

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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Capital is a Product of, and Could Not Exist Without, Labor. Who Should Own Capital?

Social Democrats want machines, which capitalist industry uses to create profit and misery, used to create sunshine and happiness.

A workman, laboring ten hours a day for something to eat and a few rags to wear, who thinks Socialism would destroy his "liberty," is a Wise Mike, isn't he?

When a railroad corporation pays its taxes, where does it get the money from? When a manufacturing corporation pays its taxes, where does it get the money from?

A fellow who just wants work to satisfy his stomach and wear clothes and has no thought for his own or others' rights, is just the sort of human material slaves are made of.

To preach thrift to workmen who have no opportunity of saving because they can find no work, is just the sort of cant one may expect from those who are ignorant—and comfortable.

What an object for pity is the poor half-fed workman who fears losing the privilege of living in a house he can't pay rent for half the time, if he voted against the fellow who owns the house?

The abolition of the system of production for profit and the substitution of production for use, as proposed by the Social Democrats, would smooth the furrows of care from humanity's brow and make happiness contagious.

The "philanthropy and 5 per cent" patriots profess to be shocked at the muddle and mud throwing in the army. But what really annoys them is that the panegyrics pronounced on the American soldier should be so cruelly discounted.

What a pity it would be to deprive the class which believes in "philanthropy and 5 per cent," of the exhilarating pleasure of giving away shoes and soup; by giving everybody a chance to get shoes and soup without the capitalists' interference!

The gigantic proportions of modern industry create the necessity for public ownership. Individual private enterprise, except in isolated cases, has broken down. Consider thoroughly these two facts and you will begin to see the hopelessness of good times until public ownership is a fact.

Socialists may be "visionary" and that, but there is nothing visionary about the great trusts and syndicates which Socialists predicted years and years ago. These are very real, are they not? Yes, and there is much more that will be quite as real by and by. O, we've got it down fine; no doubt about that!

All robbery committed by capitalist aristocrats is constitutional, or can easily be made so. One half the business of the law is to constitutionalize and sanctify the aggressions of organized gluttony. But the constitution itself, as a protection to the life, liberty and pursuits of the people, is as dead as the men who framed it.

Socialism cannot be refuted, and so the pressmen, who must earn their salaries, busy themselves in trying to make it misunderstood. An influential daily comes to us with the old chestnut that Socialism means "divvying up." One would think that the capitalists, some of whom know better, would make their penny-a-liners do a little better work to earn their salaries.

Joe Leiter has gone from milk to locomotives. He probably knows nothing about either, but at his newly acquired Rhode Island locomotive works he will have plenty of slaves who know all about the latter.

A society that produced wealth for social needs and not for private profit would not need standing armies. Fighting men are only necessary because we have fleecing men. Abolish the fleecing class and the fighting class will be unnecessary.

It grieves capitalists that a few snaps like the postoffice which does a business of a quarter of a million a day, have got away from them. But it don't seem to grieve the unthinking people very much that one man, Rockefeller, can make \$8,000,000 in a single day on the oil snap.

A correspondent of the Boston Globe says that in a shoe factory he visited at Havana the workmen earn \$9 a week. Gradually the evidence is divulged that if the Cubans were left to themselves they will be able to get along. Their \$9 a week will soon be cut down if American capitalists get in there.

So long as the governing business is profitable to somebody and provides snaps for somebody there's going to be trouble. The big-vested politicians are not fools enough to abandon the opportunities which the people are fools enough to supply and pay their governors high salaries to "improve."

An eastern paper says "We should compel a man to earn his own support." But how? How are you going to do it? If a man owns the means at which the people in your community produce wealth, how are you going to compel that man to "earn his own support?" The only way yet proposed is that of the Social Democrats, and that is to socialize the means of production.

We have seen enough in the past eight months and heard enough of demagogues called statesmen repudiating what long passed for American ideas, to know that the imperialism of capital would develop the imperialism of the king, if demagogism could have its way. And sooner than lose their blessed privileges to bleed the people, there is no doubt that American capitalists would burden the country with a million armed men—to enforce their regime.

The circulation of THE HERALD is growing at a great rate, exceeding all our expectations; but no member of the organization is doing his full duty in the fight who fails to add to the list the names of personal friends who ought to be reading Socialism. Every comrade has a field to work in, and to work in it he is better qualified than any one else. That field is among his personal friends. Do your duty, comrades, and by your efforts help forward the cause of Democratic Socialism.

They are having a nice monkey and parrot time in the army and the "select" gentlemen of America known as generals, major-generals, commissary-generals, and what-not are covering each other with mud and proving what a recent French writer has said about the army of France that the barracks is a school of intrigue and immorality, and that the honor of few of its officers is above suspicion. It is a moral certainty, proven by experience in all the armed camps of the world, that the larger our army grows the rotter it will become.

Every machine which saves the labor of a man destroys a chance of making a living.

Socialism, by restricting the opportunities of capitalists to own machines, will expand the opportunities of the people to make a living.

The governor of Missouri is besieged by applicants for jobs which have been talked about but not yet created by law. Can't the Missouri legislature get a hustle on itself and provide work for political mendicants?

The manufacturers of England have organized for the purpose of affording each other "mutual assistance" in case of strikes and subscribed to a fund of £35,000 as a starter. Hurrah for International Socialism! "Hip, hip, hooray!"

The old-time craftsman who owned a kit of tools could not be "laid off" or discharged and he could always make a living. He didn't accumulate wealth nor oppress his fellows, because he could not monopolize the means of production; but he did make a living.

Merchants who complain that they can not live as they used to, should try to find out why workmen are in the same fix. If they would do that, they would soon learn how much the prosperity of the merchant class depends upon the prosperity of the working class.

Just as long as the majority of the people believe that this is a free and independent nation, so long will the ruling minority of capitalists and capitalist politicians assist them to keep up the delusion. A contented people, easily bamboozled, too lazy to think, but willing to work, constitutes the pluckers' paradise.

The "imperial" State of Missouri, "boundless" in resources, "marvelous" in enterprise, has a statesman in its legislature who proposes that every county in the State shall purchase a farm and build a county poor house. The criminals in each county are to work on the farm and raise food for themselves and the poor. This item is referred to President McKinley as proof of the "imperial" State's "prosperity."

The average workman is as much of a riddle as the Sphinx. He makes five loaves of bread and gives four away for the chance of making them. He builds houses to see other people live in them. He grows wheat for some other fellow to eat. He builds railroads and takes to the cinder path. Always looking for a chance to do something to make the other fellow comfortable; all he asks is to be left alone in the sublime thought of his "individual liberty."

The Globe-Democrat has made the discovery that the town of Pullman—that wage slave pen built by G. M. Pullman—was "Socialistic." A town where land, buildings, machines, stores, streets, schools, churches, everything was owned by a tyrannical corporation with a conscienceless hypocrite at its head—"Socialistic." A town in which labor was exploited to the point of starvation and profits, in which none of the people shared, were accumulated by millions—"Socialistic." And the sapient G.-D. actually used two columns of space in an attempt to dignify its idiocy with argument. Not the least reprehensible practice of the capitalist press is its constant degrading of language to bolster the tottering system from which its revenues are derived. The G.-D. should be sent to school. Pullman was feudalistic.

"The maintenance of peace does not entirely depend upon governments," declared Comrade Bebel in the German Reichstag the other day. And Bebel is right. Peace depends on justice to the world's workers. This can only be had by the total abolition of capitalist industry. We may cry "Peace, peace!" but there will be no peace while the capitalist class runs the checker board.

The maintenance of such municipal institutions as hospitals upon the present voluntary system, is becoming increasingly more difficult, and the day is fast approaching when general municipal hospitals under collective control will be the order of the day. The present system is breaking down at every point. There is a movement on foot at Edinburgh, Scotland, to establish a municipal hospital for the treatment of consumption as a contagious disease.

Last week attention was called to the new Social Democratic movement in Australia through the Victorian Socialist League, which has adopted the preamble of the S. D. P. This week our "World of Labor" column shows that the representative Social Democrats of Spain, who are readers of THE HERALD, recognize and rejoice over the recent victories of our party. And this is true of the leading Socialists of all the nations of the earth who have learned of the first brilliant campaign of Social Democrats in America.

The economic evolution is dealing very unkindly with President McKinley's declaration that "employment is seeking labor." The other day the St. Louis Post-Dispatch contained a want ad. for a man as shipping clerk. One who applied for the job wrote a letter to the P.-D. to say that by actual count he found 102 besides himself waiting for the chance. The consummation of political contemptibilities is the claim that work hunts men in the face of the fact that every city in the land swarms with men hunting work.

It is seldom that a banker has the courage to stand up in a church meeting and tell the assembled votaries of fashion the truth, that the churches of the rich are "more soulless than soulless corporations." A banker's career is usually devoted solely to "philanthropy and 5 per cent." But that is what Banker J. B. Forgan of Chicago did the other day in a meeting of the Fourth Presbyterian church of that city. The meeting was so "religious" that the moderator, Dr. Herrick Johnson, closed with a prayer that the night's actions might be "shut out from heaven."

