

Social Democratic Herald

NUMBER 2.

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1898.

50 CENTS YEARLY.

For the Abolition of Capitalism, and the Coöperative Production and Distribution of all Wealth.

Truth Coming Out.

What the Bolters Offered to Prevent a Split—Party Meets the Needs of the Country and the Hour.

It is deplorable, yet absolutely necessary, that a good deal of space in our new paper should at first be devoted to contradicting the outrageously false and misleading statements of the Social Democrat in regard to the convention and the action of the bolters, in order that the comrades may have the real facts before them. In the first place, the bolters were not for political action only, as they allege, when the convention opened, whatever they may have been driven to before its close. On the contrary, I myself believed, and still believe, that some kind of co-operative enterprise would be advantageous, as a separate department, after the political organization had been perfected on clear-cut Socialist principles. The original and oft-repeated intention was that the organization should be formally launched as a political party at this first convention. We wanted to see this done and the others did not, claiming that the original purpose was colonization.

That we were not for political action only is evidenced by the fact that in committee on platform Comrade Berger and myself offered to agree to the original idea of colonizing a state, which the commission had unwarrantably abandoned for the gold mine scheme. Failing in this, we offered to make it one of our most urgent demands that some state which still has government lands should make us a grant of land and give us state assistance for the purpose of colonizing the unemployed, and we promised a vigorous agitation for it, which we believed would be successful and would be along Socialist lines. Both offers were refused. On the floor of the convention the bolters again offered, rather than have a split, to make an alliance with the B. C. C.; our members individually helping them, and they in turn helping us politically, and in this event to raise a fund to pay back to subscribers the money sent to the Colonization Commission in the belief that something was to be done "next week." This also they refused. So our hands are clean.

"But," says the Social Democracy, "we believe in both! Behold our Political Committee!" Yes, look at it a moment. Of its three members one boldly defied the convention to commit the party to political action; another avowed himself an anarchist and said he only joined the S. D. because he believed in the colonization scheme; and the third declared on the floor of the convention that it was well enough to advocate both, but he didn't believe in either. How much political action is such a committee going to give you, even of the kind which will take the field if they can find a place where none of the capitalist parties hold out a bait to the feeble-minded in the shape of some Socialistic demand? Like those who, as Shakespeare says, "keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the sense," they declare for political action and straightway nullify it by appointing a committee which is opposed to it.

Their charge that we declined all overtures to submit differences to a referendum vote is absolutely and utterly false. Not a hint or suggestion of such an overture was made by them or refused by us. Before we realized fully the seriousness of the situation, we intended to submit our differences to the membership; but later developments rendering it impossible to work with this element, under any circumstances, we decided to take this method of referendum. The referendum is nothing but a farce, unless both sides of the question are laid fully and impartially before the membership; and we were convinced (and the event has justified us) that we could not do this through the columns of the Social Democrat, which is in their hands. We therefore organized provisionally, and our circular, our delegates' reports, and our paper embodies our statement of the case and constitutes our referendum.

We will admit, that under ordinary circumstances we ought to have submitted our differences to the membership before taking action. But these were not ordinary circumstances; Here was the situation: Delegates representing a minority of the organization in control of the convention; time, 2:30 a. m., Friday, and we had only reached the adoption of a platform. Revision of the constitution was yet to come, and the elec-

tion of officers and committees; and if the party was to live, the gold brick scheme was yet to be demolished, a new commission appointed, and national headquarters removed from Chicago. Some of our delegates had already gone home, many others had to go that morning, leaving the majority of the organization hopelessly in the minority at the convention. Had we remained with them, they would have done, in spite of all our efforts, precisely what they did without us, viz., endorse the gold brick scheme, re-elect the Commission, establish their misnamed "economic action" as the main object, give us nominal political action, and we would have been helpless though protesting parties to it all, without hope of getting a full and impartial hearing before the members. There was but one thing for honest, intelligent and self-respecting Socialists to do—and we did it.

How was their boasted majority composed? Twenty-six delegates from Chicago alone; one each from Colorado, Utah and Michigan, who were part and parcel of the same crowd; one from New Jersey who had seven votes, and one from New York with three; the two Kansas Populist office-holders; and two or three others with several votes each. Of our people some had already gone home, some were obliged by instructions to vote with the other side, contrary to their convictions; one was sick in bed at the Revere House, and another, his brother, was with him. So that on the whole we were not such a small minority after all.

It is not true that our platform derides and denounces colonization. It simply doesn't say a word about it, one way or another. Why should it? It is our political platform upon which we proposed to go before the American people and ask for their votes. It was not the place to talk about colonization at all.

They say, "the eastern delegates would not know a mine if they fell into one." Perhaps not; but we can recognize a gold brick when we see one. We can recognize, too, that Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the A. R. U. strike, Eugene V. Debs of Woodstock jail, Eugene V. Debs, the champion of labor, commands the attention and respect of the working people of this country, and could lead them to glorious victory; but that Eugene V. Debs, the president of a western wildcat gold mine, is leader than a door nail. And we think that perhaps you recognized it too, messieurs! However that may be, we are heartily glad that he is out of it, and we recognize that the party where he is, whosoever its name may be, will grow and continually increase and become a power in the land, especially as it is the kind of Socialist party that meets the needs of the country and the hour.

MARGARET HAILE.

Boston, Mass.,

THE INCENTIVE OF GAIN.

One of the chief arguments against Socialism is that it will "destroy the incentive of gain." That is to say, that if we pay all men the same wages, no matter what kind of work, or how much work they do, so that the strong and the clever can be no richer than the weak and the dull, men will cease to do their best, and the whole people will suffer.

But as we have seen that under Practical Socialism all men would not be paid the same wages, this objection falls to the ground.

Please remember this when you hear one of the impossibles talking. They say—the non-Socialists—that human nature is not good enough for Socialism, that all men are selfish and greedy.

But supposing that were true, is it any reason why England should not be long to the English?

Say we are all as greedy as pigs; is that any reason why the great herd of pigs should leave the trough to a few fat pigs who have already over-eaten themselves?

Mankind, let us say, are all rogues, every one a bigger rascal than the other; but that is no reason why they should pay four shillings a foot for bad gas if they can make good gas themselves for half-a-crown.

Human nature is vile. Be it so; but that does not prevent the city of Glasgow from managing its tramways better than they were managed by the company.

There is no such thing as perfection in this world. Just so. The bee has a sting and the rose a thorn; but is that a reason why the laboring man should not have beef with his mustard?

We all want as much as we can get. Then let us all get as much as we can. If men really are selfish and greedy, that is a strong reason why they should turn Socialists and insist upon having every penny they earn.—Blatchford, in The Clarion.

The Future.

"It Gives Me Pleasure to Make This Avowal of My Faith in the New Organization."—Eugene V. Debs.

TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY:

Comrades: That I have not earlier sent greeting to my comrades is due to prolonged indisposition. The incessant work and travel of more than twenty years have temporarily placed me hors de combat. But only temporarily. With returning health and strength my work will be continued. It is not a little disquieting to have to "let go," even for a little while, when there is such urgent need for action.

