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Capitalist Production is Merely a Passing Stage in the Economic History of Mankind.

"Be an obedient slave, my good man, and some day you shall have slaves of your own."

Publishers receiving this paper in exchange are requested to address their publications to the office at Belleville, Ill.

The producers of wealth work for the monopolists of the means of production because they are compelled to. When the producers have learned better, the monopolists' days will be numbered.

Some of the rich who are in possession of wealth created by labor tried to ease their conscience during the holidays by doling out dribbles of charity to the poor who made them rich.

This is a good time for working-men, who see how the rich enjoy the exhilaration of being charitable, to ask themselves why men who belong to the class that produces wealth should be given charity.

There isn't an imperialist in all the land but is losing sleep and making himself miserable over the "oppressed" abroad; and only one in a million of them has his eyes open to oppression at home.

The party which is mainly responsible for the oppression and degradation of the producing class at home, is now looking for more opportunities of the same kind abroad.

A capitalist government's first consideration is for capitalists; a capitalist government is always influenced by its class—seldom by the people from whom it derives power to govern.

You can't cure typhoid fever by continuing to pay rent to a glutinous landlord who will not keep his premises clean. Neither can you solve the labor problem by continuing to support politicians who have no interest in purifying government.

The entire population of Cuba is less than two millions. We have in the United States as many people who are unable to obtain a livelihood—in the land that gave them birth. And the very system of government which American "humanitarian patriots" seek to foist upon the Cubans, pursues the working class with a ferociousness and brutality equal to the insanity of the Spaniards in Cuba.

It is the pressure of want or economic need that forces men in the United States to become wage-slaves. There is no voluntary service about it; it is coercion and nothing else. Yet we babble about liberty and "freedom of contract!" The only way a workman without capital in the United States can get a living, is to accept compulsory servitude under the class which has a monopolization of wealth and the machinery of production. And this is what we call "freedom" in the United States! Cubans and Filipinos take notice.

The levelling system of capitalism promises to get in some particularly fine work during this "year of our Lord," 1899. Many a merchant and manufacturer with small capital is peering into it, if possible to see what it has in store for him. And one thing he can depend upon, it has a lower level for him and his class; a lower level which cannot be avoided, except by purely local or fortuitous circumstances. Capitalism is the great leveller; capitalist production not only levels wage-workers, it levels the middle class and restricts oppor-

tunities and does it from economic necessity.

"The Philippines for the Filipinos" would be the cry of American shouters for freedom, if their ideas about freedom had not degenerated.

In this free land there are plenty of laws unjustly favoring wealthy individuals and corporations; but you can't find a single law unjustly favoring the poor.

The death-struck ass of competition is trying desperately to get a boom out of the imperialist schemes, but it is doomed, and its frenzied braying for markets proves it.

The sketch of Comrade John C. Chase, Mayor of Haverhill, which appears in this paper, is taken from the Boston Journal. Aside from a few humorous and entertaining passages, it will be found complimentary in a high degree to the Socialist Mayor.

A subscriber living in Oklahoma Territory writes: "Please renew my subscription for another six months; I cannot do without THE HERALD; it is amazing how it helps to cheer and give new hope." This is an example of the way it "takes."

Several communications have been received lately without the signatures of the writers. We cannot publish unsigned correspondence. No objection is made to friends using a nom de plume, but the real name of the writer must accompany all contributions to insure publication.

The mother-in-law of the cashier of a Wisconsin bank, recently closed for financial repairs, lost \$75,000 by her son's manipulation of the bank's affairs. She grieved over the loss so bitterly that it killed her. The "dear boy" who had her confidence is now planning future operations with his "savings."

With cunning professions of friendship for Cubans and much lusty talk about conciliation, the administration is guilty of acts of aggression at which the Cubans rightfully feel aggrieved. Brooke seems just the wrong man for the hour; but he has the endorsement of McKinley and his advisers and the sincerity of their professions is thus open to serious doubt.

According to some amiable propagandists of "sweetness and light," the doctrine of the survival of the fittest will have reached its highest efficiency when the wretched multitude of the "rejected" have an equal opportunity to starve. There is neither "sweetness" nor "light" in it. It is a doleful note of fatalism. Socialism will bring peace thro greater equality of enjoyment in the results of labor.

The Filipinos rebelled against Spain and set up a government of their own.

At the time the United States undertook the humanity war for Cuba, the Filipinos had the Spaniards about whipped.

The Filipinos had no concern with the war in which the United States vanquished Spain.

And now we are claiming the Philippines by right of conquest! As a matter of plain fact, the United States simply imposes a new form of tyranny upon the Filipinos.

The people of Wisconsin voted on a State banking act last fall. It appears that the vote did not suit the bankers, for State Bank Examiner Kidd in his annual report recommends a law doing away with

the practice of submitting such propositions to the voters. That is precisely what our direct legislation friends may expect, so long as government is capitalistic. The capitalist class will have laws to suit them, or know the reason why. There is no escape for the people short of the complete substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for government by their economic oppressors.

Workingmen who look for relief from their economic stress and strain by sticking to the old capitalist parties have been given another opportunity to see how the courts stick to capitalists and corporations. A decision just given by the Kentucky Court of Appeals has the effect of making the blacklist legal. Yet a little while and American courts will declare starvation legal. They are rapidly legalizing all the infamies that capitalism has contrived and show a willingness to go to any length to serve their masters' purposes.

A young man, twenty-three years old, not a native of Poland or Italy, but the son of a Massachusetts farmer and "excellently related," the dispatches say, to New England families, shot and killed himself in the presence of 200 people at the Union station, Boston, Dec. 29. He was born at Hatfield, Mass., and for a time was employed in a shoe factory. He had for some time been out of work and went to Boston hoping to find employment there, but not succeeding, he became so despondent that he took his own life, thus relieving himself from the economic "stress and strain" which a hypocritical society and barbarous industrial system could not do.

The capitalistic newspapers of Chicago were caught off their guard last week. These republican mouthpieces of corporate greed; conscienceless brawlers for imperialism; these shameless declaimers of prosperity and freedom, who have persistently rung the changes on McKinley's contribution to the inflated impudence of the time that "employment is seeking labor," printed the following proof of the falsity of their claims, the day after Christmas:

"Between 11 o'clock in the morning and 9 o'clock at night 10,000 men and boys and about 100 women ate platesful of turkey and potatoes and drank cup after cup of steaming hot coffee in the old Waverly Theater. This is what they ate and drank:

"4,500 pounds of meat, chiefly turkey.
"125 bushels of potatoes.
"4,000 loaves of bread.
"1 barrel of gravy.
"2 barrels of cranberry sauce.
"150 gallons of pickles.
"500 gallons of milk.
"150 pounds of good coffee.

"In the whole crowd of 10,000 forlorn, hungry people the police failed to discover a single professional crook. After the first 700, who were mostly from cheap lodging and barrel houses, had been fed, THE CROWD WAS MADE UP CHIEFLY OF MECHANICS AND LABORING MEN, WHO WERE HUNGRY AND OUT OF WORK."

Of the ten thousand, nine-thousand and three-hundred were mechanics and laborers who were hungry and out of work! That is quite a different story to what the same daily newspapers, in their servility to wealth and power, have been trying to have the people believe. They didn't intend to give the lie to their untrue and bombastic claims; they were just caught off their guard and may be expected to prostitute their calling more recklessly than ever to make up for it.

Send THE HERALD to a friend.

SOCIALIST MAYOR OF HAVERHILL INAUGURATED.

