class and seem to the profit of the corporations to exploit the working class and seem to the profit of the corporations to exploit the working class and seem to the profit of the corporations to exploit the working class and seem to the profit of the corporations to exploit the working class and seem to the profit of the corporations to exploit the working class and seem to the profit of the corporations to the profit of the corporation of the corporation of the profit of the corporation of the corp

vate pront; the rights of the corporations to exploit the working class and exact tribute from the people are to be respected, according to the Democratic platform.

In Mr. Bryan's letter of acceptance it is rights of the corporations to

stated that "Private monopoly is an outlaw," and private monopoly is built absolutely upon private ownership. If Mr. Bryan is opposed to private monopoly why doesn't he propose a public monopoly in its place? A public monopoly, built upon collective ownership, which converts a curse into a blessing to so-ciety. He says: "I shall recommend such legislation as may be necessary to dissolve every private monopoly which does business outside the state of its origin." He might just as well attempt by legislation to prevent a river flowing outside the county in which it has its source. "The Democratic party does not seek to embarrass capitalists engaged in a legitimate business, but it does protest against capitalists entering politics and attempting to assume control of the

instrumentalities of government.' Now, my friends, we observe after examining both these platforms, that both the Republican and Democratic parties are in favor of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. They are in favor of the existing wage system. There is abso-lutely no difference between them. Upon the other hand the Social Democratic party, standing upon a platform declaring in favor of collective ownership of the means of pro-duction, declares to the world that there is no hand the Social Democratic

There is an economic revolution in this and other countries in which modern industry has been developed in the past century. We has been developed in the past century. We have been so completely engaged in competitive labor that we are utterly oblivious of the fact. A century ago work was done by hand very largely, or with simple primitive tools. How to make a living was an easy question. The boy learned a trade, served his apprenticeship, and the skill inherent in the trade secured steady employment for him at fair wages, by virtue of which he could provide for his family, educate his children and discharge the duties of good citizenship. In that day the working man owned and controlled day the working man owned and controlled the tools with which he worked and was vir-tually his own employer. Not only this, he

Prof. Geo. D. Herron Commits Himself to Political Socialist Movement to Stay Until it is Triumphant

IS GIVEN WARM RECEPTION

Overflow Meeting Held for Four Hours on State Street - Enthusiastic Crowds Hear Socialist Speakers

THE PARADE A GREAT SUCCESS

was the master of what his labor produced. It was a very slow age, meagre of results; it required ten to sixteen hours daily labor to enable the working man to supply his ma-terial wants. It was then the machine em-anated from the brain of labor; it was de-signed to aid the laboring man, so that he could provide for his social, moral and in-tellectual improvement tellectual improvement.

At this point an industrial revolution began.

The machine, the new tool of production, passed from the control of the working man who used it, into that of the newly developed class. The small employer became a capitalist, and the employe became a wage worker, and they began to grow apart. The machine was crude and imperiect at first; it increased production, it began to displace the working man it mushed kim out of the chee working man, it pushed him out of the shop into the street. The working man, forced into idleness, became a tramp. I have said again and again that I am with the tramp, and against the system of society that made him a tramp.

and against the system of society that made him a tramp.

The machine became more perfect day by day; it lowered the wage of the worker, and in due course of time it became so perfect that it could be operated by the unskilled labor of the woman, and she became a factor in industry. The owners of these machines were in competition with each other for trade in in competition with each other for trade in the market; it was war; cheaper and cheaper production was demanded, and cheaper and cheaper labor was demanded. In the march of time it became necessary to withdraw the children from school, and these machines came to be operated by the defe touch chines came to be operated by the deft touch of the fingers of the child. In the first stage machine was in competition with man, in the next, man in competition with both, and in next, man in competition with both, and in the next the child in competition with the whole combination. Today there are more than three millions of women engaged in in-dustrial pursuits in the United States, and more than two millions of children. It is not a question of white labor or black labor, or male labor or female labor or child labor, in this system; it is solely a question of cheap labor, without reference to the effect upon mankind.

The simple tool of production became an excellent machine, it necessitated the co-op-eration and concentration of capital. The tool of production was no longer owned and conor production was no longer owned and controlled by the working man who used it. It was owned by the class who didn't use it, and was used by a class who didn't own it. The owners of the machine want profit and the users of the machine want wages. Their economic interests are absolutely in conflict, diametrically opposite. What is good for one is not good for the other.

It is this conflict of interest which has given rise to the modern class struggle which finds

rise to the modern class struggle which finds, expression in strikes, lockouts, boycotts and deep seated discontent. But I am not looking on the dark side of things. I am in no sense a pessimist. I am observing the trend of economic development. I realize it is only a question of time until this concentration of industry will be completed. One department after another is being monopolized in this march of concentration; the interests of these trusts are so completely interwoven that in the near future there will be a trust of trusts. In this trust the middle class, representing the small capitalists, is being crushed and ground beneath the upper mill stone of concentration of capital and the nether mill stone of training enterpasses.

of vanishing patronage. The working man has been impoverished. Examining the reports I find that during the past fifty years of the age of the machine, his producing capacity has steadily increased, but upon the other hand in the competitive pressure, his wage has steadily diminished. The more he produces the worse he is off. He cannot consume what he produces. The more he produces the more there is an over-production based upon under-consumption. factories close down and he finds himself out of employment and the reason sugger's itself; he no longer works for himself, he works for another, for a wage that represents but a small share of what his labor produces. This accounts for the fact that periodically the country is afflicted with over-production; this ac-counts for the fact that the large capitalists are struggling to open new markets for the sale of surplus goods, the very goods our own people here at home are suffering for the want of. In this great competitive system the mom moth department store is sapping the life currents of the small shop keeper; the great bonanza farm is driving the small farmer to bankruptcy and ruin.

No power on earth can arrest this concen No power on earth can arrest this concentration. It is paving the way for a new economic system, a new social order. Socialists understand its trend: they are beginning to organize in every village and every hamlet, every town and every city, of every state and territory in the country. They are organizing their forces beneath the conquering banner of economic equality. economic equality.

A century and a quarter ago this country witnessed a mighty struggle for political equality, the right of man to govern this country, and the formation of this republic was the crowning glory of the century. To-

day there is another struggle going forward for economic equality. If men are fit to be political equals, they are also fit to be economic equals. If they are economic equals, they will be social equals; class distinctions will disappear from human society forever.

Look over in the direction of Europe; we observe that the Socialists there are organizing day by day; that before their concurs.

izing day by day; that before their conquer-ing march the thrones are beginning to trem-ble and will, within the next few years, tot-ter to their fall. The same movement is spreading over the United States. Its prog-ress has not been so rapid here for the reason that we have had a new counter and will that we have had a new country, and until recently there has been some opportunity for individual initiative. But no country on the face of the globe has been so completely exploited within so short a space of time as the United States of America.

Socialists are constituted for the assessment of the country for the country of the cou

the United States of America.

Socialists are organizing for the purpose of securing control of this government. Having conquered the political power upon the platform that declares in favor of collective ownership in the name of the people, they will take possession of industry. It will already have been organized to meet co-operation, that is to say self-operation in the ready have been organized to meet co-operation, that is to say, self-operation, in the development of the capitalist system. Industry will be rescued from cupidity; it will be co-operative in every department of human industry. The badge of labor will no longer be the badge of servitude. Every man will gladly do his share of the world's useful work. Every man can then honestly enjoy his share of the world's blessings. Every machine will be a blessing to mankind because it will serve to reduce the number of hours constituting a day's work, and the work day will be shortened in exact proportion to the progress of invention. Labor will no longer be bought and sold in the markets of the world. We will not make things for sale, but will make things not make things for sale, but will make things to use. We will fill the world with wealth and every man can have all that he can ra-

and every man can have all that he can rationally use. Rent, interest and profit, three forms of exploitation will disappear forever.

Every man will have the same inherent right to work that he has to live; he will receive the full product of his labor. The soul will no longer be dominated by the stomach. Men and women will be economically free; life will no longer be a struggle for bread; then the children of men can begin the march to the highest type of civilization that this world has ever known.

The abolishing of the capitalist system does not merely mean the emancipation of the

not merely mean the emancipation of the working class, but of all society. It will level upward to higher and nobler elevation. This earth for the first time since it was flung into space will be a habitable globe; it will be fit for good men and good women to live in.

The existing system is unspeakably cruel; the life currents of old age and childhood are the tributaries of the bottomless reservoir of private profit. The face of capitalist society ganism. What is the estate of christendom today? We boast of our civilization, and yet today? We boast of our civilization, and yet every Christian nation on the face of the globe is armed to the teeth. Against whom? Against heathens, barbarians, savages? No, against other Christian nations! And the world pays its highest tribute to that form of ingenuity that enables us to destroy the most human lives in the shortest space Go to the city of Washington today a device that will enable you to destroy one hundred thousand lives in a second, and your fame and your fortune are made. Is that civilization in the proper sense of the term? We must bear in mind, my friends, that competition is war; that war is the normal state of capitalism.

