

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

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NO. 32

History is Simply the Sum Total of Changes in the Powers of Production.

Stocks are booming—i. e., gambling is booming—and millionaires are prosperous.

Free speech in the smoking room of the Massachusetts legislature; subject, Socialism; fifty Solons listening to Carey and Scates expounding principles of Social Democracy—we're getting on fine!

There are plenty of Americans who think that there never was any other order than the present—and there is never likely to be any other with their help.

The city, the state and the nation is in doubt as to how far they are obligated to protect human life. Why? Because all three are engaged in protecting property, which is a result of human life.

Many of the capitalist newspapers have much to say about Algerism and are calling for Alger's removal. But this is all wrong; Alger is doing the work of his class and his class journals should uphold him.

Leaving out of the question all that the major-generals have had to say in regard to army beef, the masses of the people of this country are satisfied with the testimony of the private soldiers who were made sick by eating the stuff.

The railroad employees of Missouri who protest against a reduction of rates, have not yet been heard from concerning the \$200,000,000 of taxable corporation property in Missouri which escapes taxation annually.

The shivering and famishing proletariat throughout the world will receive with regret the sad news that Mr. and Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont are compelled by hard times to give up their beautiful house at Newport, because they can't afford to spend \$1,000,000 a year to keep it going.

Many persons turn away from Socialism at the thought of its political factories, political machines, political stores, political railroads, etc. Let those who are discouraged by such a picture think of social factories, social machines, social stores and social railroads, all operated by the people themselves to supply social needs, and they will begin to grasp the right idea.

Says the anti-Socialist: "Your system is very fascinating; but then men are too selfish, don't you know, for a Socialistic state." Well now my "Wise Mike," look around you and see what sublime unselfishness really characterizes the people; the great bulk of them allow a few men to gobble up the whole earth and all that therein is. Why, the masses are really more unselfish than the angels! Put that in your pipe and smoke it!

The Philadelphia Tageblatt publishes the following item: "The work was in vain. The candidates of the Socialist Labor party will not appear on the official ballot at the coming municipal election. Only 2,087 signatures were secured for the nomination certificates, while 3,600 were required." This is a lesson for those who have vainly imagined that the cry of "Debsomania" and "Social Democratic party fakirs" would promote the cause of Socialism.

The "trust-the-President" theory is like the old "trust-the-King" theory, because "the King can do no harm." But the kings seldom did anything but harm, and presidents are no wiser than kings. If we are to "trust the President," let us have a new election and a vote on the abolition of many departments of government which the "trust-the-President" theory render needless. If presidents had proved themselves any wiser than kings we might think about trusting them.

After a six years' struggle by the union brewery workers against the English syndicate of St. Louis, six years of the most persistent agitation and restless work, victory has at last come to organized labor and a contract signed settling all points in dispute. This battle began October 23, 1893, and ended February 4, 1899. From the beginning to the close of this fight our St. Louis comrades have stood side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the brewery workers.

Republican office-holders at St. Louis are resisting investigation of their offices which does not increase public confidence in their official rectitude.

If in the industrial evolution the church and religion suffer, that is because the church, as an institution, has always been subservient to the power of the people's oppressors.

The new senator from Montana is reported to have an income of \$5,000 a day. But there are people who seem to think that the delivery of the government to "statesmen" with a long purse does not imperil the republic.

A report from Madrid says that 10,000 soldiers sent back from Cuba are begging for bread in the streets of that city. But the Spaniards are not alone. American soldiers have begged for bread and work, and have slept in jails since the war closed.

An interesting report from Comrades Scates and Carey appears in this paper. For the first time in the history of the United States our friends had the privilege of voting for a Socialist for the senate. Their choice was Comrade Winfield P. Porter of Newburyport, late candidate for the governorship on the S. D. ticket.

Some opponents of Socialism who talk about the absurdity of equality, without any clear perception of what they mean by it, think the only alternative of equality is millionaires and paupers and accept things as they are with complacency. Such people never amount to anything as factors in the world's progress.

The man who is oblivious to the teachings of history and current events in the world of industrial evolution, cannot understand the historical necessity of Socialism. There are plenty of men with skulls containing thirty ounces of brain matter whose understanding on the most decided trend of the times is woefully deficient.

The wholesale grocers of the West, following the example of other large manipulators of the people's necessities, have held a preliminary conference looking toward combination of interests. Such an arrangement would dispense with needless "drummers" and needless expenses of many kinds and conduce to economy. But Socialism alone can prevent all the economic waste going on, and likely to go on, under a capitalist system.

The supply of valid arguments against Socialism is found not to be equal to the demand—of the capitalist class. Rockefeller should put another million into his university to train up a set of fellers with big bulging brains to manufacture new arguments against Socialism. A little ten-cent book on Socialism is influencing more minds and doing more good than all the political economy doctors of colleges and universities endowed by millionaires in the land. Read "Merrie England."

"The Labour Annual for 1899" is a monument to the industry, ability and broad spirit of liberality of its editor and publisher, Joseph Edwards, of Wallasey, England. Every succeeding issue of this admirable publication is made more indispensable to social and political reformers. We are glad to announce that the Commonwealth Co., 28 Lafayette Place, New York, have been appointed American agents for the "Annual" and hope this arrangement will largely increase its sale on this side of the water.

