

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

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

Not to divide, but to prevent division, is the object of Socialism.

President McKinley has brought the Federal bench one notch lower by elevating to it one Grosscup of unsavory memory.

Opportunities for useful and legitimate industry being narrowed and restricted in the United States, stock speculation becomes the rage, and when the speculators make a "pile" we call that prosperity!

Comrade Carey's proposal to the Massachusetts legislature to investigate the causes of the Marlboro strike was endorsed in resolutions adopted by the Central Labor Union of Brockton, but will that legislature listen to the voice of labor? Hardly—for a little while.

A republican writes to the Milwaukee Sentinel to say that "A man whose life's principle is bound up in the cynical sentence, 'Every man has his price,' is controlling the republican party of the state." This is not given as an item of news, but simply to show that Wisconsin is in the same bad fix as nearly every other State in the Union.

Five years have taught the trust promoters a great deal, and a plan to organize the corset manufacturers, which collapsed five years ago, is now likely to be successful because experience has corrected some of their methods. The value of the annual output of corsets is estimated to be between thirteen and fifteen million dollars.

The democratic politicians of Massachusetts are now taking the stand that to enact into law certain palliative measures that have been called "Socialistic" is the right thing to do. You see there is a genuine Socialist party now in Massachusetts, one that is sawin' wood, and the democrats have made a note of it.

For six years Leopold Kleinschmidt worked for one Alderman Chase of Milwaukee. During that time he received something to eat but not a cent of money and spent fifty dollars of his former savings for clothes. Sickness overtook him and he was driven to the poor-house. Now he is suing Chase for compensation. What fools, as well as robbers, the system makes of men, don't it?

Suppose American supremacy is established in the Philippines, does any sane and honest man for a moment believe that the islands will not be governed in the interest of capitalists and the ruling class? How are the United States governed? Get that question honestly answered. Are not the people here governed in the interest of the economic masters of the country? Everybody but the fool knows it. That will be the fate of the Filipinos.

"The American soldier has shown himself to be unexcelled by any in the world!"

What a supremely silly bit of cant that is. Think of it: The American soldier is an Irishman, an Englishman, a Scotchman, a Welshman, a German, a Frenchman, a Swede, a Norwegian, a Negro, an Italian, a Belgian, an Hungarian, a Russian or a Pole, or he is a composite of the whole with a strain of Indian, Chinaman, Japanese and Mexican thrown in. Why should not the American soldier be the best, since he is a compound of all the best earth could give? America made by Americans? Not so; but by mankind, and one day the makers, realizing their common rights, will claim it.

The secretary of the Executive Board, Comrade Stedman, will have a few kind words to say of Laurence Gronlund's "New Economy"—with a gentle "roast" thrown in—next week.

Eagan's denial that he ever profited a cent by transactions amounting to \$19,000,000, is the most remarkable statement in all the dreary history of American big deals.

Over-capitalization is blowing up a great bubble which is sure to burst with most disastrous results before long. Our so-called prosperity is a pure fiction of the stock market. Lookout for the collapse.

Comrade F. G. R. Gordon's well-known and convincing pamphlet, "Hard Times," has been translated into Swedish language by Comrade Ernest Nordberg, of the Brockton branch. It will be an excellent thing for distribution among the Swedish people, many of whom show a strong inclination to get acquainted with us.

Comrade Robert Seidel, one of the leading Socialists of Switzerland and generally recognized as one of the noblest characters and finest poets in the International Socialist movement, writes about our recent victories at Haverhill: "I am very glad indeed to hear that the cause is showing at least some progress on American soil."

Mayor Jones of Toledo in a public address at the Forum, Boston, the other day, referred to the Haverhill election and spoke of Mayor Chase in very complimentary terms. Chase is sawin' wood, too. Mayor Jones said that the trust he was trying "break into" was one that would take all in—the Co-operative Commonwealth. Well, our door is open, Mr. Mayor; we are headed in that direction ourselves. Walk in!

Two weeks ago we told how the circulation of THE HERALD was climbing. Well, it continues to climb, and this week we add 500 to the "run." This is the third increase since the paper was moved to Belleville. Just keeps us sawin' wood; but if our friends will go right on "hauling" we agree not to whimper. The paper is not yet what we intend it shall be, mechanically or otherwise, but we shall accomplish what we are after—never doubt it.

Here comes a republican newspaper from dear old New Hampshire, saying, "Some day all the trusts will be united into groups of trusts and the whole will be consolidated into one big organization which will be the government." So declares the Exeter Gazette. And about that time, the people will be ready for a democratic organization and administration of industry, which is what this revolutionizing thing called Socialism wants. Is it coming? Nothing surer.

Eastern papers speak of the "virtue of originality" in the decision of our Massachusetts friends that a resignation shall be required of each candidate for office on a ticket of the S. D. P. This is one way we have of carrying out our party principles. In case of a candidate's election, his written resignation will be in the possession of the local branch or branches, and any failure on his part to adhere to the principles of his party and of Socialism, will be followed up by an acceptance of his resignation. Yes, it has the "virtue of originality." Watch how the people will take to it.

Private property in the means of production is the taproot of public corruption.

The Branches everywhere should follow the example of Massachusetts and stand by the entire gallery of union labels. Support union labor by buying union labor goods.

Comrade Eugene Dietzgen of Chicago gives us this week a critical examination of Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's book "Labor Copartnership." We hope every reader of THE HERALD will give it a careful perusal. The second instalment of the article will be printed next week.

The Filipinos do not produce much, yet they make an easy living. After they have been hitched on to the capitalistic juggernaut they will produce more and hardly get a living. The American workman has produced much and owns little. He is unable to buy what he makes, and the greater the increase in facilities of production becomes the more poverty he has to endure.

Up at Oshkosh, where the voters have G. M. Paine, president of the Paine Lumber Co., for mayor, Edward Paine, a son of the mayor, has been elected captain of Co. B. of the state militia. With one Paine for boss of the mill and municipality and another for boss of the militia, the poor slaves are in a most unenviable condition and the Paines would seem to have a cinch on the works. But the Paines are getting what they pay for—so are the people.

We note with pleasure that while Comrade Carey's bill to raise the age of minors employed in factories and mercantile establishments from 14 to 16 years is assailed by the capitalistic press of Boston, the Haverhill Gazette says "And yet, 14 years is all to soon to begin the heart-breaking struggle for existence." Think of a great commonwealth like Massachusetts, 123 years after the declaration that people are entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," doubting whether a child should be turned over to a capitalist master before it is 16 years old! What statesmanship! What patriotism! What humanity!

Beppo, the high-bred and aristocratic monkey, who died and was buried with much ceremony at Sharon Mass., is to have a tall shaft erected to mark his resting place. The newspapers say: "The casket in which he was buried was covered with blue velvet and lined with white satin, while a quilted white satin robe encased his remains; a silver plate with the name of the late lamented adorned the lid." Go on, slaves, with your production of satins, and velvets, and caskets, and silver ornaments. There's a rough board box and the Potter's field for you!