If there were no gold in the Transvaal, there would be no British soldiers there. If there were no prospect of acquiring material wealth in the Philippines, we would not worry ourselves into premature graves be-cause the Filipinos lack capacity for self-gov-Those wars were declared by the spirit of commercial conquest. They are necessary to the development of the capitalist system. With the end of capitalism comes the

end of war, and the inauguration of peace.

In the march of invention space-has almost been annihilated; the nations of the earth are being drawn into closer relation with each other. In the new social order, each nation will have its place in the sisterhood of nations, just as every man will have his place in the brotherhood of men. I will do what little I can to hasten the

coming of the day when war shall curse earth no more. I am not a patriot in sense in which that term is defined in lexicon of capitalism. I have no ambition to kill my fellowman, and I am quite certain that I have no ambition to be killed. When I think of a cold, glittering, steel bayonet being pushed into the soft, white, quivering flesh of a human body I recoil with horror.

All hall to Socialism! You may retard it, you can hasten its coming by your actions; but you cannot defeat it, you cannot prevent it. It is coming just as certain as the rivers find their way to the sea. It is not yet a popular institution. It is right. A half a

Social Democratic Perald

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 6, 1900.



NATIONAL TICKET Social Democratic Party



For President:

EUGENE V. DEBS.

For Vice-President: JOB HARRIMAN.

A SYSTEM OF RAPINE

There are in the United States twenty millions of wage workers. No one pretends that they receive the compensation for their labor that simple justice demands. Every thoughtful man knows that the employers of this vast army of toilers, the capitalistic class, pocket the difference between what they earn and what they receive. The New York Journal of Commerce, a conservative paper, wearing no party tag, estimates the increased wealth of the country during the past ten years at \$25,000,000,000 -twenty-five billion dollars! Who has got this vast sum of wealth? Not the men who earned it. It has gone to swell the dazzling fortunes of the few. The facts are incontrovertible. They admit of no successful denial. How is the rob-bery practiced? That is the supreme question.

A few simple propositions worked out by plain arithmetical calculation serve

olve, at least in part, the problem. If 20,000,000 of toilers are despoiled of 5 cents a day for 300 working days in a year the robbery amounts to the sum of \$300,000,000.

If they are robbed of 10 cents a day, which they have honestly earned, the annual piracy swells to \$600,000,000.

15 cents a day is withheld by the capitalistic class the spoliation amounts to \$900,000,000 a year. Such exhibits of rapine do no violence to facts and are worthy of consideration.

The purpose of the Social Democratic party is to so shape industrial affairs that toilers shall receive all they earn, thus equitably distributing the vast accumulations of wealth which labor brings to the country.

WE HAVE 'EM WORRIED

We have them guessing good and hard in Indiana and the Bryanites are thoroughly scared, while the McKinlevites have in the past week learned there is going to be a big Socialist vote throughout the gas belt which was Republican in 1896. The Indianapolis Press of September 24 had the following items, indicating that Debs is an important factor in the election:

'If the Republicans are counting on the theory that all the Debs votes will come from the Democratic party, they are making a grievous error. The bulk of the Debs vote in Indiana will come from the factories of the gas belt, which rolled up such great Republican majorities in 1896. The resumption of work in the iron mills is a piece of great luck for the Republicans.

"The Democrats have on hand scheme to break the backbone of the Socialist strength in Indiana by sending Bryan into the Fifth District for a number of speeches. Debs lives in that district, and there is noticeable a big slump to him among the laboring people of the district. It is believed that a few speech es from Bryan would change the drift, and he probably will speak at Terre Haute, Brazil, Martinsville and other Fifth District towns on October 6."

Mr. Bryan has already made one visit to Indiana in response to the cry of his Hoosier following to help "break the backbone of the Socialist strength," and every day since the Socialist propaganda has shown increased activity and vigor. Not a single man has been deflected from a firm purpose to support Social-

ism by voting for the Socialist candidate.
It will do the Democrats and Mr.
Bryan no good to go into the Fifth Dis-

trict. Forty speeches a day from Bryan could not "change the drift" or deceive a single Social Democrat. The Bryanolators will get on to our curves after awhile; they will learn that men once converted to Socialism (in the Fifth District and everywhere else) are not to be turned away from their principles by a speech from any old-party capitalist politician.

TWO-CENTS-A-DAY PROSPERITY

The Indiana Bureau of Statistics published a bulletin reviewing the condition of organized labor in Indiana for the year ending May 31, 1900. Responses to inquiries were received from 408 unions, having a membership of 24,421. These union workers, it is shown, had average employment during the year of 78 days, at an average wage of \$1.86 a day, giving an average income of \$145.08.

The highest number of days that any one of the 24,421 men was employed was 162, at an average wage of \$1.47 giving a yearly income of \$238.14.

In view of capitalistic class contention that wage earners are prosperous, and their dinner pails well filled, it becomes interesting and instructive to analyze the foregoing official figures.

The union working man, receiving an annual income of \$145.08, has for his support and that of his family for the 365 days of the year, 4 cents a day.

The union working man who was employed 162 days, and secured an income of \$238.14, has for his support and that of his family for the 365 days of the year, 61/2 cents a day.

The basic figures of the foregoing calculations are official, published by John B. Connor, a Republican, and chief of the bureau.

The picture of prosperity painted by the chief of the bureau exhibits a condition of haggard poverty that defies exaggeration. It shows to what depth of deprivation the capitalistic class has reduced even organized labor in Indiana, which is doubtless as prosperous as any other state in the Union-a condition which voices trumpet-toned the necessity for the changed condition which the Social Democratic party is laboring

Pursuing the subject briefly: If the man securing an income of \$145.08 has a wife then they must subsist on 2 cents a day each for the 365 days of the year. If there are three in the family they must subsist on 1 cent and 3 mills a day. And the union workman securing an income of \$238.14 must be content with 6 cents and 5 mills a day for every day in the year. But if he is a man of a family, say four in all, they must subsist on I cent and 6 mills a day.

Such is the official presentation of the conditions of organized labor in Indiana.

But the chief of the bureau, seemingly dazed by conclusions to which he was driven by his own figures, and desirous of lifting himself out of his dilemma by his boot straps, seeks to placate the capitalistic class by supposing that every man works 312 days in the year and thereby secures an income of \$577.72. But his effort to supply fancy for fact only sinks him deeper in the mire, from which he seeks to extricate

The fact remains labor, whether organized or unorganized, is not prosperous, nor can it be under capitalistic methods. Socialism solves the problem, and only Socialism is equal to the hercu-

NOTES AND COMMENT

"Split of the Socialists. One faction seeks to bar the other from the official ballot." This is the heading to a dis-This is the heading to-a dispatch from Springfield, Ill., dated Sept. 29, which says that Thos. J. Morgan of this city, "acting as representative of the united Socialist forces of the State," has filed objection to placing the caption "Social Labor Party" on the offi cial ballot. In doing so he claimed to represent an organization which is in-corporated as "The Socialist Labor The Herald has no information as to the specific instructions given to Mr. Morgan as the "representative of the united Socialist forces," but we are quite sure that if the committee of the forces (united for political action in the present campaign) empowered him to resort to paltry technicalities to disfranchise any body of men and preventing a free expression of their preferences at the ballot box, then the committee made a great mistake and the Social Democratic branches in Illinois will not stand to be made a party to such petty interference with the political rights

The street fight and assault upon Theodore Roosevelt at Victor, Colorado, was the legitimate and inevitable sequence of a campaign of brag, bluster and bullying inaugurated by Roosevelt himself. A braggart and refined blackguard himself, he ran up against the real thing. It was a disgraceful incident in his campaign which he had invited. When it was over he said: "The more of this they give me the better I like it. It was bully, sir, bully!" which showed that what he wants as a feature of the campaign he enjoys, is the street brawl. A choice candidate he for the party of Lincoln and Sumner.

Christ said: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God"-a cartoon showing the humpbacked capitalists wriggling in the eye of a needle would be an object lesson and immensely interesting. It is gratifying to know there is one place where the investment of stolen money will not avail to help its possessor in a pinch. Old Rockefeller, for instance, will have to pipe himself through, with the probability of landing at last, when his royal cloven-footed highness has a cinch on

Socialism proposes a new civilization. The present civilization is symbolized by the gun, the fetter and the tag. Old Isaiah, the poet prophet, saw a time when nations should learn war no more, when swords should be beaten "into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks"—in a word, he saw the time when Socialism should come. Come it has-the present is its dawn. If men will vote the Social Democratic ticket they will expedite the full-orbed noon of the new civilization.

If the Social Democratic party were in power, what would it do? Well, it would take the injunction screws and fetters and bludgeons out of the constitution, and out of the hands of a gang of autocratic judges-and never more, in this land would the flag wave over state or national troops engaged in shooting impoverished working men.

Every star in the blue concave shines for freedom; every wind that blows sings an anthem for freedom, and every Socialist in the campaign has his or her battle cry-freedom. It must come. The eternal years of God are pledged for the emancipation of men from the cruel grasp of capitalistic taskmasters.