The separation at the late convention was inevitable. It had to come. The contemplation of division was painful, as only those can fully realize who were party to it. But painful as it was, the operation had to be performed. And it was a success, for the Social Democratic Party of America lives. All its members are full fledged Socialists. They are in accord with the program of International Socialism. There is not one in the number opposed to independent political action; not one that asks or expects anything from any old capitalistic party, by whatever name it may be called.

There is harmony, there is oneness of purpose, there is true-hearted fidelity to principle, there is unrelaxing energy, and these qualities in all are presage success.

So I contemplate the course of events with serenity.

Had there not been division now there would have been disaster later. The proceedings demonstrated beyond all question that conciliation was impossible, and had there not been absolute divorce of the antagonistic elements the organization would have gone to certain destruction.

There are those in the Social Democracy who yet believe that it is possible to "harmonize" and conquer. They are welcome to all the success their efforts may achieve. I have had all the experience along that line my constitution will stand.

I am with and for the Social Democratic Party of America. As a Socialist, it pleases me to make this avowal of my faith in the new organization. The branch of which I am a member has unanimously taken the same action, and this fall a complete S. D. P. ticket will be placed in the field.

The hundreds of kind communications I have received since my illness are appreciated more than words can express, and appeal to every fiber of my being for renewed efforts in the noble cause of Socialism.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

JOYLESS TOIL AND JOYFUL LABOR.

Toil is to labor from necessity. To bear the crushing weight upon the heart.

As when a poor man carries to the grave the coffin of his dead and only child, With lagging feet, and aching, nerveless arms.

Oh, it is joy to labor, when the hand And brain and heart co-operate, and life

Is rich as Autumn in its plenteous fruits.

A SKETCH OF GROTTKAU.

Paul Grottkau, the noted socialist agitator, died of pneumonia at St. Joseph's hospital in Milwaukee on the evening of June 4. His family lived in San Francisco, but he had been in Wisconsin since the Milwaukee spring campaign, when he made nightly addresses for the Social Democrats. On Sunday his remains were taken to Forest Home for cremation, the procession of Socialists and workmen that walked afoot after the hearse extending a distance of four blocks. At the cemetery addresses were made by Victor L. Berger and Karl Kleist.

Grottkau was born of a family of rank. His mother was early left a widow and found herself unable to give Paul a university education, and after completing his course at the trade academy, he engaged in architectural masonry. He came into contact with Dr. von Schweitzer, the successor of the Lassalle school of Socialists, and soon accepted the latter's doctrines. His life was not only one of frequent privation, but he had to serve several sentences as a result of his agitations. He lived honestly and died as the poorest among those with whom he was associated.

Before coming to this country in the early '70's, he was one of the editors

of the central newspaper of the Socialists in Germany. He fled to this country to escape the persecutions of the police and started The Arbitrator Zeitung in Chicago, the paper which gained notoriety at the time of the anarchist troubles. For a time he not only edited the paper, but also helped to carry it from house to house. Later August Spies became associated with him, but as he had no sympathy with the doctrines of anarchy, they did not agree, and he finally left the paper. For a time he worked in a terra cotta factory, and then went to Milwaukee to found The Arbitrator Zeitung, now The Vorwaerts. He organized many labor unions there, and then founded a central labor union, the precursor of the Federated Trades Council. While living in San Francisco in recent years Mr. Grottkau was for a time one of the editors of the San Francisco Taggeblatt. Latterly he supported



himself by making crayon portraits. Two specimens of his crayon work appear on the walls of branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party in Milwaukee, representing Karl Marx and Governor Altgeld.

Grottkau died as poor as a church mouse, and he leaves nothing but a library, and a small one at that. He suffered in two countries for what he believed to be freedom and for the cause of liberty. He had worked for the labor movement and Socialism just 39 years. He was a natural poet and a natural orator, he being considered by many the peer of Carl Schurz. There were few who could get hold of people in the way that he did. His elegant but simple German had a power that was marvelous. In this country he jumped into prominence by his well-known debate with Johann Most, in which he scored a notable triumph.

Mr. Grottkau left no insurance. Some time ago, while taking supper with Edward Ziegler of Milwaukee, he said he had none, and that it was a pleasure to him to feel that he would live long enough to see at least such an advance toward Socialism that his family would not be in danger of the poorhouse if he died. At that time he supposed he had many years to live.

NON-SOCIALISTS ON PLUTOCRACY.

Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D.: "It is useless for us to protest that we are democratic and to plead the leveling character of our institutions. There is among us an aristocracy of recognized power, and that aristocracy is one of wealth. Mammonism corrupts morals and blocks reforms."

Charles Francis Adams: "The belief is common in America that the day is at hand when corporations far greater than ever—swaying power such as has never in the world's history been trusted in the hands of mere private citizens—after having created a system of quiet but irrepressible corruption, will ultimately succeed in directing government itself."

Justice Henry B. Brown: "The 'I am willing to believe that corporations are solely responsible for our municipal misgovernment, the fact remains that bribery and corruption are so universal as to threaten the very structure of society.'"

James Bryce: "In the United States the money power acts by corrupting sometimes the voter, sometimes the juror, sometimes the legislator, and sometimes a whole party."

Michigan Supreme Court Decision: "Indeed it is doubtful if free government can long exist in a country where such enormous amounts of money are allowed to be accumulated in the vaults of corporations, to be used at discretion in controlling the property and business of the country against the interest of the public."

Socialists Celebrate.

Fourth of July Celebrated at Spring Valley—Speeches by Comrades Stedman and Edwards.

"Has Spring Valley ever before had a picnic under Socialist auspices?" was asked of Comrade James Beattie, as we chatted in the shade of Gunther's grove, just outside the limits of the historical mining town.

"Never; in all her history this is the first time the people have had the privilege of celebrating the Fourth at a picnic managed by Socialists for the purpose of aiding the Socialist propaganda."

And every comrade on the ground was more than pleased with the idea that the Social Democratic Party had been born just in time, not only to participate in the occasion through its representatives, Comrades Seymour Stedman and A. S. Edwards, but also to expend some of the proceeds of the picnic in an effective way for Socialism. The speakers named had been invited two weeks in advance to spend the two days, Sunday and Monday, at Spring Valley, and were met on their arrival at four o'clock Sunday morning by a committee, including Comrades James Beattie, Wm. James, James Barrowman and Patrick Collins, who, together with the hundreds of earnest, whole-souled men gathered there during the two days, did more than the visitors expected or desired to make them comfortable. They succeeded to the extent of impressing their guests with an abiding sense of the fact that Spring Valley miners are not only good Socialists, but good friends of Socialists and sincere adherents of the movement.

A variety of entertainment was provided for the people, and of the many hundreds of men, women and children who attended not one failed to thoroughly enjoy the miners' Socialist picnic. Hundreds of people, young and old, casting aside the cares of life, mingled together in the sports and kept up the dancing until a late hour. The dance music was provided by an orchestra of six players, five of them being Socialists, and excellent music it was, too.