ON Monday morning, January 2d, at ten o'clock, at Haverhill, Massachusetts, the first Socialist mayor in America was duly installed. The large auditorium of the City Hall was crowded with an interesting audience of American workingmen, for the most part, of all ages, and showing all degrees of the wear and tear of competition,—men who came to see a man of their own class, representing principles which stand for the abolition of classes and of competition for existence, assume the highest position of honor and power the City has to bestow. The first enthusiasm occasioned by the successful election had worn off, and our people, true to their national characteristics, had got down to business. The glory of sunrise soon wears off, and people have to knuckle down to the work of the day, and prepare for the burden and heat thereof.

At a few minutes past ten the members of the new city government filed in, headed by the city marshal, and took their places on the platform. The appearance of the new mayor on the platform was the signal for a burst of applause, but the audience quickly quieted down to an attitude of watchful interest. After the oath of office was duly administered, came the reading of the inaugural address of comrade Chase, mayor of Haverhill. Modest, manly, straightforward and capable he looked as he read his able document, which is worthy of its historic place as the first Socialist inaugural address delivered in this country. I am sorry there was no time to send a copy for this issue of the HERALD, but you shall have it next week sure. At the close of the inauguration ceremonies there was a rush for the council chambers downstairs, which were too small to hold one-tenth of the people who wanted to get in. The magic wand of the "reporter," however opened the doors to me, and I was able to get a seat and to stay long enough to note the direction from which the wind is likely to blow during the coming year.

The Haverhill board of aldermen is composed of four republicans and three Socialists. The city council is composed of nine republicans, three Socialists and two democrats. Our aldermen's names, remember, are Bean, Flanders and Bradley.

The first motion brought before the board of aldermen was introduced by Alderman Bean, and provided for an open ballot according to one of the planks of the platform on which the Socialists were elected. The city solicitor was ready with his opinion, having already looked the matter up, and decided that the ballot has been in use in various forms for two thousand years, and had always meant and should always mean, secrecy as a protection to the voter; and that no one could be obliged to ballot openly against his will. His decision was adopted by four to three, by a show-of-hands vote, the three Socialists putting themselves on record as being willing to vote openly, and the four others as being opposed to it.

The first ballot came on the election of certain city officials. The three Socialists, one after the other, deposited their ballots, at the same time naming distinctly the candidate they were voting for. The others deposited their ballots without saying a word. The crowd caught on; and murmurs of approval of the Socialists' course, and audible comments of "That's right, too," and "That's the square way to do it," came from all parts of the hall. So our boys scored one for next year, on their first defeat. May they be as successful in snatch-

ing victory from every other defeat. I could stay only long enough to see the same process repeated on the election of two other officials; and to note that on each one the board was divided on strict party lines, which in this case are also class lines. There is a beautiful chance for a tie-up in that body. The capitalistic aldermen can defeat any measure introduced by our people; but the mayor holds the reins, just the same, because they haven't the two-thirds majority necessary to carry a measure against his veto. If it comes to a trial of strength, they can prevent us from doing anything (except agitating and educating), and we can prevent them from doing anything (except queering themselves).

Haverhill promises to be an exceedingly interesting scene of action during the coming year; and I am much mistaken if any answer comes to the prayer of the reverend gentleman who opened the proceedings with the petition that during the coming year there might be in the city of Haverhill a growth of the feeling that the interests of the employer and of the employed were one and the same.

Comrade Chase takes to presiding over a board of aldermen as he took to public speaking, just as if he had been doing nothing else all his life. MARGARET HAILE.

THE INAUGURAL SPEECH.

The Associated Press dispatches had the following report:

HAVERHILL, Mass., Jan. 3.—John C. Chase, elected Mayor on a Socialist platform, in his inaugural speech yesterday assured the members of the city government and the people that "every atom of power" possessed by the mayor will be "exercised in the defense and support of Socialism in so far as they may be applicable to a municipality."

Continuing, Mayor Chase submitted the following specific recommendations:

1. The passage of an order establishing the minimum wage for street railway employes at \$2 for eight hour's work.
2. Union wages and conditions to prevail in all brick and stone-masons' work performed under the direction of the street department.
3. All city printing to bear the union label.

The mayor then took up the subject of the unemployed, which, he said, had developed from the displacement of labor by machinery. He said, some little relief, at least, can be afforded by this city government. I therefore recommend:

1. That you proceed to secure a tract of land suitable for the raising of food products and that such of the unemployed as desire may be permitted to use this land, the city to furnish proper seeds and tools.
2. The enlargement of the fuel yard at the city farm to such proportions as will permit all who desire to earn by their labor such fuel as they may require.
3. The appropriation of such an amount of money as circumstances may warrant, to be used in providing employment directly upon public works, not in competition with the regular workers of the city, but upon special works, two kinds of which I herewith suggest—(1) improvement of the park system; (2) construction of a system of bicycle paths through all principal thoroughfares.

Mayor Chase condemned the system of contracting with the lowest bidder for city work.

At Bevier, Ky., a settlement of negro miners have saved some money, bought 200 acres of coal land and are peacefully digging a living out of the earth.

Illiteracy in Great Britain has decreased 40 to 70 per cent. during Victoria's reign. During the same period in Spain illiteracy has continued over 60 per cent.

TRUE SOCIALISM.

IV.

MARXISM AND PSEUDO-MARXISM.

BY G. A. HOEHN.

(In the American Federationist.)

"With the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought."—Marx.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

While it is true that the European wage workers' average standard of living is far below that of their American brothers, it is nevertheless a fact that the crisis in America is most acute, most dangerous, owing to the most unrestricted freedom of capitalist exploitation of the masses; and above all, to the high development of the capitalist system of production. Mr. Herbert N. Casson very correctly says: "Today America is in a state of nervous fever, with St. Vitus dance about election time."

It is obvious to every clear-sighted, thinking, human being that this St. Vitus dance is not a mere scrambling for political jobs; it is the St. Vitus dance of the capitalist class, a howling, and fighting, and desperato scrambling for the various class interests; it is the unconscious expression of the class struggle between capitalism and labor—unconscious, as far as the masses of the wealth producers participating in dances of this kind are concerned. The political as well as the economic struggles will grow in extent and severity in the same ratio as the development of the capitalist system of production goes on.

The American Federation of Labor.—In No. 4, Vol. IV, of the American Federationist, President Gompers published the following editorial:

A WAGE EARNER'S MOVEMENT, OURS.

"A mistake seems to pervade the minds of some of our friends, who imagine that it is necessary to organize the employers in the same union as the workmen. This error should be dispelled at once. The workers should organize as wage earners, for success is alone possible when they can recognize their trade and class interests as being separate and distinct from their employers."

"In thus organizing on well-defined lines of our interests, we do not wish to rebuff any who may wish to express their sympathy for the workers, or the organized labor movement, but we realize that this sympathy can be just as well, in fact, more effectually manifested and given, than by membership in the union with the workers.

"Such a conglomeration simply prevents full growth and development of the union, interferes with the full and free expression of the judgment of the members and finally leads to dissolution or diversion from the practical purposes of the union. Our friends and organizers throughout the country would do well to keep this matter in mind.

"While antagonizing no employer simply because he is an employer, yet, when organizing unions, wage earners should be organized exclusively as wage earners, and thus keep a clear and clean cut labor movement of the wage earners, for the wage earners, by the wage earners."

This position taken by Mr. Gompers is the only correct one. The wage earners', the workmen's class interests, diametrically opposed to the class interests of the "profit earners," of the employers; consequently, the latter's place is not in the trade union.

In the political class struggle the same principle holds good. On the political field we meet as citizens to fight for—what? "For the welfare of the public," says a shrewd politician. H'm! This is a barefaced lie!—the kind reader will excuse this harsh verdict, but it is always wise and right to call a spade a spade. The fight on the political field is a perpetual struggle for class interests, and no rhetoric, eloquence or sentimental songs of false freedom should deceive the wage workers on this all-important point.