The old parties are singing with meliffluous cadence the spider's song to the fly. But working men have heard it in every campaign-some of them have been caught and robbed-but not all of them. As Lincoln would say: "You can't fool all of the workingmen of the country all the time.'

Teddy the Terrible would be a winning card in a dime museum by the side of the tatooed chief from the Fiji Islands or the latest importation of the orangoutang from Borneo. Chasing Jackrabbit theories of empire is too spectacular for plain people.

In Plutonian darkness, amidst fire damp, a lurking hell, the miners of Pennsylvania toil for a starvation pittance, and when they strike for food, for home and family, troops are ordered out to kill them. Socialism would change that sort of civilization.

Socialism demands moral courage of the highest order. Its shibboleth is emancipation, the one redeeming word of the ages, coined by God Himself, when he ordered the prophet, priest and judge to "Harken to the voice of the

The ideas of the Social Democratic party constitute its capital. The moment a man owns himself he becomes a capitalist, more, a sovereign. He wears neither fetters nor tag, and expands to full proportions of a free man.

If politics is the science of government the authracite coal miners of Pennsylvania would like to have a change of science, and they can have it by voting for the Socialist principles and candi-

The capitalistic policy is to rifle the working class, and if they object call out the troops and rifle them till they are reduced to quietness.

A vote for the Social Democratic ticket is a vote for the prosperity of wage workers-not their degradation.

A real good mark to kick at is Mark

PRINCIPLES REPUDIATED THE INTEREST OF A PERSON

From a Letter Written by S. M. Jones, of Toledo, in February, 1900.

The difference between the Bryan and McKinley program is a difference in degree; it is the same in kind. I have no faith in either; they are both evil. I am a Socialist. I believe in brotherhood and can only find peace in advocating those principles that lead men to live brotherly. Mr.

Bryan is advocating an

entirely different set of

From a Letter Written by Him in September

I am for brotherhood

Jam for brotherhood Socialism ... Desiring not to influence the signing of petitions frequesting him to run for Congress]. I have carefully refrained from saying whom I am for in the National Campaign now on. .: I believe that here on this continent is to be set up the co-operative commonwealth of equals. ... I shall vote for W. J. Bryan as the best way I know of to give expression to these sentiments, believing him to stand for what is best in the public conscience of America to-day.

National Campaign Opened

(Continued from First Page)

century ago the institution of chattel slavery was very popular in the United States. It was doomed to disappear. There were thou-sands who believed that it was criminal and unjust, that it ought to be overthrown, but unjust; that it ought to be overthrown, but they did not have the courage of their convictions; they dared not speak out. There were a few, however, who stood erect. They were agitators in their way, and they were covered with odium. William Lloyd Garrison was one of them. Not a great while ago in Newberry Parish in Massachusetts I saw a little church where the bells rung to assemble a mob to attack him when he attempted to make a speech against slavery. when he attempted to make a speech against slavery. Wendell Phillips was another. Elijah Lovejoy was another. In 1837 in Alton, Ill., Elijah Lovejoy published the Alton Observer; a committee of friends called on him and said: a committee of friends called on him and said:
"You will have to stop these attacks on slavery, our people believe in it." Mr. Lovejoy said: I have sworn eternal opposition to it, and I will not turn back." They called on him again. He said: "I can die at my post, but I will not desert." His printing office was attacked and he was mobbed and murdered. The state of Illinois applauded the crime. Sixty years after the grandchildren of the men who murdered him erected a monument above his self-sacrificed dust in memory of his name. These men were great men, because they dared to be true to themselves and cause they dared to be true to themselves and to their convictions of right and duty. They didn't ask: "Is it popular, can I afford it, does it pay?" They simply asked: "Is it right?" and satisfying themselves that it was right, they stood by it without fear of conse-

Ah, my friends, this movement of Socialism will be popular in the next few years. It is moving forward in all directions; every man, woman and child in the land is vitally interested in it. Such a meeting as this is immensely suggestive, immensely significant; it bears testimony to the fact that men and women are thinking upon this great question as they have never thought before; they realize that the world is trembling on the greatest organic change in hualize that the world is tremoing on the verge of the greatest organic change in human history. And the Socialists realize that the next ruling class of the world will be the working class. So they are pressing forward step by step until the minority they represent today becomes the majority, and seizes the ratio of concentration and inaugurates the the reins of government and inaugurates the system of the co-operative commonwealth. If ou believe in these conquering principles we ask you to join the new crusade and stand side by side with us, and cast your lot with Socialism and cast your votes for the Social Democratic party and hasten the day of its

I would address a few words to those who I would address a few words to those who are in sympathy with the Social Democratic party, but who hesitate to vote for it for fear they may lose their votes. Let me say to you: It is infinitely better to vote for irredom and fail than to vote for slavery and succeed. The Social Democratic party also appeals to the considerate judgment and the common sense of the middle class of the country. This class is doomed to disappear in the march of the capitalist system: it is ountry. This class is doomed to disappear in the march of the capitalist system; it is only a question of a short time until the mid-dle class will be in the working class. And the sooner the better. For the middle class the best investment of the little capital that still best investment of the little capital that still remains for you, is to put it in Socialistic propaganda. It is possible that you may reach your journey's end in safety, but how will it be with your son? You have a boy twelve or thirteen or fourteen years of age; if you have that solicitude for him a good parent should have for his child, this question can cause you no little concern. He can no longer learn a trade; there is not a trade but that is crowded to overflowing. If he spends three or four years learning a trade he will find that a machine has arrived there in advance of him. He has no capital. He has simply his bare hands that represent his labor power. He cannot buy a factory; he is compelled He cannot buy a factory; he is compelled from the very nature of the situation to offer from the very nature of the situation to offer his labor power, that is to say himself, for sale. If he is fortunate he becomes a wage slave. But even the privilege of selling himself into bondage may be denied him, and he may become a tramp. We cannot tell, for in this system everything is insecure, in doubt, uncertain: you may be worth forty or fifty thousand dollars today and a bankrupt next week or next month, and in the very sunset of your life the poorhouse looms in your vision. your life the poorhouse looms in your vision.

your life the poorhouse looms in your vision.

Is it not possible to improve upon such a condition as this? Yes, by the intelligent application of the principles of Socialism. We live in the most favored land beneath the bending sky. We have all the raw materials and the most marvelous machinery; millions of eager inhabitants seeking employment. Nothing is so easily produced as wealth, and no man should suffer for the need of it; and in a rational, economic system poverty will be a horror of the past; the penitentiaries will be depopulated, and the shadow of the gallows will no longer fall upon the land. Co-operative industry carried forward in the Go-operative industry carried forward in the interest of all the people, that is the foundation of the new social order; economic freedom for every human being on earth; no man compelled to depend on the arbitrary will of another for the right or opportunity to create enough to supply his material wants. create enough to supply his material wants. There will still be competition among men; but it will not be for bread, it will be to excel in good works. Every man will work for the society in which he lives, and society will work in the interests of those who com-

pose II.

I look into the future with absolute confidence. When I strain my vision the slightest I can see the first rising rays of the sun of the co-operative commonwealth; it will look down on a nation in which men and women-I say, men and women, because in the new social order, women will stand side by s with men, the badge of inferiority will taken from her brow, and we will enjoy the enraptured vision of a land without a master, a land without a slave.

Comrade Debs was followed by Comrade Herman C. Perry, candidate for governor of Illinois-a man from the mines of Spring Valley. The audience had rapturously applauded every telling point made by the presidential candidate, but gave Comrade Perry a reception that showed it had not exhausted itself. With no pretense whatever to oratory, Comrade Perry made a telling speech, every sentence carrying with it the conviction that the speaker was a true and thoroughly class-conscious Social Democrat and a man of genuine worth, in whom confidence was not

misplaced.

He was followed by Mayor J. C.
Chase of Haverhill, Mass., who told of the progress of Socialism in Massachu-

setts, especially in the municipality over which he presides, where the Social Democratic party of America elected its first mayor.

Then came what was distinctively the most significant incident in the onward march of Socialism in this country since the Indianapolis convention, the speech of Prof. George D. Herron. He had shortened his trip abroad, denying himself the pleasure of visiting Leo Tolstoi, in order to make public avowal of his full sympathy with political Socialism and to bear his share in the first national campaign of the party. Comrade Herron was given a tremendously cordial reception and his thoughtful address stirred the audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. The address follows:

HERRON'S SPEECH.

