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There are Thousands Hacking at the Branches of Evil to One who is Chopping at the Root.

THE GREAT FACT OF THE CENTURY.

Civilization Imperilled by Private Ownership of the Means of Production.

I.

The most revolutionizing fact of the century now nearing its close is the separation of the world's workers from the tools of production—the necessary and relentless transformation of tools, individually owned, into the marvelous labor-saving (and displacing) machines of present-day industry, and the monopolization of these transformed tools by the capitalist class. No other achievement of the century compares with this fact in importance to the human race. In the light of its possible effects on civilization, all other facts, movements, crusades and endeavors of men in the one hundred years of mechanical development, are insignificant or of minor consequence. This is the stupendous and revolutionizing fact of the century. It has changed the basis of civilization; as humanity enters the twentieth century, it will confront conditions never before known in the world's history.

Civilization is enforced organization in the production and distribution of food, clothing and shelter. Or, it is the necessary organized use of the powers of production to supply man's primary wants. As a definition, this may be too narrow, or too materialistic, for acceptance by those who have been reared in comfort and luxury and taught that civilization is ease, art, culture, religion, travel, and the possession of food, raiment and shelter without exertion in producing them. But the bottom fact is this, that we have been forced from savagery to civilization by our own common needs as men and women, and the primary needs of all are the same. Intellectual culture and sumptuous living are possible for the few because of the pitiful economic slavery of the many. The producers' abstinence has made the parasites' abundance.

Want compelled work; work compelled thought; thought compelled discovery and invention. As a result of the private monopolization of our work, our thought and our invention, we are face to face with more destitution and despair than ever existed in the world since civilization began.

The civilization which has been created by labor is in imminent peril. The peril arises from the menace to human life from this one tremendous fact of the century—the divorce of the chief factors of civilization, the producers, from the means of gaining a livelihood.

It is a fundamental truth, and one too little understood by workingmen, that their class, in union with natural resources, has been the architect and builder of civilization from the beginning of time. One can readily convince himself of this by trying to imagine a civilization without useful and productive occupations. Think of it: Food without farmers; clothes without tailors; houses without carpenters; books without printers; art without artists, and so on. Dispense with these and what then becomes of civilization?

And yet, if we follow this subject with the close attention its great importance deserves, we shall see the modern system of production tends directly to dispense with the services of the hand-worker altogether. Industry is passing through changes so remarkable that handicraft, already nearly obsolete in many trades, will soon be unknown. Tesla tells us that the work of the future will be done by pressing a button. And so it happens that toil mixed with thought has brought about a condition in which the laborer is not only dispossessed of the wealth he creates, but impeding over him like a sword of Damocles, the lack of opportunity for productive employment threatens his existence. Already the capitalist system of production has destroyed the opportunity of millions to gain a living, and because of machine production controlled for profit, millions of skilled "hands" lag superfluous under a system that not only fails to give them gainful employment to day, but will be even less able to do it to-morrow.

[To be continued.]

Teaching for the rich and AT the poor is comparable as an honorable calling and agitating FOR the poor and at the

Land being easier to steal than air, there are no title deeds to air on record. But why should an individual have a title deed to land which belongs to all, just as air does?

Some of the people, and the capitalist class, approve the policy of the administration in the Philippines; but to say that the policy is approved by the American people is a lie.

It is estimated that the consolidation of the paper mills means a loss to the paper mill employes at Holyoke, Mass., of \$250,000 per annum. Well, they have the power in their hands which makes and unmakes governments, and the question is, will it teach them anything?

A rumor comes from Brockton that the street railway company will put up notices in their cars forbidding workmen and others so inclined to converse on Socialism. Such a course is so utterly ridiculous that it seems impossible of being carried out, even by the temporary owners of a street railway. If it is, we promise there will be more talk on Socialism in Brockton than before.

The report of the legislative investigating committee of Missouri which recently probed the affairs of the State and municipal offices in St. Louis, found that the city and state annually lost \$369,000 through the escape from taxation of street railway property alone, and that on real estate and personal property the loss aggregated \$1,136,750. The two republican members of the committee did not indorse the report, probably because they did indorse the kind of "patriotism" that avoids paying taxes.

An Eastern paper, whose editor admits the rapid growth of Socialism among the people, says "its promise of physical comfort and material consolation" attracts the masses. It should have pointed out that "physical comfort" and "material consolation" are denied to the masses under existing conditions and that the chances for acquiring the one or the other (if there is any difference) are diminishing daily. Instead of that, it says, absurdly enough, that the promise is the counterpart of the promise by religion of spiritual comfort and consolation.

The bottom fact of the labor question is not the corporate ownership of street railways or electric plants in Toledo or Chicago, but the private ownership of the modern tools of production in Chicago, Toledo and elsewhere. The demand for the socialization of all the means of production is the kernel of the labor question. Municipalization of street railways is essential to abolish corruption in cities; but that will never relieve the dispossessed millions who depend on the capitalist method of production for a living. Municipal ownership will not provide a living for them. Socialism only can do that.

"Socialism" says a critic who is more anxious to attack Socialists than to understand Socialism, "cannot produce a genius great enough to make application of its theory," thus showing how little he knows about the theory. It will be found, all in good time, that the people themselves will make application of the theory. Nineteen centuries of individualism, and religion, and cant, and government by brute force has not produced a genius great enough to deal justly with the world's producers of wealth. The littleness of the "great" will be overwhelmed by the genius of the people; they will apply the theory of Socialism.

In the course of the development of industry, society has practically abandoned handicraft and individual production; for the future only production on the largest scale is thinkable; society will never renounce that. The practical question then is: How can the progress of civilization be maintained with the private control of the social means of production? The absurd answer of all comes from the Bryan democracy—"Smash production on a large scale!" The true answer is given by the Socialist: Abolish private ownership of production, and with it the wage system, and substitute co-operative labor with democratic administration of industry by society as a whole.

Don't be led astray by the fulsome promises of either of the "too" old parties, but look backward and see how they have betrayed you in the past. Both the republican and democratic parties have broken enough promises to the people to entitle them to a speedy burial without "benefit of clergy." Help bury 'em!

If Weyler was a butcher, what is Otis? If the Spanish government was odious, what will sane people think of the American government? "You know the orders!" means the murder of men, women and children in the Philippines, according to letters from volunteers. And it goes under the Cant-on phrase of "benevolent assimilation."

A state controlled by a class is not a free state.

A 'people dependent upon a class is not a free people.

The United States is controlled by a class and is not a free state.

The American people are dependent upon the owners of capital; they are not a free people.

A free state and a free people requires free labor and access to the means of life. There is no odor of freedom in a bouquet consisting of Rent, Interest, Profit and War Stamps.

The laws of New Jersey fix the limit of working hours for bakers at ten per day, but the master bakers of Newark, many of whom have worked the men twelve hours, now refuse to renew the agreement with the men which expires April 30. The law-breakers and slave-drivers have issued an appeal to the public for sympathy, and, of course, that portion of the public who believe in the right of employers to violate law and subject labor to odious conditions, will respond with their sympathy. But the decent wholesome people of Newark will stand by the union bakers.

The Haverhill Gazette innocently remarks that "now is the time for the republican party to go squarely on record against criminal trusts whose controlling spirits are actuated by a desire to pile up profits at the expense of the masses."

But the trouble is that the "controlling spirits" in the trusts are the controlling spirits in the republican party—that is, some of them; the balance are controlling spirits in the democratic party. It is useless to look to the bowless old parties for relief, Mr. Gazette; the country is rotten ripe for something better than either, and the sooner people understand that the "controlling spirits" of trusts and the government will do nothing, the sooner they will see what cowardly politicians are trying to hide from them.

The young men who are graduating or preparing for graduation from thousands of colleges and universities have an interest in the labor question that they learn nothing about in the college curriculum. When the school days are over and they are ready for "business," what do they find? That

If they want to go into the paper business, there is a \$40,000,000 trust.

If they want to manufacture matches, there is a \$20,000,000 trust.

If they want to run a tannery there is a \$125,000,000 leather trust.

If they seek a fortune in shirts and collars, there is a \$108,000,000 trust.

If they think the making of carpets would suit 'em, there is a \$10,000,000 trust.

If they would be jolly millers and make flour for the people, there is a \$150,000,000 trust.

If, finding there is plenty of flour, they would turn into it crackers, there is a \$55,000,000 trust.