Eastern papers express themselves in terms almost of astonishment at the evident sincerity of Social Democrats. This is only a reflection of the law of truth. Sincerity comes from a sense of right and its understanding. This sense of right, working thro sincere effort to better the conditions of life, will make our party appreciated. The sincere and intelligent Social Democrat has no need to fear the lawyer making the worse appear the better reason, or the swindler in trade, or the politician with loud professions for his constituents and secret service for his capitalist masters, for these are personifications of insincerity. Be sincere and the people will find you out.

Baltimore has been struck by a great wave of prosperity—the consolidated street railway interests have been financed for \$76,000,000, one-half of it in bonds.

The molders at Granite City who are on strike against the capitalistic apprenticeship system, should read up on Socialism. Laborers above all others should know something about the labor question.

A proclamation issued by the mayor of Chicago, calling for old clothes, food and money for the distressed poor of that city, says there are thousands in a pitiable condition FROM NO FAULT OF THEIR OWN. This is very hard on the prosperity yawpers. But whose fault is it thousands are in such terrible distress?

Socialism would remove the motive for corruption in public life; it is the only system that proposes to take all of the people into the public service, thus making administration of public affairs thoroughly public, which, if you will think it over, is quite compatible with the decrease of political fraud and jobbery, because it would be an administration of industry by the people themselves. What is the source of corruption now? The people? Not so, Wise Mike, think again!

While we have an army at the Philippines coercing ten million "yellowbellies" at two dollars a head to accept our beneficent rule, Terry Powderly at New York, as a government officer, has just sent a woman with five children back to Russia. They were met at Castle Garden by the husband and father, an industrious and respected tailor of Richmond, Va., but Terry separated Moritz Becker from his wife and children, and in spite of all appeals they had to go back. What a queer thing is "benevolent assimilation!"

The Boston correspondent of a Massachusetts daily, referring to Comrades Carey Scates, says: "The new men from Haverhill are the subjects of a great deal of talk and curiosity, from the reason that they are Social Democrats. Messrs. Carey and Scates are gentlemen appearing men, and men who impress one immediately as of good ability. There is nothing in their utterances to indicate that they have any purpose other than to improve industrial and social conditions about them."

There's nothing succeeds like success! Never be discouraged by anything the "wise," the "wealthy" or the "good" say against Socialism. They are people who are looking out only for some vantage ground, and having gained it, like all the expropriators of wealth who have gone before them in the past, will hold on to their privileges till forced out by the gathering hosts of Social Democracy. The "wise" and the "good" are generally frauds intruding themselves on the people who could get along very well without their "goodness" or their "wisdom."

Even the old democratic party, in an attempt to keep up with the procession, proposes to lend a hand in the realization of the "impracticable." The Illinois legislature has before it one of the most sweeping public ownership bills ever formulated, and from every quarter come reports of democratic ownership movements. The "father" of the Illinois bill is careful to tell that he is "no Socialist." He is a democrat seeking to galvanize a moribund second-rate capitalistic party. The "impracticable" of yesterday is the NECESSITY of to-day, however, and that's something.

Pertinent to Comrade Eugene Dietzgen's review of Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's "Labor Copartnership," the second and concluding part of which appears in this number of THE HERALD, is the testimony of Earl Grey, who last year declared that the co-operative movement in England "had degenerated too much into a hunt after dividends." He also said that he "looked in vain in the co-operative movement for an inspiring cause which would lift men up and impel them to labor for the common good," and clearly intimated that co-operation did not "have a soul above a shopkeeper's." Earl Grey has been for years one of the staunchest friends of co-operation and spoke as a friend of a cause which started as a "religion" and had degenerated into a "hunt after dividends."

Prosperity is so rampant in McKinley's own State, that at the present time there are 65,000 people who are being fed by charity.

Charles A. Wolcott was the biggest man in town at Russell, Kan., until the bank broke. He was president of the First National bank, whose funds he had used. Investigation showed that it was hopelessly insolvent. One of those bubbles that wise and pompous defenders of capitalism preside over. Lots of em in the country, too.

It is time we had a contractors and builders' trust. Here comes news from Chicago that a big firm of contractors, the Michael Greenebaum Sons Company, have gone into bankruptcy with liabilities aggregating \$264,054 and assets to the weazeny little tune of \$21,000. Michael's sons are not up to date. They thought they could stand alone. If instead of going into bankruptcy they had gone into a trust, they might be standing yet.

Why do manufacturers and merchants go into trusts and combines? One reason is that it's difficult to keep out of them. This is caused by the greater difficulty of doing business single-handed. There is no other course; the trust is a haven of security for the stockholding and exploiting class; it insures them dividends, and the dividend overtops all considerations of country, patriotism and humanity. But, and this is the chief thing after all, the trust is doing work for us.

In the death of Myron W. Reed, which occurred last week at Denver, the cause of human progress loses an able, tireless and fearless champion. Myron Reed never hesitated to speak the truth as he saw it, regardless of consequences to himself. He was a friend of the common people and of the organized labor movement of the world. His sacrifices and his service endeared him to the masses. For boldly speaking the truth he was hated by conventional hypocrites; but for that also he will be loved and remembered.

It is not politics, friends, that makes commodities cheap or dear, but the determination of capitalists to protect themselves and their class interests.

It is not politics that saps the very vitals of the people, but the capitalist system which controls politics.

It is not politics that determines the ability or disability of the working class to obtain work and gain a living, but the capitalist system which must hold the mastery in the political to perpetuate its mastery in the economic field.

It is not politics that breeds corruption in public life, but the subjection of politics to the interests of capital.