In speaking for Socialism to-night, I shall be as frank with this audience as I am with my own soul. I must give my own reasons for standing upon this platform. I cannot give the reasons of any other man, or of any standard or party for supporting the Social Dem. sect or party, for supporting the Social Democratic movement, though I respect all the men and motives that here converge. The best service which I can render the cause is to bear witness to the light that is in me, and to bear witness to the light that is in me, and not to the light that is in some other man. I am a Socialist, and all my voting for the last eight years has been with the Socialist-Labor party, But before I am a Socialist I am a free man; I am a Socialist because I am a free man. I have paid too great a price for my freedom, and have left too many blood stains upon the capitalistic order, to make any compromise with what I have won and incompromise with what I have won and intend to keep. And I have resolved that I can best serve the world and the cause of Socialism as well, by telling the truth exactly as I see it, or seem to see it. I will never limit the liberty of another man's soul, nor parties the liberty of another man's soul, nor parties the liberty of another man's soul, nor parties the liberty limit which is the liberty of another man's soul, nor parties the liberty limit which is the liberty of another man's soul, nor parties the liberty limit which is the liberty of another man's soul, nor parties the liberty limit which is the liberty of another man's soul, nor liberty liber limit the liberty of another man's soul, nor permit any man or party to limit the liberty of my soul. I will not tell lies to support the truth, or conceal one truth for the sake of helping another truth, or be anything else than wholly frank with all men, everywhere. I will not evade bearing witness to exactly what I seem to see this year in order to be consistent with something I may have said last year. I will not tell anything less or more than the whole truth as I see it at the moment I am speaking, to support any party, or even to support the throne of God itself. More than anything else, the world needs men who will confess the truth exactly as they see it, and stand by that truth in the faith that it will be its own witness; in the faith that it needs no tactics or concealment or scheming for its support. If economic Socialism means anything, it means just this liberty of every man to take a free look at life and all its problems and to be gladly heard by his comrades while he tells what he sees.

When I left Chicago last January for Egypt and eastern lands, I had the intention of staying across the seas until a later time than the present. For many weeks I was living tentthan anything else, the world needs men who

present. For many weeks I was living tent-life in Syria, out of the reach of letter and newspaper communication with America. Only recently, on coming into Europe, have I understood something of the beginning and meaning of the American Socialist move-ment. I could have gone on with my clans ment. I could have gone on with my plans and have committed myselt to the cause of political Socialism at a later period. The Socialist movement does not seem to me to have yet taken its coherent and conquering form in the politics of America. But when I saw that American Socialism was actually in the political melting-pot, being tried by fire in order that it might come forth as a national effort for that freedom and fullness of life which was promised by our fathers, then I also saw that my place was in the meltingpot. I could not wait until Socialism should be altography place in a life in the strength of also saw that my place was in the meltingpot. I could not wait until Socialism should
be altogether pleasing to me in all of its aspects, or until I should be altogether pleasing
to Socialism in some of my views of life; my
place was with my comrades, sharing with
them in the struggles, the defeats and disgraces, that are always involved in the first
creative steps of an organized movement. So
I gave up my plans of travel, and am-here to
publicly commit myself to the political Socialist movement as the only collective expublicly commit myself to the political So-cialist movement as the only collective ex-pression of the things. I have preached from this Central Music Hall p atform in the name of Christ. And i am here to stay until the Co-operative Commonwealth be established, or until the possibilities of my life be ex-hausted in helping American labor to con-sciously and nobly express itself in a coher-ent effort towards that order of society that ent effort towards that order of socitey that shall change labor from a curse into a song, and the lot of labor from poverty and struggle to fullness and freedom and gladness of

fe.
It may be that the American Socialist party is yet to be formed. If that be true, all of us who call ourselves Socialists are ready to form in in any party that shall truly stand for the cause and philosophy of Socialism. It is to Socialism itself we are committing our-selves to-night, and not to any particular party as a final expression of Socialism. Socialism is larger than any sect or any party or any definition or creed. It has no Bible except the living human facts as they unfold. The particular name or party under which Socialism shall finally come is not here important. The third of important the company of the The thing of importance is this, that we now have an opportunity to politically exprourselves in a movement which is at least germ of the great American Socialism that is to fulfill what was good and true in the De-mocracy of our fathers.

Three great lines are converging in the American Socialist outcome. We must name the first the Socialist Labor people who brought from Europe to America what is sometimes called dogmatic Socialism. These men have seemed to some of us to be sectarian and harsh, and to have carried class consciousness into class hatred. But is it to be wondered at that they have been bitter and dogmatic in their advocacy of Socialism, and in their attacks upon the capitalistic order? Our early Socialists were men who had them-selves experienced the bitterness and devas-tation of life that comes to labor in the sertation of the that comes to labor in the service of capitalism; they were men who spelled out their Karl Marx in the hideous misery of sweat-shops; men who pawned their threadbare coats to print their tracts. They were Socialists when it took a fanatic and a hero to be a Socialist; Socialists when to be known as a Socialist meant hunger or starvation for themselves and their families. They were as a Socialist meant hunger or starvation for themselves and their families. They were men who made brave and pitiful self-sacrifices for one another as comrades; men who, however fierce, practiced towards each other some of the ethics which we Christians are not even heroic enough to preach. These men do not make a Bible of their Marx, and they understand as well as any of us that the economic philosophy of fifty years ago will have to be recast in the mold of present American facts and ideals. What they now justly ask is, that Socialism, under whatever name it appears, or by whatever party it is brought before the

people, shall base itself directly upon the fun-damental fact that those, who live by selling their labor to capital must become class-con-scious of the fact that they are the rightful owners and real producers on the earth; and that this producing class must bravely and co-herently set to work to achieve its own libberently set to work to achieve its own lib-erty from the capitalistic and labor-consuming system of industry. I do not see how any Socialist, or any nobly thoughful man, can figure this fundamental proposition, how-ever fiercely it may have been advocated. Nor do I see how American Socialism can be es-tablished until American labor comes to such approximates of its manhood and worth as nsciousness of its manhood and worth as a consciousness of its mannood and worth as shall lift it into mighty response to this mightiest task to which mankind has ever summoned itself; the task of organizing out of the materials of nature and history a coherent and free society, in which every man shall inherit with every other man the re-sources and opportunities that open wholeand gladness of life to the human soul.

Another converging line is that individual-ism which was the genius of our American n which was the genius of our American ditical origins, and which was the meaning political origins, and which was the meaning of eighteenth century political and social philosophy. The end which that individual-sim sought was right. Rousseau and Jefferson, and the French revolutionists, had a claim which shall be justly and fully acquitted in the court of American Socialism. Socialism does not come to destroy but to fulfill the ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality which made our century so big with promises in its beginnings, and so sad and skeptic with failure in its endings. The liberty which early American aspiration sought which early American aspiration sought can be fulfilled only in the association which Socialism offers; individualism can be fulfilled only in collectivism. I have often said, from this platform, that no man can be free, or ought to be free, until all men are free. The whole world is ensayed as long as there remains a single slave on the earth. Lib-erty is a social achievement, and must be achieved by men together: not in comment achieved by men together; not in competition with each other. American Democracy, which originally meant voluntary co-operation as the order of state, will soon be lost, ever as an ideal, unless it realize itself in Democ and co-operation in production and dis-

The third converging is a new religious movement developing a much keener and more comprehensive spiritual consciousness in the common life. It is a movement so wide and deep that it is say sevenent so wide and deep that it is scarcely yet recognized and has nothing to do with the conventional re-ligious experiences. It is so altogether outside of historic religious institutions, and has come upon the world so unawares, that it does not even know itself as religious or spiritual. But it is nought else than the coming of the Son of Man to a consciousness of himself as a Son of God. It is upon the tides of this new spiritual movement that some of us have been borne into Socialism, and we must be true to our inspiration, while fully recognizing the worth of other inspirations than our own.

Let me explain the point of view and advance from which this unobserved spiritual movement becomes one with economic Socialism. We began our working life with the conviction that the individual soul is all that has any worth. The individual man, his has any worth. The individual man, his wholeness and liberty, are the unrivaled concern of the universe, and all that gives it any worth or meaning. Nature and economic things have a value just to the extent that they are the materials by which the human soul may freely express itself. All material things are intrinsically spiritual values; they are the coin of the spiritual realm. The goal of history, if the universe is sincere and has a meaning, is the liberty of each soul to at the theorems of divine law unto itself, the liberty of the libe last become a divine law unto itself; the lib-erty of each man to individualize God and nature and truth for himself, and to live an original life of his own. If you examine closely enough just what it is that has made the centuries blood red with hunan struggle, you will find that it is just this struggle of the soul of man for emancipation from every form of coercion; this struggle of the indi-vidual life to freely and deliberately and unfearingly choose for itself what it should be, to richly and tully be what it should choose, to richly and tully be what it should choose, and to actually lay up its treasure where its heart should be. It was upon the tides of a spiritual passion for this liberty that some of us were beaten against the hard fact that there is no liberty for the individual soul so long as some people own that upon which all people depend for their bread. We have discovered that no spiritual freedom can achieve or maintain itself except it be realized in economic that no spiritual freedom can achieve of mani-tain itself except it be realized in economic freedom. Private property in the natural re-sources upon which all men depend, and pri-vate property in that capital which all men create, is nothing less than private traffic in human souls; yea, it is the foundation of the ecclesiastical claim of private property in God and the truth, which is no less vicious than the claim of the monopolist to private ownthe claim of the monopolist to private own-ership of the earth. The liberty of the soul can be achieved only through the passing away of the capitalistic form of society, and the coming in of the free and co-operative

The soul cannot find its freedom in "a free field and a fair fight"; for the soul is not free so long as it is compelled to fight for anything; the individual is free only when he is liberated from fighting, that he may live for the common good in company with his brothers.

