

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

Vol. 1.

BELLEVILLE, ILL., SATURDAY, FEB. 18, 1899.

NO. 33.

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

The community, which is the source of property of all kinds, will under Social Democracy be the master of property.

Your poorhouses, your soup kitchens and your charity associations are all signs of the failure of a system which Social Democracy will succeed.

Every man who has the ability and capacity for securing a livelihood, has a right to equal opportunity with all other men to labor. That's Social Democracy, and justice as well.

Our valued contributor, Isador Ladoff, has a trenchant article in this issue on "Socialism and the Ethical Movement," which the branch organizations would find fruitful for an evening's discussion.

That the wealth of a nation of 80,000,000 of people has been centralized at a speed and to an extent unparalleled in history, is a proof of prosperity—to the class which has gobbled the wealth.

The program of Social Democracy is the land and the tools for the people, increased production, equitable distribution, no necessary idle labor, no wasted energies, decrease of working hours, increase of pleasures and an expansion of human life. See anything wrong about it?

Some people seem to think that the millennium is near at hand because the steel trust advanced wages. But it isn't. The people have been tricked in that way before; they cannot be persuaded that the business of this country in the hands of private capitalists is going to be run on the Golden Rule basis. Mark this: Steel rails were pushed up to \$20, nails went to \$2 and wire \$3 a ton—See?

Within a week after the passage of the treaty by the United States senate, these things happened: Senator McEnery got a batch of federal jobs for Louisiana.

Senator Kenney got his Dover bank wrecking indictment pigeon-holed by the Attorney-General.

Senator Grey got the promise of a judgeship.

There have been squandered of the people's money, by the Dodge war investigation, \$99,000, and 60,000 persons in New York city are utterly destitute and hungry—\$99,000 for a whitewash, but not a cent for the relief of a people who, from no fault of their own, are without food, raiment and shelter. And the "heavenly twins" are rubbing each others' ribs saying: "What great men are we! Even greater than George and Abraham!"

The National Liquor League has taken the temperance problem into its own hands. At Akron, Ohio, the League has paid the saloon-keepers enough to make it worth their while to discontinue business, and all the places are to be kept closed. The object, says the League, is to demonstrate the necessity of the saloon. But that isn't all; they say that the city cannot possibly get along without the revenue! It's an interesting experiment.

In the legislative investigation of municipal administration at St. Louis, Henry C. Grenner, president of an oil company, testified that the oil refiners and sellers did not care how much the oil inspector's fees were; "the State might double the inspector's income if it chose, the sellers would simply tack the increase on the price paid by the consumer." The income of the inspector is \$11,000 a year and one of the deputies, who said he tested nearly all the oil sold in St. Louis, testified that the actual work only required 45 minutes and 15 seconds of his time each day.

And the people pay the bills.

While Yerkes has consolidated the outlying street car lines of Chicago, with a capital stock of \$15,000,000, that great city is unable to pay its quarterly gas bills when due. When a city councilman protested against the gas companies filing judgment against the city for bills due, the threat was made that the city would be left in darkness. This illustrates the beneficence of private ownership of public utilities.

The expectation is that American capital will make the Philippines the greatest productive country on earth—for capitalists.

With all our wealth, a false system of production and distribution which wastes the energies of the people in useless strife to secure a portion of the abundance, the production of wealth is but a fraction of what it might be, and the world is poor.

The prosecuting attorney of Chicago has on his hands 100 cases of jury bribes. Yet such immaculate pure souled and patriotic citizens as Marshall Field raise their coats-tails before the blazing hearthstones these winter nights and thank God for the opportunities they have had to earn an honest living without being contaminated by the corruption of these days!

There is a municipal pawnshop bill before the Illinois legislature. It is framed "solely for the benefit of the worthy poor." A workingman with nothing in the world but the tools of his trade—and no opportunity to use them—will be given an opportunity to pawn them and thus "tide over some wave of adversity." But the private pawnbrokers are after the "legislators of corrupt principles" to get the bill defeated. The plan originated with the Merchants' Club of Chicago, and seems to have been honestly intended to do good; but to do good infringes on the "rights" of the three-ball fraternity and the bill will probably be killed.

A manufacturers' journal in New England says: "It is a remarkable fact that vast sums of money were donated by the woolen industry of New England to secure a high tariff president, and we got the president, and we got the high tariff, and where are we?" We are engaged in "benevolent assimilation;" war scandal investigations at a cost of \$99,000; courts of inquiry to inquire into a matter the war investigators were supposed to have settled; we are engaged in fixing schemes and schemes for increasing the army for the defense of capitalists and the protection of their great larcenies; shooting down people who want the same kind of "liberty" we have, and doing all sorts of things that are a disgrace to a great and intelligent people. Perhaps the "great protectionist" could give you a more direct answer, but he is engrossed with "benevolent assimilation."

The Taunton (Mass.) Gazette says:—"Haverhill Socialists are beginning to show their hand and will probably play their cards for all they are worth while they have the present chance. They may never have another."

Whereupon the Haverhill Gazette comments in this strain: "Don't be so certain of that, esteemed contemporary. If the Socialists advocate measures for the public good, the public will not be slow in expressing its approval, and it is to be hoped that their colleagues will have sense enough to see the wisdom of such measures and join in supporting them. To think that nothing proposed by Socialists is worthy of consideration shows pig-headedness and does not savor of common sense."

That last remark seems to fit the Haverhill aldermen whose pig-headedness leads them to oppose anything in the interest of the people that emanates from the Socialist aldermen or mayor.

Read this brilliant out-pouring from the Lowell (Mass.) Citizen, and marvel no longer that among really thoughtful and intelligent people Socialism is spreading:

"That is a queer bill which Mr. Carey of Haverhill has introduced into the legislature, to restrict the age of employes in manufacturing and mercantile establishments to 16 years. It would be well for the young if it could be enforced; but what would the families do, so many of them have to support? Receive public aid perhaps; but that would be charity, and charity is often disguised as a curse. The independence of a boy or girl must be respected, and the manliness or womanliness they have. Some boys are men at 13 and can face the world with a stout heart; surely we will not shut the doors against such. Education! There are evening schools, well equipped and comfortable institutions."

There's clabbered wisdom for you! Never occurred to this Bay State mossback that the admission that children thirteen years old and less, under the present system, have the responsibility of supporting families, constitutes in itself a terrible arraignment of the system; nor that a child who has been worked ten hours a day for profit in a capitalistic slave pen, is unfitted to take advantage of evening schools, however well equipped and comfortable such institutions may be.

Plenty of soldiers who were not killed by "embalmed beef" are now vainly seeking an opportunity to earn bread.

Plans are maturing for a combination of all the silk manufacturers in the United States. They provide for the running of the mills which show the best "profits," and closing down of all others.

The mattress factory of Francis H. Bergin, St. Louis, one of the oldest in the country, is "shut down good and tight," and to add to the suffering of the poor in that city, a large number of working people have been thrown out of employment.

If the greater part of the savings in New York banks belong to the "exploited working class," and the greater part of the money spent in New York saloons is spent by the "exploited working class," one may well wonder where that class gets all its money from.

The Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis railway is using a pneumatic car-painting machine in its shops. With this device a freight car can be painted in one hour, while the hand method took from two to three hours. It promises to take the place of hand painting entirely. And the "Wise Mikes" are wondering when we are going to have "good times" again!