The Brockton (Mass.) Enterprise hopes that Winfield P. Porter's "vision is clear and that it sees the truth in a dream of better days," when he says that "a party which does not have a clear vision of things a hundred times better than they are at present, does not deserve the name of party."

A Social Democrat is a man with a prospectus, a vision, if you please, and a vision is better than a record for a man and a party. Aspiration for justice and humane conditions of life is better than living in political cemeteries, moping around among records of what has been.

New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
He must still be up and doing
Who would keep abreast of Truth.

A preacher at Indianapolis, Rev. J. A. Milburn, says social inequalities "make life picturesque." Not to the fellow in the social cellar, dominie! It may be that a salaried parson, viewing the scene of life from the comfortable altitude of the social parlor, can see in the struggle all the elements of a pastoral poem. What a soul such a parson must have! But the producers of wealth who furnish the parlors and are fleeced of their products to surround the occupants with luxuries, to them there is anything specially lovely or picturesque in life's inequalities. This same bearer of God's message to men said "a few rich men made the world rich." Such preaching as this is no doubt well paid for; its quality is probably determined by the pay; it is a kind of homage that hypocrisy pays to power.

LABOR COPARTNERSHIP.

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

By E. DIEZGEN.

II.

HERETOFORE I have tried to show the futility of Mr. Lloyd's labor copartnerships by boldly assuming that they had succeeded in wrenching the means of production out of the hands of the large capitalists. I now ask, is such an outcome probable? I believe that it is an idle fancy, a random thought. What makes the advocates of English labor copartnerships so enthusiastic? They point to the fact that workingmen's co-operative associations in England have within 34 years accumulated a capital of 106 million dollars for about 1 1/2 million members, yielding in 1895 a profit of 26 million dollars or about 5 cents daily to each member. Only 5 per cent of this capital is engaged in productive co-operation and 95 per cent is invested in distributive or store co-operation. It cannot be the paltry 5 cents daily gain that the co-operators are so enthusiastic about. Surely the trades union movement has achieved incomparably more for the English workers. Let me give some of the sentiments of George J. Holyoake, whom Mr. Lloyd praises as the Nestor of co-operation.

"Co-operation, in the social sense of the word, is a new power of industry, constituted by the equitable combination of worker, capitalist and consumer, and a new means of commercial morality, by which honesty is rendered productive." (The History of Co-operation in England. Vol. 1, page 2.)

On page 3 Mr. Holyoake quotes Ebenezer Elliott, in order to hit Socialists who do not exist except in his brain.

What is a communist? One who has earnings for equal division of unequal earnings, Idler or hungler, or both, he is willing To fork out his penny and pocket your shilling.

Vol. 2 inscribed to John Bright M. P. (1), preface: "What an enduring truce is to war, co-operation is to the never-ceasing conflict between labor and capital. It is the Peace of Industry."

Now, two more sentences out of Mr. Lloyd's book:

"The effect of profit-sharing, says an old co-operator, upon the working people, he believes, will be the same that the French revolution had upon the peasantry of France; in giving them property it will make them thrifty and steady." (Page 277.)

"Co-operation is business democratizing itself, garlanded, dancing and set to music, the ten commandments and the golden rule." (Page 250.)

I think that is sufficient music of this sort to continue with some more sober facts.

While the 11-2 million of English co-operators have amassed 106 million dollars, less than 1-4 million of English citizens have accumulated about 30,000 million dollars, not minding the many billions previously gathered. Consequently the material chances of success for the latter against the former stand as 180 to 1, and are growing daily. A fine prospect for the co-operators indeed!

Besides, in most English productive labor copartnerships the workingmen employed therein are owning only 20 to 30 per cent of the shares, the balance of the stock is held by outside co-operators and others claiming dividends and profit-shares. The workingmen employed in all of the English productive co-operations receive as a dividend on wages only 16 per cent of the profits, the rest is paid out to the share and loan capital. The paltry donations to charitable institutions hardly deserve mentioning.

The capitalist character of the English labor copartnerships cannot help cropping out. We see today the Co-operative Wholesale Society of England, which, by the way, pays no dividends on wages,

fighting in direct competition with the Co-operative Wholesale Society of Ireland.

It occurs to me that the plan to reconstruct society by means of English co-operative schemes is on par with the idea of overcoming the capitalist system by means of colonization schemes. Both schemes alike are based on a total misconception of the present economic system, and of the capitalist money, law and court power. By both a means to an end is proposed that rather is apt to defer than to forward the end. Some of these advocates, Mr. Lloyd included, lay stress upon the point that it is less the material than the educational and moral effect of labor copartnerships they have in mind, such co-operation would teach workingmen to conduct and manage themselves stores, factories, etc. It seems strange that these reformers overlook what lessons of this kind capitalism is giving to workingmen at an ever increasing rate. Are the capitalist stockholders of railroads, factories, mines, stores, etc., running and managing them, or is the actual management in the hands of wage-workers that are ever coming nearer to the level of compensation with ordinary hands?