But there is still another factor in this spiritual movement towards Socialism, and that is the ethical strain that has come to of us who have faced the whole truth tour economic selves. We who are at about our economic selves. the receivers and victims of special privileges know that we are on the backs of our We know that our books, our othes, our privileges are ours because we we dipped our hands right into our brothers have dipped our hands right into our brothers' blood. I am able to stand here to-night and make my plea for Socialism, because I have consumed the labor-product which pays for all that I am able to be and all that I am able to give. I cannot believe that I can serve my comrades best by withdrawing from the problem, with the Tolstoian, and setting up a private kingdom and Heaven of my own; it would be an unspeakable relief to me to pay my world-debt so cheaply. But my place is in the thick of the social plan and travail, in the depth of the heat and chaos, even if I have to bear this ethical strain and shame to the end. The least that I can do to pay my debt to my brothers, the least that I can do the end. The least that I can do to pay my debt to my brothers, the least that I can do to be decent, is to contribute the whole of my life to the emancipation of labor from that capitalistic order which makes the product of the millions the profit and luxury of the few

I said when I began that the American Socialist movement had not yet been fully and oherently organized, and that these three thical factors which I have named are conging in that movement. But whether you tree with me or not as to these converging nes, let me ask you to face clearly the fact hat Socialism in some form is coming, withat any regard to what you or I want. losely speaking, Socialism can have but one aming and issue. Loosely speaking, there

might be many kinds of Socialism. There can be a thoroughly Democratic and spiritual Socialism, and there might be an imperialistic or Bismarckian Socialism, in which the istic or Bismarckian Socialism, in which the state would own the people rather than the people the state. If I might prophesy I would say that in twenty years from now there will be, as now, two great political parties in America; but both of them will be Socialistic; one the party of Tory Socialism, and the other the party of Democratic Socialism. But whatever the form under which collectivism comes, the next stage of the world will be a collective stage of production and distribution. We might just as well appoint a committee to sit down on the sun, appoint a committee to sit down on the sun, to keep it from going on its way, as to attempt to obstruct the Socialistic issue of the capitalist mode of production and distribu-tion. We are nearing the end of an old stage of production and distribution, for competi tion and private industry no longer work, and they ought not to work. The present industrial system is approaching an economic world-crisis which is also the world's spiritua

What is the attitude of the two great na tional parties towards this evident world-crisis? The Republican is frankly the party of the capitalistic order. Under the priest-hood of Mr. Hanna, it has been indissolulably wedded to capitalism as its weaker and obe-dient half. Let us credit Mr. Hanna and his party with all sincerity in their belief that capitalism is the best and only safe order of production and distribution. I am not here to question the sincerity of any man or party; but only to state their attitude towards social reconstruction. The Republican party is so openly the capitalistic party that its principles need no discussion before an audience anywise in sympathy with Socialism.

But the Democratic party gives somewhat

But the Democratic party gives somewhat intangible hints of social reform. Let us examine those hints: So far as I can see, I am not able to find in any of Mr. Bryan's utterances, nor in the platform of his party a syllable that indicates the slightest knowledge of the real human problem that now confronts us. Mr. Bryan is a very sincere and upright us. Mr. Bryan is a very sincere and upright man, and he numbers men of noble human sympathy among his supporters. But the Democratic propositions for economic and social reforms are negative and meaningless. Their talk of anti-trust legislation is childish, as well as unhistoric. You might just as well legislate against the tides of the sea, or the movements of the solar system as to imagine movements of the solar system, as to imagine that anti-trust legislation can for a moment hinder the present industrial development from going on to its consummation. Bryan does not know, I am sure that Mr. Altgeld knows, that anti-trust declarations and legislations are silly, and have about as much relation to the real economic facts as Mr. Roosevelt has to modesty and gentle instricts. It is sometimes mysteriously hinted that Mr. Bryan has up his sleeve some very telling card which he intends to play in the economic game if he is elected; that he is playing politics just as Lincoln did. I do not believe that Ar. Lincoln played politics in any such sense as some of Mr. Bryan's supporters credit their candidate with doing. It is true that Mr. Lincoln shrewdly adopted every available means to achieve his end; but he knew exactly what he wanted from the beginning, and made clearly his goal from the ginning, and made clearly his goal from the opening of his political career as a member of the Illinois legislature. He wanted the progressive abolition of slavery and a union composed of entirely free men, and he said so. Furthermore, even if Lincoln did play politics in the sense in which Mr. Bryan's friends would indicate, we have nothing to do with that. It is time that we quit asking what Lincoln would do, or what Moses would do, or what Moses would do, or what Marx would do, and dedide for ourselves, and by our own original inspiration, what we are to our own original inspiration, what we are to do in the face of the world-problem that con-fronts us. No age or its leaders can live by the inspiration and leadership of a past age. There is always more truth and resource in the present that have ever been available in the past. Besides, this method of playing the past. Besides, this method of playing politics as a game will no longer work with the awakening moral sense of the common life. The people do not want to know what card a man has up his sleeve, but what coherent and frankly spoken principles a man may have wherewith to meet the problems that are meeting him. There is no game that are meeting nim. There is no game that could be so wisely played, just now, as the hitherto untried game of honesty. Leaders whom the people will trust in the future must be leaders who believe in principles so strongly that they are not afraid to tell them to the world. They must be leaders who will trust the people and the truth so fully that they will shake out before the face of the people all the truth they have in their heads and hearts.

If we further examine the policy of the Democratic party, we will find that it is haltingly against the evils that are, but that it has not a single constructive proposition to make as to future good. It is idle to protest that are against one order of things if we have no better order to propose. Whatever it may disclose in the future, the Democratic party disclosed any constructive ability in . The best that its most ardent reformers propose is the abolition of special privileges and the restoration of an imaginary free competition. Now twentieth century problems cannot be solved by eighteenth century phrases. So-called special privileges can be abolished only by making the highest privileges of the few the common privileges of all. The special privileges at which the individualist reformer would aim, are the direct results of the very competition which he proposes as a remedy. Special privileges, class legislation, and industrial monopoly are merely the triumph of the strongest competitor; they are the big fish that have swallowed the little fish. Even if the abstract "free field little fish. Even if the abstract "free field and fair fight," which has never existed outside of the economist's brain, could really ex-ist, the result would again be special privi-leges and monopoly. In the freest economic field and fairest competition somebody would get whipped; and the triumph would be the triumph of sheer brute strength expressing itself in economic might; not the triumph of those men and politics socially fitted to sur-vive. Besides, a rational civilization has for its end, not the so-called survival of the fittest, but the fitting of all to worthily survive. Furthermore, we are not seeking remedies for the existing social order; for it is an order of things that we do not want, well or ill. It is not a remedy for a capitalistic order that the present human situation demands, but a manhood with spiritual nerve and mighty grace to create a co-operative order which shall realize all the best ideals of all Democracies and political philosophies of the past.

I know that there are many that will vote for Mr. Bryan in the hope that the imperialism which reveals the degradation of our nation, and which has made our government the betrayer and the assassin of the liberties of a halples could make the holes. of a helpless people, may be rebuked and cor-fected. But these good people ought to see that imperialism is merely the result of capital-ism. Capitalism increases itself out of the produce of the people until they are too poor

to buy what they produce. India, starving in the presence of walled-up and plentiful food supplies, is a monument to the capitalistic order. As Thomas Carlyle said, England was making new markets, while the million and a half of men and women and children of Lon-don who made the clothes, went with bare backs because they had nothing wherewith to buy the clothes they made. Strange as it may seem, they were not making clothes to wear, but clothes for the increase of capital. The capitalistic order of America has debauched the conscience of the whole nation, and used its government to betray and conquer weaker peoples, in order to find markets for the produce of the dwarfed and struggling and blighted lives of the laborers who cannot buy what they produce. Capitalism, after absorbwhat they produce. Capitalish, after associated ing the purchasing power of the real producers, destroys the liberties of weaker peoples in order to compel them to furnish a market, and besides coerces them into paying market, and besides coerces them into paying interest upon bonds. Suppose a man should come to your room to-night with a revolver and forcibly take your money, watch, clothes and available possessions; and then suppose that, to-morrow, he should send an armed officer with a bill for services rendered in keeping you in order while he robbed you; suppose, further, that in lieu of your having nothing left wherewith to pay the bill, he should compel you to sign a note for an nothing lett wherewith to pay the bin, he should compel you to sign a note for an amount of money so large that you could never pay it, but not too large to consume the produce of each year's toil in paying the interest thereupon; suppose all this, and you have an epitome of imperialism, which is nothing less than capitalism preserving and exing less than capitalism preserving and ex-tending itself through diplomatic and military force. Imperialism has always been the im mediate result of centralization of wealth in the hands of a few, and can be dealt with only by changing the order of things from which it naturally springs.