The American wage workers should never lose sight of the

sound Marxian principle, partially, but correctly, expressed in the quoted editorial of Mr. Gompers, whenever they deem it timely and advisable to enter the arena of independent political action.

In all political struggles of the past it was the proletariat, the disfranchised, expropriated working class, that had to haul the chestnuts out of the fire for the oppressor classes. Being unorganized, uneducated, the workmen never successfully protected their own class interests, and were simply used as a machine of warfare by one or the other faction of the ruling classes. Against its own will capitalism broke the very bough on which it was sitting, by bringing together in huge factories and workshops hundreds of thousands of wage-workers; by organizing them as industrial soldiers in the capitalist profit mills they laid the very foundation of the future economic and political organization of labor.

Now to the point: As already stated, "the interest of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie," as the great Marxian author, K. Kautsky, says, "are so diametrically opposed to each other, that the political aims and objects of the two classes cannot be permanently united. Sooner or later the participation of the working class in politics, in every country where the mode of capitalist production is prevalent, must lead to the point where it (the working class) severs its connections with the capitalist parties, and constitutes a party of its own, the labor party."

The emancipation of labor means the emancipation of humanity, the abolition of class interests, of class struggles, of wage slavery. Consequently the labor party that will sooner or later rise out of the political chaos, must fearlessly and uncompromisingly uphold the banner of labor, fight for the interests of the wage-working class, for the emancipation of this class comprises the nation, the people. In the political arena, however, unlike in the economic, well-meaning persons of the so-called "better classes" may become active members of the labor party and remain such, provided that they recognize the true character of the modern labor movement, the character of the proletarian struggle, and as long as they act in accordance with the true interests of the proletarian movement, or so to speak in the words of President Sam Gompers, as long as they recognize the wage workers' class interests as being separate and distinct from that of the employing class. Capitalist influence shall not be allowed to shape the destiny of the labor movement. As to the true character of the American Federation of Labor, it may interest many of the readers of the "Federationist" to know what the generally recognized Marxist journalist and pioneer, F. A. Sorge, wrote about eighteen months ago, in one of his excellent letters to "Die Neue Zeit" (The New Times) in Stuttgart, Germany. After criticizing various features and actions of the A. F. of L. of past years, Mr. Sorge says:

"In view of the mentioned numerous justified and unjustified criticisms it must, however, also be stated and emphasized that the Federation is a bona fide, a true labor organization of wage workers, pure and simple, without clauses and back doors in its statutes through which middle class and wealthy capitalists, would-be reformers and politicians, might creep in. With all its faults and defects, the A. F. of L. is the representative of the working class, of the proletariat of this country, and, as such, it is to be respected; but has, also, to fulfill a great task. The Federation deserves considerable credit for many a good work done for the working class of these United States. Under strong opposition, the Federation made an end to the nonsensical fight about higher protective tariff and free trade in its own ranks; it has mightily advanced the aspirations for shorter hours; it has favorably influenced the legislation for the protection of the working people; it has, without interruption, pushed the indispensable organization of the wage-workers; it has protected and guarded the right of labor to open, manfully acting organization

against the secret form in a long struggle, and has expressed the duty of the wage workers to carry on their struggles with open weapons.

"The Federation has also shown economic intelligence by considering the formation of trusts, syndicates, etc., as a natural consequence of the industrial development, and by its refusal to join in the chorus of stupid howlers. . . . As a matter of fact, the Federation did not permit itself to be made the field of experiments for the here so exuberantly growing reformers and sectarians of all sorts.

"Although the class consciousness is not yet sufficiently developed, it must be declared that the American Federation has represented the class position and guarded the class character of its organization. The Federation's struggles were class struggles."

This is the honest comment of a bona fide Marxist Socialist! But how does such criticism, such comment compare with the howling, denunciation, and fakir-eating mania of the Pseudo-Marxists, who make the "N. Y. People" a dictionary of vile language and ruffianly slang!

Like the labor movement throughout the world; the movement of the American proletariat is growing, and its growing influence is being felt everywhere. The free unrestricted development of American capitalism is of comparatively recent date; so is the American labor movement. We must be content with the success thus far achieved, but at the same time, seriously determined to continue the struggle of emancipation, to make good past mistakes, to heal the wounds we may have suffered in past defeats, to make use of the best and most effective weapons at our command—determined to bring about a state of society where every human being will be guaranteed the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, always keeping before our eyes the motto:

"The emancipation of the proletariat must be achieved by the working class themselves."

In conclusion I beg leave to quote the words of Marx' life-long friend, Frederick Engels, addressed to the wage workers of England in his editorial preface to the "Capital," dated November 5, 1886:

"The sighed-for period of prosperity will not come; as often as we seem to perceive its heralding symptoms, so often do they again vanish into air. Meanwhile, each succeeding winter brings up afresh the great question, 'what to do with the unemployed; but while the number of the unemployed keeps swelling from year to year, there is nobody to answer that question; and we can almost calculate the moment when the unemployed, losing patience, will take their own fate into their own hands. Surely, at such a moment, the voice ought to be heard of a man whose whole theory is the result of a life-long study of the economic history and condition of England, and whom that study led to the conclusion that, at least in Europe, England is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means."

Keep on with your noble battle Against triumphant might; No question is ever settled, Until it is settled right.

(Conclusion.)

The working class is the source of property and profit and opportunities of all kinds—for the exploiting class.

The exploiting class does not pay the wages of the working class; labor creates all values resulting from labor, including its wages.

All the real capital that any capitalist ever possessed was the result of labor; capital could never have existed unless labor had first existed, and the laborer, not the capitalist, is the important member of society.

Reformers are those who believe in antidotes. Revolutionists believe in prevention rather than attempted cure. It is better to do away with the poison itself than to attempt to neutralize it by antidotes. Antidotes should be unnecessary.

LOVED BY THE MASSES--EUGENE DEBS AT OMAHA.

Interviewed by the World-Herald.

The Omaha World-Herald of Dec. 22, contains the following interesting description and interview:

Eugene V. Debs is at the Murray. He came in at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon. With an expansive smile wreathing his long, rather pale face, he ranged himself in front of the counter and clerk Higby and said:

"Give me a cheery, bright room, with bath, not to high up," at the same time placing in a strong, bold hand on the register the name of "Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.," the man more talked about in the papers than any on the American continent, who holds no official position.

Mr. Debs is a character—a man who would attract attention in any crowd, six feet one and a half inches tall, stout and well and compactly built, with graceful movement and erect carriage. His head is large, with a paucity of hair, his forehead high, and a prominent chin speaks for the character of this idol of the wage-earners. With general features like those of Bill Nye and action that remind one slightly of Gene Field, he has a great deal about him which makes him just Debs, the man who some people have alternately wondered at and blamed and whom the press have reviled and praised.

Mr. Debs was here last four years ago and spoke in the old exposition building.

"No, I did not attend the convention at Kansas City," he said at the Murray hotel. "I am in deep sympathy with the meeting and wanted very much to go, but my lecture engagements prevented. Have been speaking every night for two weeks.

"With what success? At Boone, Ia., had a fair audience, but usually through Iowa my audiences were not large. You know," continued the labor leader, "the railroads and other corporations have no love for me, and it is given out cold to the men, and many of them who would attend stay away, fearful of incurring the displeasure of the powers that be. Especially is this true in railroad towns. However, I cannot complain: I speak and the papers report and thus I reach the masses.