As an illustration I would state, that last year the "Directors" of the Western Electric Co. of Chicago, a stock company employing about 1600 men, decided to dispense with foremen and superintendents earning \$1800 to \$4000 annually, and what did they do? They discharged the high-salaried men and put in their places some of the other employees at a salary of \$1200 to \$2400. These workingmen are thus being charged to run and manage the business, while the so-called directors earn about \$10,000 annually for calling in their carriages, once in a while every month, to ascertain within a few hours, whether the balance sheets show a satisfactory profit. The other stockholders only take the trouble to pocket once or twice annually their profit-share. Now, if the Western Electric Works were made a co-operative plant of the Lloyd's pattern, hardly any more workmen could be taught to manage the business than is now the case. It cannot be denied that we have in Chicago, as in all large centers, thousands of people able to manage and to conduct business enterprises who cannot earn more on an average than about \$2 a day. Our bookkeepers, traveling salesmen, architects, lawyers, druggists, physicians, etc., average not more than from \$600 to \$800 annually. These involuntary graduates of capitalist co-operations are being taught by sheer necessity what Socialism stands for. The reader of Mr. Lloyd's "Labor Copartnership" is left in doubt whether the capitalist system is based on co-operation. He ought to have been reminded that Capitalism means compulsory co-operation of the many workingmen for the benefit of the few capitalists, and, besides, co-operation of the few exploiters against the many exploited. As an instance of the latter the Chicago Tribune of Jan. 15, 1899, contains the following news item: "In consequence of the vast engineering strike of 1899 a colossal federation of employers was formed to fight the trades unions. On Oct. 3d, 1898, representatives of 291 firms met, when one firm alone contributed \$175,000 to the preliminary expenses. They decided that no firm is to make a separate bargain with workmen, and every firm is to be guided by the advice of the Central Committee. The federation of employers guarantees one year's net profits to any firm which locks out its employees or is abandoned by them."

The principal blessing that humanity owes to Capitalism is co-operation and its offspring, productivity of labor. It is the blessed mission of capitalism to usher in Socialism by removing isolated, dwarfish individual production and putting in its place co-operative production at an ever-growing scale. Capitalism teaches the working-class three distinct forms of co-operation, viz.: 1st. Trade co-operation or trade unionism. 2nd. Political co-operation or political action. 3d. Industrial co-operation or concert work in factories, stores, etc. But note the essential difference between the two former and the last kind of co-operation. While capitalism whips the working class into independent trades union and party co-operation, it necessitates, until overcome, the dependent industrial co-operation of workingmen in factories, stores, etc. Only joint trades union and political action in the interest of the entire working class will pave the road for economic independence. Meanwhile all colonization and kindred co-operative schemes of the Lloyd's pattern are a sort of Don Quixotism, reactionary and a positive detriment to the labor movement. These labor copartnerships are fostered either by philanthropists ignorant of the laws underlying our present economic system, or by short-sighted workingmen endeavoring to become capitalists at the cost of their own class interests or by designing capitalists as a means to impede trade unionism and political action of the working class. Of course, we do not object, if some workingmen want to improve their lot by industrial co-operation on their own account. Let them try. Such is their private business and does not concern us as Socialists. We know that not all workingmen can do likewise, and even the comparatively few workmen under special conditions only. We see in England many workingmen's co-operative stores because of the lack of the department stores in the densely populated industrial centres. With the advent of the latter, the former will have outlived their principal usefulness. Let capitalist trades unions or trusts become more numerous in England, and we will soon see the end of most English productive co-operations of workingmen. From the foregoing it may seem perhaps that I am a decided opponent to all labor copartnerships "on general principles." Far from it. I consider them an important step in the right direction, providing they are not of the Holyoake-Lloyd stamp, trying to fight capital with capital or to harmonize the claims of labor and capital, but providing they are undertaken merely as an auxiliary movement to trades unionism and independent political action, and expressly for the purpose, not of making profits for its members, but of collecting funds for the workingmen's class organization and agitation, after the pattern of our Belgian comrades. The more efficient the joint efforts of trades unionism and political action become, the better the chances for putting into practice class-conscious labor copartnerships. Nationalization and municipalization of public utilities, when effected by and for the working class, will rank among the chief labor copartnerships of that kind. If in consequence of a strike or lockout workingmen want to start a co-operative plant, they ought to feel satisfied: 1st. That sufficient means are at hand for a line of industry not as yet gobbled up by large or federated capital; 2nd. That honest and able managers are at their disposal; 3d. That a favorable market is not lacking; 4th. That the support of trades unions and of the Socialist party can be relied upon. The workingmen starting a co-operative enterprise want to be ready to waive all expectations for profits and dividends, and they merely want to combine, in order to gain a more steady position at the best union wages and conditions of work, all the time animated by

the proud purpose of contributing the profits for the assistance of their two mainstays, class-conscious trades unionism and political action. In this way they would act "each for all" and "all for each". This would be true self-help by each other help.

Such labor copartnerships, marching on a separate road from that traveled by trades unionism on the one hand, and by independent political action on the other hand, with all three factors co-ordinately combining their efforts for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation—such and only such labor copartnerships I should as a Socialist consistently be able to encourage by all means

Chicago, Jan. 26, 1899.

The White Man's Burden.
TAKE up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait, in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

TAKE up the White Man's burden—
The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of famine,
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heaten folly
Bring all your hope to nought.
—RUDYARD KIPLING.

Porter at Brockton.

Winfield P. Porter, of Newburyport, late candidate of the Social Democratic party for governor of Massachusetts, spoke at Brockton, Sunday, Jan. 28. There was a large attendance, the hall being filled, and Comrade C. H. Coulter presided. From Comrade Porter's address we give the following extracts:

"The time is coming and it is not far distant when the workingmen, the great majority, will stand where they will receive that for which they ask. The laws at present are made, in the majority of cases, by men of the employing class, and naturally, are favorable to that class rather than to the working class. In reference to the revision of the city charter of Brockton, he said it had been suggested to him that this might be changed in such a way as to most benefit the employing class, and it behooves the people of the city to watch and be careful that nothing detrimental to their interests came of this change."