Socialism comes not as a remedy for the evils of existing society, but as a program of principles for a new society; or rather, let us say, as the first proposition for social order that has ever been presented to the world. Mankind has not yet had anything that can properly be called social order. Society has not yet been created. The materials for the building of a human world are here, but the creation remains to be undertaken. The task of creating a coherent and free society is the mightiest to which man has summoned him-self, and it is the task which now presses urgently upon us. Socialism does not recog-nize as society, anything that has hitherto nize as society, anything that has hitherto come, but it sees in every preceding human stage a preparation for society. The Social-ist is an evolutionist, but with this differ-ence between himself and much that is called scientific evolution; namely, that the social will is henceforth to be the supreme factor in evolution. Hitherto, what we call society has been the evolution of blind forces which man did not understand and could not control. But we are reaching that moment when man wil become the evolutor as well as the evoluted; when man will become conscious of himself as the decretal and creative force in evolution. Man will henceforth take evolution in his own hands, and fashion creation according to his own will, and make out of society what he wants it to be. Henceforth the social will is to become the creator and master, which the winds and the waves shall at last obey, and at whose word the strifes and storms of history shall be stilled, and give back their responsive peace to the masterful social will

Socialism starts with the brotherhood and unity of the race as a fact. It does not proclaim it as a sentiment, but recognizes it as a scientific fact. Each for all and all for each is the only rational mode of procedure in view of this fact. That where one suffers all suffer is not a sentiment to meditate about, but the hardest unescapable fact with which we have to deal. The grippe breaks out in a wretched hamlet of two or three hundred peasants on the Siberian frontier; and every home in America is endangered or broken. A little girl is shot down by the constituted authorities at a Pennsylvania coal mine; and every thoughtful American recognizes that capitalistic government is not law, but brutal and lawless authority founded on economic and tawiess authority founded on economic might, and that his little girl in Chicago or California may be the next victim of the brute lawlessness of capitalistic government. For good or ill, whether we will or no, we are bound up together in this world, and can only achieve our well being together. We might like to have separate interests, and be able to extricate ourselves as individuals from cannot do so any more than we can individ-ually extricate ourselve. the divine compulsions of this unity; but ually extricate ourselves from the law of gravity. We all in common depend upon the same common sources of nature and history. None of us are rightly or nobly born until every child born into the world is born as the immediate inheritor of all the resources of nature and history, of industry and society, of inspiration and culture; of all that tempts goodness and greatness, and makes fo fullness and freedom and gladness of life. If the whole world were full and glad with life, and should yet consent that one child should be born with less, the world would be economically and spiritually damned. Until all of us together see to it that every man is equal with every other man in resource and opportunity and resource and liberty, we shall none of us see the kingdom of fullness and freedom upon the earth. In this sense freedom upon the earth. In this sense brother-interest and self-interest are one and the same; for no man has a true and noble interest in himself who does not regard the whole life of man as his calling and interest, and no man has a true regard for his brothers who does not seek to make of himself a whole and free man in their service

Now, Socialism comes as the scientific and economic recognition of this unity. Since all people in common depend upon the sources and tools of production, there can be no individual liberty save these sources and tools b long to the people in common. There can be no social peace and sanity, no full liberty of the human soul, so long as some people over that upon which all people depend. All own that upon which all people depend. All that can be said against slavery can also be said against the private ownership of economic sources and tools for the private ownership of the components of the compon nomic sources and tools for the private own-ership of the common sources and machinery of life is nothing less than a substantial own-ership of human beings. No man is free so long as he is dependent upon some other man for the chance to earn his livelihood. If a man owns my bread, or owns that which I must have in order to get my bread, he owns my moral being, unless I choose to revolt and starve. Private ownership of the earth and its productive machinery means private own-ership of the people who live on the earth. He who sells his labor-power for wages sells He who sells his labor-power for wages sells himself; for his labor-power is his life. The wages system is merely an advance in the slave system, but it is no fit system for free men; and there can be no true freedom for all men until there is not another hireling left under the sun. The labor of the world is essentially slave-labor. There is not a wage-earner on the earth to-night, who is not in some degree debauched in soul, even in spite of himself, by his dependence upon the private buyer of his labor. So long as some men own that upon which all men depend the owners and the dependents are alike corrupted, and enslaved and robbed. Yet our whole industrial system rests upon

Yet our whole industrial system rests upon this power of private capital to legally appropriate the fruits of the labor of society. But behind the economics of capitalism rests the question of elemental right and wrong. If nature and history have a meaning and a goal, if the universe be sincere, then it is elementally wrong that some people should own that upon which all people depend; and the only elemental right is that the people in common should own that upon which the people in common depend; and the only iust people in common depend; and the only just reward of labor is the whole produce of labor. The elemental right cannot be amended or evaded, as history well witnesses. The centralization of the wealth of the people in the hands of the few has been the poison of history, and has brought the decline or destruction of every nation, every civilization, every tory, and has brought the decline or destruction of every nation, every civilization, every religion that has come to its end or decline. The pages of history are blood-red with the retribution that comes to the whole people through the centralization of wealth in the hands of a few; for centralized wealth is not prosperity but disease, congestion, and destruction. No man or civilization can escape this retribution. It lies not in the power of man or governments or armies to make practicable what is elementally wrong. No religion can go deep enough to bring forth universal individual nobleness out of a political or economic system that ensuaves souls and bodies by enslaving labor. No law or cusbodies by enslaving labor. No law or cus-tom is mighty or sacred enough to bring forth peace and order out of injustice and elemental disorder. It is beyond the power of kings or parliaments, priests or politicians, to bring forth good effects from bad causes. There is no God in the universe almighty enough to make right out of sheer economic might; and there is no civilization strong enough to prevent that which is elementally right from becoming the ultimate and universal might. A house built upon the sand cannot be made safer by priestly steeples, political declarations and police protection; the longer and stronger the building the more appalling and complete the ruin. A civilization built mean complete the ruin. tion built upon fraud and force, gambling and lying, stealing and political debauchery, capitalism and slave-labor, simply builds for its own retribution. Unless the universe itself be a lie such a civilization cannot stand. We build on a sure foundation only when we build a system that has for its end the com-mon wealth, the common wholeness, the common freedom, the comon abundance and glad ness of all men and women. Nature convicts our impoverishing civilization to its face; the profusion of life is nature's eternal message. Nature offers resources enough for abundance of life for countless billions of human beings, and will never consent that these resources should be appropriated by the few for the exploitation of the many. I know that some of you are indulging in

the popular saying that Socialism might an-swer for a society of angels, but not for a society of human beings such as we are; that we must wait till we have a better brand of human beings before we can have Socialism. All of which is very much like saying that it is not saie to cure a man of his disease until he gets well; or like saying that we will not come in out of the rain until we first or like refusing to abolish the devil in order that we may preserve the job of saving the people from him. It is a strange super-stition that makes men regard what they know to be elementally good as dangerous in practice, and what they know to be ele-mentally wrong as practically safe. Social-ism strikes at the root of the chief cause of our unangelic conduct, and proposes to abolish that slavery and competition and capitalism which sends all its forces in the direction of making men brutal and dishonest. The whole influence of competition and capitalism is to war against love and liberty, and to make all that is noble and lovely in human life impossible. Socialism comes to remove the causes that prevent men from being lovers and brothers one with another, and to bring in that equality of opportunity without which there can be no true fellowship, no abiding social love.

Many of you, too, are raising the question of whether people are yet prepared for the economic administration and liberty involved in what we call public ownership. The question is often raised with reference to a public utility, such as the railway system. First of all, there is the principle that nothing pre-pares people for responsibility save experience in responsibility. It is only in liberty that man learns to be free; only in the pos-session of his rights does a man learn to practice the highest right. And in the immediate question of advisability, lies the foundation fact that it is elementally wrong for public functions to be privately owned and administered for private profit. No principle of expediency can make this elemental wrong result in the good of active individual variables. sult in the good of either individuals or ciety. That I may think some other I may think some other man shiftless with his money does not excuse me in taking it away from him and spending most of it for myself. The lesson of co-operation on liberty has got to be learned, and it can only be learned by practicing it. We shall have to go the whole length of liberty or finally have no liberty at all. You doubt whether liberty can be trusted. I am very sure that tyranny cannot be trusted, and I am furthermore sure that the care of liberty can-not be delegated to any representatives. Libberty cannot be put under bonds to keep the peace without liberty being lost and peace unattained. All the so-called evils of liberty have been the evils of the lack of liberty. We shall have to accept the full logic of liberty at last, for there is nothing under the sun that can be trusted in its place. The lesson of co-operation has got to be learned, and learned in liberty; and the lesson of liberty has got to be learned, and learned in co-op-eration. We had just as well set about the