The authoritative statement is made that in New York City, metropolis of a nation that has gone 10,000 miles from home to subject a people struggling for liberty to the exploitations of commercial cormorants, 60,000 persons are utterly destitute and hungry! What a calamity it would be to abolish a system that creates such conditions and is powerless to remedy them!

The Union Savings bank of San Jose, Cal., has been so prosperous that it had to close its doors. It had a million dollars capital and seems to have gone under because the managers should have used up the money. The managers should have used up the money in private speculation, then there would have been none to draw.

Without stockings and in worn-out shoes that do not keep their feet from the frozen ground, with old straw hats on their heads, a pair of overalls and no underwear, men have been led out of the workhouse at St. Louis this winter to break and haul rock. Gloveless hands have cracked till they bled, hands and feet have been frozen—and the city is in doubt as to how far it is obligated to protect human life. Great indeed is "benevolent assimilation!"

A movement has been started at St. Louis to find employment for a large number of men who gave up positions to enter the army. Now that their patriotic work is ended these men, many of them with families, find themselves out of a job; their positions have been filled by cheaper hands, and no new ones are to be found. The civil organization of the First Missouri regiment has taken the matter in hand and will try to get the defenders of their country a chance to earn a living in it.

One writer (a reformer) tells us that of the \$900,000,000 of deposits in the New York savings banks, at least \$500,000,000 belongs to the "exploited working class."

Another writer (a capitalist) tells us that most of the money deposited in New York saloons is spent by workingmen—"exploited working class."

The unprejudiced student is forced to the conclusion that neither the reformer nor the capitalist really know anything about the subject. Their opinions are firm enough, but their knowledge is flimsy.

In the Revue de Paris M. Jaures has a long article on Socialism and liberty, in which he defends Socialism from the charge of antagonism to liberty. He says that this error is based on the confusion of collectivist, or democratic Socialism with state Socialism, and he assures the reader that in the former is to be found the remedy for the excessive centralization, political, intellectual and economic, from which France is now suffering. The article is attracting much attention, since it holds up the Socialist ideal as a remedy for over-centralization.

THE ROSTRUM.

Brief Extracts from Speeches by Social Democrats at Various Points.

S. FREMONT PACKARD, Brockton, Mass.

I have been foolish enough for 20 years to vote the republican ticket, but have wearied of waiting for that party to do something of real value for the working class. It is in the hope of obtaining freedom for the working people that I am a Social Democrat and I take a hopeful view of the future. It is astonishing how many people can be found who favor Socialism and are ready to admit that the Social Democratic party is working for the best interests of working men and women when it seeks to revolutionize the industrial system.

ERNEST W. NORDBERG, Brockton, Mass.

I have made a study of the reports of the express business in Sweden last year under government control. The charges were about one-fourth what they were in the United States, but there was a profit made of \$30,000,000. If the express business of this country last year had been done by the government, and the charges had been one-fourth as much as they were, there would have been a profit for the government of \$60,000,000. But Social Democracy will find even a better way than that.

ELIOT R. PERRY, Brockton, Mass.

If there is anything that is settled, it is that neither of the old parties can or will do anything for the real benefit of the working class. Before I became a Socialist I thought bloodshed would be necessary before the differences between capitalists and the working people could be settled. But now I believe that this great question will be settled at the ballot box. It is time that labor began to use the law making power for its own advantage. The state board of arbitration by giving a decision make more members for the working branch of the Social Democracy than six months' lectures.

JABEZ TABER, Brockton, Mass.

It is impossible for wealth and democracy to affiliate. They are incompatible. Neither is it reasonable to expect the wealthy to legislate in the true interest of the wealth producers. The people must come to a realization of the fact that all the means of production belong to society and must not be controlled by private individuals.

REP. JAS. F. CAREY, at Rockland, Mass.

Socialism does not mean an equal division of all the wealth among the whole people. It does not even mean that all men shall receive the same rewards for their labors, nor that they shall be equals even in the social relations. It is not a dream of utopia, where man can obtain all he desires without working for it; and just for the asking. Neither does it mean that under that system every person will be physically, mentally and morally perfect. Socialism means that every person born into the world shall have an equal opportunity with another, and what he produces shall be for his own use, and that a few selfish, sordid men shall not have the right to levy tribute upon him to the amount of 4-5 of his production, as under the present system. It means that every person shall have an opportunity to work, that the products of his labors shall be his, and that no idle person, whether they be the wealthy capitalist, who clips his coupons and draws his interests, or whether it be the lazy and idler shirker, shall receive anything he does not earn. Socialism means the collective ownership of the means and methods of production and distribution. It means equal opportunities for all men. It means the co-operative commonwealth; that all shall have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; the extinction of multi-millionaires and the abolition of poverty. This is not only desirable but absolutely necessary. Men rush off to the Klondike. We have a Klondike here, if we only have the brains to take possession of production and distribution.

The demolition of old partisan idols is going on, in spite of "benevolent assimilation" and the political bargain counter.

SOCIALISM AND THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT.

BY ISADORE LADOFF.

I.

AT the time of the earthly career of Jesus of Nazareth, two rival schools of learning flourished in Judea. Rabbi Shamy stood at the head of one of these schools and Rabbi Hillel of the other. A heathen once came to Shamy and asked him: "Tell me, teacher, the essence of your science while I am standing on one leg." The rabbi chased away the infidel in anger and disgust. The inquisitive heathen then went to Rabbi Hillel and repeated his request to him. "Gladly, my son," replied the sage, "the essence of our teaching is—love your neighbor as yourself—all the rest is only a commentary." Do not get scared, dear readers! I am not going to preach a sermon.

I have related this beautiful story only as a striking illustration of laconic brevity.

Now—if some modern infidel would ask the writer of those lines to tell him the essential difference between the philosophy of life of the past and future while he was standing on one leg—he would get the following reply: "The old philosophy of life may be expressed in the sentence: I do believe in spite of its absurdity (*credo quia absurdum est*); while the new philosophy of life may be expressed in the sentence: I exist because I think (*cogito ergo sum*)." Faith was the watchword of the past, reason shall be the guide of the future. To doubt was a crime in the good olden time, to criticize and test the truth of all phenomena of life shall be the moral duty of the future. Tradition and authority constituted the bulwark of the past, knowledge shall be the cornerstone of the future. Man was considered by our forefathers a mere toy in the hands of capricious deities. Science emancipated man from the phantoms of his own imagination and showed him the way to be master of his own destinies.

This radical change going on in the minds of men could not fail to affect in its turn the domain of ethics. "Thou shalt do that or abstain from this, because the deity ordered it. Woe to those who shall transgress this order. But those who will obey shall be rewarded." Such is in a nutshell the view of the past on practical ethics. To the advanced thinker of our sceptical age, however, such motives of conduct are too puerile. HUMAN HAPPINESS ON EARTH IS THE PURPOSE AND AIM OF MODERN ETHICS. Indeed modern ethics are unthinkable without the knowledge of the laws governing the relations between men and as members of society.

Says H. Spencer: "From the sociological point of view ethics becomes nothing else than a definite account of the forms of conduct, that are fitted to the associated state, in such wise, that the lives of each and all may be the greatest possible, alike in length and breath." This definition emphasizes two points: the utilitarian foundation of ethics and its essentially social nature. Prof. John Dewey of Chicago, goes so far as to affirm that morality is nothing else but sociability.