Referring to trusts, the speaker said: "The result of the milk combine in New York was to throw 16,000 men out of employment, and their loss places a few more men on the road to become millionaires. In 1898 no less than 90 trusts were formed, throwing thousands of men out of work and combining from 1200 to 1300 millions of dollars capital. When it is known that more than one-half the money invested in the country before these trusts were formed was similarly employed, how long would it be before all the money invested would be within control of the trusts? Seventy-five per cent. of the labor of today is non-productive of a single useful article. Taking as example one class of these non-producers he referred to the 300,000 drummers costing \$7,000,000 a day. The trusts are reducing these men to idleness, and the same is the case with thousands of other non-producers. If this 75 per cent. of useless labor was being eliminated by the trusts, how long would it be before one-half the population of the country will be out of work? Socialism is the remedy for this condition."

The speaker then referred to the thinking business men who are taking a lively interest in Socialism and seeking light in that direction. The growth of the movement is simply astonishing. Mayor Chase of Haverhill told me of speaking before the Twentieth Century club of Boston and that he had been invited to address the business men of Gloucester on the same subject. The speaker had been invited and spoken before the Dalton club of his city, the exclusive business men's club of the city, and the branches of the party everywhere were taking in members at every meeting in ever-increasing numbers. These things he said did not savor of defeat for the party in years to come. He had also addressed the Fisk Review club of Belleville, composed of scholarly men and women.

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FRENCH SOCIALISTS ON COLONIZATION.

The Joint Committee of French Socialists, composed of delegates elected from five great national organizations, sitting at No. 7, Rue Montmorency, Paris, last Sunday, was engaged in making preparations for the great International Socialist Congress to be held in Paris in 1900. It also took into consideration the position of international affairs, and delegated Citizen Jaures to represent the committee at the great international meeting to be held in London on March 8, next, and further decided to address to the English proletariat the following appeal:

TO THE ORGANIZED WORKERS AND SOCIALISTS OF ENGLAND.

"COMRADES:—We witness with great uneasiness and the deepest indignation the efforts being made on both sides of the channel to excite against each other two great peoples, who for the good of humanity, should be united. We hope that the combined action of the proletariat will prevent a disastrous conflict.

"We know, and we proclaim, that the propertied and governing class of our country have had in the period of intense reaction, through which it has but recently passed, a large part of responsibility in this crisis. Always ready, as parvenus, to disown their Republican origin, they have been more flattered by the deceitful friendship of despots than solicitous of the sympathy of a free people. Our capitalist classes, without initiative and without vigor, return to the lazy exploitation of the old colonial methods. Their narrow protectionism, applied still more brutally to the colonies than to this country, injures the just interests of other peoples, oppresses and despoils the natives, and reduces the general activity of humanity.

"Your possessing and governing classes, condemned by the excess of capitalism to be dependent upon foreign markets, readily regard as an encroachment all extension on the part of other nations. Your statesmen have covertly approved such treacherous enterprises as the Jameson raid, and their aggressive imperialism is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world. Thus French capitalism, shrunken, zealous and irritated, and English capitalism, greedy, insolent and unscrupulous, multiply the points of irritation and of conflict.

"But what adds to all these ills, and to all these perils, is that in the two countries the capitalist class seeks to ally with itself a part of the proletariat. Our manufacturers and yours wish to persuade the workers that it is in their interests and to secure work for them, that they contend, even by war, for colonial markets. It is a lie. The well-being of the proletariat will be in 'co-operative communism,' which will permit the workers to produce for themselves, and will substitute a much greater home market for the disturbing and unwholesome quest for foreign markets. Then colonial policy will cease to mean an extension of capitalist rapacity, and will represent instead the development of human civilization. But to attain these noble objects the universal proletariat must have before all things, peace. We hold, then, that our common and most pressing duty is to suppress by an incessant Socialist and working class propaganda all the germs of conflict.

"Let us, then, work together for this. It is necessary that we should all redouble our efforts.

"It is in this spirit that we send to you our most fraternal sympathies, in which we are sure we express the feeling of the French nation, which, in spite of certain individuals, has profound esteem and loyal affection for your great and noble people. Long live peace between the nations! Hurrah for the universal proletariat!

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

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

LAURENCE GRONLUND'S "THE NEW ECONOMY"

By SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

WE have received the late work by Laurence Gronlund entitled "The New Economy," published by Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago and New York. It contains 364 pages, gilt top and cloth bound. Typographically it is very artistically arranged. Price, \$1.25.

He opens his work by showing the necessity of immediate relief, and notes the bitterness of the last national election as evidence of the drawing closer of class lines even with an erroneous issue.

In treating of trusts, he says, "clearly the inevitable outcome is that in the trust we have reached the last stage but one, for then machinery is ready to the hand of collectivity and the public will at a given time actually be compelled by the spirit of democracy to assume the management."

Our concerning ourselves with this goal, which may be a "hundred years distant in the future"—that is the "dreaming" with which we are charged, is nevertheless a point of view that is profitable; it proves to us that the trust instead of being the people's foe, is really, though unwittingly and unwillingly, the people's best friend; it warns that every solution of any pending problem which is not in line with this goal, which is not a stepping stone to it, even if it be backed by a million bayonets, is worse than no solution.