At an early morning meeting on the Fourth, Comrades Stedman and Edwards, at the request of friends, gave their account of the recent separation from the Social Democracy with the result that, as one of the miners said, "the whole push goes with the Social Democratic Party." We are able to say to comrades throughout the country that our Spring Valley friends will be heard from right in the front ranks of the movement. It starts with a branch of forty members with dues paid.

The speeches of the visiting comrades on Sunday dealt chiefly with the ethical basis and principles of Socialism. On Monday both directed their remarks along economic and political lines. There is every reason to believe that Spring Valley will experience a remarkable growth of sentiment and wide-awake interest in the Social Democratic Party of America, which, as an old miner said to the writer, "Just suits us; we've been looking for it."

TRADE UNION NOTES.

There is no immediate prospect of a settlement of the Oshkosh woodworkers' strike. Strikers and manufacturers are equally determined, the latter asserting that they will not start until they can engage men to work as individuals who will "ask no questions."

It is correctly reported that Donohue & Herneberry's head solicitor resigned, saying he could do no business with a lot of "labor skates opposing him." That's rather inelegant, but it's strong commendation for trades-unionists—and from a "business man's" source, too.

The Trades Assembly of Denver has taken a plain and decided stand against all municipal monopolies requiring public franchises. The union labor men of Denver are evidently not affiliated with that class of labor agitators who live on the crumbs that fall from corporation boards and tell the unemployed to take physic for relief from economic ills.

The members of the branch at Terre Haute, Ind., have joined the Social Democratic Party by unanimous vote. They propose to put a full County ticket in the field and will meet for that purpose at an early day.

Social Democratic Herald.

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BY THE
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OF AMERICA.**

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1898.

FUND FOR PRINTING OUTFIT.

At present The Herald is printed under contract with the Blakely Printing Co., of this city, and the Executive Committee expect that the arrangement will stand for some time. In the judgment of many comrades, however, there would be practical advantage in the organization having a printing plant of its own, and it is urged that not only would a considerable saving be made in this way, but we would be in a position to print supplies for the party, which in the course of a year will be a large item. We lay this matter before our friends because a contribution toward the purchase of a printing plant has already been received. Further contributions to the fund will be acknowledged in this column: Miners of Spring Valley, Ill. \$6.50

In order to live a man must have an opportunity to make a living.

A society in which millions of men cannot make a living is a society that will destroy itself.

The more life force a workingman puts into the capitalist slot machine, the less he takes out.

It don't concern workingmen half so much to know who are their enemies abroad as who are their enemies at home.

The great question of the near future concerning the land will be this: How can land be used to the best possible advantage?

The office of a colonel in the army is made to pay \$300 a month, but the office of a wealth producer can't be made to pay a living.

Law as well as land, the code as well as capital, must be Socialized; hence the necessity of gaining control of the means whereby laws are made.

"Can anyone imagine a despotism more terrible than the regulation of work by public authority?" Yes, indeed, with no effort at all. It is the regulation of work by private gourmards—as we now have it. Give us something harder!

During the past six years American forests have produced 824,000,000,000 feet of lumber, valued at \$25,000,000,000. And while the product has been sold to the people at prices usually paying dealers exorbitant profits, very much of it was stolen by the eminent millionaire patriots of the Northwest.

Do you know that among certain portions of the educated and propertied class there is a reaction against democracy? Fact. But do you know why? It is because that class fears a Socialist Democracy, such as the S. D. P. stands for. It shows the advance Socialism is making, too. Better come along, comrade!

Since the recent revenue law, Armour has abandoned the check system and now pays his employees in cash, notwithstanding he is favored with an army contract for meats. Phil loves his country's national honor, etc., but two cents on every check to help his country is too expensive. Patriotism must be cheap, or count Phil out.

The "Wagon Mission" with which the editor of The Herald made a trip from Tennessee to Chicago, now consists of Comrades Guy Lockwood, Joseph P. Beardsley and Samuel Levin. Our comrades are now in Ohio. They are earnest and aggressive advocates of Socialism, deserving the comradeship and support of Socialists wherever they go.

The President now has a flag of his own, a sort of king's standard, to denote power and rulership. How we are preserving the simple, democratic customs of our forefathers, to be sure! This President's standard was not voted on by the people, nor suggested

by them. The war department, that is, militarism, said the President (just like any other king) must have a flag, and that settled it.

A readjustment of industry in its two great divisions, production and distribution, to secure the greatest possible efficiency for the satisfying of all our social needs on a basis of national co-operation, is Socialism. It is also the program of the Social Democratic Party, which declares for a co-operative system of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people.

The present economic structure of society determines and explains the structure of the army. A colonel, who may be, but too often is not, a fighting man, is paid \$300 a month; but a private, always a fighting man and burden bearer, receives only \$13 a month! So it is that in war as well as peace, those who do most receive the least, and the class which gets the highest pay also enjoys the highest "honors."

Those who raise the objection that by going away with competition (which, by the way, Socialism would not do, as its opponents are in the habit of stating), Socialism would produce deterioration of the race, forget entirely the inevitable consequence of machine production, which has to a large extent, and will still more, do away with physical competition. It is idle to talk of competition where the manual worker is superseded by the machine worker.

Chicago virtually controlled the convention, and yet, with all her boasted branches, Chicago did not have 300 members in good standing. This handful of members had delegates enough, with the assistance of half a dozen from the outside, to control the convention. This is the kind of "majority rule" the minority, which in fact represented a large majority of the membership, walked away from, so that the "majority" might make that sort of business unanimous.

The remedy for what some writers call "the evil of social discontent and disorder" does not lie in the retention of the system which causes the "evil." It can only be found in an assured or socially-guaranteed liberty in place of a phantom-liberty, which is continually threatened. Abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution, and the Social or public ownership and control of these economic interests, is the indispensable condition to an assured liberty for all the people.

The business system which Socialists propose suffers nothing by comparison with a business system in which only ten out of a hundred succeed.

Individual liberty under capitalism is the liberty to go down in the dismal swamp of failure with nine-tenths of all who engage in "business."

It is the liberty to live a life of mental torture, to lose everything the adventurers most prize, and to end it all in insanity, suicide or insolvency. "Business is business," but there's a better way of doing it.

On the 7th inst., from one of the courtrooms of Chicago, Clara Zaeske, described by the capitalist newspapers as "bright beyond her years, with flaxen hair smoothly combed and brushed, the lids of her eyes red with the flow of tears," was sent to the Evanston Industrial school. Clara was ten years old, a daughter of the proletariat—the "mainstay" of a father and mother and a younger brother and sister. After two years' trial to support the family this 10-year-old "heroine" had given up the fearful struggle. It was too much for her years! And yet we are told the poor are worthless.

Under our democratic form of government and economic individualism, the corporations need votes and the politicians need money. These two needs naturally bring about a coalition between the politicians and the plunderers, and the only way to break it is that proposed by the Social Democratic Party: Put an end to corruption by abolishing the causes for it, through the Socialization of the means of production. A coalition of politicians and plunderers can be destroyed by a people united at the ballot box to secure their own economic liberty.