The theory of ethics is two-sided, psychological and social. The psychological has to do with the individual, the social with his relations to his fellowmen. Biologically speaking—the starting point of morals or morality is simultaneous with the appearance of intelligence; that means the faculty of reasoning in conjunction with some, however rude and imperfect, knowledge of nature. Ultimate moral forces and motives are nothing more nor less than social intelligence, the power of observing and comprehending social situations and powers. Prof. DaGarmo of Pennsylvania, calls the moral type of men—the social type. According to his definition the moral type is distinguished by its readiness to participate in group activity for the common good.

The emancipation of ethics from the tenets of old creeds and its reconstruction on a purely rational

foundation, was a great step forward on the road of human progress.

Rational ethics consists of two disciplines: the science or theory of conduct and the art or practice of conduct. The science of ethics leads even such strictly individualistic thinkers as H. Spencer to the recognition of the purely social character of ethics. More unbiased authorities identify, as we have partly seen, ethics with social virtues in general. In other words—the theory of ethics by the force of logic leads to Socialism in its broadest sense, just as inevitably as the study of natural sciences leads to hygiene and prophylactic medicine. Still closer is the relation between the art of conduct and Socialism. As it is impossible to be and stay healthy in an antihygienic environment for the human body, practical ethics or moral health is an impossibility in a state of society whose institutions are built on an essentially immoral foundation and impregnated with the miasma of zoological struggle for existence. In such a society ethics has of necessity to be a snare and delusion, a hypocritical cant and a fruitless endeavor. Socialism alone will make right conduct possible by creating social institutions and conditions in the highest degree favorable to the development of the human character and mind.

Those who look upon Socialism as upon an artificial scheme, concocted by a few speculative economists, with the exclusive purpose of improving the material condition of a certain class—however large in numbers and worthy of sympathy—have too narrow a view of the movement, its depth, scope and breadth. Socialism is the inevitable result of the organic growth and evolution of the human mind. Socialism is bound to come sooner or later entirely independent of our sympathies, antipathies or prejudices. It is a historical necessity as were cannibalism, slavery, serfdom and the present social system (or utter absence of any rational system). Rational beings like men are bound by nature to manage their affairs on strictly rational principles. Socialism means nothing else but the reconstruction and management of all social affairs according to the principles of science, reason and ethics. The economic side of the Socialistic doctrine, although at present the most prominent, is not by any means all there is to it. Socialism is in no way only a class movement, although it is at present for obvious reasons identified with the special interests of the industrial proletariat. Socialism is essentially a humanitarian movement—broad as humanity and deep as the mystery of life. Socialism aims at the abolition of all class distinctions among men and has in view all the interests of men, moral, mental and esthetical, just as well as economical. The ideals of Socialism are not limited by any artificial lines or classifications. The ideals of Socialism are the ideals of humanity, the ideals of right-living, of bodily health, of mental or intellectual development, of a happy, harmonious, beautiful life on earth, of a life worth living. Socialism teaches people to consider themselves and others not as individuals only, but as integral parts of the human race, as heirs of the treasures left by generations gone by and responsible predecessors of future generations.

Can there be a conception more beautiful, true and elevating! How small and insignificant our fate as individuals appears in comparison with the fate of humanity, an however infinitesimal social part of which we constitute! But once we recognize the interest of the race we belong to as paramount, our significance as workers—however humble and weak—in the interests of the race grows and life gets a new, richer, broader and deeper meaning. Once we do not live exclusively for ourselves—our personal misfortunes and adversities lose the greatest part of their humilia-

tion and bitterness, and our better self, our mind, our ideal aspirations and sympathies grow and develop and make us happier, wiser, more human, or more divine, if you choose.

II.

When a new idea is born into the world it meets with a cold reception. Narrow-minded and faint-hearted people, the pharisees and philistines, fill the cradle of young ideas with rags of hate impregnated with the poison of contempt.

The parents of new ideas are stamped as fools, charlatans and cranks. They are subjected to social ostracism, persecuted and sometimes deprived of life. The inherent power and harmony however make a new idea self-sustaining. It thrives, grows and blossoms into beauty in spite of all the unfavorable circumstances and influences. Just these inherent qualities win gradually more and more friends even in the headquarters of its most bitter enemies—among the "upper ten thousand" the so-called "respectable people." This stage is however fraught with the utmost danger for young ideas. In order to be acceptable by "respectable" people the new idea has to undergo a certain process of remodeling suitable to the tastes of the converts. It is thrown into the straightjacket of conventionality, trimmed, polished, painted and perfumed like a faded beauty. All its originality and reality is carefully eliminated and cast off. Deprived of its simple but genuine shape it loses its original vigor, not unlike Sampson of the bible after his hair was cut off by the philistines. And what then?

Everyone of us has had a chance to observe curious petrifications, representing in their outward appearance some plant or animal. How did this curious phenomena take place in the workshop of nature? The organic substance of the animal or plant was displaced particle by particle by mineral substance. The outward appearance of the fossil testifies silently, but eloquently, that in times gone by the curious body really lived.

The once tender, highly complex structure and mysterious molecular activity, or if you choose to call it so, the "soul," vanished never to return again, while the stone was left. Phenomena of that kind are not limited to nature alone. We meet it in the domain of human psychology in the shape of fossilized ideas. Do not petrified dogmas replace the living soul of once young, buoyant and real religious creeds? The living gods turned into so many dead idols.

Allow me now to ask a few pertinent, or may be, impertinent, questions. Is not the rationalistic ethical movement confronted by the danger of becoming a sharer in the sad fate of other creeds, founded on the one solid rock of human emotion and fancy?

Shall we not be alarmed by the marked tendency of the ethical movement to get "respectable", to suit the tastes of the refined few? Is not the ethical movement showing a tendency to degenerate into a rationalistic sect with dogmatic morality as its confession of faith?

Do not many ethical culturists look upon the apostle of individualism, Mr. H. Spencer, as their messiah and his principles of ethics as their bible?

According to their views—there are no social, no economical, even no political problems to solve. The only thing necessary is to be moral in private life. All the rest will somehow and sometime regulate itself automatically. A very optimistic theory indeed. Personal morality as a panacea against all evils. Let all people be personally moral—and the world will turn into a paradise and in the most peaceful manner. There will be no more bloody revolutions, no artificial legislation, no complex social institution, even no expensive government necessary. How puerile, but how "conservative," and, therefore, "respectable!" The personal morality theory seems to be indeed a splendid understructure for the shaky philosophical palace of *laissez faire*, let alone.

Ask some of the extreme individualists in the movement: "What are ethical societies for?" and you

will hear something of this kind of a reply: "Ethical societies are a kind of asylums for unchurched people, a kind of an ethical dormitory."

The writer of this article was a close observer of the convention of the American Ethical Union at Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 8—11, 1898. All the lights of the movement, Messrs. Dr. F. Adler, New York; W. L. Sheldon, St. Louis; P. Chubb, New York; Wm. M. Salter, Chicago; S. B. Weston, Philadelphia; Dr. John Elliot, New York; and others—took part in the exercises of the convention.