The author advocates the immediate application of Socialistic measures, such as obligatory industrial arbitration, municipal enterprises, socializing of mines, etc., by the nation or State as may be adapted best to our present form of government. He advocates State recognition of labor organizations, extension of the national department of the educational system, the nationalizing of the telegraph, railways, etc.

He points out the fallacy of trying ingenuity and invention of social remedies, and shows society to be a natural growth and the realization of present change, and future revolutions to be a discovery of a natural order of social evolution and development.

He speaks tersely of the rise of slavery, its necessity and its fall; the development of feudalism, its necessity and its fall; the early foreign commerce of Italian cities; the dawn of capitalism, and its stupendous and rapid achievements. "We now behold the full blown flower in the modern combine, the wage system, however, remaining." He says, "but the trust has arisen, and it has raised business one rung higher up on the ladder of evolution. The trust, however, has not interfered with the wage system—that has been left where it was, but it has turned competition into co-operation, and private capital into collective capital, and it is just; thereby it has become the greatest sign of coming events to us." The trust is the last evolutionary turn of the present social order; the trust co-operates capitals of many, and thus destroys the essence of the competitive system; it remains but to co-operate the employees."

Gronlund clearly and exquisitely shows the irrational position of Spencer, whom he says knows only "Status," that means personal authority as it manifested itself in slavery and serfdom; and "contract" as it is illustrated in our wage system; and "Spencer is afraid to abandon the present personal authority and contract for fear of a recurring status failing to conceive of an impersonal authority or the authority of the collectivity."

The author severely criticises the "notion" of equality of remuneration, or control of work, and says, "we define the co-operative coming wealth as the state that will own and manage all capital for the benefit of all the people and which will guarantee to all citizens suitable labors and recompense them according to performance."

They can save or spend as much as they please, their income meas-

uring their extravagance and gratification of taste; they can hoard, travel, experiment, work early or late and live meanly or grandly, but no avenue will be open for investment (with profits as an object) and therefore a man's consumption will be limited in value only to the value of his efforts exerted in behalf of society.

The freedom of collectivism will give the environment for ideal morals, so the altruist should work for it, but "collectivism" is exclusively an economic system—the realization of democracy in industry; hence, it can have nothing to do directly with morals and religion."

The author plunges into the modern conflict among ethical teachers and moral philosophers, and acquits himself with no small degree of credit. To the query "What is the ultimate good," he replies: "collectivism, because it will introduce the same order into morals that the Copernican system founded in astronomy. Egoism is essential and selfishness gratified wisely will bring forth conduct consistent with social growth as well as altruism."

Gronlund draws a nice distinction between freedom and liberty which he says are too often used indiscriminately and "yet there is a difference"—liberty is a Latin word; freedom is of Anglo-Saxon origin; liberty, negative, freedom, positive; "liberty denotes the absence of restraints" "not controlled," or as an employer defined it, as a witness on the stand, "Why, liberty, is the right of an American to do as he damned please," freedom is a positive acquisition, the power and opportunity to do that which ought to be done.

The author lucidly explains private property in wealth under Socialism and shows that Socialists do not oppose private property except property (i. e. possession and control) in social functions, capital the means of production for profit.

Chapter 6. "A wise program" is a thesis supporting opportunism and fabianism, Gronlund says, "in this regard the statesman should be an opportunist in the good sense of the word, as every evolutionary collectivist is one—that is he will take advantage of every fact that may enable him to succeed."

The last two hundred pages of this work are devoted to a discussion of measures that seem most easily adopted, and the reasons approving the same with quotation from prominent men with Socialistic inclinations, and it is this part of the book I regard as best thought out, and of great merit, among the measures are compulsory arbitration; legal recognition of trades unions; extension of the powers and duties of the Department of Agriculture; State aid to the unemployed and employed; the municipalizing of street cars, telephones, fuel supply; civil service; State regulation of the liquor traffic; ownership of mines; the nationalization of the telegraph; savings banks and banking generally; control of railroad fares and nationalization of railroads; the extension and perfection of educational opportunities, facilities and systems of instruction, which are treated quite fully and comprehensively and are well adapted to those who are unfamiliar with the attitude of Socialists in reference to measures for immediate adoption.

This work contains elements of great strength which are largely undermined by jealousy, quibbling and uncertainties. There is room enough in these opening days of social transition for the author. He may have glory and fame without sneering at Bellamy. Gronlund's jabs at that heroic author are like a blinking candle sputtering at the sun.

Gronlund believes "Bellamy's notion of EQUALITY will make Socialism preposterous to its opponents and helpless to its friends."

The author further says: "We deem it a most dangerous delusion to indoctrinate the working class,

as Bellamy does with the notion that the collectivist state will bask in illimitable wealth, and that its citizens as a consequence work only a couple of hours daily." It is needless for me to show this misconception of Bellamy by Gronlund, for Equality is written in the purest and plainest English. Even Gronlund philosophizes and dreams in the closing pages on individuality.

Gronlund weeps "because Socialists in Europe preach class war." He is troubling his mind over windmills. Class interests are the basis of class antagonisms, i. e. war, not necessarily personal hatred.

We may admire or even love Mr. George, "Uncle Tom's" first master, but hate the slave holders as a class, for there we behold the concrete expression of the oppressor, the beneficiaries of a system based upon wrong and robbery.