"My theme? It is the old, old story—economics—the concentration of industry. The middle class of middlemen are being obliterated; they buy goods in small quantities and pay more than the department stores which buy by the carload. The department store advertises cheap goods, gets the laboring man's cash and the little corner grocery has the 'credit' business. The small dealer is crushed; labor is pinched and suicides have increased 200 per cent in the last ten years. The tramp of this country is the victim of the present social system; had it not been for the environments of that system there would not have been given the impetus which started that individual upon that plane of despair in which the world now sees him.

BEGINNING TO THINK.

"I believe this present system," continued the speaker earnestly, "so destructive to the better elements of mankind, is soon to be eradicated, and that by the workingmen. They are beginning to think, and from the products of their minds is developing an economic revolution.

"Toil has made this nation. Compare the workingman's degradation with that of 100 years ago. Then this country had no tramps; and no millionaires. Men to-day are almost as bad as the chattel slaves of the South before the days of 1861, except that the slave was always well fed, well clothed and taken care of by his masters; he was not afraid of losing his job. There were no tramp slaves; they lived long and were not controlled by injunction. Now a man is not as valuable as the slave was to his

master. The slave was sold to the highest bidder; the man is now taken by the employer who will pay the least for his labor. Contract systems are not in vogue; machines are perfected so that one man can do the work of twenty, but he does not get the pay of the twenty men he displaces; he gets just one man's pay. A man will soon have to be a tramp or a millionaire, with chances of one million to one he will be a tramp.

"But we are making some progress; we are on the eve of a great change."

SEES THE SUNRISE.

Mr. Debs paused and spoke slowly and with emphasis: "I can see the rising sun of the co-operative commonwealth. The workingmen are beginning to think and they will soon begin to act, and will win, not by crime or injunction, but by a united ballot. These are, in brief, some of the themes I discuss.

"My object? To pay off the debts resultant upon the great strike, which are not legally mine to pay, but morally I mean to pay them. Lawyers, courts, injunctions and such luxuries cost money, and our brief experience painfully demonstrated the truth of the assertion.

"My attitude toward expansion? I am opposed to it bitterly. My reasons are many, and would fill a book. Pauper labor, open doors, open gates to the world, opportunities for plunder, large army and hundreds of other ills follow in the wake of the annexation scheme, urged by trusts, combines and men hunting place and power.

"I lecture in Council Bluffs tonight and in Omaha Thursday night; am under no bureau or syndicate, but out to pay debts and educate the masses on the value of the co-operative commonwealth. My engagements are made ahead until next April."

BELL'S TRIBUTE TO DEBS.

President Wm. H. Bell of the Central Labor union of Omaha says:

"To hear Mr. Debs on any subject is a rare treat from an intellectual standpoint, as well as the pleasure one experiences listening to his matchless eloquence. Although many of the working people of our country differ materially with Mr. Debs concerning the proper methods to be employed looking to the abolition of wage slavery; although the capitalistic classes (so-called) have denounced him as 'they have no other man connected with the labor movement; although the immense powers of the federal courts and the United States were invoked to crush his indomitable spirit, the man stands to-day as he has ever stood, the idol of the wage-earners of our country, and every man who has heard his noble words cannot but feel that he has no other purpose than the uplifting of the toiling masses of his fellows. Comparatively few of our professional and commercial men have ever heard Mr. Debs and know little of his teachings, except what comes to them from the columns of an unfriendly press, and to these especially the Central Labor union desires to extend an invitation to attend his lecture, and in the belief that if Mr. Debs be unable to convince them of the soundness of his views he will at least charm them with the magic of his eloquence and impress them with his sincerity of purpose and strength of character."

MERRIE ENGLAND

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

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THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St.,

CHICAGO, ILL.

NEW ENGLAND'S SOCIALIST MAYOR.

(From the Boston Sunday Journal)

As shoemakers have long been noted for dry wit and appreciation of humorous situations, it is only natural to find Haverhill, which is a leather city, involved in a predicament which sounds like the end of the first act in a comic opera! The only people who fail to realize the true inwardness of the position are those who are blaming their own carelessness for its existence.

The Mayor-elect of Haverhill has resigned from that office. Furthermore, he resigned when he was nominated. Still further, when the present Mayor Chase comes to the end of his term, and the coming Mayor Chase takes the oath of office, the situation will not be simplified, for instead of being merely the Mayor who has resigned, Haverhill will have hundreds of Mayors. Shall John Smith be appointed to the position of inspector of sparrows killed on the track? Hundreds of men will decide the question—not one. If people who elected John C. Chase to his office had the ordering of it, every citizen in Haverhill, would, in a sense, be Mayor, for the constituency of Mayor Chase is Socialist, and a plank in its platform is the insistence on referendum proceedings for all official acts, whether legislative or administrative in nature.



JOHN C. CHASE.

RESIGNED BEFORE ELECTED.

The "section" of Social Democrats which covers Haverhill nominated Mr. Chase, and his acceptance of the nomination had to be accompanied by his resignation from office. This resignation the "section" now holds and can produce at any time. Every official act of the Mayor will be approved or disapproved by the "section," and the resignation will be produced or not, accordingly. In this sense, and though neither branch of the City Council has a majority of Social Democrats, still that party controls the city, and will do so till there is another election!

So when the city of Haverhill gets to doing things next spring it will be even more amusing. There is even a possibility that Mayor Chase may at some time find himself between the millstones of the republican majority in the city government and his resignation, held by his "section." There is, at all events, a beautiful chance of a deadlock.

MR. CHASE A MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

One may talk a week without exhausting the peculiarities of the situation. Mayor Chase is not a lawyer, for instance. He is a shoemaker by trade. He is only 28 years old. He is not married. He has resigned from another office besides that of Mayor of Haverhill. This other office was the State Senatorship from that district, to which his party set him to aspire, and for which he was defeated in the State election. As a Mayor, Mr. Chase is merely the mouth-piece of the Social Democrats.

Mr. Chase has long been identified with labor reform work. When he was only 16 years old he became identified with the trade union movement, and was an ardent worker in the cause of the labor union. He was sent by New Hampshire—he lived in that State then—to the twenty-second national

convention of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Unions, and took an active part in the work of that convention.

He was born in the dreary little town of Gilmanton, N. H., on May 27, 1870. His father, Levi W. Chase, went to Osipee, where he became manager of a bedstead factory, a year after the boy was born, and in the woods there, while overseeing some of the work, the father lost his life. At the time, the present Mayor-elect of Haverhill was but five years old. His mother moved to Milton Mills, N. H., and opened a boarding house, to support herself and her children. Here the family remained for eight years, and all through that time, John Chase helped his mother in the heart-breaking work of running a boarding house. At the age of only eight years, the boy went into a woolen mill to work through the summers, and somehow or other he managed between working summers in the mill and winters in his mother's kitchen to attend the old-fashioned "district school," and to lay the foundation of his education. It was in the woolen mill at Milton Mills that the boy met with an accident that maimed his right hand. The result of this accident he shows to-day.

From New Hampshire the family went to Sanford, Me.; after only one year, however, they returned to Barnstead, N. H. Here they lived eight years, and here John Chase learned his trade as shoemaker. Here, too, he completed all the district schools could give him, and had private teaching to help that out. At that time he was well known and well liked by all the young men of the town where he lived. He never went with the rougher element and never drank liquor. He was popular, but the boys did not carry him around on their shoulders. He was bright to a degree, but never sought to make a holocaust of the river. The girls liked him, but none ever took the serious young fellow away from his mother.

HOW HE BECAME A SOCIALIST.