If the taste runs to wall paper, there is a \$50,000,000 trust.

If they begin to sour on the "opportunities for young men in America," and turn to sugar, there is a \$40,000,000 trust.

If by that time they are weary of the search and conclude that the road to wealth is in manufacturing coffins, there is an \$18,000,000 trust.

Verily, the opportunities for ambitious young men in America are surprising—while they prepare for graduation in the regions of fancy. But the "post-graduate course" in the realm of fact is an eye-opener.

INVITE YOUR FRIENDS TO SUBSCRIBE.

The Rostrum.

An Eloquent Plea for Democratization of Industry by James F. Carey at Manchester, N. H.

"Every movement in the direction of reform in the past has been met with violent ignorance and prejudice. People have for centuries refused to listen to their own good. It is the duty of every man and woman to analyze political and other theories. Did they meet the light openly, progress would be more fast than it is. In every civilized state are two contending forces with antipodal aims. You and I are compelled to choose between these forces—one contending for a monarchical social condition and one for a democratic society.

Society must analyze the difference between these two forces which are dividing it by a barrier which grows more distinct and impregnable every day.

"Why does this dual force exist instead of a unified society? The answer is in the present industrial system. In the early days of the republic the tools of existence were practically in the hands of each family. Then each family acted independently. One family did not go ragged because the next family did not properly operate the hand loom. But through the ingenuity of the working class tools have developed; instead of each family owning the means of producing the necessities of existence it is necessary to have them owned by wealthy capitalists. Thus the individual has lost in economic independence.

"Within the memory of many of us the little awl and pair of bristles have developed into the Goodyear and McKay shoe sewing machines, and the wayside shoe shop has given place to the great brick factory. The independent shoemaker has been made simply a link in the great chain of production. In the Amoskeag mills you can see the ultimate development of the hand loom in the same direction. Therefore, no matter how the tools of production have passed into the hands of a limited class, leaving the great mass of the people entirely dependent.

"Again, the hand loom was used to produce fabrics for use. The Amoskeag plant is used to produce fabrics for exchange. So the production is regulated by the market. The object of the capitalist is to reduce cost by developing machinery, which results in the lessening of jobs for working people. In continuance of the system the capitalist becomes possessed of everything and the rest of the race possessed of nothing except their misery. Nicholas Tesla has said, 'Time will come when the work of the world will be accomplished by pressing a button.' What will become of the people if that button shall be controlled by a limited few?

"But a few conscientious thinkers who already scent danger desire to so democratize the economic situation that society shall not be obliterated, that a few may control the production of subsistence. I do not believe that anybody believes that society will allow the means of making necessities of life pass and remain in the hands of a few who already often doom society to starvation.

"It seems to me that no one should hesitate in his choice between social monarchy and democratic Socialism.

"A factory is the conception of many minds developed through the genius of the race. The man does not live who could build a factory. It takes thousands of men, not only at the site but all over the country. A factory cannot be run by an individual. It requires the consent and co-operation of society. If a thing cannot be conceived or made or operated without the combined genius of society, how absurd to say it does not belong by inherent right to society.

"When only the hand loom and wayside shop existed there was no call for society to interfere in the manner of their operation. But now the large factory exists society should assert its right that these tools be used for the best interest of society. That such is not done is apparent to the least thinking; the fact that the child labor exists in a country overflowing with resources is proof of crime against the child and against society."

The speaker told a number of interesting legislative incidents. He was followed by applause and was ready to answer questions asked from the audience, but only one was propounded.

PUBLIC UTILITIES AND THE COMMUNITY.

AN ADDRESS BY ALFRED HICKS, DENVER.

PUBLIC utilities are the means used to supply civic needs. The functions we class under the general name of public utilities, are all the direct outcome of the growth of a community. They would have no purpose, and would be meaningless if undertaken away from a community. (Imagine a gas plant, or an expensive and complete system of sewers in an uninhabited desert.)

On the other hand, no gathering together of people can become a permanent community, such as we would call a city, without arranging for the carrying on of these functions, these public utilities.

For our present purpose, public utilities may be roughly divided as those supplying the primary needs, and those supplying developed needs.

In the first division would be classed all such as serve for the protection of the life, health, and property of the individual citizen.

In this class we have all the sanitary departments: construction of sewers, street cleaning and lighting, building, inspection, fire departments, police force, magistrates and so forth.

Then we have the schools, public libraries, parks—which though really developed needs, have become so completely identified with the needs of the people as to be now primary needs.

The other class of developed needs are, such utilities as the street car system, water supply for private as well as public use. Gas or electric lighting. The limit of such developed needs cannot be set. Every time inventive genius opens a new possibility of enjoyment or gain, if the community can be better served by the new invention being owned by the city, it will finally take its place as a public utility.

Notice, however, the primary utilities are all now conceded to be things quite within the province of city ownership, and we very seldom, practically never, hear of argument in favor of their being in the hands of private corporations.

The whole debate is on the ownership of the later developed utilities. It is safe to assert that as they become more definitely and permanently a necessity of city life, they too will be looked upon in the same light in which we view the street paving and the policeman.

One of the first points raised by those who oppose public ownership is an ethical one: "Is it right to confiscate the results of the energy, enterprise, and self-denial of those who have undertaken these public enterprises?"

To answer the man who spoke of "confiscation." No! we do not wish to confiscate any right; only to prevent the wrong which is inevitable when an individual or a group of individuals controls for selfish ends the supplying of a necessity of all. To get an understanding of the ethics, of the righteousness in this question, it is needful to keep in mind the basic principles of the matter, and to have a standard of ethics by which we can judge them.

First we must remember that the community is an organism, and that only as a community do we have to deal with these questions. The public utilities, as their name implies, have come into existence only because of the needs of the community.

Our life, and health, and liberty as a community, is just as sacred and worth striving for, as our own individual life, health and liberty. Indeed much more, for the issues depending are so much greater.

If we take for our test of righteousness the simple one of loving our neighbor as ourself, that is to say, making the interest of all ourselves and our neighbors, equal in our hearts and judgement, I think we must inevitably come to see the righteousness of public ownership.

Let us take an instance and work it out.

I have spent a few years in the very north-east part of Maine and in that part of the state are to be found towns that date back to colonial days and perhaps not ten miles away will be found some quite new settlements, just beginning to grow in the wilderness.

We will take say the start of a village, just a little group of families, each with their own well and horse and wagon. About the only thing they have in common being the roadway and the village constable. Presently it grows to be a small town; many more people have settled in, and the problem of sanitation is an important one. They have to put in a system of sewage, organize a fire company, pave their streets, and to look after these duties have to appoint a number of public servants to give all their time.

In the meantime, and before they have fully organized as a town, a number of citizens, finding that their well water is a menace to the health of their families, put their heads together, and decide to pipe water from a purer source, for their own and their neighbors' use. The village is very willing to agree to the plan, and many are willing to pay a share of the cost in order to get good water.

Everything is justifiable and right so far.

Presently, however, the town is growing larger, and the demand for the pure water being greater, the water supply has grown from being a co-operative convenience into a very lucrative business, and the original group of neighbors has been turned into a close corporation, a joint stock company, with a franchise, giving them the right to lay pipes all over the town.

While this has gone on, there has been some dangerous fever epidemics. The Board of Health after investigation trace it to water drawn from some local wells. The wells have become foul and poisoned by the increase in the size of the town. An order is passed in the interest of all, ordering all wells to be closed and disused. Now let us apply our standard of ethics.

The town has come to the place where an outside water supply is necessary for its existence.

The water company controlled and owned by the group of individual citizens, has only become possible because of the growth of the town. Now, however, having full control of a utility that is a necessity of life for all their fellow townsmen, they can by the pressure of their fellow citizens' necessity, compel them to pay as ransom, any tax they may see fit to levy. The condition of master and slave is not one in which it is possible to love our fellows as ourselves, seeking the interest of each on equal plane.

Friends:—whenever the supplying of a public need becomes practically a monopoly in the hands of an individual or a group of people, the rest of the community become to that extent their slaves and dependents.

Liberty and righteousness demand that a community should own and control the means of supplying its own necessities.

Some one will protest: "What about the men who organized the water company you spoke of?"

"Don't they deserve consideration?"

That is a point to be thought of. No one is going to urge that the good they have done should go unrewarded. On the contrary, they should be properly reimbursed for such results of their labor as are taken over by the community. The plant and machinery of operation.