The Haverhill Gazette rather tactfully admits that against the dexterity and devotion of Social Democrats "mere assertion amounts to nothing." Then it says: "They must be met face to face," and "we see nobody doing that kind of political work around these diggings just now." The Gazette claims to be a "fair fighter," and for aught we know it is entitled to that honorable distinction. Will the Gazette accept a challenge to discuss this question of Socialism with THE HERALD "face to face" with the people of Haverhill, upon conditions mutually agreeable, but providing for the publication of the argument of each without abridgement or alteration in both papers? If yes, we shall be happy to accommodate the Gazette.

Socialists are not arrayed against individuals, but against a system which enables a few individuals to pluck the many.

The trusts are advancing prices all along the line; the managers evidently believe the assertions of the trust newspapers that the people are prosperous.

A St. Louis shoe manufacturer testifies in the Shoe and Leather Gazette that by the use of new machines one operator can do the work formerly requiring 13 skilled mechanics.

If the average cost of living in Massachusetts is \$754 per annum, as the labor bureau of that State reports, it is just about double the average yearly wages of the laboring class in the State. And that's something for workingmen to think about, too!

The separation of men from the means of life, and then publicly branding them and throwing them into jail is called civilized government. It is the highest treason; worse than treason to any aggregation called government, it is treason to humanity.

The contention of our opponents that it would never do to let the government operate everything is a sound one. A government that is operated by the masters of capital is only fit for that class. We must change the function of government to get relief.

There are two ends to this outfit, one at Chicago, the other at Belleville, and if we at the Belleville end are to believe all that we hear from the Chicago end, they are busy enough up there and we have no time to distill pessimism. The fact seems to be that each "end" thinks the other is on a "winner."

At Terre Haute, Ind., the home of Eugene V. Debs, a study club for higher educational purposes has been organized by Prof. Merica of the Chicago University. Nearly all the subjects for study thus far announced are related to the social problem. Comrade Debs is in the course for an address on "The Trend of Our Present Industrial and Commercial System."

There are people in New York making pants for 12 cents that sell for \$4 to \$6—but they don't wear them.

There are people in New York making suits for 69 cents that sell for \$18 and \$20—but they don't wear them.

There are people in New York making shirts for 29 cents a dozen that sell for \$1 each—but they don't wear them.

Only two classes of persons will defend a system under which such conditions exist—the brutal and the ignorant.

Christ Huhn, a carpenter and contractor of Belleville, Ill., was a well educated man and highly esteemed by those who knew him; they speak of him as being industrious, trustworthy, and honorable. He had lived in the community since 1872. Wednesday of last week he killed himself. A short time before he said to a friend: "I cannot compete with the machines. The factories get all the work." Lashed by necessity, broken in spirit, unable to "compete with the machines," Christ Huhn is another victim of an inhuman industrial system. And the victims will multiply until men see the necessity of taking charge of the machines for social use instead of private profit.

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A Socialist has no hatred for the man who owns land. He says that all men ought to own land.

There is trouble at Iowa College, Grinnell, over the teachings of Prof. Geo. D. Herron. President Gates is reported as saying that he will leave if Prof. Herron is ousted. Good for Gates.

In the current number of the Iron Molders' Journal a leading editorial states that the discussion of political and economic questions is permissible in their local unions.

The Social Reform Club of New York city has appointed a committee to co-operate with the Typographical Union No. 6 in an endeavor to extend the use of the union label on church and reform printing.

It is said that the Zuyder Zee, in Holland, is to be drained and that the work of pumping all the water over the big dyke will take about 33 years and cost nearly twenty millions of dollars. That is more time and more money than Uncle Sam will require to pump the seven billion dollars of "water" out of American railroads after he becomes a Socialist.

In discussing the Labor Commissioners work, the capitalistic papers are hinting at the propriety of obliging trade unions to incorporate under the law. "Shouldn't they be held to corporate responsibility?" is asked. This displays the animus in a nutshell. The toilers, ground down by oppressive conditions, organize for resistance into unions. The oppressors therefore would like nothing better than to get a firmer legal hold on the organizations of labor. It is necessary to the strength and security of the capitalist system that it control all possible factors of industry and society.

Gen. Leonard Wood, governor of Santiago, claims that his administration has achieved admirable results in the government of the Cubans. He says: "When you can find employment for the laboring men and can enable them to provide a good living for their families you have gone a long way toward the establishment of a contented community. That is what we have been able to do with Santiago."

This is what Socialists would accomplish in every community of the United States, by bringing together the people and the powers of production. But in Massachusetts the government refuses even to "investigate" the causes of discontent among the laboring men, and does not care whether their living is good or poor.

The Brockton (Mass.) Enterprise says "The Socialists are persistent people. They believe they have a cause which is just, and they never tire of attempting to convince others as thoroughly as they are themselves convinced. One of the members of the local branch of the Social Democracy, works in a Brockton shoe shop, where he has had a democrat on one side of him and a republican on the other. Both of these have been staunch old party men, and there have been some lively political debates in that factory. The Socialist has kept explaining his party principles till he has completely routed the arguments advanced by both his shopmates and has succeeded in bringing both of them into the membership fold of the branch of the Social Democracy."

Put a well-informed Socialist between a democrat and a republican anywhere, with a chance for debate, and we'll back the Socialist every time. So much depends on having a good cause; you know, with logic and facts and justice on one's side.

# LABOR COPARTNERSHIP.

## An Examination of Henry D. Lloyd's Book and an Illustration of Utopian and Modern Socialism.

By E. DIETZGEN.

HENRY D. Lloyd who so ably depicted in his "Wealth against Commonwealth" the power and the unscrupulous methods of capitalist co-operation, has recently published a book entitled "Labor Copartnership," in which—strange to say—he covertly aims at nothing less than a harmony between labor and capital, "pending the political regeneration of the whole world at once."

Mr. Lloyd sympathizes with Socialism, he favors a cloudy sort of co-operative commonwealth, he is undoubtedly actuated by noble motives, he is a philanthropist and humanitarian and, in short, a so-called noble soul.

But for a writer on the "Social Question" he lacks the chief requisite: Knowledge of the innate laws governing the capitalist system. This is a pity, the more since he possesses eminent literary talent.

To combat confusion in the ranks of labor I propose to show that Mr. Lloyd, by his advocacy of Labor Copartnership as prevailing in England, is supporting social reformers who work by ill-spent though well-meant efforts for the prolongation of the capitalist system with its concomitant ills and misery. Instead of supporting means that tend to abolish this system, he endorses the schemes of pygmean followers of the great utopian Socialists: Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen, schemes that modern Socialism had, already half a century ago, irrefutably exposed to be visionary.