He says "The greatest blunder of the Socialists there (in Europe) is that they repudiate patriotism." Of course that depends upon what Gronlund means by patriotism. It may be he defines it the same as Ben Johnson does: "the last refuge of a scoundrel." I will give him the benefit of the doubt. He observes that "The (Socialists) make the blunder of parting society in two parts by a horizontal line—the wage workers below and all others above the line." I beg to differ. "They" never parted society at all; classes grew naturally, Socialists merely discovered them and defined their relationship to each other, and Socialists of all countries have recognized the truism that one economically may belong to one class, and personally labor for its destruction. Witness LaSalle, William Morris, and the proletariat, who undermines his class by voting the capitalist ticket. Gronlund comes very near the line of trying to repudiate the theory of class struggle. He does not believe in the expediency of woman's suffrage. He believes they are too "emotional." "They lack the due sense of the proportion of things; subject to fanaticism and liable to take up causes with a passion that subordinates even the national welfare to them." "At present women can do just as much good by their private activity as they possibly could do with their suffrage."

There is nothing I should regard as new to Socialists in this book, "The New Economy." Gronlund, in stating his reasons, says: "The object of this book is to unite all good, enlightened people on the collectivism here presented as the worthy ideal of the twentieth century and its efforts to render odious the spirit of individualism—meantime they are asked to effect certain reforms, reforms that are really practical because they will soften the social problem by raising the economic condition of the wage worker and taking under arms struggling ability." There are many brilliant ideas within the pages of this book and new forms of presentation. A great deal could have been omitted making a far more accurate, a shorter and consequently more interesting and salable book.

He says of Bellamy sarcastically—"His Equality will start creative organizations just as little as his 'Nationalist' societies did." Such observations might have been omitted with advantage.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

What Socialism Is.

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

Social Democratic Party Platform

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

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.

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."

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch 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 Council, 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.

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.

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; thence 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	9,749
TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.	
1898	5,000,000

LABOR

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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.

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 majority 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 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.

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 majority 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.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

No danger! In the Reichstag Baron von Stumm, the industrial king, demanded that the government take immediate steps to discharge every workman in the navy yard known as a Social Democrat. Comrade Molkenbuhr, a cigar-maker, of the Social Democratic party, took the floor and in a very sarcastic way replied, that if Baron von Stumm's recommendation should be carried out there would be hardly any workmen left to build the governments' ships. In Kiel, the principal navy yard in the country, about 9000 ship-builders voted the Social Democratic ticket and elected their candidate to the national legislature. Comrade Molkenbuhr concluded with the ironic remark that no matter what the government might undertake against the Socialists the latter would always come out on the safe side.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

London Justice writes: A telegram recently appeared in the papers extolling the rapid progress of civilization in Nyassaland. While no more than two years ago, it said, the bulk of the natives were but naked savages, they were now nearly all "decently clothed" in cottons and calicoes, "and some even in prints." The pa hos of this last ought certainly to touch the hardest heart. Socialists know well enough that the great object of the "civilizing mission" of modern Europe is the opening-up of markets, and that it is the special aim of England's "civilizing mission" in Central Africa, for the moment, to open up markets for Lancashire goods.

EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.

The general miners federation of Great Britain which convened here adopted the following resolution: "That this conference, having accepted South Wales and Monmouthshire, the miners in the United Kingdom being in one federation, the secretary of the federation be instructed to ask them if they will attend a conference for the purpose of discussing the wages questions the eight hours' bill, or anything affecting their interests." Should a favorable reply be received, the committee will be instructed to call such a conference.

HAMBURG, GERMANY.

A congress of sailors and others engaged in the shipping industry was held last week at Hamburg to discuss the work and conditions of sailors and ship-workers' lives. One of the items on the agenda was, "The Internationality of Sailors." Delegates were present from Hamburg, Bremen, Bremerhaven, Fleusburg, Lubeck and Stettin.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

Popular demonstrations are being held daily in all the large towns advocating the abolition of the newspaper stamp duty. Every copy of a newspaper printed, sold or unsold, has to pay a stamp duty of one kreuzer. Social Democrats and trade unionists are very active in the agitation.

BERNE, SWITZERLAND.

The movement inaugurated by the Social Democratic members of the city council to bring about a harmonious co-operation between the various factions of the Socialist and labor forces is progressing very encouragingly. This will give a new impetus to the entire Social Democratic and trades union movement.

BASEL, SWITZERLAND.

A report from Berne states that 15,000 francs have been appropriated by the municipal council of that city for providing work for the suffering unemployed. The men will be employed at public street improvements.

MADRID, SPAIN.

Blessings of War! Over 10,000 "repatriated" soldiers recently brought back from the colonies are now begging for bread in the streets

of Madrid. 'Tis a great system of Christian civilization.

NATIONAL.

CUMBERLAND, MD.

Clergymen of this city have given expression of opinion on the recent utterances of Bishop Potter about the saloon being a social necessity under existing conditions.

Rabbi J. L. Stern says: "I fully agree with the Rev. Bishop Potter's statement that under our present circumstances saloons are a necessity and that the reason for the need of saloons lies in the poverty of the working masses. What Bishop Potter might have said, but did not, is this: 'If those who are opposed to saloons in their present form or altogether are earnest in their endeavor to reform or abolish the saloon as it now exists, then they should, in the first place, try to abolish the main cause, namely, the poverty of the working people. They must try to understand that the most peculiar of all the paradoxes, the term laboring man, which includes all those who produce all wealth, is almost identical with the term "poor man," which means one that has no wealth. They must try to find the reason of the fact that those who build all the houses have none, and must, therefore, live in miserable tenements, which drive the worker into the more commodious saloon. Those who are really earnest in their endeavor to help the poor people, the laboring people, should begin at the beginning and abolish these poor people's poverty. The poverty of the laboring people is a perfectly good excuse for the existence of the saloon as it is.'"