"But," says the objector, "How about the franchise?" Now my friend, that is another matter. The franchise was only granted to ensure the cost of construction and maintenance. That cost has already largely been paid for by the people whom you have heretofore supplied. And now the community is proposing to pay for the plant as it stands. To demand more is asking something for nothing; and to hold the demand as a threat is attempting to levy blackmail.

ing; and to hold the demand as a threat is attempting to levy blackmail.

In public affairs, quite as much as in our personal living it is time that goodness, justice, righteousness, if they mean anything, must mean good deeds, just conditions and right ends served for our fellows, for humanity. They are not empty abstractions or even pious opinions. Iniquity must always mean inequity.

Conditions that under one set of circumstances were good and right, because they worked for good and right in the affairs of people, may under other circumstances become the worst iniquity.

Such has come to be the case with private ownership of public utilities. In many instances it seems probable that the only way in which it was possible for some of our public functions to be first organized, was by private initiative. Then it was good because it served good ends. But now that the community has so much greater ability, and increased need to be self-sufficing, the thing that was a good cramp and binds, does harm, and has become a wrong.

A lie is the father of lies. If I tell one lie I have to tell another to cover it or else confess my first lie.

And so when there is a public wrong, it has either to be made right, or else fortified by more wrong.

Private ownership of public utilities is an instance of this.

Think for awhile how it now tries to fortify and defend its existence. It is notorious that one of the chief sources of income of the professional politician, is the purse of the quasi-public corporations.

All our lawmakers and administrators come some time or another in contact with the busy tools who serve the private interest as against the public.

Nor is it only in political life that we find the trail of the serpent. Our ministers dare not be bold in denouncing the evil. The richest members of their congregations are interested in the corporations and withdraw their cash support.

In educational institutions if some professor dares speak out, word is sent to the chancellor, warning him that any further attacks will mean that the financial support of the gas or water, or street car company will be withdrawn. The institution must have funds and needs the particular 5 or 10,000 dollars. The professor is gagged or turned out.

Baleful indeed as all this direct influence is, its indirect influence is still worse.

Corruption breeds corruption. The man who has been bought by one corporation, will sell himself to other bidders.

I firmly believe that most of the men who become tools of corruption have no intention of "selling out" when they first enter public life. Pressure too heavy for them to bear was brought upon them—but after once yielding, "as well be hung for stealing a sheep as stealing a lamb," and they take everything that comes their way. Every thievish corporation or individual that has a scheme for enrichment at the public expense will find a ready tool.

Body and soul, we are all wronged and defrauded by this prolific father of evils—the control for the benefit of private ends, of the means of supplying public needs.

This is not simply a "kick." I believe in discontent with wrong and injustice and will do my level best to increase it, but mere discontent is despair. We must for our own sakes work to remedy the wrong; not allowing ourselves to degenerate into mere grumblers and victims of despair.

If we hold in our hearts the hope of a day when the welfare of each shall be the concern of all, and when none shall find profit in his fellow needs, it is our privilege and our bounden duty to work for it.

The rescue of our city from the hands of private corporations and making it a "city of and for the people" is work which will make real the hope that is in us.

True Remedy Recognized.

Dr. Frank Crane, pastor of Trinity church, Chicago, can read the signs of the times. In his pulpit editorial Sunday morning he has this to say: "When we penetrate to the heart of the matter we discover that our business world is in a rapid process of 'coming together;' no plan has ever been proposed that has a ghost of show to prevent this; what, then, are we to do? If there is any other hope for an outcome favorable to the people, other than gradual municipalization, state control or nationalization, it has not been set forth in print. Sober-minded citizens do not favor the modified socialism of municipalization because it is a fad, nor because it is a hot-house theory, worked out by desk-enthusiasts, nor because it is a Utopian dream, but because it is the only remedy. It is easy to condemn a theory by labeling it with the name of an unsavory 'ism,' but what the people are demanding is not the adoption of any 'ism,' in toto, but the securing of an immediate concrete escape from the evils upon them. 'It is a condition that confronts us and not a theory.' A man need not be a German because he takes a glass of beer, nor a Methodist because he occasionally shouts, nor a full-fledged dude because he enjoys a game of golf; neither does he have to go, body and soul, over to join the long-haired, frowsy-bearded gentry who are associated with the idea of 'Socialism' in the popular mind, simply because he believes the city ought to own its street-railways and some other things."

Nub of the Question.

The one thing which the Filipinos under the leadership of Aguinaldo ask, as "of right"—copying in the act and purpose our declaration of independence, and pointing to the American struggle for independence as their high model—is freedom and the opportunity to govern themselves. Yet this inalienable thing, this very ark of our covenant, we deny to them in set terms.

The very first article in the "regulative principles" by which the United States is to be guided sets forth: "The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the archipelago, and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own ruin." We thereby so eminently engage to kill them all unless they accept us as their absolute masters. Promise what we may and do thereafter, here is the nub of the situation, the soul of our enterprise. It denies to them the right which our father, held dearer than life itself, the one thing that made the centennial celebration of 1876 glorious and worth celebrating.—Springfield Republican.

Types of Democratic Art.

Edward Carpenter, in his last book, "Angel's Wings," has written a brilliant essay on the subject of "Art and Democracy," taking as the three types of democratic art, Millet in painting, Wagner in music, and Whitman in literature. "All three men," he says, "were revolutionaries, in more than one sense of the word. Wagner was arrested in the streets of Dresden for complicity in the riots of 1848; Millet was nicknamed the 'wild man of the woods' by his fellow students, and accused of being a Socialist by the critics; Whitman was ejected from his clerkship in Washington because of the 'wickedness of his poems.' All three used new methods in their art work; all three thought, and wrote at some length, on the subject of art generally."

In Berlin no animal may be killed, under a heavy penalty, except at the municipal slaughter-house. Every animal is not only subjected to a close scientific investigation, but specimens of its blood and tissues are examined under powerful microscopes, 45 lady microscopists, with eyes trained to the work, being constantly employed.

REPORT YOUR BRANCH NEWS WEEKLY.

Where Dr. Thomas is Right.

The avowal of belief in Socialism which Dr. Thomas made from the pulpit of the People's church on last Sunday has already brought him censure from part of the press and condemnation from part of the public. It is not too much to say that he is now looked upon in some quarters as "dangerous" in his tendencies and influence. Yet there was nothing in the sermon he delivered to cause alarm, nor will there be any very severe disapproval of it on the part of liberal intelligence.

Dr. Thomas admitted that he was a Socialist. What is there in the world to terrify or appall? Being a Socialist nowadays is very much a matter of degree. Sir William Vernon Harcourt, the English liberal, remarked a few days ago: "We are all Socialists to some extent." It was a sweeping statement, but even a cursory examination of public sentiment would show it to be true of a growing number of people today. Dr. Thomas merely affords conspicuous illustration of the trend of an increasing part of public opinion, and it is to his great credit that he arose in a pulpit from which Prof. Herron had just been ejected for expressing similar sentiments, and unmindful of the antagonism he might provoke, bravely declared what he believed to be the truth that was in him.

How far he was right and how far he was wrong in the opinions he expressed is open to debate, and the best thing about it is that it will be debated and openly and freely debated. But those who would condemn him as entirely and unworthy longer to be a public teacher in this community proclaim their own bare ignorance of the conditions of the times and their intolerance of others' ideas.

There are good grounds for such beliefs as Dr. Thomas and Prof. Herron hold. They have been furnished by the aggregated greed and rapacity of unscrupulous men, who are ready, by fair means or foul, to crush the weak, subvert government, and, if need be, destroy the best instincts of humanity to get the wealth of the country into their own hands. If the pulpit cannot properly raise its voice against such inhuman atheistic tendencies, what agency can? And if it properly utters protest and warning, why is it not proper for it to suggest a remedy?

Society has already admitted the principle and adopted the rudiments of state Socialism. A public police force, instead of a number of private watchmen, is Socialistic. The postoffice is Socialistic, and so are the public ownership and administration of waterworks, lighting plants, and other "public utilities." The question is, having admitted the principle, how far shall we carry the practice? And a reasonable answer would be: As far as it is necessary to the public security and welfare.