Did McKinley have the embezzlement record in mind when he talked about prosperity? Here it is for 1897:

Federal and State	\$ 2,175,832
Municipal	1,418,271
Transportation companies	1,681,692
Benevolent associations	222,351
Savings and loan associations	979,791
Insurance companies	321,069
Banks	1,593,569
Court trust	728,968
Commercial corporations and firms	1,478,918
Miscellaneous	653,159
Total	\$ 11,154,530

Or perhaps he thinks the country is prosperous because the bribes offered by candidates for the United States senate have gone up from \$2,000, in the case of Chauncey M. Depew in 1881, to \$30,000 in the more recent Montana case.

Guy Henry, a private soldier who was in Porto Rico with Gen. Miles, says "the half has not been told" about the "embalmed beef." He asks, and the question is pertinent, "Why don't they put the private soldiers, who ate the rotten beef, on the stand?"

BY THE WAY.

How much individual liberty have you to compete against a trust with a hundred million dollars of capital?

How much individual liberty have you to say how much you shall receive as wages for a day's work?

How much individual liberty have you to engage in the business of manufacturing matches (a small thing) or to sell oil (a natural product)?

How much individual liberty have you to buy back what you produce when your wages amount to only one-fifth of the price that capitalists put upon your product?

How much individual liberty does the small merchant enjoy who must sell at a price fixed by the trusts or go out of business?

How much individual liberty has the small merchant with limited means to compete with the great department store with vast capital?

How much individual liberty have you to conduct an express business in competition with the express companies already organized?

How much individual liberty have you to compete as a shoemaker with great factories filled with machinery and the capacity to turn out in six months all the shoes that all the men, women and children in America can wear out in twelve months?

How much individual liberty is enjoyed by the man who is skillful in any mechanical line of industry, has a family to support, is willing and able to work, but can find nothing to do?

It's a good thing for propaganda, push it along—"Debs on Liberty." Read advertisement on eighth page.

After a prolonged, fierce and costly contest the Havemeyer and Arbuckle interests have been combined. Co-operation will now be their law, but it will be co-operation for skinning the public.

The black man, in the days before the war, did not have to look for a master; that was one advantage he had over the white slaves of capitalism.

The coal barons don't have to pay a thousand dollars each for miners, as the old slave owners did for negroes; if they did, they would not allow them to be shot.

If the managers of railroads had to pay a thousand dollars apiece for brakemen, there wouldn't be so many killed and maimed; the best devices would be adopted to protect the lives that cost a thousand dollars apiece.

The trouble is that men are too cheap. The chattel slave was high-priced compared with the wage slave.

At Washington the other day, E. A. Moseley, secretary of the interstate commerce commission, was a witness before the Federal industrial commission. He cited the difficulty in proving a blacklisting system, explaining that many railroads after the Debs strike had freely given letters of recommendation to former employes, but phrased them so as to notify the sympathizing companies that the recommended men had been blacklisted. He recommended legislation prohibiting the courts from attempting to enforce personal performance of labor contracts by mandatory process, citing an instance from the Ann Arbor road, where Lennon, an engineer, had been fined for refusing to take out his locomotive after the court had ordered him to return to work, the judge having been transported in a private car and issued his injunction in the company's office.

RESIGNED WITH HONOR.

CARL PANKOFF, THE WELL-KNOWN SOCIALIST OF NEW JERSEY, LEAVES THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

JOINS THE PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM.

COMRADE PANKOFF'S STATEMENT.

Let the tongue of calumny say what it will, so long as it does not slay the conscience.—Jefferson.

HAVING tendered my resignation at a regular business meeting of my ward branch of the S. L. P. of Hudson County, N. J., and the same having been received by that body, I feel impelled to apply for membership in the Social Democratic Party and to make the following statement:

Under the heading "Answer" the "People" on Sept. 5, 1897, advanced certain reasons why the S. L. P. can not entertain thoughts of making common cause with the S. D. P. On Sept. 11, 1897, I wrote to the "People" a reply to this answer and confined myself strictly to the objective manner of criticism. As it was the first time in my experience with the S. L. P. that I took occasion to express an opinion contrary to those held by the "prominent" of the party, and therefore had no right to presume that an honest objection from any party member, and especially of one who was always received at headquarters with encouragement and courtesy, would experience such a turn down as I did receive. The article was not published; which prompted me to make a personal statement to the editor. Here it is:

"Editor of the 'People,' Dear Comrade:—Whatever the object of those in control of our official organs may be, and whatever sort of interest might prompt them to so effectually suppress all opposition against party tactics pursued by certain individuals and sections in the party, toward the newly organized Social Democratic Party, the attempt to suppress this justifiable opposition will undoubtedly cause and has caused so far, in not a few quarters, a feeling of contempt for those responsible for that strange conduct. Although it has been openly expressed by party members that it has become a question of bread and butter to some parties, I feel inclined to state, out of due respect to those assailed, that they undoubtedly mean what they say and say what they mean, but I shall also not refrain from openly expressing the belief that those entrusted with the mission of conducting our party organs have abused the trust confided in them, insofar as it was in our party tactically understood that the opinions of the individual as well as of the party majority should at all times be given due opportunity for expression. This has not been done, and the sooner this condemnable malpractice is changed the better for everyone concerned.—C. P."

No reply followed, but the editor took occasion to visit our section meeting and took part in our discussion over resolutions which I had introduced, resolutions condemning the course taken by section New York making it a crime against the party to support or foster the newly organized Socialist party. The national secretary appeared as "second" and called the resolutions "a product of arrogance." Mark! A Socialist is arrogant in the eyes of this bureaucrat because he pleases to differ with his "royal highness." The editor of the "People" explained why he did not publish my articles and did not fail to surpass himself in the "Art" of sophistry.

After this I felt myself justified in using other Socialist papers to express my opinions and give my writings to them exclusively. Owing to my attacks upon the party tactics, the National Executive of the S. L. P. preferred charges against me before Section Hudson, which were DECIDED IN MY FAVOR. The National Board of Appeals was appealed to and it SUSTAINED Section Hudson.

This was too much for the fanatics and a volley of insulting language was opened upon me. They

were determined to get me out of the party by hook or crook. They succeeded in the same manner as they succeeded in similar cases, where men valued the cause higher and thought more of their reputation than to injure both by taking part in "professional" mudslinging for self-satisfaction's sake.

Pardon the expression, for it is true that the highest official of the S. L. P. encourages his "scholars" publicly to use any appellation they may deem "justifiable." There is one discrimination to be made in the use of invectives; this discrimination rests upon a precedent established by the "professor." If a shadow of hope remain to get an individual or paper on their side, the "scholars" are to forbear the use of vile language. But when they are confronted with the point of the sword, as in the case of N. Y. Volkszeitung and "People," even the errors and evils of the famous Henry George campaign are to be cast up to it in a most contemptible manner. See "People" Dec. 31, 1898.

Barely a year ago, the editor of the "People" stated in my presence, when I dared to make use of my much dreaded newspaper clippings, that he knew nothing of it, as he did not then belong to the party. The point I referred to was the lauding of Henry George by the party (not only by N. Y. V. Z.) before the famous Syracuse convention (where the class-conscious workingmen were turned out) as a philosopher and far-seeing economist, but when he showed his true middle-class feathers, he was (after the convention) a modern Rip van Vinkle and was advised to rub his eyes and "learn."

That the editor of the "People" would have joined in the chorus if he had had a chance is to be presumed, as only of late he admits that something is wrong with the S. L. P., questions its "methods" and opens a free discussion upon what he styles "methods." His "subjects" will undoubtedly be very thankful to him for this valuable "grant." Whatever they may now say about myself I can bear with fortitude, because I have begun to pity them as much as I love them as brothers of one cause.

Against all abuses I answered with questions and arguments which are yet to be answered by those who have abused me and others.

1. Who determines the tactics of the party.
2. Is it possible to hold a convention with beneficial results to the movement, if the party do not permit criticisms and the delegates must confine themselves to getting their knowledge and intelligence from a few extemporized speeches?
3. Has the "People," since the formation of a new Socialist party, ever published any article of the opposition to present tactics?
4. Where does the National Executive or an editor of the party derive the power and privilege from to answer such important questions as: "Shall we take a friendly attitude toward a newly organized Socialist party?"
5. Are there official and unofficial opinions in the S. L. P.?
6. If the liberty to express one's opinion include also the liberty to express nonsense, does it exclude the editor of a Socialist paper from expressing nonsense and give him the right to slander, malign and lie about men of principle?

The Social Democratic party passed the age of infancy when it freed itself from the limited co-operative schemes. Every Socialist party has to go through that age and it can deem itself lucky if it come out as well as the S. D. P. came out; it can furthermore be filled with hope for the future, because it has learned by experience that free and unlimited discussion can be but productive of that which it can now pride itself

on being, that is, a Socialist party based upon pure Democracy.

It is never too late to mend; even the "Estiella" cancer of the Socialist Labor Party and the bureaucratic character of its officers, and last but not least its UNDEMOCRATIC constitution.