A Chicago paper announces the proper attire for dogs in fashion to be, for the pampered pup, silver braided on the forepaws. Blenheim spaniels wear long gaiters to protect the silky trails on their legs. On chilly days terriers are provided with box coats. On the whole a dog wardrobe is quite an item.

Anna Madden, 66 years of age, fell and was injured on a Chicago sidewalk. She could not "do washing;" the charity of her friends grew cold, and a friend of her friends rescued her from woe. "Oh, God, that bread should be so dear and flesh and blood so cheap."

In the last days of June the statement appeared in all the daily newspapers that while the American army had been pushed on to within rifle shot of Santiago, the commander of the army, Gen. Shafter, was in his tent at Si-

boney. It seemed to be accepted as the proper thing for a commanding officer to be in the rear, since the statement referred to passed unchallenged. A few days later Richard Harding Davis, as special war correspondent of the New York Herald, sent that paper a sharp criticism of Shafter and his campaign, whereat the "army men were stirred up," and one officer said, "Why, it takes three men to put Shafter on his horse!" Now, it is said, that half a dozen officers superior to Shafter were "shelved" to create an important position for him.

As the President called the nation to thanksgiving, let us quote Robert Burns, who on the occasion of a national thanksgiving for a naval victory, wrote on a pane of glass:

Ye hypocrites! are these your pranks?
To murder men, and give God thanks!
For shame! gie o'er—proceed no further—
God won't accept your thanks for murder!

I murder hate by field or flood,
Though glory's name may screen us;
In wars at home I'll spend my blood;
Life giving wars of Venus.

The deities that I adore,
Are social peace and plenty;
I'm better pleased to make one more,
Than be the death of twenty.

Workingmen cannot too carefully examine the proposition of the critics of Socialism that collective ownership of the means of production carries with it danger to civilization. In the first place it comes from the capitalist class and its retained apologists—from the class which gives workingmen as little as possible and takes the utmost for itself; second, it is the same cry that the privileged classes have always set up against changes affecting private interests; third, it is a rather curious fact that the opponents of innovations have at all times shown a profound (selfish?) interest in "civilization;" fourth, the proposition is incapable of proof, and the results of the theory of collectivism, so far as it has gone into practice, have been along the line of promoting intelligence and morality, which are important factors in what we call civilization.

The only basis upon which there can possibly be any sympathy between Socialism and anarchism is in the fact that they have a common enemy. Beyond this there is no sympathy between them. Gradually the misconception, which the enemies of Socialism lose no opportunity of intensifying, that Socialism and anarchism are one and the same in method and object, is being dispelled. Anarchism wants no government, while Socialism would make the most of government by making it an administrator of all those essential industries and businesses of society, the effective and socially equitable management of which will secure to all the people life, liberty and happiness. So persistent have the attempts of capitalist newspapers been not alone to pervert the mission and distort the methods of Socialism, but also to destroy individual Socialists, that we are glad to be able to bring into the light a letter written by Michael Schwab and read at the obsequies of our dead comrade in this city July 3.

WORSE DAYS FOR ITALY.

The recent riots in Italy as a result of the advance in the price of bread, were only the forerunners of worse days to come. Long before the late temporary "corner in wheat" engineered in this city by Joseph Leiter, the rural population were ripe for civil tumult. The causes were manifold: Excessive naval and military expenditure, oppressive taxation, official corruption, and the impoverishment of landowners, resulting in the chronic starvation of peasants and the artificial raising of the prices of all articles of consumption. The immediate occasion of the hunger revolt was the advance in the price of bread, and this outburst of popular indignation might have been prevented but for the opportunity speculators like Leiter saw in the hostilities between the United States and Spain to advance wheat to what, in Italy, was felt to be a famine price.

A correspondent writing from London to the Country Gentleman, says: "A population numbering 31,000,000, mostly sunk in abject poverty, are saddled with a funded debt amounting to almost \$2,500,000,000, necessitating the payment of a tremendous annual interest. Civil commotions in Italy have, in consequence, been mainly due to over-taxation. Upward of twenty years ago the intolerable tax on flour-grinding mills caused an eruption of social disorders in all the towns and cities of the kingdom. Up to the present, all manufactured products are taxed. There still remains the infamous tax on salt, the only condiment of the poor in the northern districts. There is a custom-house tax on corn. The very gates of every Italian city are taxed. There is an octroi or municipal impost upon vegetables,

fruit, eggs; all kinds of edible supplies on which the very poorest classes, who are strangers to animal food, depend for subsistence, are taxed. If a poor Italian performs a journey of a few miles by train, he is compelled to pay 2 cents to the government in addition to the amount of his fare. If he buys any article of clothing, a share of what he pays for it goes to the government. These irritating and oppressive exactions are distributed over the population in the ratio of \$10 per head for every man, woman and child. In many districts the peasantry are habitually reduced to a diet of boiled herbs without salt, while in Sardinia the common loaf usually consists of two parts of meal to one part of earth. Italy is first and foremost an agricultural country, yet vast areas are going out of cultivation, and of late years there has been a marked diminution in the production of cereals, oil, wine, potatoes, and chestnuts. This is not surprising when the ever-growing demands of the government upon the product of the agriculturists' labor are considered."

THE MIDDLE CLASS.

A very able criticism and an exposition of Socialism, by A. Naquet, member of the medical profession of Paris, takes issue with the Socialist contention that the accumulation of capital has the result of breaking up the small capitalists (the middle class) to the profit of the great and continually throwing a greater number of human beings into the ranks of the proletariat. "This view," the writer says, "is false, and by that fact alone one of the most powerful arguments on which Marx has supported his system falls to the ground."

Another writer against Socialism, Dr. Ludwig Stein, professor of philosophy in the Berne University, also raises the same point in a recent work, "The Social Question in the Light of Philosophy." Both writers seem to think that discussion on the question of large and small capitalists has been exhausted. M. Naquet expressly says so. But there is no question whatever that both are mistaken. The question is not, as the critics think, how many people there are with salaries, but how many small businesses can and actually do exist alongside the big ones. It is not a question whether there is a larger salaried class consisting of public and private officials of all kinds; neither is it one of average income; but rather, does the accumulation of capital have the effect of actually diminishing the number of the economically independent middle class? There is nothing more easily demonstrable than the decline, steady and inevitable, of the middle class from economic independence to dependence upon the masters of capital. The number of independent small concerns has diminished very considerably in England, still more in Germany, where the economically independent middle class is everywhere on the decline, and especially so in the small towns. In the United States the same condition exists and is scarcely called in question. The possession of the nation's wealth by the producing (poor) class, the middle class and the exploiting (rich) class is in the proportions of 5, 24 and 71 per cent respectively, and an economically independent middle class in American cities and towns will soon be unknown.

The powerful arguments of Marx do not fall to the ground, but the middle class does, and our French and German critics are wrong.

A SHORT DIALOGUE.

Question. What is a Social Democrat?