That is a thing in its turn to be determined by conditions. And when we have great corporations within the city, built up and supported by the city's gifts, and yet so rapacious and so thievish that they are planning day and night to enrich themselves still further by the corruption of parties and officials and legislative bodies and courts, filling public offices with bribe-takers and thieves, and making wrong instead of right the ruling factor in public affairs, we have a condition that calls for one more forward step, and it should not terrify any one if that step is also called Socialism. That is where Dr. Thomas is right.—Chicago Journal.

What Socialism Is.

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

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DEBS AT DELMONICO'S.

An Ovation Fairly Won and Gracefully Received. - - A Truthful Account of the Meeting of the Nineteenth Century Club.

By MARY ELIZABETH LEASE.

THE cultured east, self-satisfied and self-satiated, effete in morals, Europeanized in methods, has just received from the west the breath of its prairies, the fragrance of its morning valleys, the strength of its noonday uplands. Out of the land of the setting sun an empire to them unknown came pleading for the poetic principles of equality and fraternity, and vibrating with the powers of a great soul, a voice whose every tone commanded the instant and respectful attention of an eastern audience.

A few days since it was my privilege to look upon that charmed circle of superficial and artificial life known as wealth laden society, a society whose members owe their prestige largely to the fact that their ancestors were early settlers of Manhattan Island.

The exclusive and highly aristocratic Nineteenth Century Club, that numbers among its members the wealth and culture of the most prominent families of New York, had invited to one of their regular meetings as the orator of the evening that splendid type of Western civilization, Eugene V. Debs. From the but little comprehended inland empire of the great "middle west" he loomed before them a colossal figure.

The theme which had been selected for him, "Prison Labor; Its Effect upon Industry and Trade," was not one to appeal strongly to a wealthy and fashionable club, whose members had issued the dictum that only gentlemen in evening dress and ladies in decollete costume should be admitted.

As the speaker rose to his full height in view of the splendid and expectant audience awaiting him a critical silence fell upon the richly dressed throng. Was this man, broad of brow, benevolent of countenance, magnetic in personality, alike avoiding in appearance the ostentation of display and the Jeffersonian affectation of simplicity—was this man the uncouth westerner, the fiery and dangerous "labor agitator," which the servile hirelings of corporate wealth had tirelessly misrepresented?

That the audience was completely disarmed of prejudice and that Mr. Debs not only won a repeated applause by his truly oratorical presentation of a distasteful and unromantic theme, but also at the close of his address received an ovation seldom given, was not only a tribute to the broad humanitarian statesman, but a notable and personal triumph to the man. Choice of diction, simple and direct of manner, there was no toying with words to shield too honest sentiment. With a sincerity and depth of kindly thought that could only emanate from a great soul he reduced to a minimum the chances for misapprehension and conveyed unerringly to the attentive intelligences before him his glowing thought, thought instinct with divinity, imprisoned in the device of polished speech which held enrapt the Nineteenth Century Club and its invited guests. The spontaneous recognition and greeting of the club was worthy the man, the man was worthy the undying thoughts he breathed upon them. Like a sentinel he stood upon the outer walls of human possibilities and prophesied in ringing words of better days to come. Poet, prophet and thinker, Eugene Debs believes that the common sense of the world will inevitably sweep away the cruelly unjust social conditions that could enable corporate wealth to devour the bodies and souls of men. He shows his hearers the blackness of the thundercloud that overhangs and darkens the landscape, yet points with hope to the radiant sunlight far ahead on the journey of humanity. His aim and purpose in life are to restore hu-

man brotherhood through the establishment of justice, and this justice, he bravely upholds, can only come through a Socialistic system wherein each shall have according to what each has produced and none shall want.

With clear vision and inspired language he portrays the greater glories that are destined to come to the race when the demon of selfishness has been subdued. A teacher of future thought; his heart is fired with love for his fellow men. His every word and look, his whole life, bears the intensity of purpose of a master builder.

Presenting first the thought side, then directly the heart side of the economic questions of the hour, he does not excite that unreasoning enthusiasm which causes swarms of unthinking political devotees to view questions of right and wrong through the medium of a fanatical egotism, but his hearers are impelled to think and conviction follows investigation.

The continued and vindictive misrepresentation of this man by jealous politicians and partisan newspapers is most significant. They at first insisted that he should be muzzled and his pernicious fallacies and anarchistic teachings would have a dangerous effect upon the rising generation. But when the American people with that spirit of fair play which characterizes them, insisted upon hearing Mr. Debs and greeted him with overflow houses everywhere, the jumping jacks of plutocracy decided to place him in a new role. Taking it for granted that the intelligence of the public was as circumscribed and limited as their own, they attacked him without any concerted plan of procedure, and while one set reviled him as an ill-dressed and awkward appearing ignoramus the other set ridiculed him for appearing before the Nineteenth Century Club as the champion of labor in a faultless evening dress whose every detail bore the stamp of unmistakable swiftness. The simple truth is that he was dressed exactly as he usually dresses when appearing on the lecture platform. Despite the ridiculous and wholly false statements sent broadcast over the country, there was no division of opinion among his hearers as to his personality or appearance.

At the close of Mr. Debs' address on the problem of prison labor one Charlton T. Lewis, an attache of the Harper's publishing house, gave vent to a stereotyped harangue against the tyranny of organized labor, which would have been well received had it not been interspersed with personal attacks upon Mr. Debs, inspired no doubt with the vain hope to offset the very favorable impression made by him and to create prejudice. When Mr. Debs rose to reply, ignoring the ungentlemanly remarks and manifestly untrue statements of his assailant, when with the utmost courtesy he answered every objection and swept away the fallacious statements of his thoroughly ashamed antagonist and pleaded for a higher civilization, in which the dictates of ethics and the gospel of Christ shall not be a travesty, all hearts were his, and for more than an hour at the close of his remarkable peroration he was surrounded and congratulated by the brilliant and distinguished men and women present.

Mr. McKelway, the veteran editor of the Brooklyn Eagle who had more than once denounced Mr. Debs through the editorial columns of his paper, greeted him as a brother greets brother, and an able article in a subsequent issue of his paper attested the heartiness and genuineness of the greeting. Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of The Review of Reviews, was enthusiastic in his praise of the speaker and his masterly address.

Among the many lovely women who lingered longest in conversation with the orator, I was particularly attracted to Mrs. General Custer, whose brilliant intellectual attainments have placed her in the forefront of social preference, the beautiful and gracious daughters of Colonel Robert Ingersoll, Miss Haggood, the well known writer, and a great number of the most prominent and intellectual people of the day who were loath to leave the magnetic personality of the

speaker who had charmed them.

Mr. Debs' appearance before the Nineteenth Century Club marks an era of more fraternal feeling between the east and the west, and despite the malicious statements sent out by his adversaries his coming was a notable success, a distinct triumph.

Sees the Handwriting.

So simple a question as the free use of the city hall discloses the presence of the Socialists in another Essex county town, this matter coming to the front in Peabody, all of which goes to show that this party is one to be reckoned with in future county politics. Haverhill undoubtedly has a powerful efficient organization that has brought its best men into office, state and municipal, with Amesbury a close second. Peabody now follows and is setting an example to other cities and towns in which the working-man is strong in numbers, to put himself to the fore in the interest of legislation that shall be to his best advantage. So far the organization is local in its work, but once let a county party spring up, as it is sure to do, and some of the old republican officeholders will find an enemy worthy of their finest steel, the more so because they have been drifting from their supporters, who are the people, on account of municipal and county quarrels. The facts are too plainly manifest to be ignored, and unless the work of reorganization is soon to be undertaken and carried on unceasingly with the same zeal that characterizes the labor of the enemy, the results, or more rightly the disasters, can easily be imagined. The warning comes from the enemy and must needs be heeded, for not satisfied with state berths, the Socialists will soon seek a place in national affairs, for they must indeed soon supplant the old enemy, democracy. — Haverhill Gazette.

Rule of Corporations.

Senator W. A. Harris, of Kansas, speaking on the defeat of the government cable scheme to the Hawaiian Islands, recently said:

"A few days ago I had a conversation with a well-known gentleman who is connected with a number of the largest corporations in the country, and I expressed my regret that the measure which had passed the Senate should have been defeated in the House. He said, of course, there should be a cable, but that the company of which he was a member could not afford to permit such a work to be constructed by the government; that he and others were willing upon the payment of the subsidy by the government to proceed to construct a cable line, but that if it had been done by the government, the next thing, probably, would have been an effort to have the government purchase and operate the Western Union Telegraph System.