In conclusion I wish to say, if the purpose of the S. L. P. is to embrace all elements who are too lazy to think for themselves and exclude every one who is "unfortunate" enough to have an opinion of his own, then I was in the wrong place, and to have resigned from such a party can be an honor only, never a disgrace. That I am by nature not as smoothbacked as others, that nature has given me means to defend my opinion, and will power to stand up for it, should be looked upon by every advanced Socialist as a product of circumstances and "natural selection."

I invite gently refutation of any statement here in contained.

CARL PANKOFF.
Jersey City, N. J.

Enacted All Over the Land.

The Rockville (Conn.) Leader describes the morning turn-out of the tramps from the local jail recently. It is a scene that is enacted every morning in ten thousand communities throughout the country. The Leader asks: "When will conditions change?" and THE HERALD replies: "Not until the system which makes tramps is abolished and Socialism takes its place."

"Step this way if you want to see a veritable tramps nest" said the captain yesterday morning, and he led the way to the hotel-de-tramps on Market street. The large door was swung open and out poured air that could be cut with a blunt knife, and smoke so thick that the new chemical cart would have stood no show and the "Midget" smoke protectors would have proven a failure. As soon as the clouds rolled by nearly obscuring the blacksmith shop in the alley way, and frightening several small dogs which were seeking their morning bone, a scene was presented which would be a fit subject for an artist provided it did not give him a fit. There in the little room scarcely 12x20 were 27 tourists hustling themselves together in readiness for another trip. There were those fairly well-dressed, and those with clothes which a rag picker would pass by. Some of the guests had hardly completed their toilet, some were just arising from their downy bed of cement, where they doubtless had sought the softest spot. Occasionally one was fortunate in having for his mattress the election edition of the Times, while another was vindicating his character and seeking calm repose on a copy of the Temperance Banner. As they filed past through the door it was a sight to cause reflection. Why this army of road men? Some were professionals with all of the regular tramp swing. Some showed the effects of dissipation while others were apparently men seeking honest labor. Some carried nothing except on their backs, some had their earthly possessions done up in little rolls, and were apparently happy, while others carried hand bags. Such scenes as these are suggestions that something is wrong in the condition of affairs in this nation. Professional tramps should not be allowed subsistence in our land. We compel the husband to support his family. We should compel a man to earn his own support. Honest laborers should not be obliged to meet on a level with the tramp. When will conditions change?"

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

SOCIAL.—Pertaining to society or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc.

DEMOCRATIC.—Pertaining to Democracy; i. e., Movement by the people * * * in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively, or in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

THE SMITH AND THE KING.

A Smith upon a summer's day
Did call upon a King;
The King exclaimed, "the Queen's
away,
Can I do anything?"

"I pray you can," the Smith replied;
"I want a bit of bread,"
"Why?" cried the King; the fellow sighed:
"I'm hungry, sire," he said.

"Dear me! I'll call my Chancellor,
He understands such things;
Your claims I cannot cancel, or
Deem them fit themes for kings.

"Sir Chancellor, why, I ere's a wretch
Starving—like rats or mice!"
The Chancellor replied, "I'll fetch
The First Lord in a trice."

The First Lord came, and by his look
You might have guessed he'd shirk;
Said he, "Your Majesty's mistook,
This is the Chief Clerk's work."

The Chief Clerk said the case was bad,
But quite beyond his power,
Seeing it was the Steward had
The keys of eake and flour.

The Steward sobbed, "the keys I've lost,
Alas! but in a span
I'll call the Smith. Why, Holy Ghost!
Here is the very man."

"Hurrah! hurrah!" they loudly cried
"How cleverly we've done it!
We've solved this question, deep
and wide,
Well-nigh ere we'd began it."

"Thanks!" said the Smith, "O fools and vile,
Go rot upon the shelf!
The next time I am starving, I'll
Take care to help myself."

—EDWARD CARPENTER.

THE SKY-ENTIFIC ARE UNSCIENTIFIC.

COMRADE EDITOR:—The New York People of Jan. 8, contains an official letter of the thrice national executive committee of the S. L. P., putting its ban and interdict upon one of their "common" members from Massachusetts; Comrade S. E. Putney, because this man dared to suggest peace with the Social Democratic party. The long letter is full of venom and innuendo. It is an assault on humanity and decency. Among other things the Holy High Kokolorums annihilate Comrade James Carey of Haverhill, and conjure his vote in the armory matter. They proceed in the usual S. L. P. manner, borrowed from the Spanish inquisition; they put a "devil's cap" on Carey, surround him with a funeral pile of calumny and billingsgate, tie him to the stake (in the People) and then burn him alive. It is all done in effigy, and we are by this time accustomed to Autodafe.

But while going through the ceremony, the national committee of the S. L. P. parades an ignorance that must be appalling to S. L. P. members who not only believe but also think. For in order to condemn Carey deeper to the pit, S. L. P. moguls decry armories and the militia under all circumstances. They evidently believe that the great revolution which, according to their idea, is to put everybody at their mercy—is to be accomplished by the malicious jibes and lies of the hierarchy of the S. L. P. They foolishly expect that the capitalist class will get frightened by the terrific editorials of the People and voluntarily abdicate or "divy up."

So far the capitalist class, as such, is hardly aware of the existence of the S. L. P. By and by, if the New York Volkszeitung should persist in taking in election advertisements from the republican party and the People should keep on fostering "scab unions"—the capitalists may or may not offer to "divy up" with some of the great men of the "inner circle" of the S. L. P. Such offers may not be accepted. But either way the general condition of the proletariat would not be changed. Yet, this will surely be

the full extent of the voluntary "divy" of the capitalist class. True enough, that even the great majority of Socialists in this country have a perfect abhorrence for the "future state" of the S. L. P., and therefore, that will never come. But the issue is not between the capitalist and the S. L. P.; it is between the capitalists and SOCIALISTS. And the capitalist class will never give up without fight.

The capitalist class will not abdicate any more without being compelled to do so, than did any other ruling class in history—the feudal class for instance, or the slave holding class in our country. Voting alone did not do it in England in 1644, in France in 1789, in America in 1861. And it may well be doubted whether voting alone will do it in our case, no matter how religiously it is done. The only question is, how are the Socialists to go at it?

The Social Democratic party, the only revolutionary party in America—to take the term revolution in its true and historic sense—and the only party in America that has a political and economic democracy for its final aim, has also the right tactics. We use clean weapons, we do not poison the minds of the people, and we do not try to hide the fact that the end of a cycle of evolution is always revolution. The Social Democratic party is, therefore, well qualified to lead the way for the proletariat.

And the Social Democratic party says: Socialism is by necessity international. The United States of America is probably the only country on earth that can ever alone try the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth with success. But before we seize the reins of the national government we must possess the political power in a good many states. And for the purpose of avoiding bloodshed, or at least of greatly lessening it, we will have good use for a strong militia and for well equipped armories in the different states.

All will be done in a "legal" way, of course; by votes of the common council, state and national legislature—with or without the consent of the capitalists and the S. L. P.

A vote will, without doubt, also be taken in Haverhill, Mass., and in William street, N. Y., upon the matter.

The S. L. P. fathers think different. They would burn every Socialist who has an idea of his own at the stake, but they would not vote for the repair of an armory. Never.

Never? Oh well, hardly ever.

But nothing shows up the utter hypocrisy of the holy fathers of the S. L. P. so well as the fact that in the very same number the People gleefully publishes a letter from a "boy in blue" (J. W. Mc F.) in Porto Rico, although he even praises "Trades Unions"—i. e. in Porto Rico. Now the said "boy in blue" went there for the subjugation of a peaceable people and for the "expansion" of capitalist exploitation. He went to the army of his own accord. He is now serving voluntarily as a Jack Ketch of capitalism. Nevertheless he is considered "all right" by the People's editor because he is supposed to be an obedient son of the infallible S. L. P. church of New York. But Comrade Carey, who voted for the rebuilding of an armory which was condemned as unsanitary and therefore dangerous to the community—for the rebuildig of an armory that, the gods know, fifteen years from now may contain a company made up of Haverhill Social Democrats under the command of a Social Democratic governor of Massachusetts and at the disposal of a Social Democratic mayor of Haverhill, ready for action against rebel capitalists and their hired squads of Pinkertons—this Carey has committed "treason" and is a "traitor" according to the pious Lord High Executioners of the S. L. P. Yet it has become an honor among decent men and true Socialists to be vilified by the dastardly gang that has made their initials S. L. P. stand for "Scurrilous Lying Party." And as an honor we record Comrade Carey's epithet here.—"ONE OF THE BERGER SCHOOL OF FIGHTERS" Milwaukee, Wis.

A NOVEL CAMPAIGN.

A Workingman's Ingenious Method of Carrying on a Propaganda.

Eugene Rooney, who ran for insurance commissioner on the Social Democratic ticket in Wisconsin, is employed in a machine shop and never misses a chance to bring the glad tidings of Socialism to his shop-mates. During the campaign he used an ingenious method of carrying on propaganda among the workmen. This consisted of what might be called travelling speeches. During his evenings when the inspiration overtook him he would write out his speeches and then start them on the rounds next day. The plan was quite effective and to give a better idea of it we herewith reproduce one of them in part, minus the pictorial embellishments however.