By Labor Copartnership Mr. L. understands labor in partnership with its mortal enemy capital, both sharing in private ownership of the means of production, in management and in profits, and he considers such alliance an essential step towards the realization of a co-operative commonwealth that, upon analysis, does resemble the present capitalist co-operative commonwealth like one bad egg resembles the other.

Here, in evidence of Lloyd's utopian position, a few characteristic citations out of his "Labor Copartnership":

"The co-operation of these workmen (in labor copartnerships) is not for themselves alone. Capital, takes its place as a wage earner along with labor, and both, after receiving their earnings—interest for the one, wages for the other—share in profits or losses; both share, also, in the ownership and management." (Page 2.)

"Copartnership says only that labor shall share in ownership, management and result. It seeks to harmonize all five of the interests involved in production—the employee, the employer, the consumer, the trades-union, the general public." (Page 234.)

"Here (in labor copartnership) is applied brotherhood, here, the Golden Rule realized; here, a political economy of the kind that seeks wealth for itself by creating wealth for others. Co-operation has won the right to be accounted the most important social movement of our times outside of politics. It is of course only a half truth—but the world needs half truths to make up its whole truth." (Page 328.)

But, is labor copartnership even a half truth only?

In the sense entertained by Mr. Lloyd certainly not. To the contrary, it is a vagary, and, with some of its advocates, it is a trick and a means to propagate the capitalist instinct among workmen, to split the ranks of labor by creating a would-be middle class, to hamper the trades union and political movement of the workmen, to prolong, in short, the capitalist system.

Mr. Lloyd fell into a trap, set him by that class of social quack-reformers who want to remove the ills of the present system without

thinking to abolish the ill-breeding cause, the system itself. Above citations prove that the author has no clear conception of to-day's capitalist co-operative commonwealth and of the essence of capital and wages. Otherwise he would not ignore the fact that capital can only be called such means of labor commodities and money that are used to exploit the labor force of others; that capital, profits and dividends cannot be thought of without exploitation; that workmen cannot become capitalists without exploiting other workmen; that profits and dividends do not descend from heaven or grow gratuitously on trees, but that they result from the plundered, unpaid labor of human beings.

But, Mr. Lloyd may argue that in labor copartnerships, such as he supports, the workmen contribute, own and manage the capital and earn themselves the products of their own labor; that there is no exploitation; that such copartnerships are to put the means of production, step by step, into the possession of the working class and thereby realize the Socialist co-operative commonwealth; that outside of politics such copartnerships are the most important factors to expropriate the capitalist class or the drones who live on the work of others. In other words, Mr. L. advises the working class to challenge by industrial co-operation the power of accumulated and concentrated capital.

Possibly he has read somewhere the misleading statement that labor alone produces all wealth, and infers therefrom logically that the workmen can, by simple co-operation, successfully compete with the capitalists. He overlooks that labor in order to produce any wealth, must be connected with the materials and instruments of labor, and that it is exactly this separation that causes all misery and what is known by the Social Question. How can that connection be made in the interest of the entire community? That is the question!

If L.'s labor copartnerships are such an important factor to solve that question, why, let us assume that all factories, stores, etc., would be owned and run to-morrow by the workmen engaged in them. What of it? Would that be a step nearer to the solution of the social question? By no means. It would make matters worse. In place of a small number of large capitalists we would have to deal with a large number of small capitalists. These small vampires combining, for instance the shoe factories forming one federation, would be let loose on the pockets of the consumers, for profits and dividends' sake, just the same as our to-day's trusts and pools. To my mind such workmen's trusts would be more unbearable and mischievous than our present trusts. Would they tend to abolish the capitalist system, would they do away with competition, wage-slavery, depression, overproduction, failures and with the army of unemployed? No, they would increase all these evils, they would be equivalent in effect to the introduction of new labor saving machinery. For profits' sake such workmen would work more intensively, and if needs be, longer hours; they would save materials, tools and overseers. Talk of the pernicious spirit of morals disseminated by public and private charities! The profit-sharing spirit, whether nursed by dividends paid by self-governing stores and workshops, or whether fostered by "smart" designing capitalists in the shape of a bonus or shares, cannot be too severely condemned. In either case we have to deal with profit-sharing, though perhaps not as plainly evident in the former as in the latter case. Watch the influence of that abominable profit-sharing spirit relative to the class struggle.

We know that the co-operating workmen of the English pattern behave like those employed, the world over, in profit-sharing concerns. How could they act differently? Believing that they can take care of themselves, they, as a rule, take little or indifferent stock in the trades union and political movement of the working-class outside of the consumption they afford. The affiliation is chiefly mercenary. Here we have one of the many reasons why the cause of Socialism has, as yet, not spread as rapidly in England as in Germany, France, Belgium, Austria and Italy. In this connection it may be of interest to cite some significant utterances of delegates to the English Trades Union Congress of 1896. (See report on page 55.)

Delegate T. M. Burney: "The other day, Mr. Deans, representing a million or more of co-operators, had pointed out to the congress one solitary instance in which co-operative societies in Scotland paid trades-union rates to women. The societies as a whole paid women very badly, and some of them employed no men at all and only women and children."

"Delegate T. A. Flynn said that in Lancashire there were more than one co-operative society which believed it was part and parcel of its duty to get clothing made under the very cheapest conditions, and if having done so it was able to offer shareholders a dividend of three to ten per cent, it fancied it had done its duty."

"Delegate G. Phillip said he did not know what was the state of matters in England, but in Scotland some of them felt that instead of being a co-operative association the institution bearing that name was a dividend-providing association."

Wide-awake capitalists and their friends, like John Bright, Gladstone and the Prince of Wales, have noticed the mercenary feature in English workmen's co-operations with glee. They appreciated the profit-sharing spirit of workmen as a welcome argument for the harmony between labor and capital, and a handy means to render their workmen more tractable, to keep them out of the labor movement, out of trades unions and labor parties, to prevent strikes, to work them more intensively and longer hours, to save overseers, material and tools, to pay them at the end of the year a smaller part of the increased profits than they otherwise would have to pay in the shape of increased weekly wages for the additional labor, at the same time posing as benefactors and harmonizers of the claims of labor and capital. This snare and fraud Mr. Lloyd himself unmasks, though unconsciously, in his chapter X. The Chicago actuary H. S. Vaile has learned his lesson from the English labor copartnerships, also possibly by reading Mr. Lloyd's book. This harmonizer recently addressed a confidential circular letter to the employers of labor in Chicago which is headed "Profit Sharing." A plan to identify the interest of the employee more closely with that of the employer. To interest the employers Mr. Vaile gives only one hint, offering to furnish further particulars on application; this hint reads: "to induce the employee to drop outside matters that would conflict with devoting his time and thought to the interest of the employer."

Profit-sharing capitalist concern and workmen's profit and dividend paying workshops, certainly differ in name, but what of a name, if they both partake, with difference in degree only, in above said dire results? A nice way, indeed, of furthering the emancipation of the working class.