The oratorical feast extended to various topics. "The Message of the Ethical Movement to the Religious Nature of Man," "Its Relation to Emerson and to Free Religion," "Its Relation to the Liberal Movement in America," "Its Relation to Orthodox Religion," "Clubwork among Men and Boys in the Tenement House Districts," "Selfculture Methods among Working People," "The Contribution of Ethical Societies to Philanthropy," "The mission of the Ethical movement"—were the subjects treated more or less exhaustively by the speakers of the convention. The confession of faith in the movement was distinctly stated by the various representatives and delegates. The central figure of the convention was of course the founder of the movement, Dr. Felix Adler. He claimed for the movement the endeavor to create the demand for social reforms by educating the children in ethical schools. He advised the employers to look upon their business as a social function, a sacred trust imposed upon them by society. The employer should consider himself a priest of the industrial church.

A very euphonious phrase! Is it not? Was it dense ignorance of the actual social and economical conditions of our time or deliberate begging of the question?

Does not the learned Dr. know the beautiful flower of our industrial anarchy, called competition? Does he not know that one swallow cannot make a summer?

Does he not know that it is not the free will of the employers, but the iron laws of the present industrial system, which crushes the industrial proletariat?

An employer has to treat his employes in the same way as his fellow employers in his branch of production or trade treat theirs, or go out of business. He is a slave to the capitalist system just as the common laborer, although a somewhat favored slave. He is the turnkey of the industrial prison. Still more peculiar was the assertion, that it is necessary to create the demand for social reforms by the aid of schools connected with ethical societies. Deep dissatisfaction with the existing social and economical conditions is one of the most prominent features of our time. There is a nervous restlessness even among the representatives of our shoddy aristocracy. The whole civilized world is literally craving for economical and social reforms. But now our learned Doctor steps forward and in his zeal to invent once more shooting powder proclaims: "Patience! you naked, starving, freezing, persecuted and exploited children of toil and misfortune. Wait till we shall create a demand for social reforms."

Humanity has to play the part of the camel, to be driven through the narrow eye of the needle, represented by the only school existing in connection with the New York Ethical Society, in order to make social reforms possible. Poor humanity!"

That this line of argument was not a lapsus linguae, an accidental slip of the tongue, is obvious to me for the following reason. A few years ago I happened to listen to a lecture delivered by another light of the movement, Mr. Mangassarini. Touching upon the labor problem he implored the employers to give to their wage slaves more leisure. And for what purpose, do you think dear reader? For the purpose of the study of the classics. "What a consolation it would be for the collectors of garbage or scavengers to recite during the fulfillment of their laborious and unpleasant duties passages of Homer, Virgil and Cicero!" And Mr. Mangas-

sarian did not even smile when he uttered these absurdities before a numerous and supposed to be enlightened audience in Chicago. But another assertion of Dr. Adler is still more astounding. He claimed that many social reformers undermine morality by criticizing the bourgeois morality. They should limit themselves to the criticism of the narrow-mindedness of the application of the principles of morality by the middle class, but respect the principles themselves. Now, is that not simply delicious! We would like to have those reformers who undermine morality called by their names. As far as we are informed the foundation of all reformatory movements was a deep ethical current passing through society. An immoral reformer is a contradiction in terms (*contradictio in adjecta*) a nothing. One could well expect that the founder and leader of a new movement would be better informed on common social subjects or at least be more guarded in the expression of his opinions.

Dr. John Elliot was another delegate of the convention, who proved his ignorance of Socialism by claiming that it is a purely materialistic movement. He said that the Socialists were mistaken when expecting a millennium by satisfying the material needs of man and ignoring his spiritual interests. Nothing is farther from the truth than this assertion. Socialism as stated before, is only apparently an economical movement. But its moving power just as well as its final aims and purposes are purely ethical and therefore spiritual par excellence. Be it far from us, Socialists, to condemn any line of honest endeavor to elevate manhood and womanhood to a higher level only because the people engaged in it do not agree with our views on social activity.

And the convention produced generally a very favorable impression. The delegates were all enlightened, enthusiastic and broadminded people with pronouncedly humanitarian inclinations. The more the pity that they fail to see the fallacy of so-called individual morality. What individual morality means is simply a tendency to avoid unnecessary friction among members of society. Society is to a certain extent a complex mechanism, whose constituent parts are its members. The less perfect the social mechanism is, the more is the necessity of avoiding friction obvious and vice versa. The more perfect the social organization—the less the necessity of avoiding friction apparent. The analogy between social and mechanical friction is complete. Indeed the poorer the construction of a machine the more lubricating oil it needs. Friction is a property of matter and cannot be eliminated entirely, but may be reduced to a minimum by a skillful application of mechanical principles. In the Socialistic state of society there will be very little use for the lubricating oil of personal morality. But Socialism is impossible without social ethics, just as social ethics are impossible in our present individualistic stage of culture. The advanced science of sociology will furnish the practical statisticians of the future with sufficient data to invent new methods of organization and co-operation, just as mechanics enables the constructors of machines to make them more and more perfect. Social dynamics are however infinitely more complex than mechanics. "Mind is the highest quality of matter, as society is the highest product of evolution of matter," says Lester Ward, the greatest sociologist in the United States. Society, therefore, depends on mind. Ethics are an inherent part of human mind. Not only the lowest human races, but even animals have some conceptions about right and wrong. The ideas about ethics evolve along with society, and Socialism—as the highest stage of social evolution—will make the realization of high moral ideals possible.

Recognizing the utility of the ethical movement in our time of sordid selfishness, we however think that much of its energy will be wasted as long as it fails to grasp the interdependence between the conduct of men and their social environment. Another stumbling

block of ethical societies is their—may be unintentional—social exclusiveness. The people, the toiling class is not attracted by these societies to any appreciable extent. The ethical society of the people will be the child of a brighter future, when education, enlightenment and culture will not be monopolized by a few, but accessible to all alike. The ethical society of the people will be the Socialistic state of society.

The Survival of the Fittest!

If, in our days, the name "birds of prey and of passage," which Burke gave to the English in India at the time of Warren Hastings' trial, when auditors wept at accounts of the cruelties committed, is not applicable as it was then, yet the policy of unscrupulous aggrandizement continues. Everywhere the usual succession runs thus: missionaries, envoys to native rulers, concessions made by them, quarrels with them, invasions of them, appropriations of their territories. First, men are sent to teach the heathens Christianity, and then Christians are sent to mow them down with machine guns! So-called savages who, according to numerous travellers, behave well until they are taught good conduct by the so-called civilized, who presently subjugate them—who inculcate rectitude and then illustrate it by taking their lands. The policy is simple, uniform, Bibles first, bombshells after. Such being the doings abroad, what are the feelings at home? Honors, titles, emoluments are showered on the aggressors. A traveller who makes light of men's lives is regarded as hero and feted by the upper classes, while the lower classes give an ovation to a leader of filibusterers. "British power," "British pluck," "British interests," are words on every tongue; but of justice there is no speech, no thought.—HERBERT SPENCER (The Principles of Sociology).

Kautsky on Disarmament.

Comrade K. Kautsky expresses himself in the Neue Zeit on the Czar's peace proposal as follows: "Like everything coming from persons in high places, the Czar's proposal is not intended to benefit the people. It is a scheme to render the people helpless. Universal military service begins to frighten the ruling classes. They are forced to acquaint every one with the use of weapons, and this is little to their taste, as the armies are getting to be less reliable. A partial disarmament would enable the rulers to once more employ a band of hirelings for their defense. But this can not be done without the concurrence of all continental powers. Another reason is the hatred of England. The continental powers have no wish to disturb each other, but they hope to expand in Africa and China. England's enormous fleet is in the way, and they can not build navies to beat her unless they lessen their army expenses. To the people in general it matters little whether the Czar's plan is received favorably or not. There would be an army of professional soldiers, less numerous than the forces kept under arms now and costing less, but the funds saved would be used to increase naval armaments. This means neither more nor less than a naval war of tremendous dimensions, carried on by continental Europe with its militarist, bureaucratic and feudalistic institutions against democratic Anglo-Saxondom."