(Picture of freight car.)
This is the way the capitalist without capital rides when he moves from place to place.

(Picture of railway palace car ticket.)
This is what the worker should have, if he had his just reward.

(Picture of railway water tank.)
This is a picture of the place where some of the patched up defenders of capitalism sometimes register with their jack-knives.

(Picture of a people's palace.)
In the coming social order nothing will be to good for those who produce all wealth.

(Picture of lodge men making signs.)
No need to belong to the master class' lodge or church to make a living then—equality of opportunity will give all the chance to work and live.

(Picture of ignorant looking man.)
This represents a man who lived in the year 1498, about 400 years ago. He believed the world was flat, but that is not surprising when you consider that men who walk about to-day have a flat-world idea of capital—that it came down from heaven or some other sacred place. They do not understand that capital is but the UNPAID LABOR of the laborers of the past; your fathers, grandfathers, etc.

(Picture of snake.)
This is a snake. It does not look like a pattern maker, but it is somewhat like him when he crawls on his belly begging for a job.

(Picture of county poor house.)
This may be the haven of rest for many of those who have worked and toiled all their lives—nobles of men! who scorned to gather wealth. The Prospect avenues of the world contain the palaces of those who have never done a day of socially useful work in all their lives.

(Picture of three watch dials, with figures 10 and 14 between them.)
This is not a watchmaker's ad, but just a way of showing the hours of labor of those lucky enough to have work.

(Picture of cans with strings attached.)
This is a collection of cans, for use when work gets slack. To be applied externally. (When men see their jobs, they say they have been 'canned.—Ed.)

(Picture of bottles of whiskey, morphine and opium.)
The use of these drugs will be largely discontinued when there is no profit in them. No army of moonmen to encourage these habits.

(Picture of despairing old age of the present and dignified old age under the future order.)
(Picture of man in his private library.)

This is a worker of the future. The few hours of socially useful labor required leaves him sufficient leisure to be a scientist, a statesman, a painter, or a writer, or an hundred avenues of intellectual employment.

(Picture of little girl in tin pail brigade on her way to the knitting works.)
This little girl is going to work. She walks. The weakest worker gets the hardest conditions. No street cars for the poorest paid.

(Picture of diminutive boy.)
This is a little boy of ten hopping off to work in a tinware factory at \$1.50 per week. Of course there is no waste here! A mind capable of lightening the world doomed to a life of drudgery!!!

(Picture of ballot box.)
This is a picture of a ballot box where many votes will be thrown away by the workers in voting for the old tried parties, the dems, reps and pops. But some will count—those for the Social Democratic party—a party which will rid the world of sin, vice, crime, prostitution, beggary, misery and want.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES

NAM AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at _____, County of _____, shall be known as Local Branch No. _____ of the Social Democratic Party of America and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

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

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

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

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

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

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

DUES AND FEES.

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

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

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

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

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

Sec. 13. The officers of the board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

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

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

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

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

JURISDICTION.

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

ELECTIONS.

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

BY-LAWS.

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

TRIALS.

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

APPEALS.

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

AMENDMENTS.

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

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

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

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 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.

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.

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 indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"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—

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

JESSE COX, CHAIRMAN. SEYMOUR STEDMAN, SECRETARY.
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER, FREDERIC HEATH.

National Secretary-Treasurer--THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
EDITOR--A. S. EDWARDS.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, JAN. 21, 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

Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898.

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

Vote Nov. 8, 1898...12,000

"E. V. Debs & Co., Publishers, Terre Haute, Ind., U. S. A."

This is an address that may be expected to go to the forefront among the few business enterprises of the world devoted to the promulgation of economic truth and the realization of a larger and nobler life. Comrade Eugene Debs is to undertake the publication of a monthly magazine, concerning which particulars will be given later in this paper.

It is a happy joining together, of the man who enjoys the twofold felicity of being loved by the plundered poor and hated by the predatory rich, with the opportunity which service and sacrifice, heart-knowledge and brain-power in a high degree fit him to improve for the benefit of mankind.

A daily newspaper says that during 1899 there is no great political event scheduled, "therefore the track is clear for an unprecedented boom in business." Yes; we have all heard that every year for a dozen years, but the "boom" somehow never came. There have been spasms, but no booms; there have been frantic attempts to promote booms, but no boom. The good old-fashioned American boom is a thing of the past. Your real, able-bodied, healthy boom depended on opportunities for individual enterprise. There'll be no more. Booms have busted; in their place we have department stores, manufacturers' syndicates, "gentlemen's agreements" and trusts. By-bye, boom! Welcome trusts! Hurrah for Socialism!

SOCIALISM IN HAVERHILL.

Under the above title the N. Y. Times criticizes the plans of the mayor of Haverhill. This prototype of American journals, is worrying itself over a possible overtaxation of the citizens of Haverhill. It claims that, if Mayor Chase carries out his intentions, the citizens of Haverhill and especially the poor working class of that city "will have to bear the heaviest burden of increased taxation, because they are taxed indirectly!" Does the Times remember when it lauded Senator Edmunds for so gallantly fighting the income tax plank? When this "Honorable" representative fell into ecstasy over the "salutary results of the income tax decision" and almost ridiculed what he styled "Mere" majorities in Congress? Is it the intention of the Times to make an effort to stem the tide of Socialism by coming out for some such palliative measure as the income tax?

The Times may rest assured that the working class of this country

is fast becoming too intelligent to engage in the mugwumperies of an old-time mugwump sheet. Nay! The conditions the mayor and aldermen of Haverhill are confronted with are the ills and evils wrought by capitalism; the theory, that of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht and others, modern Socialism. A municipality like Haverhill can introduce Socialism but gradually; and in the near future shall give the Times and its like, enough cause for their natural squeamishness.

Of the mayor of Haverhill, the unjust and malicious expect wonders.

If he but succeed in administering first of all, contrary to the principle of the "great statesman and general, who held the secretaryship of war under the Polk Administration and which principle has been put in practice almost exclusively by the politicians of this country ever since, and that in a most shameless manner, the citizens of Haverhill will be more than gratified to have an administration which looks with contempt upon General Marcy and his principle "To the victors belong the spoils."

Neither the Haverhill mayoralty nor the Social Democratic party are the end, they are only a means to certain ends and a partial success is a tendency toward these ends.

CARL PANKOPF.

What is Wealth?

Wealth is a product of society and may be applied to everything that supplies mankind with comfort and enjoyment. Labor usefully employed upon natural resources produces wealth. But all labor does not produce wealth. If 10,000 men were to dig holes one day and then fill them up the next, such labor would not produce wealth. But to cultivate the land, to make hats, shoes, to educate the youth, etc., is useful labor and produces what is economically known as wealth.

F. G. R. GORDON.

Greater New York.

NOTICE.

A conference of delegates of the Greater New York branches of the Social Democratic Party of America is hereby called to meet at 209 East Broadway on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 29th, 1899, at 3 o'clock. The object of the conference will be to consider the advisability of forming a permanent City Central Committee for Greater New York and also of engaging a permanent Organizer for Greater New York and vicinity. Branches will be entitled to send delegates and a full representation is urgently requested. By order of temporary committee. WILLIAM MAILLY, Temporary Organizer.

East Side Branch, New York City, at its last meeting took in three new members. Secretary A. Guyer reports that a committee was appointed to put THE HERALD on sale at news stands wherever possible; also a committee to confer with Comrade Wm. Maily, now residing at Jersey City, on the acceptance of organizer's commission. A committee from the West Side branch reported on contribution of \$10 toward the organizers' fund. The East Side branch vote on the constitution has been forwarded to the National Secretary.

The St. Louis 10th ward branch added three members to its roll at its last meeting, Jan. 8th.



WE saw in what I had to say about the right of property, that Socialism proposes AN EXPANSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PROPERTY; that it really lays its emphasis upon the universal right of property; and that while it does respect the right as no other system does or can, its denial of property rights is of private property in the indispensable resources of nature and the instruments of production and distribution.

I hope that my friend clearly understands both phases of the principle of property is held by Social Democrats—its affirmative no less than its negative phase. For, as I have already intimated, unless this is clear to his mind, he cannot understand Socialism.

Let me put it in another form: Given a living human being, doing his share in the production of social wealth, such a being is entitled to his share in the distribution of that wealth. A man lives and works; therefore, his title to participate in and enjoy the results of his labor is unassailable. The fact that he lives, supplemented by the fact that he works, constitutes his right and title to property.

But his right and title cannot extend to the infringement of another's equal right and title; it cannot extend to the individual appropriation and monopolization of the means of satisfying human wants; with the power to control the means of production, he has the power to deprive others of the opportunity to live. Property in the joint product to which he contributes skill and strength is indefeasible; but private property in the unconscious elements which are essential to the lives of all cannot be allowed, for wherever such private monopolization exists, injustice is done because the workers are defrauded and the right to life and property is curtailed and threatened.

It is thus seen that Socialism in demanding ownership by all the people of the means of production and distribution, makes the strongest declaration possible in favor of the principle of property, that its method would insure property to all.

My friend will not, I am sure fail to see that what he regards as the only obstacle in the way of him becoming a Socialist, really constitutes the strongest objection to the present system of capitalist production.