He was learning his life lessons at an unusual end, for an educated man. The method usually is first to get the education, if that be the premise, and then see the conditions which reformers deplore by means of that education. The man who grows up suffering from those conditions usually finds that the very hardest suffering that the conditions have imposed upon him lies in the fact that they deny him a good education. John Chase grew up suffering from the wrong conditions of society. He went into the mill work, which is perhaps the greatest demonstration of the wrongfulness of the conditions, earlier than most boys, because his mother was poor; he got into the shoemaking trade, just when the men had been stirred up to the highest point in misery, and were organizing and planning and fighting to better the conditions.

It was logical that he should become a Socialist. It was natural to a lad of his temperament to work hard for what he believed in, and his enthusiasm, and devotion, and education, and ingenuity carried him ahead naturally and logically to the position he now occupies. It is written in his face that he would not work for that in which he could not wholly believe and though he does not say so himself, it was in all probability a craving for definite work that took him into politics, where results, not organizations, might be achieved.

He came to Haverhill when he was 20 years old, with his mother. A brother is working in Boston, and there is also a younger sister. His first work in Haverhill was among the labor unions, in organizing and running unions. For five years he kept at this, and at the end, without leaving off his work in the cause at all, he went into one of the large factories in the city, where his ability to handle men had been recognized.

HIS PERSONALITY.

John C. Chase is not a ready talker, and it was probably only the consciousness of subject matter more than he could use that carried him through the campaign, and the daily and nightly rallies

that have been held indoors and out of doors in Haverhill through the campaign. He is a tall, rather slight young man, comparatively deliberate in his movements. He exhibits the droll insight in a humorous way that has made the Yankee famous all over the world, the really witty and good-natured way of looking at things that is typical of New Englanders.

Perhaps the most curious thing about the mayor-elect is the fact that he is comparatively unknown in the city. Few people outside of his own constituency seem ever to have heard of him, though all who have had business dealings with him, even when they have believed differently in political matters, have conceded that he was a good man with whom to do business.

Mr. Chase is enthusiastic over this referendum proposition, and, indeed, the platform on which he was elected explicitly states that it is the only proper way of transacting business for a body of people.

Is the Family Declining?

There are fewer marriages in proportion to population than formerly; families are smaller; they are less coherent; they are less lasting. In England the marriage rate fell from 17.2 per cent 1851 to 15.2 per cent in 1881, and from 1873 to 1888 the ages of men and women who married rose respectively from 25.6 and 24.2 to 26.3 and 24.7. The rise in the number of divorces, 1860—1885, was universal. In 1871 England and Wales show one divorce to 1020.4 marriages; in 1879, one in 480.83. From 1867 to 1886 divorces in the United States increased 157 per cent, while the population increased 60 per cent. One of the causes of change is the whole modern movement of liberation—of subjects from sovereigns, slaves from masters, wives from husbands and children from parents. Another is the disappearance of the ecclesiastical view of marriage. A more special cause has been the growth of large cities, which completely alter the environment of the organism. Men become less dependent on women for home needs, and women have resources and interests which the simple life of the country denies them. Then, too, attachments formed on slight acquaintance of underlying traits of character are less likely to prove lasting. The number of marriages among the women of higher education is less than among the uneducated. Of one thousand four hundred and eighty-six ex-students of the chief women's colleges of England only two hundred and eight married. The new economic opportunities for women of the middle class rival the domestic and social life which marriage offers, and also bring into the industrial market a class of competitors with whom the standard of wages is simply what is sufficient to support the individual. Among the working class marriages are not less frequent; but the home is apt to be less comfortable on account of the tendency of women to go out to work. In the light of these facts it is held by many that the monogamic family is a relic of a decaying form of civilization.—J. H. Muirhead in the Journal of Ethics.

The man who can make clothing he cannot buy is unfit to survive.

The man who can make books he has no opportunity of reading is unfit to survive.

The man who can invent a machine that throws him out of a job is unfit to survive.

The man who has skill and industry and can facilitate social production without proportionately increasing the opportunities of supplying his reasonable wants is unfit to survive.

Could anything be more ludicrous?

* * *
"It is well the great mass obey the laws without inquiring why they were made so and not otherwise." Who said that, do you think? Some disturber of the peace, some awful agitator? It was Blackstone said that; and Blackstone was one of the wisest writers on law known to history. Good for Blackstone!

DO YOUR DUTY--AND DO IT NOW.

Social Democratic Party Platform

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

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

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

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

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate 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 other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal 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, lack of employment and old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and 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 united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

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

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

S. D. P. and Trades Unionism.

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible;

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

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

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS,

—BY THE—

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, JAN. 7, 1899.

S.D.P. VOTE, NOVEMBER, 1898.

Massachusetts	6411
Wisconsin	2591
Missouri	1645
New York (3 districts)	1245
New Hampshire	263
Terre Haute, Ind.,	256
Total	12,411

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

VOTE ON CONSTITUTION POSTPONED.

To THE MEMBERS:—Owing to the campaigns in Massachusetts and several other States, the branches have been unable to express their convictions in reference to that part of the constitution which has been submitted to a referendum vote. Therefore the time for taking that vote is extended until the first Monday of February, 1899.

The branches are further notified that it is improper to vote by resolution or motion; and when sending in the returns, the secretary should state the number in attendance, the number of those that voted favorably, and those voting against the constitution, because otherwise, a branch that has a membership of 50 and an attendance of six might cast a vote which would count for more than a branch of 20 members with an attendance of 20.

Secretaries of locals and members will please take notice.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN,
Sec. Ex. Bd.

The Chicago Tribune, that utterly reckless and hysterical apologist for every iniquity known to the capitalist system of production, is greatly alarmed at the growth of Socialistic theories within the labor union organizations. It is now devoting space to an attempt to arouse its constituency to the "dangers of Socialism," and in its editorial columns of Dec. 27 has a lengthy and distressingly lugubrious note of alarm, occasioned by the "noteworthy result" of the recent battle for Socialism in the American Federation of Labor. That a proportion of over 20 per cent of the Federation went on record in favor of Socialism, seems to have completely turned the head of the notorious and complacent liar who writes prosperity pleasantries on the Tribune. It says:

"The followers of Debs and his allies are likely to consider the result as an evidence of the growth of their sentiments, giving them hope of becoming a still stronger factor in determining the policy of the order, if not gaining complete control."

Having delivered itself thus on the astonishing growth of Socialistic ideas, it proceeds with its usual lack of common decency to voicet its abuse upon Socialists. That portion of its harmless diatribe is, however, too grossly ignorant and malevolent to call out any response from sane and self-respecting Socialists, who cannot be hurt by it in the estimation of intelligent and honorable people.

Capitalist production has created a permanent over-supply of labor to carry on its universal devastation; its politicians have tricked the people by legislation; its apologists in the pulpit have smutted the face of religion, and its governments have employed large armies to maintain its power by force. Liberty does not lie in that direction; only a democratic administration of industry by the people themselves will ever establish liberty and save the people.

THE EVOLUTION OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA.

By Isadore Ladoff.

HERE are two Socialistic parties in Russia: one is agrarian socialistic, the other regular Social Democrats. The agrarian Socialists do not believe in the correctness of Carl Marx's theory, according to which every civilized country has to pass through the capitalistic industrial stage of production before being ripe for Socialism. They affirm that Russia, with her 99 per cent of the population engaged in agricultural pursuits, does not present any favorable soil for the development of capitalism in the European and American sense of the word.