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.

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

The Capitalistic Industrial Commission.

The following Washington correspondence to a western newspaper gives a good idea of the work of the new national industrial commission from the capitalist standpoint:

Reference to the plans of the United States Industrial commission, which is now engaged in collecting data for a report upon the condition of industry, labor and transportation in the country, affords opportunity for observing the vast scope and interesting character of the work that is to be done by the commission during the next two years. A topical plan of inquiry has been adopted by the commission, and according to the number and character of the inquiries to be made it is evident that there are few fields covered by trade and industry, labor and transportation that will not be scrutinized with a view to bringing out for the information of the people facts upon which reforms may be based with a reasonable hope for intelligent and beneficial results.

In the last congress a bill was presented by Mr. T. W. Phillips, then a member of congress from Pennsylvania, authorizing the creation of such a commission to collect information concerning labor, capital and agriculture. The bill passed, but it failed to receive the approval of President Cleveland. In the session of last summer, however, the bill, championed by Representative Gardiner of New Jersey, became a law.

The commission grew out of a demand, for definite and authoritative data for the guidance of public men in dealing with economic questions. In the fields of agriculture, in the shops, in the mines, in the counting houses of the nation, there are frictions that can be eased, if not removed, by the understanding of their causes and the application of a remedy that is scientifically correct. Those who best know how co-related and how interdependent labor and capital are, feel that there must be somewhere a hitherto undiscovered economic principle that will exactly adjust them to each other and make their relation as cordial as their interests are one.

In his report urging the creation of the commission upon congress, Mr. Gardiner estimated that in the six years between 1880 and 1886 the single item of strikes had cost \$98,566,958 to employers, employees, and their organizations directly.

"The enormous incidental losses are not estimated," he adds. "They are of great magnitude. The loss caused by strikes in the year 1894 has been estimated by one writer at \$80,000,000 and by another at \$100,000,000." These staggering figures are a lesson in themselves. They tell how important it is for the peace and prosperity of the nation that, if there is a common ground upon which master and servant can safely stand in their economic dealings with each other, no time be lost in finding it."

The work of the commission will not be confined to figures alone, essential as they are to economic relations. It will, besides, investigate conditions and suggest remedies for their improvement where they are found to be out of gear with the progress and philosophy and spirit of the age. And in this direction the ramifications of its work seem to be endless. There, for instance, are the frictions between skilled and unskilled labor, and the restricted surroundings in which trade unionisms should probably be set. Was former Commissioner Stump right, on the one topic, when he urged before the industrial commission the other day that the rough work of the land needs all the untutored foreigners who can be tempted to our ports of entry? Or was Schulteis' contention that there are so many of them here already as to crowd even the intelligent citizens of the country into the poor houses? There is a difference of view that goes not only to the question of the educational requirements that should be exacted of immigrants, but to the very foundations of safe labor legislation. And when it comes to the

other too, of the relations of the employer to the employed, should the trade unions be brought to a proper size of their responsibility as factors in the labor world by being forced to incorporate? Shouldn't they be held to corporate responsibility, whether they desire it or not, for their part in projecting and fostering strikes and doing the other things which fall within their line? That is only an illustrative question. It does not begin to cover all the questions in which trade unionism is likely to be investigated by the commission. What, on the other side of the enjoinments absolving the employer from liability for the inexperience and carelessness of his own servants who a fellow servant is the victim, that all but prohibit the recovery of damages for accident among such workers?

And then, how can the principle of arbitration be effectively applied to the settlement of industrial differences? Is compulsory arbitration possible, as some say isn't, and advisable, even if it is possible? How can the "store-order system," which robs the lily-paid mine hands, for instance, at the other end of the line, be modified, if not wiped out? Should the injunction be eliminated as an interference in the settlement of labor differences? What has machinery done for the industrial classes? Has it helped them more by bringing new comforts within their reach than it has hurt them by closing old fields of activity to them? Or is the trend the other way?

And then, beyond, are the subjects of women's prevalence in the industrial fields and the employment of children to cheapen wages, and that all-absorbing topic of convict labor. If the prisoner must not be condemned to maddening idleness in his cell, how can he be employed to minimize the harm of his competition with the free labor? What, too, of the overshadowing trusts? Are they crowding the smaller factors out of business, and is the loss compensated for in the reduction of the prices of the staples they provide? These questions—even that concerning trusts—go largely into the economics of farm production, as well as into that of manufacturing. There are corners in what as there are in sugar, and that is to the agricultural what the department store is to the mercantile community.

When one comes to look over the transportation service, what an enormous variety of other topics is discoverable there for investigation. That one of the discriminations of freight rates that goes into the economics of all productive energy is alone sufficient to engage the closer attention of the keenest minds.

The evils of blacklisting their discharged employees by railroad lines are of such a character as to demand the shrewdest counteracting legislation on the part of the states. No railroad dares, openly of course, to take steps to prevent a competent man, from securing employment elsewhere. But Secretary Moseley of the Interstate Commerce Commission told the commission the other day of a system of freemasonry among the railroads by which they make known to each other, even in a letter of recommendation, that the man who bears it is blacklisted and is to be denied the occupation he seeks. It is sometimes a mere word in the letter, other times it is the general form of the letter itself that cautions the other company against giving employment to the applicant. How is this insidious method of preventing men from earning their living to be met?

There, too, is the obligation of railroads to employ the most trustworthy of safety appliances for the protection of the life and limb of their workers. What also, can be done to minimize the damage of the great trunk line strikes that are wont from time to time to paralyze the trade of the nation? Secretary Moseley told the industrial commission of an instance in which a railroad strike resulted in the actual starvation and death of a thousand people in an isolated community. And that new fad of government ownership—is it a step forward or a step backward?

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 capitalism and the abolition of

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, and of the Federal Labor Unions, trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible;

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS,

—BY THE—

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

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

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Terms of Subscription.—One year, 50c. Six Months 25c. No papers are sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you are receiving it, then it has been paid for by a friend and no bill will follow.
[Entered at the Belleville, Ill., Postoffice, as second class matter, December, 1898.]

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, FEB. 18, 1899.

Executive Board Meeting.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY:—Less than ten per cent. of the members have cast votes upon the question of the adoption of that part of the constitution of the party which has been submitted to a referendum vote.

Many amendments to the constitution have also been submitted by the various branches of the party, none of which have received a sufficient number of votes to carry such amendments.

Since this constitution was framed, and part of it submitted for a referendum vote, circumstances have changed, and such new developments have taken place, that, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, it has become necessary that additions be made to the constitution, and perhaps the whole document revised, in such manner that a constitution may be framed which will embody the best judgment of all the members of the party.

The Executive Board have, therefore, determined, that at its next meeting, which will take place at an early date, it will re-consider the whole matter, and to this end in an informal way will call for the suggestions of all such members of the party as desire to aid in such re-consideration.

The Executive Board earnestly desires that the constitution at the beginning of the movement shall be framed in such a way as to give entire satisfaction to all the members of the party, and particularly to provide for the choice by all the members of the party, of such an Executive Board as shall be at all times satisfactory to such members.