It is this way: Property and especially private property in the instruments of production, is now used as a source of private income, and this in itself necessarily creates the economic inequalities which are so palpable all about us and subjects millions of the industrious working class to privation and misery.

In other words, it is not Socialism that does not respect the right of private property, but rather THE EXISTING CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION. And right here let me say that no cause that ever challenged the attention of men has had a basis of facts to rest upon so solid as the capitalist system itself furnishes for Socialism.

The present system, I say, not only disregards the right of private property, but actually destroys it, and this statement is fully verified and demonstrated by the authoritative publications of all the governments of the world where the capitalist system holds sway. Take the United States for an example and what do government reports prove:

First—That 9 per cent. of the population own 71 per cent. of the wealth.

Second—That 91 per cent. of the population own 29 per cent. of the wealth.

More than that, 52 per cent. of our population own but 5 per cent. of the wealth, and that 52 per cent. includes the very class which has

produced property—the class which private capitalism has organized into phalanxes of industry and used to mine the resources of a continent and shape them into forms of beauty and utility, the class which has by labor created enormous wealth, the class which has been forced to give up its labor power for what it could eat and wear, the class which has been stripped of the right to property by the transformation of its individual tools into social machines privately owned and operated by a constantly diminishing small class of capitalists.

I take it for granted that my friend agrees with me that useful labor of hand and of brain produces what in economics we call wealth. Nor will he dissent from the proposition, I think, that the facilities of modern production are equal to the making of an abundance for all. For example: The shoes for the nation are made in about 1,400 factories by the labor of about 150,000 employees. These factories are packed with modern machinery which—with a machine tender, not a shoemaker—will make a pair of ladies' shoes in 13 minutes.

Now, these machines are part of the means of production of society; but they are owned and used, and with them human labor is exploited, for private profit, and the system degrades and impoverishes and enslaves labor; it makes the few rich and condemns many to hopeless, life-long poverty.

But the water in the Mississippi cannot flow back to its source, neither can we return to making shoes or anything else by hand.

The capitalist system is pushing us forward to the public ownership of machines, to the universal application of the principle of property, and the recognition of the right of every useful man to be usefully employed on terms of equality as to natural environment and social opportunity with all other men.

Under such an adjustment of property rights and industrial relations as Socialism proposes, I am unable to see why my friend and I will not have his own clothes, his own beefsteak, his own books, his own pictures, his own home and his own pleasures. We will guarantee these things to each other, because LAND and CAPITAL will be, not his or mine, but OURS.

—SEVENOAKS.

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 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.

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.

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

SOCIALISM IN MASSACHUSETTS.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

BOSTON, JAN. 8, 1899.

TO THE COMRADES:—The record of our first week in the Massachusetts House of Representatives must of necessity be brief and uninteresting. It is as follows:

Convened at 11 A. M., January 4. Called to order by the oldest member, who appointed a committee to wait upon the Secretary of the Commonwealth and receive certificates of election.

Carey was appointed on said committee. This was followed by the appointment of other committees—all unimportant.

The organization of the House was completed by the selection of a Speaker, Clerk, Chaplain and Sergeant-at-Arms.

There was but one candidate for Speaker. We did not vote. We voted for the Clerk, Chaplain and Sergeant-at-Arms, who were elected, there being no contest in either case. Adjourned.

Thursday, Jan. 5, was spent in listening to the Governor's address and other routine work, after which the House adjourned until Monday, Jan. 9. Fraternally,

LOUIS M. SCATES,
JAMES F. CAREY.

Debs in the Lecture Field.

After a few days' rest, Eugene V. Debs again resumed his lecture engagements last night at Greencastle, Ind. On the 31st inst. he speaks at Ann Arbor, Mich., under the auspices of Ann Arbor University. Following are the dates so far as we can report at this time:

Greencastle, Ind.	January 20
Elmwood, Ind.	" 21
Erie, Pa.	" 23
Brazil, Ind.	" 26
Logansport, Ind.	" 30
Ann Arbor, Mich.	" 31
Lansing, Mich.	February 1
New York, N. Y.	March 21

PRESS NOTICES.

Western Labor, Omaha: "Ordinarily Omaha is not a good lecture town, but just the same what may be called a large audience went to Boyd's theater Thursday evening and listened attentively to the best orator in the reform movement in America—Eugene V. Debs. He is also the most loved labor agitator in the country; and again, he is the only labor agitator in America that the big railroad corporations have to fear. Nearly half the audience were business and professional men, among the latter being both Rosewater and Hitchcock. A great many people remarked how nearly like Bob Ingersoll was the oratory of Debs. It was a great lecture and we are only sorry that that we cannot print it in full.

Farmers' Tribune, Des Moines: "He is a man of a high order of intellect and no man who has met or heard him speak can for one moment doubt his honesty and sincerity of purpose. He is to the laborers what Luther was to the Protestant religion, Wendell Phillips was to the cause of freedom. His name will go down in history as one of the men who loved freedom better than glory."

Des Moines Daily News: "Eugene Debs as a writer is most courageous, is versatile and warm in all he his letters and documents. As a speaker he is fluent, cogent and persuasive, a man who compels attention from those who think, whether they coincide with his views or not. That is why he is drawing such immense crowds throughout the east and west."

Chicago Journal: "Mr. Debs is one of the greatest abused and misunderstood men in the United States today. To listen to his lecture is a treat."

Boston Daily Press: "Mr. Debs is at present delivering a series of lectures here at which thousands of our best citizens are attending and none come away disappointed."

Columbus (Ohio) Press: "Mr. Debs is one of the most powerful orators it has been our pleasure to listen to."

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

Among the Branches.

Branch Meetings.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 50¢ per month.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Martin Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thos. Kirwin, Secretary.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichweh's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis, J. Korn, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesday at Concordia Turner H. H. and Third Arsenal streets. Leonard Stoll, Secretary, 1844 Menard st.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in O'Brien's Hall, 65 York streets, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday at 614 State street Jacob Hunger, Secretary, 602 Chestnut street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of the month at Volkman's Hall, corner Twenty-first and Centre streets at 8 p. m. Edward Koepfer, Secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Monday at 8 p. m. sharp at 61 State street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 754 south Third street, Philadelphia, at 7.30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

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

Branch No. 2, New York (Eighth Assembly District) meets every Tuesday evening at 100 Orchard st., Room 17, at 8 p. m. Louis Bersky, chairman; Jacob Leibovitz, 152 Forsyth st., secretary.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 P. M., Funk hall, 24th and Josephine sts. President W. Eben, 244 Addison st.; Secretary, J. H. Davis, 218 Jane st.

East side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets first and third Thursday of each month at 209 E. Broadway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street, Secretary.

Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 P. M. in Cutters Hall, Clark's block, corner Main and Centre streets. Every member is expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 352 West Elm street, secretary.

Branches and sympathizers in Greater New York and vicinity wishing to secure the services of an organizer for the purpose of organizing new branches of the Social Democratic Party will address communications to William Maily, in care of Vorwaerts, 32 Suffolk str., New York City.

The comrades in Greater New York are getting to work in earnest to propagate the principles of Socialism and to thoroughly organize the metropolis into the Social Democratic Party of America. Comrade William Maily, late of Nashville, Tenn., has been engaged as temporary organizer and a conference of delegates is called to meet on Sunday, January 29th, to consider the formation of a City Central Committee and the engagement of a permanent organizer. It goes without saying that the conference will be a success and every branch should see that they are represented by their most efficient members. Look out, Haverhill!

Comrade S. Mackler reports that the Jewish branch of Philadelphia elected Comrades Bichovsky and Lillis as delegates to the convention of Social Democrats to be held at New York City, and that the Philadelphia unionists of Philadelphia are in practical sympathy with the movement.

A very effective circular on the purposes of Social Democracy, written by Comrade C. M. Davis, has been issued under the auspices of the Colorado Branch No. 1 at Denver.

Linton, Ind.

Comrade William Blakely having kindly consented to allow us to use his house for the purpose, we will hold a meeting there at 7 P. M., Tuesday, Jan. 24th. Remember the place, Wm. Blakely's house, near the ball park, and don't allow anything to keep you away. But let each member bring at least one friend with him, save your HERALD, and when done reading hand it to some friend.

And how a word to those comrades who want to change the name of the party and increase the cost of membership. Either of these steps in my opinion would be dis-

astrous to the growth of the party, for the present name is all we need and has been well advertised by the victories in Massachusetts and the rapid spread of the party in other states. To change the name now would be to call a halt in the onward march of the party. As for increasing the cost of membership it would be suicidal, as men have been so accustomed to getting money from the old parties, it is quite a strain on them to pay even a little money toward building up a poor man's party. So do not put the bars any higher and if your national officers could struggle along and make both ends meet when the party was weak in numbers, surely they can get along now when popular feeling is looking our way and our membership rapidly increasing. For my part, I think that it would be the part of wisdom to reduce rather than to raise the cost of membership, and I would suggest that the twenty-five cent initiation fee be wiped out and charge only the 25c. a quarter, pure and simple. The twenty-five cents is not much and men will not balk at it but fifty cents all at once, well, it looks mighty big in some men's eyes; and remember, comrades, we can do nothing of ourselves, it is those new members that we want more than money. Then by all means lower the bars as soon as possible.