Answer. One who believes in the public or collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Q. Why do you advocate public ownership?

A. Because private ownership is the cause of all the wars and antagonisms among nations and individuals, and has split society into two distinct classes: the few who are masters of the economic resources of mankind, and the many who are dispossessed of the means of life and deprived of the opportunity of living getting.

Q. Are not the people more secure in their livings now than ever before?

A. By no means; on the contrary, there is an ever-growing majority of our people who are constantly subject to the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation which is inevitable to the private ownership of the means of production.

Q. What influences are working to bring about the condition you hope for?

A. The same economic forces which have produced a system of industry controlled by private capitalists for individual profit will compel the adoption of Socialism for the common good and welfare.

Among the Branches.

Social Democrats Everywhere Declaring Their Preference for the Social Democratic Party.

Our Nashville comrades met and listened to the report of Delegate Mally on the convention, gave him a vote of confidence and transformed the old branch into an educational society, preliminary to final action as to future affiliation.

Ogden, Utah, branch declares against the "gold brick" and for the movement for independent political action.

Baltimore branch No. 1 is against the colony idea on the ground that it would land everybody connected with it "in the mire of corruption."

Active members of branch 7, Pittsburgh, Pa., have withdrawn, and will organize the S. D. P. at once.

Kansas City comrades report lively interest in the S. D. P., and organization is going forward.

Both branches at Haverhill, Mass., in joint meeting, endorsed the action of the Massachusetts delegates without a dissenting voice.

The action of Delegate Walter H. Miller in standing for a Sane Socialist program has been approved by the members of his branch at Erie, Pa.

Branch No. 1, St. Louis, decided by a vote of 14 to 1 to withdraw from the colonization organization.

The party has gained a strong footing in Brooklyn, N. Y., where a local organization has been effected, members of which have sent in their first dues.

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, comes in a body to the S. D. P. and sends dues for thirty members.

The vision of comrades all along the line is clearing; branch No. 6, St. Louis, declares for the "bolters" and pays first installment of dues for members.

Local branch No. 6, New York City, severs relations with the S. D., joins the new party for Socialism, and forwards quarterly dues for its members.

Local branch, No. 8, New York City, met and approved the action of its delegate, dissolved as a branch of the S. D., and immediately organized a branch of the S. D. P.

Every branch in the state of Wisconsin is with the Social Democratic Party, and the greatest enthusiasm prevails among our comrades there.

Terre Haute stands pat with Gene and the Social Democratic Party, with the full membership of its local branch.

Three branches at Manchester, N. H., have taken an inventory of the results, and are reported O. K. They will be formally identified with the S. D. P. before another issue of the Herald.

The members of branch No. 1, Social Democracy of America, Denver, Colo., heard the report of Comrade Alfred Hicks, a delegate to the convention. After a thorough discussion, the following resolution was adopted:

Believing that the Socialist causes will be best served by our working with the new organization, Resolved, that our executive board be instructed to surrender our charter to the Social Democracy and apply for a charter from the Social Democratic Party of America.

A QUESTION OF INFORMATION

The Brauer Zeitung of St. Louis asks the following question in its last issue, and the answer, although known in advance, is awaited with interest:

"In the Social Democrat of June 30, page 3, column 1, Mr. Cyrus Field Willard, Secretary of the Colonies, attempts to paint a fine-colored picture of his windy colony schemes, undoubtedly in the sweet and charming hope and illusion of securing some more means for general inspection and speculating trips to various parts of the country. Among other things Mr. Willard says:

"Our financial agents report that they have received pledges of subscriptions for bonds amounting to \$1,000,000 to carry that proposition through (meaning the Tennessee land scheme). — — — The mere fact that one million dollars has been subscribed for the purpose of a Socialist organization is a matter of great significance.

"According to Mr. Willard's own statement it is a fact the \$1,000,000 bonds have been subscribed. Now, we venture to assert that this is not true, that not even a thousand dollars have been subscribed. We call on Mr. Willard to give the names of the parties that have subscribed. If his statement is true, then let the world know the truth. If the statement is not true, which we claim it is, then it is high time to stop this kind of work, because if not true it is a swindle of the worst kind and no honest reformer can permit that such schemes and swindles be carried on under the cloak of the name Social Democracy. No true Socialist or Social Democrat can support any 'gold brick' or similar speculation schemes."

Fully 1,000 men engaged in the building trades at Kansas City went on strike as a protest against the employment of non-union plumbers.

PUCKERBRUSH ALLIANCE.

Puckerbrush, Ohio, last Saturday. Mr. Debs, and all the rest of you—Well, I got back home from Chicago alive, but it took me more'n a week to ketch up with sleep and regain my normal cussedness. I made my report to Puckerbrush Alliance at its last meetin'—you know they sent me as a fraternal delegate to the S. D. of A. convenshun. Our members sed they wud stik by the Social Democratic Party if the platform was strate goods. They don't want no gold bricks in their'n. I wud send you a copy of my report but it wud take up a hole paper. Miss Smart, the school teacher, ast me to give kind of a review of sum of them as wus to the convenshun, and, thinkin' sum of the other komrades wud like to hear it, I'm ritin' it out fur you.

In the first place, there wus more delegates there than I expected to see—especially from the town of Chicago, which goes by the name of the windy wicked.

Before I left home, Nancy, my wife, says: "Now, Jonas, if Rosa Proletaire is there, I want you to tell her that I'm delited with her letters in the paper, and hope she will keep givin' good advice to the people what has not got the experience she has, and then I want you to see and find out what kind of a person Margaret Halle is, fur I am sure she will be there. You know that awful bitter dandelion says she's an old hag that chews tobaker, which she chaps off with her sizzers. Fact is, I want you to get just as good a understandin' as you kin of the karakter of all the people there, that bitter dandelion calls pet names, such as Carey, the 'bag of moral turpitude'; Gordon, the 'scoundrel'; Winchevsky, the 'anarchist,' and all the rest of 'em."

Well, the first one I struck wus Rosa Proletaire. She is a mighty level-headed old gal, and don't get excited. She and Mr. Hoehn from St. Louis wus together, and what one don't know about the history of the Socialist movement, the other does. They are both old-timers. But when I met that awful Margaret Halle I wus clean stumped, fur she is a fine little lady, and as neat, bright and sharp as a needle—as sum people found out when she took the floor to speak. They won't soon forget sum of her jabs. She is a short-hand riter, too, and can take down a feller's speech as fast as he can talk. She puts me in mind of Miss Smart, the school teacher—A regular little daisy.

"The bag of moral turpitude"—Carey, is what I call a jim dandy, and when he gets boosted into kongress look out fur sum fun, and more stink stirred up than is in the Chicago river (so-called), which is more'n a plenty. Him and his shoemaker's clay pipe are mighty good company, fur he is as full of fun as a dog is of flees, but don't you think he isn't biz. For reference enquire of the balance of the city council at Haverhill, or to U. S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.