Very great difficulties have been encountered in the organization of the national party, in determining just what its constitution should be, in order not only to give satisfaction to all the comrades, but at the same time to preserve the organization from attacks from its enemies from without and from the treachery of those who will join a Socialist movement for the purpose only of wrecking it.

There will naturally be many conflicting opinions as to how this object shall be accomplished. The dangers which threaten a Socialist party in the United States are, owing to our form of government, in many respects different from what they are in any other country, and the experience of other countries is not an infallible guide for action in this country.

While the Executive Board, therefore, invites the criticism of all the members of the party, it trusts that the members will exercise patience in this matter, until the difficulties mentioned can be overcome, and a constitution agreed on which will satisfy all the members, and at the same time assure the permanency and success of the party.

JESSE COX,
Chairman of Ex. Com.
SEYMOUR STEDMAN,
Secretary of Ex. Com.

At a meeting of the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic party, held February 10th, there being present Eugene V. Debs, Victor Berger, Seymour Stedman and Jesse Cox, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Executive Board disapproves all articles which are based upon personal controversies with the Socialist Labor party, or which attack the personnel or the peculiar tactics of that organization; and the

editor is kindly requested not to permit the insertion of any such articles in the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD in the future."

JESSE COX,
Chairman Ex. Com.
SEYMOUR STEDMAN,
Secretary of the Committee.

Surplus Value.

At the corner of Main and Chatham streets, in Worcester, Mass., there was, prior to the present wave of prosperity, a store devoted to the sale of ladies' garments and the accumulation of surplus value. That it failed is only an illustration of the impossibility of making something from nothing and exemplifies the ending of our closed out establishment to the effect that "The complete stock of N. L. Reagan, having been secured at a great reduction by Barnard, Sumner & Putnam Co., would be sold AT COST, ONE-THIRD ITS VALUE.

According to this announcement the portion of the product returned to its producers is approximately one-third; in reality, one-fifth is near the correct proportion.

That portion of value not returned to the producers, (legitimate agent of distribution and accessory services included) is surplus value; from it capital is renewed; from it the corruption fund is made up; upon it indolence revels in vice.

Our contention is for a return to the producers of the full value of their product. That capital, a collective product, shall be collective property. That profit shall be abolished and that distribution be socialized as well as production.

Worcester, Mass. A. W. BARR.

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.

Debs in the Lecture Field.

Springfield, Ohio	Feb 20
New Philadelphia, O.	" 23
Portsmouth, Ohio	" 25
Dayton,	" 26
New York, N. Y.	March 21
Aberdeen, S. D.,	June 28
Madison,	" 30

TIME SAVERS.

A READER, CHICAGO.—Your acrostic is hardly up to the standard. Try again.

H. M.—Send your letter to Theodore Debs, Natl. Sec. Treas., of the Social Democratic party, whose address is 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill.

INQUIRER.—(1) "Sevenoaks" is a pen-name; it was used on the paper you mention by the writer who was its editor (2) from August 1, 1896, to March 30, 1898 (3) Yes; "One in the Printery," at Greensburg, Ind., was the same "feller." (4) Three years and two months.

C. J. S.—The clippings you send from a San Francisco paper may be interesting to a certain class of people—a very small class, no doubt; but for us to take notice of them in these columns would give to such puerilities more prominence than they deserve. We prefer to "saw wood" and teach Socialism.

FELIX G. HAVENS.—As to the great body of producers (the proletariat) in this country your plan for a co-operative society is wholly unpracticable; as to the few who could meet its money requirements, experience has demonstrated the utter uselessness of wasting one's life forces in that way. Better throw your energies into the political movement for socialism. Believing that more harm than good has been the result of such schemes, we must decline.

COLORADO.—The figures on our general vote were changed because of a decision by the Massachusetts conference in January that the fairest way to estimate the vote was to take the number cast for the "head of the ticket." Those Massachusetts people are good hustlers, but modest withal; notwithstanding their modesty, however, it is a fact that one candidate (C. H. Bradley, for secretary of state) received 9,285 votes, and if the average method prevailed in that State our total vote would be as formerly printed, over 12,000.

FREE SPEECH W/ N AT ANN ARBOR.

Eugene Debs' Extraordinary Reception at the Hands of the Students of the University of Michigan.

IN A LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

"The Ann Arbor reception was in many respects the most extraordinary in my life." E. V. DEBS.

The following account of the remarkable victory for fair play is from the Terre Haute Gazette, Feb. 11:

Mr. Eugene V. Debs returned this morning from his lecture tour of Michigan, having spoken at Ann Arbor, Kalamazoo, Lansing, Bay City, Flint, Saginaw, Alpena, Traverse City, Ludington and Muskegon. At all the places except Ann Arbor Mr. Debs spoke of "Labor and Liberty."

It was at Ann Arbor before the students of the University of Michigan on the night of January 31 that Mr. Debs scored an extraordinary triumph. To use Mr. Debs' own words: "It was the greatest reception I was accorded since my release from Woodstock jail. It surprised me beyond measure."

Mr. Debs' subject at Ann Arbor was "The Workingman's Interest in good Government" and for weeks before his coming there was a violent controversy in progress, participated in by the faculty and the students of the University, over the invitation that had been extended to Mr. Debs from the Good Government club, made up of students of the Ann Arbor University. President Angell and some of the faculty were opposed to Mr. Debs on the ground that he was preaching dangerous doctrines and there were heated controversies, newspaper articles and cards on the subject.

The Good Government Club stood by its original invitation and the lecture auditorium of the Newberry hall was secured for the purpose. The lecture was given at the regular lecture room of the University on account of this opposition. The spirit of fair play entered largely into the controversy. The students had a lecture course, Depew, Bryan, Bourke, Cockran and Debs being the speakers. A former graduate of the University, Mr. Harrison, now an attorney of Topeka, Kansas, who last year edited the university paper, wrote an impassioned card from his home declaring that by all means Mr. Debs should be heard and should be accorded a respectful hearing.

The students are noted for their free expression of sentiment. For instance, when Depew and Cockran spoke, each in turn was hissed by a section of students who were displeased by their utterances. The Depew incident attracted much attention through the country at that time, it will be remembered.

Mr. Debs did not know what sort of a reception awaited him at the hands of these 3,000 students, many of them sons of rich men and opposed to his doctrine.

Newberry hall was packed to suffocation by eight o'clock with an admission of a quarter and hundreds could not get in. Mr. Debs' train was late owing to the severe weather in Michigan, and he did not arrive at the hall till 9:15 o'clock. When he got there the students, who had packed the hall started off with the college yell and gave Debs a reception that fairly amazed him.

He spoke for two hours and was given the most eager attention. Totally disregarding the usual habit of hissing any statements that did not please them, the students did not emit a single hiss at this lecture. Many of the members of the faculty were present.

At the close of the lecture the students gave the college yell again and cheered Mr. Debs loudly, after which the president of the club announced that a reception would immediately follow and that all the students could shake Mr. Debs by the hand. Mr. Debs according-

ly took a position and a steady stream of students and members of the faculty passed before him and shook him by the hand.

It was a great victory for free speech. It was one of the great occasions in Mr. Debs' life and one that he will not soon forget. Next day Mr. Debs was a guest of the university. Since leaving Ann Arbor he has received many letters from students saying that next time there will be no trouble over his lecture and that the lecture will take place in the regular hall.