Linton, Ind.

DAN.

Lively in Baltimore.

A joint meeting was held at 1105 E. Baltimore st., last Tuesday night for the purpose of discussing the advisability of putting up candidates for the municipal elections.

Addresses were made by Comrades Backmann and Toole in such a logical and encouraging manner that upon taking a vote it was unanimously decided to go into the political field next spring.

The following comrades were nominated for respective offices: Chas. Backmann, a lawyer, for mayor, Elias B. Jacobson, jeweler, for president; of second branch city council; E. H. Wentzel, shoe-maker, for comptroller; John J. Carter, for sheriff.

The enthusiasm was so great that a collection was made for the campaign fund; \$44 were contributed by the members present, and several new men have joined our organization.

We have good reasons to predict that a good vote will be polled at the next election, because our members show great devotion and willingness to do all in their power, to make known the Socialistic doctrines to the people of Baltimore. It is also an established fact that the working people of this city are beginning to realize the necessity of having a party that should represent their interests.

Our Comrades in Haverhill have brought new life into the movement and let us hope that workingmen of other cities will follow their example, so we may hear of some more Socialists elected in different parts of the country.

H. GAMSE,
Campaign Sec.

Boston's Big Meeting.

Saturday evening, Jan. 14, our big mass meeting was held in the old public library building, at which over a thousand people were present. No one could fail to be struck with the appearance of superior ability presented by the semi-circle of representative Social Democrats on the platform. The Boston Post said: "On the platform were seated C. S. Beals, Alexander Hayman, Representative James F. Carey, Newman W. Wason, W. P. Porter, Mayor John C. Chase, Representative L. M. Scates, F. G. R. Gordon, A. W. Barr, Councilman J. Bellefeuille. They might have passed for eleven theological students; youth and study had their lines marked on each counte-

nance that all who saw might read." Of the audience it said: "There was nothing of the 'crankiness' popularly attributed to Socialism's devotees therein, nor in word nor action during the evening on the part of either speaker or listeners." W. P. Porter presided with great tact as chairman. F. G. R. Gordon's speech abounded with dry humor and caustic characterizations of the capitalist parties and their methods. "The first Socialist representative" received a perfect ovation when he rose to his feet. After standing it for several minutes, with that inimitable smile of his that baffled description, he said indulgently: "Keep it up, if you like it. Go ahead and enjoy yourselves;" and then he got three cheers. His speech was thoughtful, scientific and logical, and was listened to attentively. Another ovation and more cheers greeted the first Socialist mayor, who briefly sketched the history of the movement in Haverhill and the causes that led up to the Socialist success, and, in closing, paid his respects to Mayor Quincy's "Socialism." He congratulated him on what he had accomplished in the way of public baths, gymnasiums, concerts, lectures etc., but said that unless he believed in collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution, and their operation for the good of the whole people, he could not call himself a Socialist. The management of the meeting was all that could be desired, and the whole affair went off without a hitch.

MARGARET HAILE.

Jottings from Sheboygan.

Comrade Editor:—It is so very seldom that you hear from Sheboygan, and as this is the week in which the employers count their riches, or more properly speaking, take stock to see how much they have made in the past year by the sweat of their employees' brows, and as the workingman must take his much needed rest, being myself one of these lucky ones, something comes to my mind that some of us tried to do at the convention of the State F. of L. held at La-Crosse in June, '98.

We tried to do almost the same as the members of the S. D. P. who represented the different Labor unions of the A. F. of L. did, only we tried for the adoption of the S. D. P. platform.

We only tried, but we knocked to pieces a clause in the constitution that made the S. F. of L. a part and parcel of the so-called people's party and we thought we had gained quite a victory. The people's party is the party of fusion and spoils. Spoils is the only principle they have left. If they can bulldoze a party into submission as they did in Milwaukee at the last spring election, by guaranteeing them 15,000 votes, to receive in return one of the best offices in the gift of the voters, they then believe they have done "the thing" for the poor workingmen.

I think the move of the members of our party at the convention of the A. F. of L. was a good one and I am sorry that they did not succeed in inducing the other delegates to adopt Comrade Tobin's resolution.

We in Sheboygan did not do as well in the fall election as we expected to do; there was a falling of votes. Last spring we did well, electing two aldermen on the S. D. P. ticket. Next spring we will redeem ourselves. I don't think we will do quite as well as Haverhill, but we will make both parties think an avalanche struck them.

We are going to put up a full ticket and will elect some, but under the name of the Social Democratic party. Do not change the name. I believe with Stedman: "Because the greatest Socialistic party by its repeated elections and by its world-wide reputation is constantly advertising the name we bear."

This name ought to be good enough for every one. If we change our name again the voters of our burg would say, "you fellows only change the name for the offices you are after." The name is good enough for us in Wisconsin.

AUGUST MOHR.

Sheboygan, Wis.

CONNECTICUT CONVENTION.

State Union of the S. D. P. Organized -- Will Wake up the State.

Connecticut is waking up. The incessant and persistent propaganda carried on by a few devoted Socialists, the big mass meetings addressed by Eugene V. Debs and others are beginning to bear fruit. Last Sunday witnessed an event which, though it may appear unimportant to the casual observer will be a very important factor in the future history of our state. A permanent state organization of the Social Democratic Party was born and we are now getting ready to give battle to the forces of capitalism. A state convention was held Sunday, Dec. 25, in Hartford at the Central Labor Union Hall. It was opened with an inspiring address by Comrade Louis Miller of New York, who came here to deliver a lecture to our Jewish fellow citizens. The following branches were represented by the following delegates: Branch 1, Hartford, A. Feldman and N. Feinsilber; Branch 2, Hartford, J. W. Brown and B. Holman; Branch Rockville, Louis Schlaff and Otto Powel; Branch New Haven, Cornelius Mahony.

Besides the delegates we had as guests Comrades D. L. Thomas, Chas. W. Eaton and Geo. A. Sweetland of Bristol, and a number of comrades and friends of Hartford.

Ch. W. Eaton of Bristol, although not a delegate, was chosen chairman and B. Holman, Sec. A proposition was made and accepted that every comrade present shall have a right to speak and make propositions on any subject that the convention may take up for discussion, and the right to vote shall be reserved to delegates only. Next a proposition was accepted that the delegates form a state committee pro tem. As officers of the same the following comrades were elected: Louis Schlaff, Chairman; A. Feldman, Sec; B. Holman, Treasurer. As the seat of the state committee Hartford was chosen. As to the composition of the committee it was decided that every branch in the state may be represented either by one delegate or by a proxy. A contribution of 5 cents a month was levied upon each member of the party in the state towards a fund for the state committee. As soon as the committee is established the branches will co-operate with it in placing an organizer in the field throughout the state. State conventions will be held in election years, the first Sunday of June.

After a few propositions of minor importance had been discussed and acted upon the chairman Comrade Ch. W. Eaton wound up the convention with a very inspiring speech.

B. HOLMAN, Sec. pro tem.

ST. LOUIS CONVENTION.

The Social Democratic Party of St. Louis held its nominating convention at Walthalla Hall, January 15th. Comrade Albert E. Sanderson was chosen temporary chairman, and Comrade J. C. Wibel, temporary secretary. After a short address by the chairman, the temporary officers were made permanent and the report of the committee on municipal platform, elected by general meeting of the Branches, Dec. 18th, 1898, was made, and after discussion and amendment the convention adopted the following:

MUNICIPAL PLATFORM.

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

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of St. Louis declares its objects 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, to be administered by organized society in the interests of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

While we recognize that it is not in the power of the municipality to restore to the people all of their rights, we are fully conscious that the municipality can and should place at the disposal of the people and of civilization every power that it possesses, to the end that no further injustice be done, that mankind may be permitted to continue to progress to a greater and nobler life; and, therefore we demand:

1. The acquisition, by municipality, of the public utilities, such as street railways, gas and electric light plants, and all other utilities requiring a franchise, the same to be operated under strict civil service rules.

2. The abolition of the contract system on all public works.

3. The eight-hour work day on all municipal work, with a minimum wage of \$2.00 per day.

4. That the full powers of the municipality be exercised for the relief of the unemployed, not by charity, but by the establishment of public work for their employment.

5. That the burden of taxation be distributed in exact proportion to the holdings of each citizen.

6. The municipality shall furnish meals and clothing to children of school age, when necessary to enable them to attend school.

7. The city shall establish and maintain public lodging houses with all the modern improvements, instead of using the police stations as resting places for the homeless poor.

The attention of the people having been called by the public press to the miserable, inadequate facilities at the city hospital, showing the need of immediate improvement, therefore we demand in the name of humanity:

8. The construction of suitable hospital buildings, with the best modern improvements and appliances.

9. We demand, workshop and factory inspection for the health and safety of the employes.

10. We demand, in the interests of the public welfare, a rigid system of food, milk and dairy inspection.

11. We demand that the municipal legislature make the necessary appropriation to carry out the ordinance passed by it in 1892, for the establishment and maintenance of public bath houses.