The agrarian Socialists put especial stress on the archaic village communes with common tenure of land, and expect wonders from the artificial preservation of the primitive institutions for ever. "Where there is no private property in land, there can be no place for the agrarian proletariat," say the agrarian Socialists; just as our friends of the single tax sure cure panacea. The fact that the common tenure of land in Switzerland and India could not serve as a safeguard against the victorious advance of modern capitalism, does not convince these well meaning dreamers and enthusiasts for the institutions of the good olden times. Even the rapid disintegration of the village communes under their own eyes in Russia does not affect the views of those mystic worshippers of the "mushik" (peasants) and his primeval ideals. Nay, even the phenomenal growth of purely capitalistic production in Russia in the last decades, the great strikes inaugurated recently in St. Petersburg and other centers of industry, fail to convince them. The agrarians talk with derision of "Russian Capitalism," sincerely denying its genuineness. According to them, Russian capitalism is something different from European and American capitalism, a sordid imitation of the last, which is bound to prove a failure, a snare and a delusion. Well, let us not disturb the blissful dreams of the radical agrarians, but turn to facts.

The seeds of factory production were first implanted on the Russian soil by the great revolutionizer on the throne of the Czars—Peter the first, as an accessory to his other reforms. Corresponding to the economic peculiarities of the eighteenth century, the embryo factories were not strictly capitalistic, but rather trade institutions, the element of so-called free labor being entirely absent. Such factories were originally called into existence by the government and then sold to private parties together with grants of certain privileges and subsidies.

The owners of these factories had the right in case of deficiency of labor to buy peasants as serfs. The original purpose of the creation of these factories was to supply the needs of the army and navy. Little by little a new class of factory owners grew up, which was looked upon with disfavor by the class of merchants and the gentry. Both the merchants and the landlords felt instinctively the advance of a powerful rival to their vital class interests.

Another peculiarity of the primitive factory system in Russia was its

marked favorable influence on the spread and development of handicraft and skilled trades among the peasantry. "The Russian factory of the eighteenth century says Mr. T. Baronovsky, "was the school of handicraft, of new technical methods and improvements. Foreign masters instructed the Russian laborers in various trades. The use of machinery was very limited, everything being done by hands and tools." The peasants, after having worked as apprentices in these factories could, and as a rule did, proceed to work with success at their huts in the villages. This was the way it came to pass that many Russian villages turned into a kind of industrial settlement, where certain trades reached the climax of perfection and formed a solid basis of economical income for their inhabitants.

Early in the nineteenth century the factories little by little turned into regular capitalistic institutions with free labor, wage system and its other peculiarities. In the year 1804 the number of wage-workers already reached 48 per cent of the total number of laborers. In the cloth and wool factories the number of wage-workers barely reached 10 per cent, while the calico factories were operated almost exclusively by free labor. The number of wage-workers increased with every succeeding year. The industries operated by free labor flourished even without any assistance from the government, while the industries, where unpaid labor was employed, remained in stagnation in spite of all aid and encouragement upon the part of the government. Gradually the capitalistic production turned to be a power, on which even the government of Nicolaus I began to look with secret awe and suspicion, as a force naturally inimical to the ancient political and social regime of unreformed Russia, with its serfdom, passport system and other insurmountable difficulties of free fluctuation of labor to the place of demand.

But the reign of Alexander II and Alexander III were very favorable for capitalistic production. The serfs were freed, the village commune lost its hold on many a peasant, who preferred the attractions of city life to the tyranny of commune. The government began to look with favor on capitalism, as a conservative power and to give to it all the protection and aid demanded. Like the Greek god Chronos, the capitalistic factory system began to devour its progeny—the peasant craftsmen. The introduction of machinery put these outside the pale of competition. The construction of extensive lines of railroads undermined the economic structure of the village. The towns began to grow rapidly, while the population of the peasantry of the central agricultural districts of Russia ceased to increase at all. The chronic hunger visiting the granary of Europe and general disintegration going on in the Russian village, are all symptoms of a great social commercial change, the death knell of patriarchal conditions. And the rapid evolution of genuine capitalism created a laboring class conscious of its interests, as may be easily proven by the progress of Socialistic propaganda in Russia and the growth of party spirit. The day is surely not very distant when the Social Democratic party shall be as formidable a foe of the government as their German brothers in their native country.

The Post-Dispatch says that "cool headed men are inquiring why an army of 100,000 men is necessary?" If these men were as clear headed as they are said to be cool, they would have no difficulty with this question. For thirty years in this country the producers of wealth have been plundered by legalized robbers; wealth has been concentrated in few hands; the means of production are monopolized by a class which exploits human labor and human needs; the country is ruled by the rich and the people whose toil made the country are dependents and slaves. A large army is necessary now to protect the rich in the enjoyment of their legalized larcenies.

DO YOUR DUTY--AND DO IT NOW.

LOGIC VS. SOPHISTRY.

The Socialists of Haverhill elected a mayor, several councilmen and aldermen, after electing two representatives to the legislature. The new Socialist party, called Social Democracy, came before the people of Haverhill with a platform which is acknowledged throughout the civilized world as Socialistic and a city platform which did in no respect lack in demands that can be realized by that municipality in the near future. It is not to be supposed that the men elected fail to do their duty. The men elected upon those platforms are in every respect compelled to do their duty, because a constituency which elects men upon those platforms is morally capable of taking care of itself, and a violation on the part of any of the victorious Socialists elected (it is rightfully to be supposed) will be dealt with in such manner as to clear the constituency of any and all blame. The men elected in Haverhill do not underestimate the gravity of the situation, as all their utterances prior to and after their election indicate. At all events, a victorious Socialist constituency should not fail to inscribe upon its banner and that in honor of its victorious members, the words of Wendell Phillips, "We never forget."

In the "People," the leading organ of the Socialist Labor party, we find the editor, expressing his doubt as regards the sincerity of the principal men in the Social Democratic party. This, of course, is characteristic of men who have struggled in vain for more than a decade to bind all Socialistic elements in this country so as to act as a cohesive whole. But it ceases to be characteristic and takes the shape and appearance of willful distortion of facts and a high degree of attainment in the "Art" of sophistry when a professor declares, (ex cathedra) that the people of Haverhill cannot read English and followed the "leaders" of a "so-called" Socialist party. By committing the grave error in not preferring capitalistic candidates instead of a Socialist candidate upon a Socialist platform, because they were not appointed and ordained (ex-cathedra)?

Comrades of Haverhill may well take courage, because the S. L. P. has a membership of about 2000 while it claims to draw about 80,000 votes in the U. S., the S. D. P. polled 2,293 votes for mayor in Haverhill and it requires but 50 well organized Socialists to come up to the difference which exists between the membership of the S. L. P. and its number of votes claimed. There is no apparent reason for the assertion that the number of voters in Haverhill do not contain as much of Socialistic tendency as the rest of the country, nor can it be proven that the unorganized vote of Haverhill Socialists is not as intelligent as the unorganized vote of the S. L. P. A Socialist is a Socialist whether he wears the emblem of his principles or confines himself to intelligently casting his vote. Studied phrases and street-corner advertising may call attention but never will be sufficient proof "that the goods are real."

All Socialists of the United States have good reasons to rejoice over the victory at Haverhill.

CARL PANKOFF.

In the Hocking Valley there is a war going on between two railroads, the Columbus, Hocking Valley & Toledo and the Baltimore & Ohio Southwest roads. It is all over a crossing and they are destroying each other's property at a great rate—while the courts are indifferent to the dispute. Both roads have been blocked by the ditching of a train of cars loaded with pig iron. And this isn't the first time railroad property has been wrecked by railroad managers, either.

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

Hereafter the price of THE HERALD in bundle orders will be one cent a copy.

Fundamental Questions.

If a man makes a garment, shall he not wear it?

If a man build a vehicle, shall he not ride in it?

If a man build a house, shall he not live in it?

If a man till the soil, shall he not eat bread?

If a man be industrious, shall he pay taxes?

If a man labors, is not his tax paid as he goes?