Next day the University of Michigan Daily, published by the students, contained this notice of the lecture:

The Good Government club deserves the thanks of the student body in bringing Eugene V. Debs here to speak. Though he was not allowed to enter the sacred precincts of university hall, he had a serious and earnest message to deliver, and those who heard him expressed themselves as being fortunate in doing so. So seldom do we hear a speaker not orthodox on economic questions that Debs' lecture is a refreshing exception. University students above all others ought to be broad minded and ready to hear an honest conviction, even though it was not generally accepted. The enthusiastic reception given Debs by many who disagreed with him is evidence that our university students are not all so narrow minded as their kind is often accused of being. Debs gave a serious, honest talk and one that merited the attention it received.

Next day also the Ann Arbor Daily Times said editorially:

"Through the efforts of a number of enterprising students of the U. of M., Ann Arborites are being afforded the opportunity of hearing three of the five great orators of the world—Bryan, Cockran and Debs—and the greatest of these is Debs. Bryan is battling for the success of a political party, Cockran is the tool of the money power, while Debs is championing the cause of humanity. After describing the political economic conditions of the country, which breed trusts and armies of idle men, the speaker said at Newberry hall last evening: 'I take a bright view of the future. This land is on the eve of a great social revolution, the greatest the world has ever known. But it will be brought about by the ballots of workingmen, which fall as silently as the snowflakes from heaven.' It was around this thought that the oratorical efforts of Eugene V. Debs revolved. What harm could an oration of such a nature have done the young men and young women who congregate in University hall?"

Mr. Debs had magnificent audiences at almost every place in Michigan. Next Sunday night Mr. Debs opens a lecture tour at Erie, Pa. From there he speaks at Springfield, O., New Philadelphia, Portsmouth, Dayton and Indianapolis, at the latter place on Feb 27. He has received two invitations to address the South Dakota Chatauquas at Aberdeen and Madison.

On Jan. 27 Mr. Debs lectured at Lexington, Ky., and Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge who was present wrote a highly commendatory article on the lecture in one of the Lexington papers.

Writing on the aristocratic tradition versus the democratic spirit in literature, John Burroughs, says in the North American Review:—"The classical tradition beget Milton, but it did not beget Shakespeare, the most marvelous genius of the modern world. To the classic tradition, as it spoke through Voltaire, Shakespeare was a barbarian. Indeed, Shakespeare's art was essentially democratic, how much soever it may have occupied itself with royal and aristocratic personages. It is as free as an uncaged bird, and pays no tribute to classic models. Its aim is inward movement, fusion, and vitality; rather than outward harmony and proportion. A Greek play is like a Greek temple—chaste, severe, symmetrical, beautiful. A play of Shakespeare is, as Dr. Johnson long ago suggested, more like a wood or a piece of free nature."

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD

SOCIALISM IN MASSACHUSETTS.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
Boston, Feb. 10, 1899.

TO THE COMRADES:—The time limit for the introduction of new bills having expired, our duties have been limited to the consideration of matters appearing upon the calendar. Aside from certain routine, the first matter considered was a motion to go into a committee of the whole to consider the attitude of the United States upon "imperialism." We voted in every instance, as is recorded by the roll call, in support of every action opposing imperialism.

On a question to grant franchises to the Squire Co. we were opponents.

On a bill to grant three days grace on sight drafts, the present law granting none, we vote yea.

Upon a bill granting an annuity to a workman injured while in the service of the state upon state works, we voted yea, it being carried.

A bill providing for a reduction in the amount of capital required to engage in the safety deposit and loan business from \$200,000 to \$100,000 being rejected by the committee, upon the question of accepting the committee report we voted no; the committee report was negated. The bill came before the house for a second reading; upon the question to order to a third reading Comrade Carey spoke. He called the attention of the house to the fact that primarily the question was competition vs. concentration. He was not in favor of competition, nor was he favorable to concentration for the benefit of a class; he like his colleague, Mr. Scates, was in favor of a trust, a monopoly, the Co-operative Commonwealth. But he said he wished to call the attention of the members to the inconsistency of favoring competitors and at the same time raising the amount of capital required to engage in any business. He said further that it mattered little what action the house took, as ability to remain in business was determined not by the acts of the legislature but the economic law which awarded business success to that competitor possessing the larger capital. He and his colleague therefore would not vote upon the bill as it was a question unaffected by the enactment of laws in the direction of collective ownership of the land and capital of the nation. The bill was ordered to a third reading. Some of the papers entirely misquoted Comrade Carey, making him say he favored competition, etc.

None of the bills introduced by us have as yet been reported to the house. We attend committee hearings, especially labor committees, whenever possible and have almost a perpetual debate with the members upon Social Democracy. One of the members, a republican, has invited Comrade Carey to address a meeting of some of his constituents on Socialism, an invitation which was accepted.

If desired, copies of the various bills introduced by us may be reproduced in full in THE HERALD.

Fraternally
LOUIS M. SCATES,
JAMES F. CAREY.

"In The European Sense."

The Volksrecht, the organ of the Social Democratic Party of Zurich, Switzerland, publishes the following item: "For the first time in the history of the United States two outspoken Socialists have been elected to a state legislature, and the state legislature referred to is none other than that of Massachusetts. The two Socialist representatives are not members of a 'vague labor' party, but they are Socialists in the European sense of this term. Both are born Americans. A city with so English a name as Haverhill, the center of a 'prosperous' shoe industry, elected them. There also was a considerable increase in the Socialist vote for governor in the state of Massachusetts."

What are you doing to increase the HERALD's circulation? There's an opportunity in your town to procure a number of subscribers.

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 in such an amount as the board may require.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

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

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

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Section 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

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

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

REFERENDUM.

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

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

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

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

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

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.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY.

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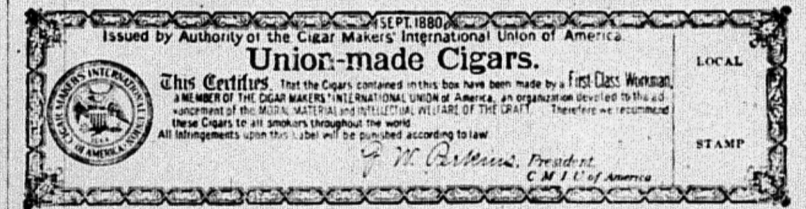
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WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

In 1897, the Social Democratic party of Sweden had 27,136 members. In 1898 the total membership had increased to 35,000 members in 314 local organizations.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

Comrade H. M. Hyndman has been appointed chairman of the International Peace Demonstration arranged by the Social Democratic Federation. The demonstration will be held at St. James Hall, March 8.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

In this city the Social Democrats have three times as many meeting places as there are churches, and while the latter are empty, the former are crowded with audiences ranging from 300 to 1000 men and women.

BRAUNSCWEIG, GERMANY.

The Social Democratic Party of this city has re-elected, by a great majority, Comrade Rieke to the city council. Our comrades feel sure of electing two more of their candidates in the by-elections.

ESSEN, GERMANY.

The Prussian government has ordered 230 Russian workmen to leave Prussian territory immediately. The Socialists are protesting against this arbitrary action of Wilhelm's desperate government.

BRESLAU, GERMANY.

American comrades, read this: Since 1890 the editors of the Social Democratic daily paper "Volks-wacht" in this city have been blessed with 11 years imprisonment and 20,000 marks fine for defending the rights of the wage working proletariat. Still, the cause of Socialism is proudly marching on.