Assuming again that all stores and factories, etc., were owned and managed to-morrow by the workmen engaged in them. Would that help those who are now unemployed? Would that secure those at work from sharing sooner or later the misery of the unemployed? Bear in mind that these "self-governing" workmen cannot escape the laws of competition as long as they produce commodities, i. e. goods for the market and for sale instead of producing use-values collectively for the joint

benefit of themselves and of all their countrymen. Introduction of new labor-saving machinery, the competition in the world's markets, overproduction, depression and stagnation would soon again crowd a number of self-governors out. Mind you, these self-governors are working on the principle "each for all" and "all for each" in their respective lines, stores and shops only. They will soon again, therefore, drift back into their former misery and learn the stern lesson that "each for all" and "all for each" will guarantee life, liberty and happiness for every member only if applied to production and distribution with the national materials and tools of labor owned and used collectively, and not by groups individually as Mr. Lloyd proposes. The former application stands for a higher system, for the Socialist mode of production, and the latter means nothing more or less than the shallow ideal of so-called "Communist Anarchism," a poisonous, enslaving palliative, retarding the success of the labor movement and prolonging the capitalist mode of production.

[CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

### THE VAMPIRE OF WAR.

From Alfred Russell Wallace's Famous Book, "The Wonderful Century."

ALTHOUGH the total number of warships and of vessels of all kinds in the English fleet are about the same as they were in the middle of the century, their power for offense and defense and cost are immensely greater. Almost all of them are built of iron or steel and are full of costly machinery, while the torpedo boats and torpedo destroyers are adapted for purposes quite different from those of the smaller vessels of our old fleets. Some of the modern first-class armored turret ships cost a million sterling, and yet, as in the case of Vanguard off Kingstown in 1875, and more recently the Victoria in the Mediterranean, they may be sent to the bottom by a chance collision with a companion ship.

But even this vast cost and loss to modern civilization is surpassed by that of the armies of Europe. The numbers of men have greatly increased, their weapons and equipments are more costly, and the reserve forces to be drawn upon in time of war include almost the whole male adult population, for whom reserves of arms, ammunition and all military supplies must be kept ready. Counting only the armies of the six great powers on a peace footing, they amount now to nearly three millions of men, and if we add the men permanently attached to the great fleets, we have considerably more than three millions of men in the prime of life withdrawn from productive labor and devoted nominally to defense, but really to attack and destruction.

This, however, is only a portion of the loss. The expense of keeping these millions of men in food and clothing, in weapons, ammunition and all the paraphernalia of war, of keeping in a state of readiness the ships, the fortifications and batteries, of continually renewing the stores of all kinds, of pensions to the retired officers and wounded men and whatever other expenditures these vast military organizations entail, amounts to an annual sum of over 180 million sterling.

Now, as the average wages of a workman (or his annual expenditure), considering the low wages and mode of living in Russia, Italy, Austria and the other Continental states, cannot be more than, say, 12 shillings a week, or £30 a year, an expenditure of 180 millions implies the constant labor of at least six million other men in supplying this monstrous and utterly barbarous system of national armaments.

If to this number we add those employed in making good the public or private property destroyed in every war, or in smaller military or naval operations in Europe, we shall have a grand total of about ten millions of men withdrawn from all useful or productive work, their lives devoted directly or indirectly to the Moloch of war, and

who must therefore be supported by the remainder of the working community.

Never perhaps have the degrading influences of the war spirit been more prominent than in the last few years, when all the great powers stood grimly by while civilized people were subjected to the most cruel persecution, rapine and massacre by the direct orders or with the consent and approval of the semi-barbarous Sultan of Turkey. Again and again did they cry out "Isolated action against Turkey would bring on a European war!" War between whom? War for what? There is only one answer—"For plunder and conquest." It means that these powerful governments do not exist for the good of humanity or civilization, but for the aggrandizement and greed and lust of power of the ruling classes—kings and kaisers, ministers and generals, nobles and millionaires—the true vampires of our civilization, ever seeking fresh dominions from whose people they suck the very lifeblood.

Witness their recent conduct toward Crete and Greece, upholding the most terrible despotism in the world because each one hopes for a more favorable opportunity to obtain some advantage leading ultimately to the largest share of the spoil. Witness their struggle in Africa and Asia, where millions of savage or semi-civilized people may be enslaved and bled for the benefit of their new rulers.

The whole world is now but the gambling-table of the six great powers. Just as gambling deteriorates and demoralizes the individual, so the greed for dominion demoralizes governments. The welfare of the people is little cared for except so far as to make them submissive taxpayers, enabling the ruling and moneyed classes to extend their sway over new territories and to create well-paid places and exciting work for their sons and relatives.

Hence comes the force that urges on the increase of armaments and extensions of empire. Great vested interests are at stake, and ever-growing pressure is brought to bear upon the too-willing governments in the name of the greatness or the safety of the empire and the extension of commerce or the advance of civilization. Anything to distract attention from the starvation and wretchedness and death-dealing trades at home and the thinly veiled slavery in many of our tropical or sub-tropical colonies.

The condemnation of our system of rule is to be plainly seen in plague and famine running riot in India after more than a century of British rule and nearly forty years of the supreme power of English government. Neither plague nor famine occurs to-day in well-governed communities. That the latter, at all events, is almost chronic in India, a country with an industrious people and a fertile soil, is the direct result of governing in the interest of the ruling classes, instead of making the interests of the governed the first and only object.

But in this respect India is no worse off than our own country. The condition of the bulk of our workers, the shortness of their lives, the mortality among their children and the awful conditions of misery and vice under which millions are forced to live in all of the slums of our great cities are, in proportion to our wealth and their nearness to the centre of government, even more disgraceful than the periodic famines of remote India.

Both are the result of the same system—the exploitation of the workers for the benefit of the ruling class—and both alike are the terrible failures of the century.

### Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1878.

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.

# THE CONSTITUTION.

## Statement of Reasons for its Rejection by the East Side Branch of New York.

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD AND THE SEVERAL BRANCHES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

The East Side Branch of New York, having, after due deliberation, rejected the proposed constitution submitted for a referendum vote to the membership of the party, deems it its duty toward the framers of the draft, as well as towards the party at large, to state the reasons of such action.

We are fully conscious of the fact that it is not by written constitutions that parties are built up, yet artificial constitutional limitations may go a great way to thwart the healthy growth of a party. To maintain the unity of the Socialist movement in a vast country like the United States, a national organization is wanted, ever alive to the rapidly changing political situation and capable at all times to keep the various divisions of the party in closest touch with one another.