Again, some of you are offended at the class-conscious appeal of Socialism. I think it is because you do not rightly understand its meaning. Socialists have no thought of arraigning one class against another class as individuals; class-consciousness does no mean class-hatred. Let us admit that Social ists sometimes give utterances that have the class-hatred ring about them. Class-hatred is none the less alien to the spirit and genius of Socialism. Even so bitter a controversialist as Karl Marx says that of all men Socialists can afford to be tolerant and kindly toto be the victims of a system as truly as the laborer. What the Socialist does mean by class-consciousness is this: that nothing can obviate the hideous fact that one class of human beings is living off another class; that a capitalistic class is heaping up the produce of the producing class. And he appeals to labor to become class-conscious, because he knows perfectly well that the laborer cannot achieve his freedom, nor have the produce of his labor, until he becomes conscious that he

is the real producer and the owner of the earth. Capital lords and landlords will exist, and despoil the earth with economic and military wars, until the disinferited labor of the world rises to nobly take possession of its inheritance. So long as the laborer is willing to be a more wars as a second of the laborer is willing to be a mere wage-earner, so long as he is led about by politician and agitator, so long as his weariness and poverty, his dependence and hopelessness, so eat out his nerve of soul and body that he will not act, just so long will his condition wax worse and worse. Labor must achieve its own liberty, if it is ever to be achieved. Liberty cannot be handed down by a superior class to an inferior class; it has never been so achieved and ought not to be so achieved. If liberty were something that could be imposed upon one class by another; or could be presented as a gift from superiors to inferiors, it would vanish in a night. Men are not free until they have won and established their freedom in experience, and in the power of their own manhood. The class-conscious appeal is not for strife or hos-tility or antagonism, but for manhood; for tility or antagonism, but for manhood; for constructive purpose, and spiritual nerve and genius. The end of Socialism is the abolition of all class and parties, and the coming in of but one class, the people, with opportunity for every man to produce his own living, and at the same time become as Charles Kingsley, "a scholar, a saint, and a gentleman." Unless American laborers as a closs are so spiritually awakened that they become noble and courageous enough to adont the Control of the courageous enough to adont the courage of the and courageous enough to adopt the Co-operative Commonwealth as a working ideal, and adopt it in the spirit of good-will toward all men, no one can achieve their liberty them or even to achieve it for them. All tory demonstrates how the people have had to achieve for themselves each inch and gain of liberty, and how they have been again and again betrayed when their liberties have been committed to those above them in worldly condition.

I know that some are waiting until Socialism shall present a more pleasing aspect. But we canot wait until the Socialist movement is just to our liking before we take creative part in it. Our place is in the blood and the dust, the struggle and the disgraces, that always inhere in the beginnings of every great movement. Our place is at the heart of the chaos in order that we may work with the cosmic heart purpose. How can we truly respect ourselves, or help to make the Socialist movemena what it ought to be, if we fail it in its moment of severest need? Socialists are not appealing to you for support on the ground that Socialists are better than other men, but on the ground that Socialism is better than capitalism, and that Socialism will bring forth and educate the best that is in man, while capitalism and competition are bringing forth

and educating the worst.

We do not deny that Socialism has its risks. and its advocates the common share of hu-man passions and imperfections, but we insist that the risks of adventuring upon Socialism are as nothing compared to the risks of continuing in capitalism. Besides, if we only knew it, the dangers to human life lie on the side of staying where we are, while safety lies only in going on. As Louis Kossuth pointed out, conservatism has been the cause of every violent revolution. We cannot avert disaster by sitting on the throttle valve of the forces that are making for universal change; we can-not prevent the change; we only cause explosion and disaster.

In the truest sense, Socialism is essentially conservative; it comes not to destroy, but to fulfill all the true ideals of order and liberty and property; it offers that equality which must be the foundation of brotherhood; that liberty which must be the vital breath of the love which the Lord Christ taught; it offers the economic basis for the realization of that fraternity which has been the dream of the ages. It comes with no attack upon any man, but with the message of good-will among all men. It comes with no attack upon property, but rather to save property from the attacks and rayages of a system that is the destruc-tion of all that makes property sacred; for property is sacred only as it serves the high-est uses of all men in-common. It comes not to destroy private property; for capitalism has already destroyed the possibility of the bulk of mankind ever becoming property owners; but it comes to place within the reach of every man that private property upon which he may stand and live a free and original life of his stand and live a free and original life of his own, and express his noblest ideals and being It comes to make the strong bear the infirmi-ties of the weak, until they, too, become strong knowing well that if we do not actual-ly become our brother's keepers, we shall be destroyed in our brother's destruction, as we ought to be. It comes to put all the tempta-tions of life on the side of service and freedom and goodness, and to abolish the temptation to avarice and meanness and oppression.

I know that there is needed a vast spiritual preparation to prepare the way of political Socialism; but that preparation will come. In its essence Socialism is a religion; it stands for the harmonious relations of the whole of man; it stands for a vast and collective ful-filling of the law of love. As the Socialist movement grows, its religious forces will come forth from the furnace of consuming experience. No matter how materialistic its origin, when Socialism brings men together in a great purpose it soon begins to develop fidelity and tolerance, and patience and goodwill, and the noblest human graces. American Socialism goes on its way it will be come a spiritual passion; not a cry for rights but a call to elemental righteousness. It will make its appeal to the instinct of man for a divine public life, for communal heroism, and will show how the individual life can fulfill itself only by relating itself to the whole life of mankind. It will create a conscience that shall at last become cosmic and titanic, and able to grapple with all the problems the universe can bring forth. In place of the indi-vidual hero of the past, it will submit to you the ideal of a heroic common life; the ideal of a common citizenship that shall truly have its consciousness in heavenly things.

It seems to me that America stands in order to be the birthplace of just such an appeal, and the social ground for just such a realiza-tion. Emerson once said that America seemed like the last stand of Providence in behalf of the human race. If the sorrows and the struggles that have made the centuries run blood-red with effort are to have their fruition, it must be upon our American soil. Back there in the shadows, the oppressed peo-Back there in the shadows, the oppressed peoples of history are waiting for some great word to be here spoken that shall call them into resurrection and liberty. Egypt and Syria, Persia and Greece, Italy and peoples that we have forgotten, are waiting for the word from us that shall call them into the sunlight and the God-light. Peoples and nations unborn are stretching forth entreating hands to us from out of the future. If we should fail here in America, then six thousand years' of history will have failed; for history has come to its limit on the shores of the Pacific; it has come back to its starting point. If we fail the heart of God will break again,

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Dec. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., . Chicago, Ill., on or before Oct. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

NEW BRANCHES

Alabama, one. Illinois, two. Arizona, one. Montana, one.

> NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER THEODORE DEBS

No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who en ployed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery security of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensity the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare. and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade control of government by the people irre-union movement are the chief emancipating spective of sex. factors of the working class, the one represent-ing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the cap-

and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Demogratic Party of America declares its object to be;

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of cooperative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize

pathy with their historic 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 all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the mil-lions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to in-ternational Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the fol-

lowing demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete tion of international arbitration.

spective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and com

Third—The public ownership of all rail-roads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities

Fourth-The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells. Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor

in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of pub-

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

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible. Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discrimin, ling against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth-Abolition of war and the introduc-

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE ROBERT MEISTER ... Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN ... Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN ... Secretary Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER ... Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN ... Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT ... Secretary Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN Chairman PHILIP BROWN Secretary

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

SEYMOUR STEDMAN Chairman ARTHUR DENNISON Secretary

COMMITTEE ON SPEAKERS

OSCAR LOEBEL.....Chairman SEYMOUR STEDMAN...Secretary

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY: The Social Democratic Herald 50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NEW BRANCHES ORGANIZED

(Report for Quarter Ending Sept. 30.) During the third quarter of the year ending September 30, National Secre-tary Debs issued charters from 126 Washington street, Chicago, to sixtynine new branches, as follows:

Arkansas	2 Missouri
California	1 Montana
Colorado	1 New York
Florida	1 Nebraska
	1 Ohio
	7 Oklahoma
Illinois	5 Oregon
Iowa	4 Pennsylvania
Kansas	1 South Dakota
Louisiana	1 Texas
Massachusetts	2 Virginia
Maryland	1 West Virginia
Michigan	
Minnesota	

Total69 Five reported this week increases the total to 74, nearly one for each working day in the quarter.

WHERE DEBS WILL SPEAK

Pana, Ill	Oct. 8
St. Louis, Mo	
Kansas City, Mo	· 10
KansasOct. 11,	12, 13, 14, 19
Omaha, Neb	Oct. 16
Iowa Oct.	17, 18, 19, 20
Wisconsin	Oct. 21, 22
New York City	Oct. 30

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase Merrie England in the German language, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

See notice of new leaflets-they make

The new buttons are union made and all right. Twenty cents per dozen.

J. A. McIsaac has been nominated for Congress in the 11th District of Massachusetts.

You write letters? Put a sticker on envelope. Five dred for 50 cents.