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

The misery and starvation among the Russian rural population is increasing daily. Capitalism is spreading like wild-fire in various parts of the empire and Socialism is getting a strong foothold in the great industrial and commercial centers. The first straight labor paper under the censorship has just made its appearance in this city.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

Some time ago the leader of the striking miners in the Charleroi district, Comrade Moineau, a Social Democrat, was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on the old capitalist charge of "inciting riot and conspiring for anarchistic purposes." Now the National Executive of our party decided to recommend that one of the present Socialist members of the parliament resign, that Comrade Moineau be nominated in his place and if elected to the chamber of deputies the government will be compelled to open the prison doors for the comrade.

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

Here is a little illustration of the sacrifices made by the Hungarian proletariat for the International Social Democratic movement, since Premier Banffy came into power, 44 were killed, 114 seriously wounded; meetings were prohibited in 56 cities and towns; 259 workmen were arrested and kept in prison for many months without any just cause. 216 workmen were exiled; 34 were seriously wounded and maltreated while in prison. All in all our Hungarian comrades were "blessed" with 62,495 days, or 171 years and 80 days of imprisonment as a "reward" for their fearless propaganda of Social Democracy since Banffy's ascension to the ministerial throne. Besides they had to pay a money fine of 33,504 crowns. These heroic sacrifices of our comrades in Hungary should inspire the Socialists of all countries with new energy, hope and aspiration.

PARIS, FRANCE.

The new Socialist magazine, Le Mouvement Socialiste contains two

articles, one by Jaures and the other by Liebknecht, in favor of the complete union of the Socialist movement in France. Much has been done already to bring about the unity of the party. The united action of the different sections in the chamber, and combinations outside for special objects have led to the formation of a comite d'entente, representing the five great national organizations, as well as groups of "Independants." But our comrades do not regard this as a satisfactory or conclusive arrangement. They are for complete fusion, and there is undoubtedly a growing feeling in its favor among the members of the different sections. Jaures deals in a masterly manner with the various objections which may be urged against thorough amalgamation, and urges that the hour has come for its complete realization. Liebknecht points out that practically all the leaders of the different sections are in favor of union, and concludes: "This union, this organization, this discipline,—you will have it. No. You have it already, because you will it. And union is victory." Everything points to the perfect consolidation of Socialist forces in France before the great International Congress of 1900.

NATIONAL.

PANA, ILL.

A possibility of the settlement of the miners' strike, which has caused great disorder here for several months and cost the state thousands of dollars in the maintenance of several companies of militia, has been brought about through the presence of President Farley, of the United Mine Workers of Alabama. Farley is offering the negro miners who were imported by the Pana operators free transportation to Alabama and higher wages at Birmingham and Bessemer than they are receiving here. Many of the negroes, influenced by the extremely cold weather and the hardships they have endured here, are accepting the offer.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

When a few weeks since, the Illinois Coal Mining Company of Bloomington went out of business and abandoned their shafts, throwing 50 miners out of employment, the local organization of the National Association of Mine Workers decided to give up its charter and dissolve and, accordingly, the charter was returned to the national body and the local union abandoned. Several meetings of Bloomington mine workers have since been held, for the purpose of reorganizing the local union. It is now announced that the reorganization will take place at once.

HAVANA, CUBA.

The firemen employed by the United Railways of Havana struck for higher wages. They demand \$34.50 per month instead of \$18, the wages now paid to them. They received \$34.50 before the war, but since the insurgents began to stop trains the company reduced their wages. As a result of the strike there were for some days no trains for Matanzas, Guanajay or Guana-bacoa. The manager of the company sent a verbal message to the strikers that their demand would be satisfied, but the latter refused to return to work with only a verbal promise. A number of the strikers went to the office of the manager to demand that he sign a written promise. They finally became riotous, and Gens. Menocal and Cardenas, first and second chiefs of police, respectively, went to the office. The chiefs advised the men to return to work, promising that their wages would be advanced. Their advice was accepted, and the strikers went to work, but the engineers sent an ultimatum to the manager, demanding that their wages be placed on the same basis they were before the war.

PUEBLO, COL.

Some months ago two or three non-union printers in Pueblo devised and began to use a label exactly similar to the International Typographical Union label. The purpose was undoubtedly to deceive the public. Steps were at once taken to prosecute these unfair men under the state label law,

under which the Typographical Union label was registered with the Secretary of State, but it was found that the law as it stands now protects all kinds of labels except trades union labels, and at the suggestion of counsel the proposed suit was dropped and arrangements made to amend the present law, as would protect honorable workmen who use a label to distinguish their product. Later it was found wise to prepare an entirely new law and repeal the old one if possible.

How the World Wags.

Local branches of the I. L. P. and S. D. F. in England are federating for propaganda purposes.

Londoners drink 275,000,000 gallons of water and 153,000,000 gallons of beer annually.

A splendid cabinet photograph of Eleanor Marx has been issued by the Twentieth Century Press, 37a Clerkenwell Green, London.

The library of LeMuseum Social at Paris, founded five years ago by the Count of Chambrun, now contains about 14,000 volumes.

John Burns welcomes a decision of the Battersea vestrymen to encourage boxing, because "he believes that no sport does so much good to those who practice it."

The six great European powers, without counting the lesser states, now spend every year \$1,100,000,000 in preparation for war, and each year the drain increases.

In addition to the Independent Labor Party and the Social Democratic Federation in England, there are about a score independent Socialist societies.

The Fabian Society of London has 112 circulating book boxes, or small libraries in constant circulation among the I. L. P. and S. D. F. branches and trade unions of England.

One hundred trade unions in Great Britain have 966,953 members, an income of \$8,378,225, expenditures amounting to \$6,196,150 and a balance in hand of \$10,844,945.

Joseph Edwards, editor of the Labour Annual, announces the Reformers' Year Book to be published in December 1899. It will be a review of the progress of organized evolution throughout the world.

Pastor Paul Göhre, the leading social writer among the German clergy, says that it is useless to expect the return of the masses to the Christianity as taught and practiced by the churches of today.

Robert Blatchford in the Clarion says "Our men and women are too deeply and entirely engrossed in the one topic." It's a good thing to know "How the World Wags" in literature and science, as well as in its economics.

The Socialists of Bradford, England, have what is known as the Bradford Labor Institute, with sufficient vacant land for extensions. There are 800 shareholders and the institute is in a flourishing condition.

Ex-Senator George F. Edmunds, who has been an authority for the republican party up to these days of "benevolent assimilation," and is an opponent of imperialism, asks this question: "How will such of our bishops, priests and deacons' and religious newspapers as have appeared to favor the scheme find authority in the greatest and best of all books given to mankind—the New Testament—for this new enterprise now proposed for our Republic?"

Miss Jane Addams in the Atlantic Monthly, says: "A professional man is scarcely equipped and started in his profession before he is thirty; a business man, if he is on the road to success, is much nearer prosperity at thirty-five than at twenty-five, and it is therefore wise for these men not to marry in the twenties. But this does not apply to the workingman. In many trades he is laid upon the shelf at thirty-five, and in nearly all trades he receives the largest wages of his life between twenty and thirty. If the young workingman has all his wages too long to himself, he will probably establish habits of personal comfort which he can not keep up when he has to divide with a family—habits which, perhaps, he can never overcome."

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Alle Zuschriften sind zu richten an

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