If a man works, shall not his account be balanced every night?

If a man make not the earth, shall he own it?

If a man produces all things, shall the heel of the idle tyrant be stamped on his brow?

If a man creates wealth, shall he be taxed to support the idler, the slothful, the debaucher?

If a man controls unbounded riches without labor, is he not a parent of crime and suffering?

WILLARD I. GRAVES, M. D.

An Explanation.

COMRADE EDITOR:—The following is offered as a partial explanation of the action of the St. Louis Branch on the question of the separation of the dues, &c., and may or may not be published, as you think best:

I believe comrade Stedman may have been a little hasty in drawing conclusions. The proposition carried in St. Louis, but the plan was not adopted by Branch 1. The question voted on was in substance: Shall the dues be separated as to give THE HERALD 5 cents per month per member, and shall the subscription price be increased to \$1.00 per annum? We understood by the explanation given that the dues were separated in former times under another Socialist party and the plan worked admirably, and this action would give authority for similar division. The proposed separation would give the paper 5 cents per month per member, which would be 60 cents instead of the regular price of 50 cents per year, and no thought was entertained by those voting in Branch 1 that they were not to receive the paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues. Each of our members pays dues to the local Branch of 25 cents per month. The Branch forwarded to the National headquarters 25 cents per member quarterly, the remainder being kept for local purposes. There was no attempt made to alienate the responsibility of any member from the demands of Sec. 16 of the proposed constitution.

While I am not in favor of clinging to constitutions because they are labeled as such or acquire a supposed dignity because our grandmothers honored them, I hope Comrade Stedman will see the necessity of their continuance subject to amendments by the referendum for guidance in just such incidents as may arise contrary to the objects of the order. I agree with him and others that a change of name is unnecessary. Haverhill succeeded without it, and I do not see why a change is necessary every time we run against some capitalistic obstruction. Let us quit wasting ammunition on the change of names and fight the common enemy without regard to trifling details.

No doubt it was the intention of Branch 1 to increase the amount to be paid for THE HERALD, if the subscription was advanced to \$1.00. Branch 1 voted to separate the dues for THE HERALD primarily because they wanted to be sure that the management would receive enough for its certain continuance, but left the price for the same to be arranged as the best judgment of the Board indicated. If it was a wrong move I for one am ready to amend.
J. C. WIBEL.

St. Louis, Mo.

A machine has been invented which makes those little wood dishes for carrying butter, lard, etc. By means of this machine scrub timber is utilized, the consequence being that timber heretofore only good for cordwood now becomes valuable for this manufacture.

The Mayor of Madrid has conferred with the government concerning a municipal loan for the relief of unemployed workmen.

Social Democratic Party of America.

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 at such place as the Executive Board may decide upon.

How organized.

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

1. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be 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, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.

3. 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.

4. An Executive Board of five members.

Executive Board.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall be elected quadrennially by the National Council; having 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 the constitution and declaration of principles.

Section 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the national organ (and such other officers, as may be required) shall be elected every four years, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Committee to be approved by the direct vote of the members through the referendum.

Section 5. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year, and such special meetings as may be required.

Section 6. A majority of the board shall constitute a quorum.

Section 7. Any member of the board may be removed by a two-thirds vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

Section 8. Any member of the board, or national officer may be removed at any time by the National Council as hereinafter provided.

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

Section 10. All questions not provided for in this 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.

Section 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.

Section 12. 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.

Section 13. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in any 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.

The National Council.

Section 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.

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

Official Paper.

Section 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.

Section 17. The columns of the official organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

Section 18. The national conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially on the first Tuesday in May, at such place as may be determined by the National Council.

Referendum.

Section 19. The members of the Executive Board may be removed by the imperative mandate in the following manner: Any three members of the National Council may demand the resignation of any member of the National Executive Board, by filing a petition with the secretary of said Executive Committee; and upon said secretary's neglect or refusal to act upon said petition within five days after filing the same, then by filing a petition with the chairman of the said Executive Board; and upon the said chairman's neglect or refusal to act, by filing such petition with three members of the National Council, other than the petitioners, who shall act as a committee for the purpose of receiving and acting as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writing setting forth fully and at large the grounds upon which the recall is demanded. Such officers or committee with whom such petition is filed shall forthwith deliver a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person can be found; and said person shall have the right to answer such petition in writing, which said answer shall be mailed by registered letter to the officer or committee holding said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.

The petitioners shall be served forthwith by registered letter from the officer or committee holding the petition with a copy of said answer, and such petitioners shall have the right to file, with such officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten (10) days after receipt of such copy.

Thereupon the said officer or committee holding said petition shall mail a complete copy of the proceedings to the person whose recall is sought, and five (5) days thereafter said officer or committee shall mail to each member of the National Council a complete copy of all the proceedings and shall demand a vote of each member of the National Council thereon.

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times.

The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication or otherwise.

Recall of a member of the Executive Committee shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

Recall of Officers.

Section 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, with SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, within fifteen days from the selection of said officers, and each member

shall have a vote thereon to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close 20 days after the date calling for the referendum.

Section 21. The National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive Board, but if the said national officers shall be so removed or discharged, they may appeal the case to the members of the organization by stating the grounds of protest, serving a copy on the chairman and secretary of the National Council and the Executive Board, the same not to occupy more than two columns of the official paper, an equal space to be given the Council or Executive to state their side of the controversy; the votes shall be mailed to any member of the Council or Executive Board the petitioner may designate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close 20 days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

Section 22. The question shall be: "Shall the action of the Executive Board (or the National Council as the case may be) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the action, the petitioner shall then be reinstated.

Section 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it), the National Secretary-Treasurer, or the Editor may be removed by the members of the organization in the following manner: A petition endorsed by five per cent. of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within 10 days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

What Socialism Is.

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

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

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

The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transmutation of private competing capitals into united collective capital.—Dr. Alb. Schaeffle.

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

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

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

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

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

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

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.....	\$2.00
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August Bebel. Woman: Past, Present and Future.....	.25
Blatchford. Merrie England.....	.10
Edward Bellamy. Looking Backward.....	.50
Edward Bellamy. Equality. Cloth.....	1.25
Lissagary. History of the Commune of 1871.....	1.00
Fabian Essays in Socialism.....	.25
Charles Vail. Modern Socialism.....	.25
Ashplant. Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits.....	.15
Herbert Casson. The Red Light.....	.25
Henry D. Lloyd. Wealth Against Commonwealth.....	1.00
Thorold Rogers. Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....	.20
Volney. The Ruins of Empires.....	.55
Thomas Paine. The Rights of Man.....	.20
The Socialism of John Stuart Mill. Edited by Bliss.....	.25
Henry George. Social Problems.....	.25
Osborne Ward. The Ancient Lowly.....	1.50
Adams. President John Smith.....	.25
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PAMPHLETS.

Fred. Engels. Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science	.05
The Class Struggle.....	.05
The Religion of Capitalism and Socialism Explained.....	.05
The Proletariat and Down With Socialism.....	.05
F. G. R. Gordon. Hard Times: Cause and Cure.....	.05
Karl Marx. Analysis of Money.....	.05
Watkins. Evolution of Industry.....	.05
Leonard D. Abbott. The Society of the Future.....	.05

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To supply the need which has long been felt for a series of brief papers on Socialism and the aims of the Social Democratic Party, which can be furnished at a low price for general distribution in aid of our propaganda, we have undertaken the publication of what will be known as "THE HERALD LEAFLETS," in four pages; size of page 7x11 inches. The price of the leaflets has been fixed at \$2.00 per thousand, postpaid. Great care will be exercised in the selection of matter, and at this low price it is hoped that comrades everywhere will exert themselves to put 100,000 copies of every issue into the hands of the people.