It is proposed instead to make our party the object of experimentation in political fads. Practically the plan of organization provides for an all powerful Executive Board saddled upon the party for four long years. True enough, there is the "imperative mandate," by which the members of the Executive Board may be removed for cause. Think, however, of the red tape involved in such an extraordinary proceeding: Three members of the National Council, each residing in a different state, thousands of miles away from the seat of the Executive Board, and but slightly acquainted with one another, must join in a complaint and look up three other Councilmen residing in still three other states, with whom to file their complaint; then the six must select of their own number a committee, which must communicate with 51 members residing in 51 states and territories, and mail to each of them copies of the petitions, answers, replies, replications and amendments thereto, and presumably of the testimony which may eventually have to be taken. And as though this procedure were not cumbersome enough, there is still the "initiative and referendum," five per cent of the membership being empowered to file a similar petition and submit it to a referendum vote, for which purpose public announcements of the total party membership are presumably to be made from time to time, to facilitate the computation of the five per cent.

Unless our party be composed of gentlemen of leisure, like the citizens of the Athenian republic devoting their entire time to affairs of the state, it stands to reason that with all these elaborate provisions, cases of removal of officers of the Executive Board will be as frequent as those of impeachment of the president of the United States.

The plan seems to have contemplated only charges of misconduct in office, which, it is to be hoped may after all present merely a theoretical interest; but what of incapacity, of lack of knowledge, of inexperience, of lack of political tact? Can such charges be preferred by the correspondence method without stirring up the spirit of strife and intrigue? The simpler and the more democratic way would seem to be the annual election of officers, which enables the party membership to pass judgment over party officers by re-electing them or putting others in their places, thus retaining an active control over them, without resorting to ugly personalities.

The legislative branch of the party government is framed after the old party pattern. While overriding the direct legislation plan in respect to the Executive, the proposed constitution follows the justly condemned method of election of United States senators in the makeup of the National Council. By allowing one representative to each state or territory, it necessitates the maintenance of a pure-

ly artificial lifeless body, the State Union, which in the present stage of our movement, can serve no useful purpose beyond the casual election of a National Councilman.

To say nothing of the utterly inadequate basis of representation, this system would link together New York with Buffalo, merely because they happen to be within the same political division, overlooking the fact that New York is in closer touch with Newark or Patterson, N. J., or even Philadelphia, than with Albany, N. Y. A National Council thus composed would be nothing but an assemblage of venerable sages, the young men of the movement, the Careys and Chases being virtually deprived of a hearing.

What we need is an Executive Board elected for one year only and a representative annual convention where the movement all over the country is thoroughly canvassed, the policy of the party adapted to meet the current needs of political life, and all matters of routine are dispatched without the unwieldy machinery of the referendum.

The story of this constitution serves best to illustrate the slow working of its fundamental plan: the drafting of the constitution was referred to the Executive Board as far back as June 11, 1898; it will be nearly eight months before its adoption next February, and we confidently hope it will ultimately fail of approval by the general vote of the party.

With fraternal greetings,  
EAST SIDE BRANCH OF NEW YORK.  
WILLIAM LEAF, DR. PESKIN,  
Committee.

## 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.

## Rational and Equitable Demand.

The effect of of the industrial revolution has been to concentrate the means both of production and distribution in immense masses. Capital can now be moved and controlled only on a large scale. The day for the small capital and the successful control of it by individuals, has passed away. It may continue under exceptional circumstances, but it can no longer expect to be the normal or prevalent form of industry. On the other hand the body of the people, represented by the modern democracy, can legislatively claim that they shall no longer be excluded from the control of their own economic and social interests. It is a rational and equitable demand that the prevalent divorce of the workers from land and capital should cease—Kirkup.

## Debs in the Lecture Field.

Kalamazoo, .....	Feb. 1
Lansing, .....	" 2
Bay City, .....	" 3
Flint, .....	" 4
Saginaw, .....	" 5
Alpena, .....	" 6
Traverse City, .....	" 8
Muskegon, .....	" 9
Springfield, Ohio.....	" 20
New Philadelphia, O. ....	" 23
Portsmouth, Ohio.....	" 25
Dayton, .....	" 26
New York, N. Y. ....	March 21
Aberdeen, S. D., .....	June 28
Madison, .....	" 30

As a grateful acknowledgment of his increased prosperity, John D. Rockefeller has just given 50,000 of the 8,300,000 plunks recently made in one day, to Franklin college, Ind., a Baptist institution. Thus with a few plunks here and a few plunks there, the millionaire muzzler hopes to conciliate the gatekeeper and achieve the distinction of overturning the theory of the "needless eye."

## A VOICE FROM THE DEPTHS.

[Written for THE HERALD.]

SEE the brave men all about us Struggling 'gainst the cause of wrong,  
That has ground us down, and crushed us  
Years so many and so long.

Beggared—parents, and their children—  
Starved—a husband—or a wife,  
Till a paltry bit of money  
Is worth more than human life.

Fathers—mothers—babies—tailing  
For a crust, a rag, a board,  
Gone the price of sweet home comforts  
To enrich a miser hoard.

Many hungry children crying,  
"Mamma, give unto us bread,"  
While with costly food and plenty,  
Rich men's table daily spread.

"Mamma, why has papa left us?"  
"Cried the widow's little child.  
"Child," the woman groaned in anguish,  
While her eyes grew strangely

"Child, your father's heart it failed him,  
When he trod from door to door,  
Seeking for the chance to labor—  
Keep the wolf from out our door.

For some cruel men had centered  
All their wealth in one combine,  
And not only he, but others,  
Had to step down out of line.

For, where previously it needed  
Several men to do one job—  
Now a single man could do it,  
Thereby all these others rob.

Rob them, of their bread, their shelter,  
Of the comforts of their hearth.  
Oh, my God! that such things should have  
In a Christian land their birth.

Many long days he was seeking  
For a chance to earn his bread,  
When, one day, he came home slowly,  
And fell fainting on the bed.

Wild I was, with terror blinded,  
When I saw my husband fall.  
When I could not make him answer  
To my loving, anxious call.  
Doctor came, he looked, he questioned,  
'Nourishment,' is what he said,

'Give him wine and beef'—how could I?  
Hardly could I furnish bread.  
And I had to see him starving  
Slowly there before my eye,

For the want of food to nourish,  
Food which I could not supply.  
So he died and left us friendless  
In a world of toil, and care.

One by one, I sold our household  
Articles, till all is bare.  
And I know not if upon us,  
Yet another day will dawn.

For the last we had about us  
Went for bread on yester morn."  
The child looked sadly in her face,  
Then—"Oh, mother dear," she said,

"Have we then left us nothing?  
Have we then got no more bread?"  
Two days passed—a child cries sobbing,  
"Mamma—mamma—mamma,

But her mother's form is icy,  
Ne'er her darling's voice can hear.  
And another day in passing,  
Brings the landlord for his rent.

Finds another's been before him,  
Death, his messenger has sent.  
When, that night, reclines in comfort  
Landlord in his cozy room,

What cares he of two that perished?  
What of that poor widow's doom?  
Sips his wine, and hugs his pocket,  
Children on the floor at play—

Stocks are rising. But he's troubled  
'Cause he lost a rent that day.  
Working men, be up, and doing!  
These are two but in a score,

Who are fainting, starving, dying  
Just without your cottage door.  
To-morrow it may be your time—  
Find yourself without a place.