That awful Gordon is a caution to snakes. He looks just like a play-actor fixed up fur a down east yankee, and he don't deceive his looks a little bit. They do say that he is the best organizer in the hole of New England, and that he can go into a strange town and smell out the location of Socialists just the same as a terrier can rate. Him and Carey make a team that is good for what ails you.

Then there's Winchevsky. I'm willin' to admit his name is blit on a plan to scare people, but when you meet the mild-mannered old man and draw him out, you must admire his splendid ability. He is a skilled accountant, and has an experience that covers several countries. He was advocating Socialism long before the "professor" dreamed of such a thing.

I must not forget Victor Berger of Milwaukee—just think of it, he comes from that town and don't drink no beer. He is as full of energy as a bottle of pop, and so good natured, only he has the German habit of talkin' so much with his arms. His honesty can't be doubted, fur he give up a good situation in the public schools of Milwaukee to take hold of the struggling Socialist paper.

Louis Miller of New York made one of the best speeches of the convenshun. He can argue a thing to pieces just as I kin take my old mower apart. Phillips of New York put me in mind of one of our banty roosters, fur he's just as spunky. Anny Ferry Smith of California ain't no spring chicken. She was a nurse in the war of the rebellion, and I'll bet she ain't afraid of a mouse nor an elephant, er anything else. She didn't have so much to say, but what she sed wus to the point. I wudn't like to have her 200 pounds set down on me like she did that James Taylor Rodgers—the feller I herd kickin' because the convenshun was singin' the Marseillaise. But didn't we sing it though! Mrs. Smith didn't set on him in the convenshun!

How about Jesse Cox? Well, you don't have to carry no dixsurnary around with you to tell where he stands. He chops it off in big solid chunks, and no taffy. Steadman is more pleasanter about it, but I tell you he means it just the same. He is awful bright and deserves lots of credit for elevatin' himself from the street to a good education and station. As fur Kellher, I just admire a feller with a backbone like his'n. He is like my dog. He don't run around barkin' but when the time cums, he just takes hold where it does the most good. The way he faced the Chicago rooters and

turned their "paper" locals over to the convenshun showed him to be every inch a man of principal.

A. S. Edwards is sort of a sawed-off, but like them kind mostly, is full of ginger. He can make a good talk or get the crowd to singin' the Marseillaise to beat the band, and we all know he can rite about Socialism in the same meter. Butcher of New York has got a sanginary name, but he is as pleasant as peaches, and knows how to look after the interest of his members; as does Barondess, who, on account of being a tailor, likes to look nice, but this don't prevent him makin' a good argument.

Borland seems to me to be a fellow that wants to be honest, but if I'm any judge of "bumps," he's in a crowd that wudn't strain a fish line to pull out of plumb. Borland has worked awful hard, and it has caused him to lean a little more to Prodhoun than to Marx, I fear.

The beauty of the hole show, though, was the man who came in with the Beantown drawl and the gold brick. He's a peacock with all the tall fethers pulled out. When he tried to saddle the gold brick onto Debs, didn't Gene knock the wind out of the drawl when he sed as sharp as litnin', "Let Comrade Debs speak for himself, will you?" Then that wus a stem-winder that Meier, the big tailor from St. Louis, gave him when he was findin' fault with people who cud not read english. Meier sed, "Many of these people have no time to spare to learn a new language; they work for a livin'." That brought down the house. He didn't reply. This feller and Dr. Frank twisted the fine wires, the latter can split a hair into quarters fur the hole length and never wink any of his four eyes. He had about four forty-five gallon barrels of pints of order, and kept 'em all on tap.

Heath of Milwaukee is a quiet fellow, and not much on the "spiel," but I'll bet he can rite if he tries to, and I guess he will when the new paper gets goin'. There is a lot more of 'em that I wud like to memshun, and I may sum other time, but I will close by speakin' about Debs. He cum out of a sick bed, agin the protest of his dockter, so as to be present and preside, and as I watched him I cud see he wus holding out by shere will power, but on Friday evenin' he cud not get back from supper, in fact he went from the hall to his bed. A doctor wus called and he give him sum morfiend injictuns to stop the pane, but for hours he layed there groanin' in his agony. He sed the pain wus as if his bed wus in a vice. He has had two or three attacks since he had the stroke last summer while talkin' out in the middle of a road in the hot sum of West Virginia, to the miners that were driven off of the balance of the ert by the coal barons. When Debs did get to dozin' they let me in to see him, and I'll tell you that if ever I felt like doin' sumthin' it wus there as I gazed on that face in repose, wasted and almost gaunt, as was the massive frame. This result caused by his very unselfish battle for humanity, while human hyenas, some of whom were professed friends, were assailing his character and motives, while others were using his name to graft and float speculative ventures that would put Col. Mulberry Sellers to shame. But when he is once rested up he will be herd from with no uncertain sound. But we must let him rest. Just think of it, on his eastern trip he made 102 speeches in 77 days, and averaged less than three hours sleep a day, with all kinds of meals at all kinds of hours. Most of the sleeping wus done on a car seat, too, for, as he sed in his address to the convenshun, "I have traveled 40,000 miles, and paid three cents a mje. I have not seen the inside of a Pullman car since the strike, with me the boycott is still on."

Our new secretary is Gene's brother Theodore, and he is sort of a big sister to him, fur he has done everything he cud to look after his welfare, and his experience is such as to fit him first class for secretary. He rote me a letter, and it is beautiful ritin'. All we got to do now is to put our sholders to the wheel, and we'll see if there won't be a Socialist Party in America. Excuse my long letter, and believe me to be

Yours to the end,
JONAS HARRISON.

It is important that early attention be given to sending in lists of members, together with the first payment of 25 cents. Lose no time, comrades, in this matter, but give it your earliest possible attention.

The constitutions for local, state and national unions are printed in this number for reference and discussion. The same should be taken up for consideration without delay and acted upon.

The union label has disappeared from the columns of the Social Democrat—probably to make room for Secretary Willard's million-dollar bond issue.

THE WAR DRUM.

I hate that drum's discordant sound
 Parading round, and round, and round;
 To me it speaks of ravaged plains,
 And burning towns, and ruined swains,
 And mangled limbs, and dying groans,
 And widows' tears, and orphans' moans,
 And all that misery's hand bestows
 To fill the list of human woes.

—John Scott.

WAS MICHAEL SCHWAB AN ANARCHIST?

Impressive obseques had been arranged by the working class on the 3d inst. to honor the memory of Michael Schwab, who died on June 29th in the Alexian Brothers' Hospital in Chicago.

I had been asked to speak on this occasion and had declined, but when I learned that Schwab himself had expressed that wish during the hours of his approaching death, I felt in duty bound to comply.

Stepping up to his coffin before it was to be lowered into the crematory, I tried but in vain (as I had feared) to give expression to the sentiments of my heart. Michael Schwab had personally become too much attached to my heart; the wound caused by his death was too recent and it threatened to stifle my voice.

I hope, however, that I succeeded in proving at his bier, by Schwab's own words and actions, what his true convictions were.