JEFFERSON CITY, MO.

The State Federation of Labor elected the following officers: President, M. F. Bradley, Kansas City; First Vice President, J. A. Fikensher, Jefferson City; Second Vice President, C. W. Krumm, St. Joseph; Secretary and Treasurer, E. B. Howard, Kansas City; Legislation Committee, C. P. Connelly, St. Louis; E. T. Berhens, Sedalia and E. A. McCormish, St. Louis; Delegate to the American Federation of Labor at Detroit, Samuel B. Harrison of St. Louis; Organizer, N. P. Nagele, St. Louis.

New Zealand's Old-Age Pension Law.

Through the kindness of Comrade A. C. Casimer of Melbourne, Australia, who is secretary of the Victorian Socialist's League, I am in possession of a copy of New Zealand's old-age pension law—right from the government printer at Wellington, New Zealand. Comrade Casimer asks me to review it for THE HERALD, of which he is a reader.

The law consists of 68 sections and covers thirteen pages of statutory form, the greater part of which relates to the details of administration. I will quote such sections of the law as I think will be of most interest to the readers of THE HERALD.

The title of the law is "The Old-age Pensions Act, 1898," and the preamble reads as follows:

"Whereas, it is equitable that deserving persons who during the prime of life have helped to bear the public burdens of the colony by the payment of taxes, and to open up the resources by their labor and skill, should receive from the colony a pension in their old age."

"7. Subject to the provisions of this act, every person of the full age of sixty-five years or upwards shall whilst in the colony be entitled to a pension as hereinafter specified.

"8. No such person shall be entitled to a pension under this act unless he fulfills the following conditions, that is to say:

"1. That he is residing in the colony on the date when he establishes his claim to the pension and also

"2. That he has so resided continuously for not less than twenty-five years immediately preceding such date: Provided that continuous residence in the colony shall not be deemed to have been interrupted by occasional absence therefrom unless the total period of all

such absence exceeds two years, nor in the case of a seaman by absence therefrom whilst serving on board a vessel registered in and trading to and from the colony if he establishes the fact that during such absence his family or home was in the colony.

Then follow several sections that provide for debaring claim in case the applicant has been convicted of certain crimes, or has neglected to support wife or children. He must also prove:

"6. That he is of good moral character, and is, and has for five years immediately preceding such date been, leading a sober and reputable life; and also

"7. That his yearly income does not amount to fifty-two pounds or upwards, computing as hereinafter provided; and also

"8. That the net capital value of his accumulated property does not amount to two-hundred and seventy pounds or upwards, computed and assessed as hereinafter provided; and also

"9. That he has not directly or indirectly deprived himself of property or income in order to qualify for a pension; and also

"10. That he is the holder of a pension certificate as hereinafter provided.

"That the amount of the pension shall be eighteen pounds per year, diminished by

"1. One pound for every complete pound of income above thirty-four pounds; and also by

"2. One pound for every complete fifteen pounds of the net capital value of all accumulated property, computed and assessed as next hereinafter provided.

"36. Each monthly instalment of the pension shall be payable at the post-office money order office named in the pension certificate.

"41. The installment in any such warrant shall be payable at any time within fourteen days after the date thereof, on the personal application of the pensioner or other the person named therein, and also the production of the warrant, and (except where the warrant otherwise provides) of the pension certificate, to the postmaster of the post office money order office named in the warrant.

"42. In default of strict compliance with all the provisions of the last preceding section hereof, the warrant shall be deemed to have lapsed, and the forfeiture of the installment named therein shall become absolute.

"43. The following provisions shall apply in every case where the pensioner is maintained in any charitable institution, or receives relief therefrom:

"1. The reasonable cost of such maintenance or relief shall be payable out of the pension.

"2. For the purpose of procuring such payment, instalments of the pension shall, to such extent as is necessary, be payable to the governing body of such institution in such manner as is prescribed, and on production to the postmaster of a warrant in the prescribed form.

"3. Any surplus pension moneys remaining in the hands of such governing body after defraying such cost shall be paid to the pensioner.

"49. If any pensioner is convicted of drunkenness, or of any offense punishable by imprisonment for not less than one month and dishonoring him in the public estimation, then, in addition to any other penalty or punishment imposed, the convicting court may in its discretion, by order, forfeit any one or more of the instalments falling due next after the date of conviction.

"53. The pension being for the personal support of the pensioner, it shall (subject to the provisions of this act as to payment, forfeiture, and otherwise) be absolutely inalienable, whether by way of assignment, charge, execution, bankruptcy or otherwise.

"If a pensioner is convicted of being an habitual drunkard the pension is canceled.

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CHAS. R. MARTIN.

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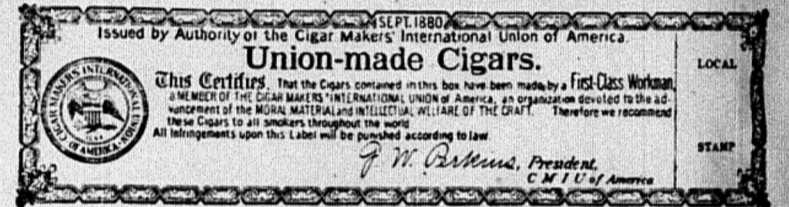
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