"Then," he said, "they would go on and probably want to purchase and operate some of the railroads of the country, and we could not afford to allow such a measure as that to go into operation, and, therefore proceeded to defeat it in the House." These things he stated as a matter of course, and rather boasting of the power, which, while not being able to control the Senate as it was then organized, yet had unlimited power in the House to prevent any legislation being enacted which might possibly by its success affect the interests of corporations with which he was connected in the future. The defeat in the House of measure for the construction of the Nicaragua canal by the government was brought about in the same way and for the same motive."

"Every degree of substantial knowledge we attain to, it is equally important that every person should realize the same blessing. If to know is useful in getting the most out of life, then to know is a provision of nature from which no one can be ultimately excluded. If to possess a homestead is conducive to the highest order of citizenship, then every man must eventually own a homestead or the civic order cannot be made complete." — J. F. Schindler.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. — Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power

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

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

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

AUSTRIA.
1895..... 90,000
1897..... 750,000

BELGIUM.
1894..... 334,500
1898..... 534,324

DENMARK.
1872..... 315
1884..... 6,805
1887..... 8,408
1890..... 17,232
1892..... 20,098
1895..... 25,019
1898..... 32,000

FRANCE.
1885..... 30,000
1888..... 91,000
1893..... 590,000
1898..... 1,000,000

GERMANY.
1867..... 30,000
1871..... 101,927
1874..... 351,670
1877..... 486,843
1878..... 437,158
1881..... 311,961
1884..... 599,990
1887..... 763,128
1890..... 1,427,298
1893..... 1,786,738
1898..... 2,125,000

GREAT BRITAIN.
1895..... 55,000

ITALY.
1893..... 20,000
1895..... 76,400
1897..... 134,496

SERVIA.
1895..... 50,000

SPAIN.
1893..... 7,000
1895..... 14,800
1897..... 28,000

SWITZERLAND.
1890..... 13,500
1893..... 29,822
1896..... 36,468

UNITED STATES.
1890..... 13,704
1891..... 16,552
1892..... 21,512
1893..... 25,666
1894..... 30,020
1895..... 34,869
1896..... 36,275
1897..... 55,550
1898..... 91,749

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

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, APR. 29, 1899

Heath Has the Floor in Reply to Martin.

WHEN he put the final paragraph to his interesting article on the program for farmers, Comrade Martin spoke against his own case. In it he says the farmers as a class would be the last to accept Socialism, because they are next to the base of animal existence, and, consequently, the last to feel the unsatisfied pangs of hunger. This is quite correct, in one sense, and no one will dispute it. But it is for just this reason that there is need for a program for farmers, for it will not be simple hunger for victuals that will drive them to advocate Socialism.

Mr. Martin says, by implication, that the farmers are capitalists. Now the farmers—and we mean by this, 999 out of 1,000—cannot by any right be classed as capitalists. It is true that as a rule they are masters of their means of production. But according to the scientific meaning of the word capitalism, it takes more than that to make a capitalist.

Nor are the farmers exploiters, in spite of the "hired man we hear about." If anything, they are self-exploiters, and, also, they are very badly exploited by the capitalist system, wherever they come in contact with it. They are exploited by the railroads, the bankers, the merchants, in fact, by most everyone who gets the chance. In this country "of ours," it has even gone so far, that, for a long time the so-called "good times" depended in no small degree on the ability to exploit the farmer.

The question would seem to turn, therefore, on whether the farmers belong to the "dispossessed" or not. Their political movements in late years would seem to indicate that they consider themselves as very much so. They may not, as a matter of fact, be dispossessed of their land, and still be dispossessed in the more general application of the term. The meagre returns of their drudgery make up but a small part of their rightful share of the socially-due product of our present day fruitfulness, and, if you are skeptical of that fact, cast your pitying eyes on that modern and forlorn drudge of all drudges, the average farmer's wife. Or, take a look at his entire household. No wonder there is a movement on the part of some of the young people toward the city!

And so, when Comrade Martin says that the dispossessed class is always the first to see and to accept the logic of Socialism, as the Socialist vote of all countries shows, no advocate of the program for farmers will dispute with him for a minute. On the contrary, they will contend that for that very reason the farmer must also be given a material incentive for embracing Socialism. He must be shown that while Socialism will perhaps come as the greatest boon for the proletariat, it will also be to his greatest advantage, and that in the meantime certain benefits can be given dwellers in the country quite in accord with the Socialist spirit and in line with the ends the movement has in view. Farmers here and there may become Socialists through sentiment, but not the mass of them.

Wage slavery on the farms is more a fancy than a reality, for the conditions make it impracticable. The line can scarcely be drawn between the farmer himself and the

farm wage worker, for their material condition is much the same, except in the proximity of large cities where the farms have speculative values. We do not call democratic municipal ownership, parks and other city benefits reactionary, why should we charge the provisions of the program for farmers with being so? Certainly the people of the country deserve to come in for something of the culture and conveniences of the present civilization, and government owned warehouses would be no more reactionary than government owned railroads.

Shall we turn the post office system over to private exploiters lest it help the farmer and thus prove reactionary? No one would ask such a thing. Yet to facilitate the farmer in his efforts to get his crops to the distributive centers is in kind with allowing him to get his daily newspaper crop reports by mail.

And let us not overlook a fact in connection with farm labor. That is that the likeness to the old guild is still further exemplified by the fact that the farm hand, when he gets to the proper point, can leave his employment and set up for himself, land being cheap and easy to secure, and implements not over-expensive. There are no married hired men on the farms. When these laborers marry, they immediately set up in farming on their own hook.

This is in striking contrast with the state of things in the industrial and mercantile world. One hundred years ago it took only a few months' wages as a capital with which to set up in business. In 1845 it took three years' wage to do so. Today it requires the wages of many years, and even then the undertaking is a very hazardous one, and in some lines entirely out of the question.

Again, Comrade Martin says that it would be just as sensible to devise schemes to better the condition of the class that owns and controls the machinery as to ease up matters for the farmer. And then he asks: "Can we interfere to prolong the existence of either without putting off the day we hope for?" But are the two cases parallel?

Can the farmer and owner of machinery be put in the same class? The private ownership of machinery has brought ruin to millions of our people, because it has obliged them to work with tools belonging to others, who were thus in a position to extort from them a large share of the product, for the privilege. The farmer possesses one of the means of production, it is true (viz, the land), but he does not have a monopoly of it, nor does he use it to exploit others. His holding parcels of it does not imply the lack of it on the part of others.

Raw land for the purpose of use and occupancy is a drug on the market, and so it is folly to class the farmer with the capitalist labor skinner. In point of fact, he is more like the guild-master of old, who, it is true, employed others, but who worked alongside them nevertheless and was on the same social footing with them.

It is machine production that makes Socialism possible. Individual farm work has not yet been transformed into social work by means of machinery, and the indications are that such transformation belongs to the remote and misty future. It is, therefore, misleading to liken the farmer to the capitalist. The existence of the farmer is necessary to society. The capitalist is becoming less and less necessary every day.

And we need the farmers. In fact, we cannot capture the government without them. They are in practically the same sort of distress that we are. Shall we let a few phrases stand between us and blind us to the sameness of our interests? The boy who stood on the burning deck was a hero in the eyes of some people, but to others he was an idiot. It is fidelity to the spirit rather than to the letter of a law, that is most admirable. Do not let misunderstood phrases make us hide-bound—to make use one of Comrade Miles' apt expressions.

Those who have been fortunate enough to save the copies of THE HERALD of August 6 and 20, respectively, containing Comrade Berger's articles on the farmer's program, will do well to again run over the statistics he there presents. These show that concentration has not taken place to an appreciable degree in the agricultural districts during the last forty years. We may agitate among the city proletariat and actually get them united at the polls, and yet, after such achievement, find ourselves impotent to take the political power unless the farmers also cast their vote with ours. Shall we then sit down to wait for concentration to turn the farmers into proletarians, according to the strictest meaning of the term? Not at all, for it is possible to show that there is at the bottom a oneness of interest between the distressed of the city and the distressed of the country.

In presenting a farmer's program we are not throwing a sop to the enemies of labor. So far as the Socialist movement is concerned the measures we advocate for the country cannot be classed as reactionary. Such help for the rural class will not retard the advance of Socialism AND THAT IS THE ONE TEST. On the contrary, such advance will be quickened. The farmer will subscribe conscientiously to every article of our entire platform and will desire the overthrow of private ownership as much as we of the city do. He will work heartily with us for the ultimate goal.