My words ran about as follows: "There has been a rumor spread by certain people that Michael Schwab's mind had been weakened by his seven years' imprisonment. What has occasioned this false rumor? Only the fact that M. Schwab, ever since his return from Jollet, refused to write visionary articles in the spirit of the eighteenth century. As assistant librarian in Jollet, Schwab had daily found the time, during seven years, to satisfy his constant longing for knowledge and to improve his mind. Everyone who had the pleasure of coming into personal contact with him in the last five years had to marvel at the logic of his thoughts and at the wealth of his knowledge.

"To his studies it is due that he lost his former faith in the ethical anarchism of G. E. Lessing, the only anarchism he ever believed in, and which he defines in his speech before Judge Gary on October 8, 1886, as follows: 'Anarchy is a state of society in which reason alone governs; a state of society in which all human beings do what is right for the simple reason that it is right, and shun what is wrong because it is wrong. In such a society there is no need for laws and compulsion.'

"Michael Schwab became later on convinced that right and wrong, like all moral ideas, are in the last resort dependent on economic conditions; that a higher morality can only prosper after the realization of a higher mode of production, i. e., Socialism; that reason is, of course, the agent, but that ultimately economic conditions and corresponding circumstances of production are the motive forces rendering the transition from capitalism to Socialism not only reasonable, but necessary; that Socialism guarantees development to the greatest possible individual liberty; that a society implies rules, and cannot exist without rules.

"As to anarchism, that is equivalent to individual license, without regard for the social body, our Michael Schwab detested it and fought it all his life-time in just the same way as every modern Socialist detests and fights capitalism, which is but another name for modern anarchism, stripped naked of all its sentimentalities and vagaries.

"To substantiate my assertions, I will read to you a letter that Michael Schwab wrote my father shortly after he was innocently sentenced to death in the anarchist trial. He wrote: 'Today they have searched our cells and have given us the first meal apportioned to those doomed to death. Fielden and I, we have been assigned to our old quarters. Spies is now my next neighbor. The other four are located in the basement, Lingg in a cell within the place where they search the baskets. The guards have been more than doubled.

"Dear Dietzgen, I have been my entire (Socialist) life a Marxist, and I have based all my speeches upon the theories of Marx. My anarchism was that of G. E. Lessing, as I explained last year in a series of articles. Now you know the views I held, and that I never believed in inciting riots. However, we considered it to be our duty as friends of the workmen and of liberty to oppose every other violence but that necessary to defend vested rights against illegitimate attacks.

"We have sometimes been mistaken in our judgment. I claim that is putting the matter very mildly, and I would say that without a death sentence. I own frankly that I have been frequently mistaken, and that the more I learned the more mistakes I found.

"Never have I or the others incited the workmen to attacks, but very often have we told them to oppose illegitimate attacks. The files of the Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung will bear me out in this assertion. Losses of human life I have always deplored. Long before the 4th of May I have cited as chief argument for the general arming of the people that such arming would reduce the loss of human life in case of a revolution.

"One more remark: I die willingly, if it must be, but I do not care to throw life away, because some people want martyrs. I lack besides the right to rob my family of its support. If others want to murder me, let them do it; that is another thing. The first duty is self-preservation, as long as it can honorably be maintained. I do not consider anyone heroic who runs blindly into death

because he fears the penitentiary. I am neither a hero nor a martyr, but I shall bear, whatever happens, with composure.

"The simplicity and frankness of these words convey the ring of truth even to those who do not, like myself, and many hundreds of others, know them to be true. The lot of Michael Schwab has ever been that of a proletarian. His has been a life of toil and devotion for the cause of Socialism. In his speech before Judge Gary he says: 'I know what life has in store for the masses. I am one of them. I have slept in their garrets, and I have lived in their cellars. I saw them toll and die.'

"What is there left for me to say? I can only ask all present to renew here at the bier of our comrade and friend the oath of implacable hatred for the capitalist system that has murdered our Michael Schwab, like so many thousands of others, and is daily still murdering children, women and men. E. DIETZGEN."

COLONIZATION OR POLITICS.

It is a historical fact that every great advance made in the past one hundred years has come directly or indirectly from political action. It was political action even that gave us our political freedom. It was political action that freed from chattel slavery 4,000,000 human beings. It will be political action, and political action alone, that will give us economic liberty.

But for the office-seeking leaders in the reform movement of the past 20 years, political action would have vastly improved our conditions. To illustrate: Had the Greenback Party let fusion alone they would have won political power 10 or 15 years ago, and that party would have done vastly more for the people than any colonization ever did or ever will do. Agfin, the Populist movement was an honest movement for reform, but, like the Greenbackers, they fused, and quite likely will die because of fusion.

Because of these tremendous mistakes made by reform parties, many good people honestly believe that politics are "slimy." (Socialist parties never fuse except with other cut Socialist parties, as has been done in several European nations.) Thus, like the drowning man, they grab at the straw of colonization. Let us note, in the first place, that conditions have vastly changed, and are constantly changing. The march of plutocracy, the concentration of wealth into the hands of the few, the evolution (now more rapid than ever) of industrial affairs—in a word, the tremendous change that has taken place in the past 20 years in this and every nation. The working class (to-day) have barely three per cent of the wealth of the nation in their hands. Our colony brother asks us to take our three dollars and compete with plutocracy's ninety-seven dollars, and as a result of this competition behold the Co-operative Commonwealth!

While it might have been possible for a colony to be somewhat of a success, starting 50 years ago, it is absolutely impossible for it to be so today. No colony has ever yet proved a success when conducted on Socialist lines. Read "Noyes' History of American Socialism."

There have been some notable successes won by co-operators along the line of modern commercialism. The Rochdale co-operators are and have been a purely commercial enterprise, and no educated Socialist ever made the claim that it was a Socialist institution. When these "successful Socialist colonies" started there was not a trust in the world. During the next 10 years everything that is not now trustified will be. Even the trade unionist, who points to the success of the strike "once upon a time," like his brother colonist, don't seem to know that there has been a change.

Once we have built up a clear-cut Socialist party to even 500,000 votes, we will find the old parties giving us all such things as government ownership of railroads, etc. We will get many of our demands from the old parties, not by voting or fusing with them, but by keeping in the "middle of the road."

To sum up: Failure is written all along the colonization road; success is written all along the political highway. In no other nation do the people love politics as in America. It is the logical and natural means of our people to turn to political action to right every wrong. Let us resolve here and now to devote our means and time to building up a clear-cut Socialist movement in America. It can be done. Shall we do it?

F. G. R. GORDON.

CHARLEY MARTIN'S BOOK.

Comrade Chas. R. Martin is always doing something to keep things stirred up and start an interest in the Social question. His latest is a new and greatly improved edition of his "Historical Handbook," containing forty-three half-tone portraits, and word sketches of men and women in the movement. Anyone wishing a copy—it is worth having—will be supplied on receipt of 50 cents, sent to Chas. R. Martin, Box 389, Tiffin, Ohio.

Send in bundle orders at 50 cents a hundred copies, and help the circulation.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

A CORRECTION.