12. We favor the erection of a suitable building for our Public Library.

13. We demand the adoption of the principles of the initiative and referendum, and proportional representation.

14. We demand that all officers be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

15. We demand that the city charter be so amended that no property qualification shall be required for the holding of any public office.

16. We condemn the employment of children under 14 years of age in store, factory or workshop.

The convention was then addressed by Comrade Anna F. Smith on the duty of the Socialists in the coming campaign.

There were fourteen nominations for the six candidates for the municipal council. The balloting resulted in the election of Comrades Charles F. Gebelein, Albert E. Sanderson, Jacob L. Franz, Charles F. Bechtold, G. A. Hoehn and Charles Specht.

There were ten nominations for the four members of the school board. The balloting resulted in the selection of Comrades Anna F. Smith, Charles F. Meier, E. Val. Putnam and Henry P. Nelson.

Concerning 28 candidates for the House of Delegates, to be nominated by the 28 Wards, the convention decided that, in event that any Ward fails to nominate a candidate and notify the City Central Committee thereof before the 15th of February, the City Central Committee should be empowered to nominate a candidate. The convention was well attended and the comrades evidenced considerable enthusiasm.

J. C. WIBEL,
Secretary.

GRANT ALLEN ON GUARD.

Pierces the Armor of Auberon Herbert, Champion of the Individualists.

The fight between the Individualists and the Socialists in the reviews and magazines in England has about died out, principally because the latter achieved so many victories in those wordy encounters that the game became almost tiresome. The Individualists themselves grew more and more cautious, but even yet one occasionally shows his head, and when he does there is always a man worthy of his steel ready for him. The latest Individualist to rashly enter the lists is the Hon. Auberon Herbert, and men like Grant Allen, the scientist and writer, and J. A. Hobson, the distinguished author of "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," have been dancing all around him. The following extract is from an answer to Herbert by Prof. Allen, which appeared not long ago in The Humanitarian, under the caption: "Strike, but Hear Me." He says: I feel a natural reluctance in answering Mr. Auberon Herbert, he is so courteous an opponent, so free from the pettiness of common political dispute, that it grieves me to find I must take up the cudgels in my own defense. He has unintentionally misrepresented me. Let me give an humorous parallel that will exactly suggest my point of view on the matter. A Jewish friend of mine once told me of a conclusive argument against Judaism addressed to him by an Italian. "How civilized men like you Jews can bring yourselves to worship so filthy a beast as the pig," he said, "passes my comprehension." Well, that is precisely what Mr. Herbert says to me. He attacks not me, but a certain windmill. "How a man of your intelligence," he remarks, in effect, "can bring himself to believe in a number of things"—all of which are the exact opposite of what I do believe in—is, to me, inexplicable.

I do not want to place men under an autocratic ruler of any sort; and what can be meant by "an autocratic ruler of Socialistic tendencies." I can no more conceive than I can conceive what is meant by a democratic oligarchy, or by universal suffrage limited to a few select persons. Socialism means absolute personal freedom. I do not want to do anything that would make men unprogressive, unadapted, shiftless, weaklings. I do not want to limit natural selections. On the contrary, I want to let natural selection have a fair field and no favor; to sweep the artificial restrictions which now preserve and beget a race of weaklings and imbeciles; to give the progressive and resourceful the freest possible play for their faculties; and to substitute for the legislative muddling of the plutocrat, independent co-operation on the part of all capable citizens.

Mr. Herbert takes it for granted that I am opposed to a man's ownership of individual property. I am not; and I never met any Socialist who was. I hold, and I have always held, that the only basis for a civilized community is a sound determination on the part of every individual to protect his own person and limbs, and the product of his own labor. I believe more profoundly in the right of private property than any person I ever met. I object to aggression on my property; because I object, I am an individualist, or in other words a Socialist.

The fact is, Mr. Herbert, like most people who imagine themselves enemies of Socialism, candid and honest as he is, has never taken the trouble to find out what Socialists really think. Knowledge of natural selection in animal life has led me to believe that free natural selection in human communities would be better than the coercion and restriction which Mr. Herbert at heart believes in almost as much as anybody else, since he does not realize that the results of injustice of other ages must be swept away by free citizens, just as must the aggressions of living majorities. I am against the rule of any majority, dead or living; I am for the free banding together of the free, to resist invasions of their equal free-

dom. No government, but a voluntary co-operation of all the workers; and let the drones starve if they will not feed themselves.

In the first place—though this is a little matter—he seems to believe that I have lately "joined" the Socialist cause. This is a mistake. I was born a Socialist. I remember that when I was four or five years old how I saw two tenants come to pay their rent. I had seen them working in the fields and I knew that they had raised the harvest; and I asked for an explanation. The theory of rent (not Ricardo's) was promptly explained to me. I thought it at the time an obvious injustice, and I never ceased to think it so. The land is all men's. If, therefore, as Mr. Herbert fears, Socialism is "bound to spoil me," it has already had at least fifty years in which to spoil me in. I have never been anything in my life but a Socialist. Mr. Herbert says Socialism seeks "to turn a free world into an artificial preserve;" it "rests on compulsion," it "shrinks from competition." I would not subscribe to any one of these doctrines. If there are Socialists like that I have never met them. It is certainly not my desire to "take from every individual of the human family his rights of acquiring and enjoying property." I am the champion of those rights to the fullest degree. Nor do I wish to deprive him of "his rights to possess the separate home, his rights to use his faculties for his own advantage, his rights to regulate his own life in his own fashion." On the contrary, those are just what I mean by Socialism. Indeed, I have a strong suspicion that Mr. Herbert is himself a Socialist, a Socialist without knowing it. With one fatal reservation in favor of despotism, however; for I infer that he believes in the existing distribution of landed property.

Now that distribution is simply a piece of despotism. It is an aggression on the rights of living people. It depends upon the way some former king or other chose to give away the land of England to people who did not deserve it.

Socialism, whenever it comes, will come by the slow and natural development of a large body of individualists, determined to fight for their own and rights of others. I am an evolutionist, and the body of Socialists with which I am associated, the Fabians, are all evolutionists in their methods and aims. But they do not believe, like Mr. Herbert, that you can do nothing to better nature. They do not stand by idle till the field produces corn or grapes of itself; they have observed that by planting, watering, tilling, pruning, manuring, you can make crops grow of the kind you want better than nature grows them. Nature's methods are not all of them quite good enough for the Socialist or the agriculturist.

I gather, too, from the external evidence, that Mr. Herbert is not a student of Mr. Herbert Spencer. I know, of course, that he is an admirer and disciple, but he does not let his admiration for the master carry him away to the point of reading him. If he did he would have learned that "the character of the units determines the character of the aggregate." Now Socialism will triumph wherever a large number of people are essentially like the existing Socialists. Does Mr. Herbert think that an aggregate composed of units such as William Morris, Bernard Shaw, Edward Carpenter, Sidney Webb and myself, for instance, will be distinguished by unprogressiveness, shiftlessness, resourcelessness, feebleness, and a general readiness to yield to any attack either of nature or of our fellow men? No, we will all fight while we live; and as soon as other men develop the same spirit of fighting for the rights of all, the same determination to resist aggression, on whomever attempted, then Socialism will be possible. But it will imply of course, a far higher moral tone that at present exists; for it will imply that each citizen resents a wrong done another as strongly as he resents a wrong done to himself. Socialism is not, as Mr. Herbert thinks, a "great state machine." It is essentially a temperament.

Truly we men are a strange patchwork of inconsistency. We see that voluntary co-operation has produced the highest results in the animal world; yet we denounce it as artificial when it is advocated or tried in the human world. We believe in free action and the highest possible development of the individual by his own effort; yet we stand in the way of those who would untie his hands and teach him by gradual steps the way to use them.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In his work on the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Frederick Engels sums up the course of the class struggle, its several successive stages and the significance of each in the development of production in the following clear manner:

I. MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.—Small individual production. Means of production adapted to individual use; hence primitively inefficient and paltry, and dwarfish in their results. Production for the immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipency; but already it contains in embryo THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION.—Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The CAPITALIST makes his appearance. In his capacity of owner of the means of production, he appropriates the products also, and turns them into "commodities." Production has become a social act. Exchange, and, together with it, appropriation remain individual acts, acts of the individual. THE SOCIAL PRODUCTS ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST. This is the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions in which present society moves and which production in gross brings to light:

A.—Severance of the producers from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to life-long wage-labor. CONTRAST BETWEEN PROLETARIAT AND CAPITALIST CLASS.

B.—Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws that govern the production of commodities. Unbridled competitive struggle. Contradiction between social organization in the separate factories, and social anarchy in production at large.

C.—On the one hand, perfection of machinery made by competition compulsory upon every individual manufacturer, and equivalent with ever increasing displacement of labor—the industrial RESERVE ARMY. On the other hand, boundless expansion and production, equally a compulsory law of competition to every manufacturer. On both hands unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, decennial crises, the vicious circle: here, a superabundance of products and means of production; yonder, a superabundance of workmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE. The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

D.—Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by STOCK COMPANIES, next by the STATE. The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social functions are performed by hired employees.