All the leaflets are going out fast and the comrades write in that they give great satisfaction.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workingmen. Leaf-let No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

Smiley's excellent pamphlet, "To What Are Trusts Leading?", sent free to any address for 5 cents.

The Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis has declared in favor of the Social Democratic national ticket

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

All loyal members of the Social Dem-ocratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The Debs 'casset, at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leastet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

Registration days in Illinois are Tuesday, Oct. 9 and Tuesday, Oct. 16. Information as to method of obtaining naturalization papers will appear in the

The Social Democratic picnic of the Boston, Rockland, Whitman, Chelsea and other branches in Massachusetts, Comrade Haile writes us, was "just the kind of a success that was most de

All comrades in St. Louis who are are requested to attend a meeting at 'Druid's Hall, 9th and Market Streets, Sunday, October 7, at 2 p. m., when important business will be

It is of the highest importance that all branches remit at the earliest time possible, the quarterly dues for members. The prompt payment of dues is necessary to the proper carrying on o the work at headquarters.

Comrades: Wherever our candidate speaks during the present month (see list of cities in this issue of the Herald) the local branches should have thou sands of leaflets to distribute at the meetings, lithographs to display in store windows, and stickers by the thousands.

Our German comrades will do well to distribute the German translation of leaflet No. 2, Ben Atterbury's "Letter to American Workmen." Give every German voter a copy and you will much increase the German Socialist The price is \$1.25 a thousand. Send in your orders.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copcopy, to cents; postage prepaid.

The Stickers have made a hit. You should have a thousand or ten thousand to put up in your community. They are two inches square, put up in packages of 500 and very handy. They are designed to fix in the mind the fact that Social Democrats are in the field with a candidate for president. They do the business. One thousand, postage paid, one dollar.

For \$5 the national campaign committee will send, postage paid, thirtythree Debs lithographs (21x28 in.) and 4,000 Leaflets, the latter to include an assortment of all the six Leaflets so far issued. Every one is a vote-maker-every one will convert thinking people to Socialism. The expenditure of \$5 in your community for this campaign outfit will start a movement where you

The National Committee is now pre-pared to furnish Leaflet No. 2, Ben Aty's "Letter to American Work-in German. The price is \$1.25 per thousand. Send in your orders at once and put it out among your German friends.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Edwin Anderson, C	hicae	o\$.59
A. R. Peterson,			.2
J. Gerber.	**		.5
Henry Jamsen,	44		.2
Emil Beer,	**		
J. Gibson,	44	***************************************	.2
Wm. Goering.	1.64		.2
Wm. Ellis.		***************************************	.2
F. Morkes.	**		.1
Henry Kaufert,	***		2
John Marak,	++		9
Ed Meland.	44		.2
John Olson,	4+		. "
J. W. Kanney,	++		.2
John Kusehel,	**		.2
B. Aschatz,			.2
F. Petsche.	44		1.0
E. Petsche,			. 2
F. O. Petsche,	**		.2
F. Biezus.	4.6		.2
F. Schonta,	46		.5
J. Verschsi.	Sec		.5
F. Check,	**		.2
J. Grifec.	* 16		
J. Runger,	**		.1
A. Bernsoshek,	**		. 2
Jas. Reid.			
Jas. Marsball,			.2
Frank Harber.	44		.2
Arnold Zanda, Two	o Rive	rs	.2
F. J. Miller, Beam	ont		20
J. P. Malcor, Sprin	g Val	ley	1.0
Edward Hail.		*	5
Henry Watts.	**		1.0
Sebastian Nihull.	**		.5
Wm. Lidell,	44		5
H. C. Perry,			10
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Wm. James,	••		.5
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A Friend,	**		24
Geo. Lawrence.		***************************************	.5
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James O'Connor,	*		.5
August Tonslonis,	*		.5
Joe Kelly,	**		.5
Wm Myre,	**		.5
		**********	2.0
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B. Bitterlich, St. I.	ouis .		10
H. H., Chicago			10.0
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F. Macomber, And	erron		1.0
On Uhlhorn's List	, Chic	ago	3 2
Branch 12. Wiscon	sin		100
A. Christiansen, C.	hicago		10
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National Campaign Opened

and another cycle of history, with its weary and another cycle of history, with its weary procession of bleeding centuries, will have to begin. But we cannot fail, we dare not fail. Liberty and fraternity and equality are not tantalisms to hopeless human suffering, but ideals to be relaized by human worth and effort. We must prove our worth to match these ideals. Potential within this meeting is the power which God might use for the freeing and the healing of the nations. Within this audience are the resources and weapons for conquering the world for love and liberty. The saving sword which the peoples now need The saving sword which the peoples now need is not the sword of Joshua or Cromwell, but the sword of an awakened and inspired and the sword of an awakened and inspired and ennobled common life. And as the hand of God reaches out in the dark of our social chaos, it is our privilege to put within that hand the sword of comrade-love that shall liberate the world, and make every child indeed the heir of all the good of all ages. I pray that the highest and most unselfish that lies in you and in me may respond to the highest and most unselfish inspirations of history, as we go forth to support this cause of Socialism, and to support in its presidential candidate one who has proven his fidelity to American labor, and who is in his rightful place as the leader of this first national cam-paign for Social Democracy.

During the meeting a resolution ratifying the nomination of Debs and Harriman and the union for political co-operation of the Socialists of Illinois in the present campaign was adopted.

SUNDAY MEETINGS

With just forty-eight hours' advertis-ing two splendid meetings were held on Sunday, Sept. 30, the first in the afternoon at Twelfth Street Turner Hall, the other at Bohemian National Hall in the evening.

At the afternoon meeting Comrade Jacob Winnen presided, and the speakers, besides Eugene V. Debs, were Peter Knickrehm and A. S. Edwards. It was the largest political meeting held in the hall this year, about 700 being present, and although many Socialist gatherings have been had there, never before was so much unrestrained enthusiasm manifested. Comrade Debs was unusually effective and made a speech brilliantly epigrammatic and bristling with telling hits on the capitalist system and the two capitalist parties.

In the evening the Bohemian National Hall was filled to the door with an audience of over 1,000. Comrade Frank Mudra presided and Comrade Hlavacek; editor of Spravedlnost, was the first speaker. The editor of the Herald is able to say, on the authority of many in the hall, that Hlavacek's speech was the best he ever made and he has made many a good one. The occasion was calculated to draw out the best in any man. Comrade Debs followed the Bohemian editor in one of his very finest presentations of Socialist principles and arguments, speaking for an hour and a half. Notwithstanding so many in the hall were Bohemians, few were there who did not understand him, and none failed to catch the spirit and enthusiasm of the great meeting.

Debs-Herron Speeches

The speeches of Eugene V. Debs and Prof. Geo. D. Herron which appear in this number of the Herald, will be printed in pamphlet form and sold by the National Committee of the Social Democratic party at five cents a copy. Special rates will be made on quantities. Send in your order without delay and help put this effective campaign document into circulation throughout the country.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

We have just received the "Primer of Socialism" from the press of the Debs Publishing Company. This pamphlet of 32 pages is from the pen of G. C. Clemens, and is a valuable contribution to Socialist literature. It also contains "Socializing a State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazell, which makes this an exceptionally strong number of Progressive Thought for propaganda. It can be supplied at 5 cents per copy, or \$1.50 per 100, by addressing Debs Publishing Company, Terre Haute, Ind.

The campaign committee has a few dozen photographs, cabinet size, of Eugene V. Debs, which they are selling which they are selling at 15 cents each:

Comrade J. W. Kelley, candidate for governor of Indiana, will open his active campaign October 15. He will visit the following towns: Kokomo, La Porte, Elkhart, Fort Wayne, Muncie, Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Clinton and Evansville. Comrade E. V. Debs will speak at Indianapolis October 6.

Debs and Harriman Buttons

At last we have the BUITONS, and at the right prices, UNION MADE. Both candidates on the button.

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CAMPAIGN **LEAFLETS**

PUSH THEM OUT AND MAKE VOTES No. 1-Address to Unorganized Socialists

Contains information concerning the Socialist movement in the United States, the party and its methods, object and program.

No. 2-An Open Letter to the Average American Workman

By Ben. Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

No. 3-Machine Production Where the Profits Go.

The argument of this leaflet is a clincher be-cause taken from the government reports made by the Commissioner of Labor, and proves that machinery, combinations, trusts and systematized production must lead to socialism. It's the only way out.

No. 4-Toilers of America Vote for Your Freedom.

This is a remarkably effective campaign document. Written by a prominent member of the United Mine Workers, it sets forth in a convincing manner the reasons why the miners of the country, railroadmen and all other wage workers should support the Social Democratic

No. 5-Industrial Crises-Cause and Cure.

A strong appeal to the common sense of the voters, this leaflet gives the Socialist view of industrial crises and convincingly shows that Socialism is the necessary solution.

No. 6-Platform and Debs Epigrams.

This is a very attractive addition to our campaign literature; it gives the party platform complete with a collection of the very best epigramatic sentences from the lectures of Eugene V. Debs, together with other striking contributions.

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