Up! my men; and look around you  
The condition, manly face.  
Unite all! to free each other,  
From capitalistic thrall!

Vote for freedom, vote for union!  
Vote then, brothers, one all all!  
Do not stay a single moment  
Till the curse is overturned.

Vote for kindred, home and labor,  
For the comforts we have known;  
Till in all the land about us,  
Plenty rears her bounteous head.

Everyone a chance to earn it,  
And to eat their daily bread.  
Fight, till not a man is left here  
Wrongly to oppress the poor.  
Fight, till in the land is known here  
Cold and hunger nevermore.  
Somerville, Mass. —Mrs. S. E. PUTNEY.

# 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 want in 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.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SAIURDAY, FEB. 4, 1899.

## S. D. VOTE, NOVEMBER, 1898.

Massachusetts	3749
Wisconsin	2591
Missouri	1645
New York (3 districts)	1245
New Hampshire	263
Terre Haute, Ind.,	256

## NEW ERA OF PROSPERITY.

Men, women and children have died of starvation and cold during the past week and the bitter cries of distress come from all the cities in the land. Wherever aid is given to the wretched victims of barbarous capitalism, hundreds of starving, shivering mortals stand in line waiting for the dribbles from public treasury or private purse. The Chicago papers tell of families of five living on \$1.25 a week, earned by the mother, the father being unable to find work. Fifteen hundred men were lodged and fed in the jails in one night. The police and charity people are busy day and night trying to relieve the distress of the people. At St. Louis 407 homeless men were given shelter and food in the jails Monday night and the calls for relief are unprecedented. These are only a few straws showing the awful condition of the social outcasts.

The poor, the poor, the poor, they stand, wedged by the pressing of Time's hand against an inward-opening door.

In addition thousands of families in Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Boston, New York, everywhere where the blight of greed and the heartless tramping of a "new era of prosperity" holds direful sway, are living from hand to mouth or plunged in despair in contemplating the menacing woes of want, because of the uncertainty of making a living.

## THE VERDICT.

"When rogues fall out, honest men get their due."

The truth of this old saw is again exemplified by the appearance of a weekly colored cartoon paper called *The Verdict*, the avowed purpose of which is to injure plutocratic society in New York and its interests as much as possible. It is bent on exposing the rottenness and crookedness of the American nobility, not from consideration of the public good, but out of motives of revenge. It appears that young Belmont fell from the graces of the aristocracy by marrying the divorced wife of a Vanderbilt. He is now trying to get even by exposing the inner secrets of the crowd he has been ostracised from. He is telling some unsavory things about his old friends and publishing facts that would get a poor man into all sorts of difficulties. The pictures are as radical as his corps of editors can devise and as disturbers of the peace are quite attractive. Much of their force is lost however because of the unworthiness of the animus back of them. They help on the gospel of discontent, however, and some of the articles, too, coming from the inside are good authority and quotable. Verily, "let the rogues fall out."

## THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

What will the Industrial Commission do? This question is more or less agitating the capitalist press. The commission ostensibly grew out of a "demand for definite data for the guidance of public men in dealing with economic questions," it is said. We need not be frightened. The capitalist class has not experienced any sudden qualm of conscience. It does not

elect millionaire congressmen for any such reason and these public men do not want the exact truth for use in speeches, where they appoint such things as industrial commissions they do not do it with a regard of their own class interests. It is because they hope that such investigation may give them some data that can be used to beguile the laboring class into increased submission. They hope to be able to show that wages are higher, living cheaper and employers more solicitous for their employes welfare, than formerly. They hope to do this so they may confront the rebellious toiler with their statistics and confuse him into silence or (as it is quite possible) actually convince him that he has nothing to complain about. They know that the toiler is too busy to educate himself on such matters, they know his habit of dropping asleep in his chair when he tries to read in the evening after a hard day's work. If the worker can be kept from listening to the agitators through a convincing array of statistics glibly sprung upon him during campaign oratorical floods, the interests of the capitalist class will be conserved. This is the real motive for industrial commissions; happily these investigations—which the master class is more and more forced to make because of the murmuring wage-slaves—has its incidental benefits. Inadvertently such investigations disclose facts they are not primarily intended to disclose. Thus the cause of industrial emancipation is benefited by them. The taking of industrial statistics by the government under Carroll D. Wright's supervision is not done in the interests of the toilers, yet those figures give us valuable material with which to wage the battle for a better industrial system of society.

In making its investigation the labor commission is sure to bring to light some interesting facts, but it will not do so with great willingness, but because it is necessary to keep up a pretense of serving the people in its inquiry.

The industrial commission need fool no one. When Capitalism is called on to actually and honestly investigate strike conditions and causes, as was clearly shown in the Massachusetts legislature when Socialist Carey wanted the Marlboro strike officially looked into, it votes, as much as its political interests permits, on class lines—in the negative, of course.

"The deliberate adoption of a policy of municipal Socialism involves no radical change from existing conditions. \* \* It does not necessarily imply any departure from accepted government theories or any sweeping change in functions or organization." So wrote Josiah Quincy, mayor of Boston in a Boston newspaper recently. And it is quite true. Only the program of International Socialists proposes a departure from accepted government theories and a radical change from existing conditions, by which the people are despoiled of the wealth they produce. Anything short of the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is inadequate.

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.

## A Lovely Scheme.

It has been suggested, in view of the unpleasant holdups of commerce by railroad strikes, that every railway employe be given a sort of university course on the impropriety of interfering with commerce, the enormity of delaying United States mails, the sacred rights of some people's property and the inalienable privilege of free contracts for penniless workingmen with dependent families. It is urged that as the corporation Y. M. C. A. rooms are always overcrowded the superintendents' offices could be utilized for the proposed railway chataqua classes and to encourage attendance only graduates should be retained in the service. The general managers would probably be willing to instruct the classes and after a thorough and comprehensive course of lectures on the above subject each graduate should be presented with a pale green metallic badge, about the size of an ordinary mule blinder, emblazoned with the American flag of freedom, symbolic of the sacred rights of property for some and free contracts for others with the words "Honor man" in high dutch characters across the same, beneath which would be the graduates pay check number in very large figures, the number, not the pay). These badges would serve in railroad political torchlight processions and being concealed could also be used for soup plates at charity suppers. The corporations have too long neglected the proper education of their employes, and ignored the baneful influence of the dishonest and self-seeking labor agitator who has grown rich and arrogant upon the 10 cents a month wrung from the earnings of the honest workingman who has been inveigled into the slavish and un-American unions, in restraint of free trade and free contracts! With the advance of education like this, the union would be doomed. Every American railway workingman would become an "Honor man" and hence the peer of the Goulds, Vanderbilts, and Rockefellers in all the majesty of free contract untrammelled by dictation from any body except his boss and his God. Wouldn't that be just lovely?