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist quality, and gives their social character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production upon a pre-determined plan becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time lord over nature—lord over himself—in short, free. To accomplish this work of universal emancipation is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. To investigate its historic conditions, thereby its nature itself, and thus to impart a consciousness of its own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act—that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they believe in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Below will be found the Socialist vote in those countries where the people have the elective franchise. A study of these figures should put faith and courage into all who believe in Socialism but say "it cannot win." The fact is that it is winning, its development is truly remarkable. Outside the countries named the movement is growing in like proportions.

AUSTRIA.	
1895.....	90,000
1897.....	750,000
BELGIUM.	
1894.....	334,500
1898.....	534,324
DENMARK.	
1872.....	315
1884.....	6,805
1887.....	8,408
1890.....	17,232
1892.....	20,098
1895.....	25,019
FRANCE.	
1885.....	30,000
1888.....	91,000
1893.....	590,000
1898.....	1,000,000
GERMANY.	
1867.....	30,000
1871.....	101,927
1874.....	351,670
1877.....	486,843
1878.....	437,158
1881.....	311,961
1884.....	599,990
1887.....	763,128
1890.....	1,427,298
1893.....	1,786,738
1898.....	2,125,000
GREAT BRITAIN.	
1895.....	55,000
ITALY.	
1893.....	20,000
1895.....	76,400
1897.....	134,496
SERVIA.	
1895.....	50,000
SPAIN.	
1893.....	7,000
1895.....	14,800
1897.....	28,000
SWITZERLAND.	
1890.....	13,500
1893.....	29,822
1896.....	36,468

UNITED STATES.	
1890.....	13,704
1891.....	16,552
1892.....	21,512
1893.....	25,666
1894.....	30,020
1895.....	34,869
1896.....	36,275
1897.....	55,550
1898 (est.).....	70,000

VOTE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

1898.....	12,411
TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.	
1898.....	5,000,000

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

(MISSOURI ORGAN.)

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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. —Social Democratic Party Platform.

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 membership 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 empowered to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties for 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. 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, the 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.

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.

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

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WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

ROME, ITALY.

It is amusing, indeed, to notice how the people of Europe look upon the work of the International Anti-Anarchist Conference, recently held in this city, at which all the capitalist governments of Europe were represented. This anti-anarchist conference that was called by the ruling powers to "exterminate anarchism," will go down in the history as the Anarchist Conference of Rome. The power of public opinion has even forced the public press to speak of this gathering as the anarchist conference. A Swiss paper recently stated that the assassin Lucheni, who murdered the Empress of Austria, was only a little baby in comparison with the capitalist and despotic anarchists who wage wars of extermination against foreign nations and "uncivilized" people, and who exploit millions of women and children in mines, factories and workshops at starving wages. The labor capitalist and feudal anarchists that assembled in Rome, the same paper said, are only the fathers of that anarchism of poverty and despair that produces poor creatures like Lucheni, the Italian assassin.

TORONTO, CANADA.

The paper Citizen and Country writes: "John Wannamaker presented his daughter with a \$75,000 brooch for a birthday present. That same night a poor woman who had been making shirts for him at 37 1-2 cents per dozen died at her table with a lot of her unfinished work around her. Here children were starving. There are a number of the John Wannamaker class of men in Toronto and other Canadian cities who are becoming wealthy out of sweat-shop labor."

SOUTHAMPTON, ENGLAND.

British Socialist papers publish the following: Whatever may have been their causes in the past, the causes of modern wars are economic. No amount of sermonizing or sentimentalism will free us from war or the terrible juggernaut of militarism, while the nations of the earth are contending with each other for fresh markets and extended "spheres of influence." International Social Democracy can alone secure international peace. The International Social Democratic movement is the only real, live, active agency which makes for peace to-day.

MADRID, SPAIN.

Even our Socialist comrades in Spain rejoice over the election in Haverhill. El Socialista, the official organ of the Social Democracy, has the following to say about the Haverhill victory:

"The Social Democratic Party of Haverhill, State of Massachusetts, has gained a brilliant victory. Its triumphs are, the election of a Socialist mayor, six members of the municipal council and two members to the state legislature."

LUGANO, ITALY.

Our comrades of Il Socialista of this city make an appeal on behalf of the Italian refugees who are now in Switzerland. There are large numbers of Italian Socialists who have fled to Switzerland to escape imprisonment or worse in Italy, and the Swiss comrades have done their best to succour them. But they are greatly in need of help. Any contributions for this object may be sent to Coltro Alceo, Molino Nuovo, Lugano.

MAGDEBURG, GERMANY.

The Magdeburg court has sentenced Comrade August Mueller, editor of the Social Democratic daily paper Volksstimme, (People's Voice) to four years and one month imprisonment for "offending" the emperor. This severe punishment of an editor for lese majeste will gain thousands of new recruits for the Social Democratic movement.

ZURICH, SWITZERLAND.

Speaking of the growth of the spirit of militarism in the United

States the Social Democratic organ Volksrecht says: America will not gain anything by the increase of the army. The only benefit derived from a stronger army and navy would be for the capitalist class who, with more military power, could better protect their evergrowing class interests.

MONTLUGON, FRANCE.

Over 30,000 people attended the funeral of the Socialist mayor of this city, Comrade M. Dormoy. The Social Democratic Party of Germany telegraphed resolutions in memory of Comrade Dormoy's services for the cause of Socialism and humanity. The telegram was signed by Comrades Bebel, Liebknecht, Auer, Gerisch, Pfannkuch and Singer.

OFFENBACH, GERMANY.

The Social Democratic Party, in the recent municipal election, succeeded in securing 16 new seats in municipal council, in addition to the number of seats the Socialists had before.

ALTENBURG, GERMANY.

The labor unions of this city have decided to establish a labor bureau. There are 22 trades unions in this city.

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK.

The Danish stonemasons' union has now a membership of 4709, only about 100 colleagues being still outside of the organization.

OVIEDO, SPAIN.

Over 500 miners in Langreo are out on strike for higher wages and better conditions in general.

DRESDEN, GERMANY.

Mr. J. Witten, a locksmith, has been sentenced to six months imprisonment for lese majeste.

NATIONAL.

PANA, ILL.

Nearly 100 of the Pana miners, charged with participating in the notorious riots of September, when Operator Overholt and Rev. Arthur Millard were assaulted, and on September 28, when the union and the colored miners fought a pitched battle with Winchester on Locust street, were disposed of in the circuit court. State's Attorney Humphreys nolle prosequi sixty of the cases, while eleven pleaded guilty and were given good, stiff sentences. The trial of Orville and Max Penwell, sons of the George V. Penwell, owner and manager of the Penwell Coal Company, who are charged with inciting the riot of the night of September 28, are docketed for Tuesday. The strikers are expected to make a desperate fight on the Penwells. Many witnesses are being summoned.

COLUMBUS, O.

At the state miners convention resolutions instructing the delegates to the national convention to demand two-fifths above the price for pick mining for machine loading and declaring in favor of an eight-hour day and Saturday half-holiday, were adopted.

CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

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

HOW ORGANIZED.

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

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

Sec. 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Board and serve until their successors are elected

and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 5. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a two-thirds vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union.

Sec. 8. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution, and all questions of appeal from local branches, shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

Sec. 11. The revenues of the organization shall be derived from such sources as the State Union may determine.

THE STATE UNION.

Sec. 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

Sec. 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 14. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be necessary, determine the policy of the state organizations and do all other things required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action is taken inconsistent with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

Kaiser's Last Victim.

The German emperor is certainly doing his best to knock down his dynasty, says Justice of London. What a blessed thing it is that he should be such a self-confident, omniscient incapable. We are quite ready to believe that Providence has him in His keeping, for it would take nothing short of the Almighty to furnish the world with such a sapient fool. His last victim is a popular professor—Dr. Delbrueck. This esteemed and learned gentlemen, who is far from being a Socialist, considered the expulsion of Danes from Schleswig-Holstein, and the compulsory abandonment of their native tongue for the German, a discredit to the whole country, and being an honest man he said so. This brought down upon him the Kaiser's government, and he has been punished for his plain speaking. The "Vorwaerts" points out, that the very same authorities who are chasing Danes out of Germany in the interest of nationalism at one end of the Empire are encouraging the immigration of Polish cheap labor to help the landlords in the eastern provinces. Such inconsistency and tyranny as this combined—let us not forget the expulsion of the sub-editor of the "Vorwaerts"—cannot last even in soldier-ridden Germany of to-day.

The St. Louis 9th ward branch was organized Jan. 10, with a fine membership of 24.

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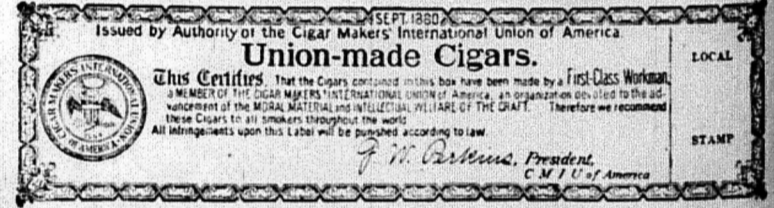
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