Nor is a farmer's program a piece of political expediency in any sense. It comes as true class insight on the part of the city proletarian who advocates it, and its fault is that it does not go far enough.

We do not stoop to conquer; we merely consider all the facts, and guide ourselves accordingly. There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy, Comrade Martin.

In conclusion, let me urge on our members the necessity of being alive to the genius of the movement and to avoid as much as possible that slavish dogmatism based on slight, and therefore dangerous, knowledge, that has heretofore kept the Socialist movement in this country fettered. Let us catch the spirit of the movement for emancipation and press forward with individual alertness, not as well disciplined slaves, a la the "skyentific" fellows.

FREDERIC HEATH.

Debs goes to Texas.

Eugene V. Debs closed a most successful tour of Indiana at Evansville last Sunday afternoon, when he addressed an audience that filled the People's theatre. May 10th he starts a month's engagements in the South, at Nashville; most of the month of May will be given to Texas. Parties desiring to make arrangements for lectures should address, L. W. Rogers, manager, Box 99, Chicago, Ill.

Following are his appointments:

Nashville, Tenn.,	May 10.
Memphis,	" 11.
Little Rock, Ark.,	" 12.
Greenville, Tex.,	" 13.
Dallas,	" 14.
Fort Worth,	" 14.
Bonham,	" 15.
Denison,	" 16.
Cleburne,	" 17.
Waco,	" 18.
San Antonio,	" 19.
Austin,	" 20.
Galveston,	" 21.
Houston,	" 21.
Beaumont,	" 22.

THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason, clubbed, for 70 cents a year.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE.

Well, another patriotic holiday has come and gone like a puff of wind on a sultry day. The old family flag has shaken out its winter creases and flapped a bold defiance to the April wind.

The bands have ta-ra-ra-boomed a patriotic clamor into the public ear, and have created a boom in bromo seltzer. The old war-horses have come out in their trappings, and have champed their bits at the sound of the old music that once led them through bloody lanes instead of through jostling sight-seers.

We have raked out the patriotic memories from our mental dust-heaps, looked at them, and flung them in again. And Patriots' day is past.

And Patriots' day is past? It seems as if it were true, in more senses than one.

When, as a nation, we are content to glorify the deeds and doers of the perished past, we are generally apt to forget the truer patriots of the present day.

They who cast most flowers on the grass-grown graves of the Lexington heroes, are very apt to forget the battle that is being waged in every workshop in our land. It is an easy thing to tramp boldly on a lion's carcass when he is dead, but it requires courage to face, in battle array, an infuriated tom-cat. A parade is good enough to look at, but it's of precious little use when settlement of a vital issue is at stake.

If sound patriotism means simply sound patriotism, then we are literally steeped in it.

If fire-crackers and toy-cannons meant loyalty to one's country, then blessed is America. Then the average celebration of the Fourth of July might atone for a year's disloyalty.

If the tortuous procession of men in society uniforms meant the advance of public love toward public weal, then might our country rejoice in her mighty strides toward the millenium.

If noise were courage, and flags were swords, we could knock any nation into a cocked hat in the twinkling of a parlor match.

If street jams meant meant liberties preserved, every workingman might feast.

But—and plenty of it.

True patriotism, like real charity, begins at home. It starts from the circle of personal liberty and happiness, and from there spreads to those who are about us.

If there is that in our home government which seeks or tends to destroy our personal right to happiness, it is impossible for us to be aught but hypocritically patriotic until that tendency or purpose is removed.

Can you love a man who picks your pocket while he smiles in your face? Can you become enthusiastic over a society that exacts all the dues, and gives none of the benefits?

How can we be madly patriotic to a country where its citizens' liberty is crippled and curbed at every point, where taxes are collected from the poor by force of prison threats; when even the opportunity to toil is not guaranteed, and where poverty disenfranchises?

Patriotism is not a surfeit of sentiment expended on a certain area of mad and water, but it is loyalty to the best interests of the men and women who live within its borders. He who is not true to his humblest fellow citizen is a traitor to his country, though he pawn his shirt for a flag on the Fourth of July.

He who is not patriotic to the home is not patriotic to the state, and whose betrays his own class interests plays the Judas to the whole.

Patriotism should be judged not by our hatred of a Spanish general, but by our love for an American tramp.

He is truly loyal who is true to

human beings, not to human institutions; to human needs, not to human mandates.

True patriotism is not bounded by boundary lines, but by human hearts.

Now, we all know that America isn't headquarters for the millenium. No one who has lived in Boston can mistake it for the New Jerusalem.

Work in a shoeshop does not exactly fulfill our conception of ideal happiness. The American eagle hardly has room enough to scream in a microscopic attic chamber.

The road that leads to a job is an exceeding straight and narrow one, and many there be that walk thereon.

The average contents of our purses are not enough to allow us to go on a gold basis, whatever the bankers may do.

The harp of happiness cannot be twanged into melody by a boarding house toothpick.

By the which, we are led to suppose that America is all right, but Americans, some of them, are a bit the worse for wear.

The earth, air, climate, are all that we could desire, but our use of them has not been in accordance with wise principles.

We have all the building materials on the ground for a people's palace of pleasure, but we have been content to build barn-like factories and shack-like homes.

Heaven's timber lies at our feet, but we are simply feeding the fires of hell with it.

We have the grand piano of liberty, but we have allowed every grasping fool to clutch at the keys and spoil every possible melody.

Nature has been kind and wise but we have been foolish.

Let the patriot consider the past less, and the people more.

Let him take his eyes off the aristocratic throngs of New York, and watch, for a moment, the scores of women and children who are fighting for crusts on city dump-heaps. Let him forget what the constitution promises and think of what the government gives.

Let him boast less of the past prowess of his country, and let him look to it that the evils that now menace our public prosperity and personal life are destroyed.

Let him not judge his country's worth by the yardstick of her greatest achievement, but by the measure of her helpfulness to her poorest citizen.

Best of all, let him join that party which seeks the reconstruction of society on a common sense basis, and the natural use of natural blessings—the Social Democratic Party.

MERLIN.

The Philippine Yankee Doodle.

[Written for THE HERALD.]
BY A BANDERLOG.

WE'RE Yankee Doodle up to date,
And they who think it's funny,
Are simply finding, rather late,
Our "God" is made of money.

(CHORUS.)

Then whoop-te-doodle-doodle-do!
And whoop-te-doodle-dandy!
Whoop her up for all the boodle crew!
They find it very handy.

The constitution now be damned!
We're destined as a nation,
To whoop it up to beat the band,
And dazze all creation.

(CHORUS.)

Then whoop-te-doodle-doodle-do!
And razzle-dazze-dandy!
Whoop her up for all the boodle crew!
They find it very handy.

We're going to swtpe the very earth,
Wipe out all competitions,
Shoot down the native on his heart,
To build up trade and missions.

(CHORUS.)

With cannon, culture, corn and hogs,
With Bible and with lash, oh
We'll christianize the "Banderlogs,
And turn their souls to cash. so

(CHORUS.)

Shoot down the curs with shot and shell—
We'll christianize the "Banderlogs,
Give them of blood and battle yell
A "civilizing" sample.

(CHORUS.)

So, stand the flag of pounds and pence,
And carry "God" to Shang Hai!
Who say with hoar, 'tain't common sense,
As "traitors" we will hang high.

(CHORUS.)

Then whoop-te-doodle-doodle-do!
And whoop-te-doodle-dandy!
Whoop her up for all the boodle crew!
They find it very handy.

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

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for the month.

Colorado.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 226 Washington street.

Connecticut.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at George's Hall, 868 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 8 p. m. New Haven. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 155 Franklin street.

Illinois.

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

Indiana.

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

Maryland.

Branches Nos. 1 and 2, Maryland, meet every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 505 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

Massachusetts.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Organizer, H. Schlichting, 90 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., holds business meeting first Sunday of each month, at 12 o'clock, noon, at W. C. T. U. Hall, corner Oxford and Washington streets. E. W. Tinsion, 25 Albany st., Fin. Sec. - Treas. Notice of agitation meetings will appear in THE HERALD and local papers. Public invited.

Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark's Block, cor. of Main and Centre streets. Every member expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 18, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 90 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m., at 1043 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Hallie, 1 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

Missouri.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, International Bank Building, 20 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 806 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Anderson, 425 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (1st Mo.) meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. F. Haussler, 1223 N. Broadway.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3rd Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langhird, 3430 Tennessee ave.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3rd Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Rhine Hall, 18th and Wyoming streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3694 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Vitt's Hall, Broadway and Keokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 3324 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 2d Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 4800 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenthal, 87 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 18th and Monroe streets. Organizer, H. J. Steigerwalt, 113 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1201 Union ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1230 N. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twentieth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 2346 St. Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 3350 St. Ferdinand ave.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (9th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 1081 South Twelfth street. Organizer John Zach, 181 South 12th street.

St. Louis Eighth Ward Branch (10th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday, at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, corner Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, L. P. Tomson, 241 South 7th street.

St. Louis Thirteenth Ward Branch (11th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, Oliver A. Nelson, 1316 Mississippi avenue.

St. Louis Nineteenth ward Branch (12th Mo.) meets every Saturday, at 8 p. m., at 641 Warner avenue. Organizer, G. Gandler, 618 N. 20th street.

New York.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets 2d and 4th Thursday of each month at 209 E. Broadway. A. Guyer, 28 Clinton street, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Morris Forward Club Rooms, 107 Forsyth st. Business meetings second and fourth Tuesdays. Discussion meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month, New York City. Secretary, Louis Palevsky, 337 East 12th st.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, secretary, 331 Madison st.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 8:15 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 235 E. 54th st., Sec.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Part., 292 Hewes street, meets 1st and 3d Thursdays at 8 p. m. sharp. All persons interested in Socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these interesting local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 242 Hewes st., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York, (28 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary R. Hoppe, 328 E. 90th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity, meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Forsyth street, in the William Morris Forward Club rooms, Elizabeth H. Thomas, 257 Division street, secretary.

Ohio.

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

Pennsylvania.

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

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 7:30 south Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 P. M., Funk hall, south 24th and Josephine sts. President W. Bohn, 244 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2318 Jane st.

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; Secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 225 W. 5th street.

Wisconsin.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month, at the Ethical society Building, 558 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday, in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

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

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterleus hall, 717 Center street at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America, meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m., sharp, at No. 418 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doertler, Treasurer.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

Northrup E. D.	25
Josephson M.	10
Witfield, S. H. (no name)	10
Elliott M. J.	25
Elliott Mrs M. J.	25
Elliott Henry	25
Fox J. F.	25
Loebel Oscar	10
Rentler Paul	10
Previously reported	\$118 45
Total	\$120 10

New branches for the week are located at Chicago, Cincinnati, Dayton and South Groveland, Mass. There are others on the way and a big bunch of agreeable surprises coming "down the pike."

A strong branch has been organized at South Groveland, Mass. Following executive board was elected: Chairman, Jno. H. Morris; Vice Chairman, Robert Crawford; Secretary, Geo. Carlton; Treasurer, Geo. D. Cook; Organizer, James Jones.

Brockton has decided to put an agent on the road to sell Socialist literature.

Branch 9 at Brockton, which is always setting a good example for all other branches, enrolled 29 new members at last week's meeting.

Comrade Winfield P. Porter spoke at Lynn, Mass., under the auspices of the local branch, Sunday, April 16, making a most favorable impression on the audience which crowded the hall.

The branches can do no more telling propaganda with a little money than to distribute Gordon's effective pamphlets, "Hard Times," "Government Ownership of Railroads" and "Municipal Socialism." Write F. G. R. Gordon, Manchester, N. H., for terms. "Municipal Socialism" can be had from E. V. Debs & Co., Terre Haute, Ind. See ad. in this paper.

In the recent municipal election at Newark, N. J., the comrades nominated candidates in the Third and Fourth wards and polled 157 straight Social Democratic votes. Very little work prior to election was done and the result is most gratifying. Comrade Joseph Barondess, of New York, went over and lent a hand, and Comrade M. E. Rubin, of Newark, writes in behalf of his co-workers an appreciation of Barondess' efforts.

Milwaukee.

Branch 4, Milwaukee, has re-elected the old officers:

Chairman, Chas. A. Blodgett.
Vice-Chairman, August Wille.
Secretary, Geo. Moerschel.
Treasurer, Nic. Petersen.
Organizer, Gustav Richter.

It was also decided to give a ball on May 6th. The officers of the branch were appointed as a committee on arrangements. Tickets for admission will be 10 cents each and can be procured from the secretary or treasurer.

GEORGE MOERSCHEL, Sec.

Speakers in Demand.

At a meeting of the 12th Assembly District held at 62 Pitt st., New York, Comrade Joseph Barondess lectured on "Capital Punishment" to one hundred attentive hearers. Three members were enrolled. A committee was elected to wait upon the East Side Branch and urge the dissolution of that Branch in order that its active members may be added to the membership of their respective districts.

Comrade Barondess also lectured at the East Side settlement, 76th and East River, on "American Plutocracy" to a well attended "American" meeting. Those who were present at the lecture were not accustomed to listen to Socialist speakers. After the meeting however the result was, Comrade Barondess was requested to furnish more Socialist speakers and accordingly he made arrangements for Comrades Chase, Dr. J. Hourwich and Meyer London to speak there.

New Branch at Cincy.

The first meeting of the S. D. P. at Cincinnati, which took place on Monday evening, April 17th, was very encouraging to its organizers, all things considered. We enrolled 18 names for membership and have applied for a charter to do business, and you can bet we intend to in a most vigorous manner. We have placed at the head of our local branch Comrade Adam Nagel. As a worker for Socialism he is entitled to and deserves the honor we conferred upon him. And it should serve as an object lesson to others to work. We also have other good members among us, and the future of the S. D. P. and the cause of Socialism in Cincinnati is bright. All comrades, and any one interested in Socialism in our vicinity, are kindly requested to be present at any of our meetings which take place every Monday evening at 8 o'clock, in Richelieu hall, southeast corner 9th and Plum streets. The following officers have been elected: Adam Nagel, chairman; J. H. Hewitt, vice-chairman; C. D. Linsley, secretary; S. G. Mead, treasurer; Robert J. Waite, organizer.

Yours fraternally,
ROBT. J. WAITE.

He Was Scientific.

As we sometimes listen to our friends laboring to show that Socialism must be presented "scientific," we are reminded of the young man fresh from college who gave his grandma an analysis of sucking eggs.

"Now, grandma," said he, "you make an incision in the base and an aperture in the apex, and then by atmospheric pressure the contents are protruded into the mouth."
"La, in my days," said granny, "we just knocked a hole in the end and sucked it out."
THOS. H. GIBBS.

Attention, Social Democrats of New Hampshire.

COMRADES:—It is high time that our branches took action in regard to a state committee.

We propose to the branches of New Hampshire that at next regular meeting they take a vote to locate the state committee in one of our organized centres. Send the result of such vote to Geo. Howie, chairman of city committee, Manchester, N. H., 262 Bridge st.

The city committee will count the vote and the result will be published in THE HERALD.

F. G. R. GORDON.
Acting State Organizer.

Send in brief report of your Branch work every week, and mail it on Saturday.

Progress at Haverhill.

Since our last letter things have been moving quietly, but moving none the less. We are taking in new members at every meeting of the branch. At the meeting held on the 5th inst., we started a series of half-hour lectures, in which the comrades and outsiders are manifesting considerable interest. Comrade Chase started the ball. His subject was "The Basis of Collective Happiness." At the last meeting Comrade Gillen spoke on "The Cause of the Class Struggle," and next Comrade Carey will speak. The title of his subject will be "The Enemy." We our now canvassing the shops throughout the city for the purpose of obtaining a correct list of those who are in sympathy with the movement, and also those who are not. We believe such a list necessary for systematic work.

The boys at city hall are doing their duty like true Socialists. The city council recently appointed a committee, to make arrangements for a reception on the occasion of the return of the local soldiers from Cuba. A part of the plan was to have the city government ride in carriages. Our boys insisted that the city government should walk and that the whole program should be arranged on a basis of equality, but the old party fellows would not listen to such a proposition. They must stick out their chests, in order to uphold the dignity of the city council. We will ride them out of office next fall, as sure as an election takes place.

CHARLES FRASER,
WM. T. DWYER.

Brockton is Ours.