S. F. CLAFLIN.

## For Careful Consideration.

Is it a good policy to adopt such a rule as outlined under the above caption, in last week's *HERALD*? Would it not be proper to make some provision, in case of necessity for the good of the movement, to nominate comrades known as bona-fide Socialists and open and honest defenders of our party, and whose loyalty to our cause and to our movement can not be questioned?

These points are submitted by Comrade G. A. Hoehn for discussion, and I shall try as a member of our party to prove the suggestion undesirable. To my knowledge there is no provision made so far, as to whether a comrade is in good standing or not. I, for one, find it not best for our party that every so-called known Socialist should be put upon the ticket. How shall I know anybody as a Socialist if he never shows up in any of our meetings to give us some of his views on what he calls Socialism. Here in this town we have all kinds of Socialists. Socialists, who advocate the study of Marx and Engels; Socialists, who agree with Marx and Engels, but disagree with the communist manifesto; Socialists, who believe not altogether in the ballot, and taking possession of the political power for the use of their own class interests first, and after that the abolition of all classes—for the benefit of all the people; they believe in what they call practical co-operation, colonies, labor exchanges and other co-operative institutions.

Others see only the ethical part of Socialism and call themselves christian Socialists.

Others sympathize very much with us, but can not come over, for the movement is not yet strong enough to risk their good position and reputation.

There is another kind of Socialists: One who reads the platform of the S. D. P., finds it in his interests and the interest of human-

ity to adopt the principles, works for it with all power and joins the party. He might not be able to pay his dues regularly, but he attends his ward or precinct branch, inspires others with his presence and the arguments he brings forward, proving the necessity of such an organization as ours. He is generally poor, has no big job to lose, but he is willing to lose the little he has yet, if it should be necessary to do so, for he knows where his interest lays.

Is a comrade like him not worth as much as those who have not the courage or time to show themselves in our meeting, being afraid it might hurt them somehow?

Does the latter understand as much of Socialism and solidarity as the first one, and if so, why not help and sacrifice for what they know is right and just?

The practical, hard worker who identifies himself with us, is in my mind the only logical candidate for our ticket, and I am assured the St. Louis comrades think the same way, for they proved it by putting up only candidates on our spring campaign ticket, worthy of the support of every true Socialist. St. Louis. A. F. HAUSSLER.

## Mystery in Expansion.

The "mystery" in the Philippines business, says the Boston Transcript, like the "mystery" in the old New York and New England railroad stock and the "mystery" in Butte & Boston, has an explanation. Ramon Reyes Lala, a native of the Philippine Islands, educated in England, and now sojourning in the United States, contributes to the press a paper on the characteristics of his countrymen and their fitness for the exercise of political functions, in the course of which he says:

"I believe that large estates (in Philippines) should be prohibited by law, for I fear that a few scheming Americans may soon own the greater part of the islands, and will therefore soon have a great part of the population on their estates, educating them for a future dependence and for political subserviency. At present every native owns his own house and his own little patch of land and its contented and happy. Let him continue undisturbed in his humble possessions."

Well, if this be so, can our government give them anything better?

Every native owns his little patch of land which is more than we can say in this enlightened land, where not one in a thousand own six feet of earth in which to rest after his struggle for existence is over—Every native owns his house?

Do we citizens of America own ours?

Are we contented and happy? Can we give him what we have not got ourselves—Freedom—

Of course the poor Filipino has not got our noble system of competition down as fine as we have. Half of his brothers have not had their pay reduced, and the other half or not people of leisure—Tramps.

When the Filipino built his house he did not have our blessed trusts to fall back upon. He missed a great deal which we enjoy. Why, he could have bought his lumber of the lumber trust—his nails of the nail trust—his glass for his windows of the glass trust—papered his walls by buying his paper of the wall-paper trust—and the national lead trust would have furnished him lead—and the linseed oil trust, oil—and the tin trust tin for his piazza roof. And when he had his house all built and sat down after his evening meal he could light his lamp made by a trust and filled with trust oil, lighted with a trust match, and enjoy himself smoking trust tobacco and drinking trust whiskey, and when he got tired of all his blessings he could throw up his trust and be laid away in a trust coffin. Perhaps we had better give him some of the advantages of civilization.

OLD BALDY.

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

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.

## "Municipal Socialism."

Dr. H. A. Gibbs addressed a meeting of the Branch at Worcester, Mass., on "Municipal Socialism," last week. His remarks were in the nature of a reply to a recent article on this subject by Mayor Quincy, of Boston. Dr. Gibbs said in part:

"My attention was called a few days since to an article in the Boston Globe by Mayor Quincy of Boston under the head of 'Municipal Socialism.'

"It is hardly necessary for me to assure you that his ideas of Socialism fall far short of the genuine article. Nowhere in them do we find any recognition of the fact that the process of social development which we call Socialism is radically and inherently an economic problem. The true Socialist believes this. It is the Alpha if not the Omega of his creed, and I venture nothing in saying that he will not be swayed from his high purpose by any prospect of a free public bath or free municipal soup.

The Socialist also recognizes the fact that between even the moderate Socialism of Mayor Quincy and the capitalist system upon which it is grafted there is a radical and irreconcilable conflict; that there can be no such thing as municipal Socialism under a competitive system whose goal is profit and whose motto is 'Every man for himself, de'il take the hindmost.'

"He recognizes the fact that there can be no such thing as state Socialism or national Socialism until its tap-toot strikes down to the very lowest strata of economic conditions and it draws its sustenance and strength from economic justice. He recognizes the fact that there can be no such thing as Socialism until the products of labor are distributed on some other basis than that which prevails among swine; in short, till the whole machinery of production and distribution of wealth is in the hands of the whole people. When this is accomplished all else will be easy; until it is accomplished such attempts as these of Mayor Quincy can never reach their full fruition. 'No stream can rise above its source,' and so long as our stream of municipal life finds its source in a capitalistic system, municipal Socialism can never rise to any great height.

"Socialism, as we understand it, is inherently and fundamentally an economic problem. As such, Boston has no interest in it seaprate and distinct from other cities of the state or nation. Exactly the same economic conditions prevail here in Worcester. The same economic injustice is perpetrated, and the same economic wrongs must be righted here as there

"But more than all this, this line between state Socialism and municipal Socialism is contrary to the law of social development. Evolution along the lines of social unity and co-operation is the universal and unchangeable law of human progress. It is a law where operations cannot be circumscribed by any artificial limits of municipalities or of states. 'No pent-up Utica can contract its powers.' It is a law whose operations began when the world was first evolved out of primeval chaos, and the morning stars sang together in co-operative unison. It is a law whose operations will continue till the universal brotherhood of man becomes not merely an ethical theory, but an every day economic, social and political fact.