Editor The Herald:—My plan was to turn the colonization business over to the B. C. C. It was not "amalgamation." I consider that so far as the work of colonizing a state goes, that should of right belong to the original organization—the B. C. C. And also in the interest of harmony I proposed that the B. C. C. have full and absolute control of colonization. This plan was absolutely refused by the caucus held at the Revere House by the "Colonizers."

If members of the S. D. A. are honest in their desire to try the plan of state colonization they should at once join the B. C. C., and this they will do if the leaders keep their hands off the rank and file. F. G. R. GORDON. Manchester, N. H.

HARMONY OF ACTION ASSURED.

Editor The Herald:—I have read in the New York Herald with great pleasure and deep satisfaction an account of the proceedings of the recent convention of the Social Democracy. The splendid result is what I earnestly hoped for, but hardly dared to expect. Now the difficulties that blocked the path of the political part of the S. D. are removed and from henceforth there will be plain sailing. Unity and harmony of action have been attained. Those who believe in political action and political action only for the overthrow of the competitive system and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, will be with you heart and soul in this grand work you have initiated. There will be no hanging back, no faint, half-hearted service, but earnest toil and strong endeavor to push forward this glorious movement to the high pinnacle of deserved success. I, with others, salute with reverence this new party of freedom.

The platform, with the exception of the last plank, is all that can be desired, and even that plank, while I regard it as out of place at this particular time, reflects the spirit of the movement and is prophetic of that new era when the "Sword shall be beaten into a pruning hook and nations shall learn war, no more."

But now we are in the throes and tumult of the closing years of this competitive system, and that system must be overthrown before an era of peace can be instituted. Your comrade and co-worker,

IMOGENE C. FALES.

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS RUIN.

Take a single but very important instance of the way in which our present system works ruin all round. Industrial crises occur more and more frequently in each successive generation. The increasing powers of machinery, the greater facility of transport and communication, do but serve to make matters worse for the mass of the workers in all countries, inasmuch that the uncertainty of employment is greatly increased by these recurring crises, apart from the danger of the workers being driven out on to the streets by the introduction of new labor-saving machines. But these crises arise from the very nature of our capitalist system of production. Thus, when a period of depression comes to an end, orders flow in from home and foreign customers; each manufacturer is anxious to take advantage of the rising tide of prosperity and produces as much as he can without any consultation with his fellows or any regard for the future; there is a great demand for laborers in the factories, workshops, shipyards and mines; prices rise all along the line, speculation is rampant; new machines are introduced to economize labor and increase production. All the work is being done by the most thorough social organization and for manifestly social purposes; the workers are, as it were, dovetailed into one another by that social and mechanical division of labor, as well as by the increasing scale of factory industry. But they have no control whatever over their products when finished. The exchange is carried on solely for the profit of the employing class, who themselves are compelled to compete against one another at high pressure in order to keep their places. Thus a glut follows and then a depression of trade, when millions of men are out of work all over the world, though ready to give their useful labor in return for food; and the capitalists are unable to employ them because the glut which they themselves have created prevents production at a profit. Here, then, is a manifest and growing antagonism between the social system of production and the individual (or profit-making company) control of exchange.—H. M. Hyndman.

The man who talks glibly about "opportunities" and "rising in the world," and "succeeding in life," has in mind the few who do succeed, but forgets the thousands, who, with equal talents, are wrecked on the reef of capitalism because the system has no room for them.

How Organized.

Constitutions of the Party--Local, State and National--Submitted for Alterations and Amendments.

CONSTITUTION OF NATIONAL COUNCIL.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located from time to time by the Executive Board.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2d. State Unions composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof.

3d. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory; provided that states having more than 500 members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional 500 members or major part thereof.

4th. An Executive Board composed of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall be elected annually by the National Council, have general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution and declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman and a secretary and treasurer, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and shall receive no compensation for their services. The Board shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 5. The Board shall annually elect a National Secretary and Treasurer, editor of the official paper and such other officers as may be required, and fix their compensation, subject to the approval of the National Council.

Sec. 6. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

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

Sec. 8. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the National Council.

Sec. 9. No member shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 10. All questions not provided for in the constitution and all questions of appeal shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 11. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Sec. 12. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the Board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the Board may require.

Sec. 13. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five cents, payable quarterly in advance, for each member.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Sec. 14. The National Council shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to change by referendum vote. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations. The National Secretary and Treasurer shall serve as secretary of the National Council and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch.

Sec. 15. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to carry out the general objects of the organization.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Sec. 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the Social Democratic Herald. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy

of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNION.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located as the Union may determine.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America shall consist of delegates representing local branches in the state, and shall constitute the legislative body of the state.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall consist of five members and shall have general supervision of the State Union. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Constitution of Local Branches.

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at _____ County of _____ of the Social Democratic Party of America, and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members, members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local union may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council, and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the State Union, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each an-

ual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The Board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 14. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the Board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine, provided they do not conflict with this constitution, the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the State, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

Sec. 23. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization, and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of five per cent of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a two-thirds vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result.

Sec. 25. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 26. Any member of the Board may be removed by a two-thirds vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Sec. 27. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union.

Sec. 28. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 29. All questions not provided for in the constitution, and all questions of appeal from local branches shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 30. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

Sec. 31. The revenues of the organization shall be derived from such sources as the State Union may determine.

THE STATE UNION.

Sec. 32. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

Sec. 33. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 34. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be necessary, determine the policy of the state organization and do all other things required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action is taken inconsistent with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

The Platform.

Adopted by the Social Democratic Party at Chicago, June 11, 1898.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

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

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and pensions in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

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

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

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

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone cen-

ter. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

WHO ARE THE MURDERERS?

Blackstone defines, felonious homicide to be "the killing of a human creature of any age or sex without justification or excuse, this may be done by killing one's self or another. He further says, "the law has ranked self-murder among the highest crimes, and this admits of accessories before and after the fact, as well as other felonies."

No lawyer would deny that a dozen men would be guilty of murder if they by physical confinement starved a person to death, or if isolated on a boat provided with provisions they denied one member sustenance and he starved, they having plenty.

How, then, shall we define the position of those in this country who realize that not less than one thousand destroyed their lives to avoid the humiliations of poverty and the pangs of hunger last year, and with certainty knowing the number will increase this year.

Those knowing these facts without protesting against the conditions and the system which produces self-destruction or self-murder, are moral (and logically legal) accessories before and after the fact. If ten men who starve one are guilty of murder, so are sixty million men, equally guilty. The caravan which would set a helpless man adrift upon the desert to die, would be no more culpable before justice than more people, called society, or the state, who deny man and woman the opportunity to earn their living. Those who protest against these conditions show their good intent; those who are silent consent, and their victims go marching on. He who strikes with the hand, or shoots with a gun, is not the only murderer of mankind.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES.

The local branches of the party will find it a good plan to keep standing notices of meetings in The Herald, giving time, place and name of secretary. This can be done usually in two or three lines. Such notices will be run every week for \$3 a year; quarterly, \$1. Send in your copy for the next issue.

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