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Have you taken a Vote on the Constitution of National Council?

WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

By the death of comrade William George Pearson, Socialism in England loses one of its most strenuous advocates, and the labor movement generally, a determined champion. Pearson's ability and the esteem in which he was held by his comrades and fellow trades unionists are shown by the posts he was elected to occupy. He was also a member of the Executive Council of the S. D. F., the organization in which his heart wholly was.

MADRID, SPAIN.

Pablo Iglesias, the old pioneer of International Socialism, is still pushing the good work for our noble cause. Ever since the close of "the war for Cuba's freedom" have the Spanish Social Democrats carried on a most vigorous campaign of education, especially among the industrial wage workers. "El Socialista," the organ of our party in Spain, is publishing weekly reports of the Socialist movement of all countries.

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.

It is reported that at the Trades Conference to be held at Manchester on January 24, on the question of federation, about 300 delegates will be present, and nearly all the largest societies will be represented with the exception of the operative bricklayers. Contrary to expectation, the boiler makers, cotton spinners, weavers, and minders will all be represented. The scheme for the federation of trade unions which is to be discussed was drawn up by a special committee appointed at the Birmingham Trade Union Congress in 1897, over which Mr. Robert Knight presided.

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

In an official report to the Czar of Russia Prince Imeretinski, the governor-general of Poland, says that the Social Democratic party was really the only party that exercises any influence on the masses of the people in Russian Poland. "Not only among the industrial workers," the prince says, "but also among the rural population do the Socialist agitators find admirers." The growth of Socialism in Russia is undoubtedly due to the rapid development of capitalist industry especially in the western and southern parts of the country.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

The Social Democratic organ "Vorwaerts" proposes that the German Reichstag should decide in favor of gathering statistical figures in regard to the number of lese-majeste indictments in the German empire.

NUREMBERG, GERMANY.

Dr. Adolph Braun, editor of the "Vorwaerts" who was expelled from Berlin on account of being an Austrian, has now been appointed secretary of the labor bureau of this city.

MILAN, ITALY.

Quite a number of public school teachers in Italy; many of them young women, are active members of the Social Democratic party. Miss Emilia Marioni, teacher in one of the public schools of Turin, has been suspended for three months for the sole "crime" of openly defending the cause of Social Democracy.

ZURICH, SWITZERLAND.

Dr. Ed. Graf has been elected editor of the Socialist daily paper "Volksrecht" of this city.

FRANKFORT, GERMANY.

Frankfort-on-the-Main will soon have its own municipal street railway system. The city council decided in favor of making a loan of 20,000,000 marks (\$5,000,000) which sum will be required to buy up the old lines and build new sheds, machine-halls, etc.

SAMARA, RUSSIA.

Horrible scenes of suffering and starvation are witnessed in the various parts of Samara province. Thousands of people are dying

THE GOOD TIME COMING.

HERE'S a good time coming, boys, a good time coming; We may not live to see the day, but earth shall glisten in its ray; Cannon balls may aid the truth, but Thought's a weapon stronger; We'll win our battle by its aid:—wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys, a good time coming; The pen shall supersede the sword, and Right, not Might, shall be the lord; Worth, not wealth, shall rule mankind; and be acknowledged stronger; The proper impulse has been given:—wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys, a good time coming; War, in all men's eyes, shall be a monster of iniquity; Nations shall not quarrel then, to prove which is the stronger, Nor slaughter men for glory's sake:—wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys, a good time coming; Hateful rivalries of creed shall not make their martyrs bleed; Religion shall be shorn of pride, and flourish all the stronger; And Charity shall trim the lamp:—wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys, a good time coming; And a poor man's family shall not be his misery; Every child shall be a help to make his right arm stronger; The happier he the more he has:—wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys, a good time coming; Little children shall not toil under or above the soil; But shall play in healthful fields till limbs and mind grow stronger; And every one shall read and write:—wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys, a good time coming; The people shall be temperate, and shall love instead of hate; They shall use, and not abuse, and make all virtue stronger; The Reformation has begun:—wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys, a good time coming; Let us aid it all we can, every woman, every man; Smallest helps, if rightly given, make the impulse stronger; 'Twill be strong enough one day:—wait a little longer.

CHARLES MACKAY.

from the want of food and medical attendance.

BRESLAU, GERMANY.

Two Social Democrats, comrades Bruhns and Schuetz, have been elected to the city council of Breslau.

NATIONAL.

LINGTON, MO.

After the men had been out a week the coal miners' strike here was declared off. The price will be 4c for January and February and 3 1-4 for March. Seven hundred miners go to work to-morrow.

CARLINVILLE, ILL.

The miners employed by the Carlville Coal Co. quit work and refused to return. They allege the top weigher "Tuck" Wilt, used "plugged" weights, that only weighed 4 pounds, instead of 4 1-2. By this weight, it is claimed, every man was beaten out of about \$1 per week.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

Justice Spring has denied the motion to vacate the injunction granted by Justice Childs, restraining the members of Typographical Union No. 9 from boycotting the Express or its advertisers. Justice Spring, in his opinion, holds that the action of the union men was unwarranted and inimical to the interests of bread winners.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Bellevue hospital authorities have noticed during the holiday season a great increase in the number of alcoholic and insane patients. Both wards have been crowded, and if any more patients are sent to the hospital other accommodations will have to be provided for them. The number of insane persons is also unusual. There are forty-three patients in the insane pavillion, more than for a long time. Of these, five were declared insane by experts, and were sent to the island. Thus capitalism and insanity go hand in hand.

MERRIE

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Socialism the Only Plan.

Socialism is the only plan I have heard of that will secure to every man the right to work and enjoy the full fruits of his labor. Hereafter I shall do what I can to accelerate the growth of Socialism, and there are many in both the old parties who will come with us sooner or later. Think for a moment how completely the present system of industry fails to utilize the industrial force of the country.

A conservative estimate of the number of men in the country, who are unable to find work places the number at 1,500,000. Each man has upon an average four other people depending on him for support, thus making a total of 7,500,000 people who are destitute because of the enforced idleness of those 1,500,000 men. The productive power of this vast number is entirely wasted by the present system of industry.—S. M. Jones, Springfield, Mass., formerly a prominent democrat.

GLEANINGS.

There are 12,000 women trade-unionists in Great Britain.

Galesburg, Ill., is reported to be considerably exercised over the question of municipal ownership. Of the 10,000,000 women in Italy 2,000,000 are employed in industrial labor and over 3,000,000 in agriculture.

Statistics which have lately appeared show that the prosecutions in Germany for lese majeste have nearly quadrupled during the present kaiser's reign.

The costliest building of modern times is the state capitol at Albany, N. Y., which has already had spent upon it the immense sum of \$20,000,000. Boodling did it.

The Rothschilds are negotiating to purchase about 45,000 acres of land in the Mariposa grant in California for \$1,000,000. It is thought they will operate bonanza farms through their agents.

Where Trades Unionists

will find the S. D. P.

The trades 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 both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

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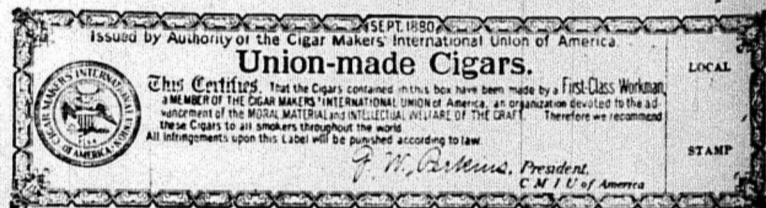
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