"The Socialist views with perfect equanimity this expansion of municipal function into that of the commonwealth, so long as it proceeds along the orderly lines of social development. He sees in it the operation of a universal law which must outgrow its present manifestations just as truly as the present is the outgrowth of the past. If Mayor Quincy does not hurry up, before he is ready to accept state Socialism the commonwealth will have assumed those functions which he now points to as glowing examples of municipal Socialism, and all there will be left for Dame Boston to do will be to regulate her hucksters and to regulate her hurdy-gurdies."

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





# 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:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2d. 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.

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

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five cents, payable quarterly in advance, for each member.

Section 13. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

### THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Section 14. The National Council shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to change by referendum. 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.

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.

### 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.

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# WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

MILAN, ITALY.

Our brave Comrade Dr. Anna Kulischoff, who had been sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for the "crime" of organizing thousands of wage workers into trades unions and Social Democratic groups, has now been liberated and we are glad to inform our American comrades that she is organizing and agitating more energetically than ever before. The Social Democratic party movement is making splendid progress and even the most tyrannical action of the plutocratic-capitalist rulers cannot check the onward march of our cause. Our comrades are ready to sacrifice even their lives for the Socialist movement. The prisons are crowded with the most heroic sons and daughters of Italy. Our best comrades are driven from city to city, but our movement is spreading rapidly and even those of us suffering behind prison walls are hopeful and enthusiastic as to the final outcome. In Sicily over 600 peasants have been arrested for taking part in a demonstration against the bread tax. It may be of interest to our American comrades to know that during last year's great machinist strike in England the Social Democratic Party of Italy contributed over 12,000 Lire (over \$2000) to the strike fund of the machinists' association. A glorious movement!

LONDON, ENGLAND.

Comrade Hyndman, in a recent speech, said about the progress of Socialism: "Looking around on the growth of the Socialist movement, on the splendid democratic organization and discipline of the party in Germany, of what they had accomplished in France and Belgium; looking at Italy, where, amid the breakdown of governmental despotism and chronic misery, the Social Democratic Party was rallying to it all that was best in the nation, we must see that Social Democracy, with its splendid ideals, offered the only hope to the people of all countries. Even in this country we were steadily marching forward, and with the utter collapse of the commercial Liberal Party we might reasonably hope for the consolidation of all democratic forces in the country for the realization of a Social Democratic ideal. There was no doubt, that the Social-Democratic cause had a great and splendid future in the history of the world."

CARDIFF, ENGLAND.

The coal miners of South Wales and Monmouth are to be congratulated on the step they have taken in joining the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. It was certainly the best thing they could do to improve their position. But while the Welshmen are likely to gain some advantage by joining the federation there is also a possibility of the federation benefiting by this accession to its strength.

BERNE, SWITZERLAND.

The 23 Social Democratic members of the Berne City Council have issued a manifesto to the various Socialist factors and trades unions of the city to unite on a common Socialist programme. For many years there existed serious differences of opinion in the local Socialist labor movement which, it is expected, will soon be settled.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

In Goppingen, Wurttemberg, the Social Democrats elected three members of the city council; in Haingrund, Bavaria, our party has also gained three seats in the municipal council.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

In the month of December 1522 women, 597 children and 6016 men had to be lodged and fed in the asylum for the homeless in this city.

GENERAL NOTES.

Gov. Roosevelt's appointment of one McMackin as a commissioner of labor statistics has aroused the

ire of many labor people in New York.

The printers of London, England, will vote upon the proposition to assess themselves for the purpose of putting their own members into political offices.

The British engineers, machinists, etc., paid off a debt of 250,000 dollars last year incurred during the great strike and have a million dollars in the treasury.

The profits of the Federal Steel trust for the past are set down at \$20,000,000; the Carnegie companies at \$10,000,000.

Edward Boyce, president of the Western Federation of Miners, is in Colorado. At Cripple Creek he organized the engineers, who became affiliated with the W. F. M.

The Pana strike is still on, the union men are receiving aid and there seems to be no immediate prospect for settlement.

The pants and overall workers of Terre Haute, Ind., who number over a thousand, are rapidly organizing under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Assembly.

A St. Louis shoe manufacturer, in an interview in the Shoe and Leather Gazette, states that by the use of new turn machines, his concern can produce about 400 pair of shoes a day, one operator doing the work formerly requiring 13 skilled mechanics.

**Can You Help?**

PORT ANGELES, WASH., DEC. 7, 1898.

At a meeting held by the Socialists of this city, one of the sisters offered the following:

"Resolved, That as we wish to socialize the State of Washington, and as our worthy brother, E. E. Vail, has been sacrificing himself for the past three years to keep his little Socialist Daily News going without a press, (except a proof press), that we appeal to the Socialists throughout the United States to contribute something to get him a press, if it was only five cents each, as with a press we could do an immense amount of good here in the State."

The resolution was adopted unanimously and a fund was started by each member contributing his or her mite.

We request all papers favorable to Socialism to give this appeal space, and furthermore we will send copies of the paper to all those sending their mite.

Send all remittances to our county central committee secretary, Herman Culver. DAVID O'BRIEN, Chairman Co. Cen. Com.

HERMAN CULVER, Secretary. Port Angeles, Clallam Co., Wash.

**Taking Public Money.**

When a certain Caliph succeeded to the throne one of his friends said: "Give me some money out of the public treasury."

The Caliph answered in amazement: "What do you mean? You want money out of the public treasury?"

"Yes. I have been your friend and would like some reward."

The Caliph replied: "Come to me at sundown and I will help you to some money."

So at the time fixed he found the Caliph waiting for him in disguise, and was surprised.

"I thought you were going to give me some money"—he said.

"I said I would help you get it," replied the Caliph, "but you must also help me."

Provided with pickaxe, dark lantern and spade, they came through back streets to the house of a very rich man.

"Now stop!" said the Caliph. "I know where this man keeps his treasure. It is just on the other side of this wall, and if we make a hole through the wall you can help yourself to the money."

The man looked aghast and said to the Caliph: "Do you take me for a thief?"

"I thought you wanted some money," was the reply.

"But," said the man, "it was public money I wanted."

"Then," said the Caliph, "when you and I stand before the judgment seat of Allah, which will be easier: to listen to the reproaches of one man whom we have robbed, or to those of all the millions whose money you propose to take?"

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Organized June 11, 1898.

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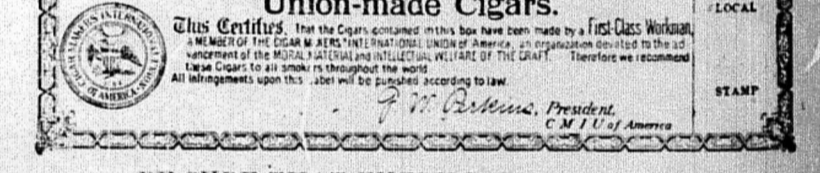
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