Branch 9 of Brockton again demonstrated the fact that the people are interested in Socialism, for on Sunday evening, April 16, despite the fact that a heavy rain and snow storm was visiting this vicinity, between three and four hundred people attended a lecture by Rev. E. H. Keens, the subject being "A Socialist's Reasons." This lecture was a masterpiece and impressed the audience very much.

Rev. S. C. Beal, one of the recent prominent additions to our branch, opened the meeting with a few remarks, showing that he was proud to acknowledge his "conversion," as he expressed it, to Socialism. This comrade, who is a fluent and able speaker, will be heard from later on.

The movement in New-England has made a distinct gain in the person of the Rev. E. H. Keens. He announces himself a scientific Socialist, a Social Democrat, and has expressed his willingness to assist our movement in every way possible and were he to remain in Brockton we would be proud to add him to our branch.

Because of his fearlessness in expressing his views he was compelled to leave the Universalist church of this city and accept a call to Dover, N. H.

The Brockton Times, which is usually very fair towards us, has not printed a line of either one of his lectures presumably because of the above facts. But there are other papers.

Fourteen women held a meeting on Monday, April 10, and discussed how they could best assist the movement. At our business meeting Tuesday evening we took in 29 new members which makes 61 in the past two meetings.

We passed a resolution declaring as part of our municipal policy the eight hour work day for city laborers and we propose to make it a live issue next fall.

Our city committee is getting into fine working order and when the time comes it will demonstrate that it is an earnest and thoroughly organized body of men. Its chief duty at present is the collection of dues and contributions which is in accordance with a plan we have formulated, in which each ward committee is responsible for the collections in its ward. Comrade Skinner, our organizer, addressed a meeting at Bridgewater on Tuesday evening, the 18th.

One of our comrades has devised a method of distributing literature, which we are going to give a trial next week.

He proposes to distribute about 300 books a day, or 1800 a week, then collect the books or the equi-

valent on the following week. We propose to start him with 1800 of Gordon's "Hard Times." The Socialist Band composed of members of the branches in this vicinity, has held a rehearsal with very flattering results and we expect to hear them at a meeting we are thinking of holding in Whitman which will be a union meeting of all the branches and a "rouser" too.
C. H. COULTER.

SPRING ELECTIONS—1899.

BALTIMORE.



Mayor—Chas. B. Backman.
Pres. Second Branch City Council—Elias Jacobson.
Comptroller—E. H. Wenzel.

Dr. Daniel E. Brewer, one of the most prominent physicians of Chicago, in a lecture advocated the establishment of a Tarpeian Rock in Chicago unless the city secures a new code of criminal laws. He said: "The percentage of criminals has increased so rapidly in the United States that we have one habitual or hereditary criminal in every 1000 persons. Criminals propagate, marry, and multiply unrestrained, and unless we change our laws will continue to increase at the same ratio, as they have in the past, until it is appalling to contemplate the result. If Chicago does not soon have a new code of criminal laws, then it would be wiser to have a Tarpeian Rock, like the Romans did, from which the malefactors and degenerates might be thrown to death. We should have laws controlling marriage, so that degeneracy may be checked by preventing the union of criminal, diseased or lunatic couples.

The comrades at Spring Valley made a gallant fight for the principles of Socialism at the municipal election, and for the first campaign did well, the vote standing as follows:

Mayor, Jas. Beattie	106
City Clerk, Jas. Barrowman	130
Treasurer, Malcom Condi	325
Police Magistrate, Hy. Watts	89
Inspector, Joe Malcor	124
Ald. 1. ward, Henry Morgan	17
" 2. " Wm. H. James	29
" 4. " Jos. J. Novek	66
" 5. " G. M. Schmidt	42

A thousand bibles and three hundred barrels of New-England rum recently went to Porto Rico on the same vessel, presumably or missionary work.

St. Petersburg, Russia, has eleven municipal hospitals with 5,000 beds, treating over 55,000 patients annually.

"The whole system of capitalist production is based on the fact that the workman sells his labor-power as a commodity."—Karl Marx.

THE MOST IMPORTANT BOOK OF THE DAY BETWEEN CESAR AND JESUS.

By Professor GEORGE D. HERRON OF IOWA COLLEGE.

This book contains eight lectures delivered by Professor Herron last fall in Chicago under the auspices of the National Christian Citizenship League. The interest aroused was so intense that he is now repeating the course to immense audiences in one of the largest halls of Chicago. Professor Herron is the prophet of a better time and this is his greatest book. No one should be without this book. It touches every present day question by revealing the foundation upon which the settlement of all these questions must rest. It contains the message which pre-eminently needs to be heard just now. It is of special value to all preachers, teachers, reformers and professional men and women.

Comments on Prof. Herron's Writings
"The burden of the Lord is upon his soul. No modern writer has stirred us more deeply than this author."—MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.
"Dr. Herron thinks and speaks as one under the compulsion of heavenly visions and voices."—REV. CHARLES A. BEERY, D. D., ENGLAND.
"Above all those I have ever known, he seems to me to come nearest to Moses' way, and to walk as seeing Him who is invisible."—J. R. M. LEAN, PRESIDENT PACIFIC THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
"Dr. Herron, like a prophet—a speaker of God that he is—does not argue; he appeals to one's moral nature; he pleads, he commands."—THE NEW YORK CHURCH.
"Here speaks a man with the profound conviction and intense earnestness of one of the old Hebrew prophets."—JOSHUA STRONG, D. D.

Send for "BETWEEN CESAR AND JESUS" 275 pages, 16mo, in cloth, gilt top. Should cost \$1.00, but will be sent postpaid for only 75 CENTS.

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St. CHICAGO, ILL.

Social Democratic Party Platform

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

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

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

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

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

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

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following direction:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.
The Social Democratic Party of

America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to 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 TRADE 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 need further recognition among the workers; therefore, be it

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The instrument of labor, when it takes the form of a machine, immediately becomes a competitor of the workman himself." Karl Marx.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

Constitution of Local Branches

NAME AND LOCATION.

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

MEMBERSHIP.

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

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five nor more than 500 members, _____ members constituting a quorum.

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

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

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

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

DUES AND FEES.

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

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

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

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

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five (5) members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

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

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

Sec. 15. No member of the Board

shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

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

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

JURISDICTION.

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

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five (5) members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

BY-LAWS.

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

TRIALS.

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

APPEALS.

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

AMENDMENTS.

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

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of 5 per cent of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum and a majority vote shall determine the result.

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.

SOCIALISM.—No movement of modern times has awakened or deserved greater attention than the one indicated by this title. In general it may be described as that movement which seeks by economic changes to destroy the existing inequalities of the world's social conditions. The growth of Socialism in this country has been rapid and will probably keep pace with the just causes of discontent."—Encyclopedia Britannica; American Supplement.

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Organized June 11, 1898.
OBJECT—The Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

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—Social Democratic Party Platform

Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the Executive Board may decide upon.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 6. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

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

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

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

Sec. 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.

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

Sec. 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.

Sec. 14. The National Councils 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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 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.

Sec. 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 (15) 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 twenty (20) days after the date calling for the referendum.

Sec. 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 twenty (20) days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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 indorsed by 5 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 ten (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.

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

HOW ORGANIZED.

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

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

Sec. 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

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

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

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

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

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

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

REVENUES.

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

THE STATE UNION.

Sec. 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April.

The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

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

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

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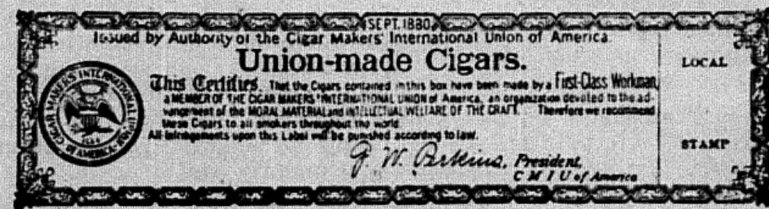
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AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

In the National House of Legislature the Social Democratic party of Holland is now represented by four of its members. The recent victory of our party in Veendam caused consternation in the ranks of the capitalist parties.

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

The agitation of students in this city as well as in Moscow and Kiev continue. New labor strikes are also reported. 400 students who look part in a public demonstration against the government have been arrested in Kieff.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

Over 40,000 coalminers are out on strike for higher wages. Disturbances of a serious character have been reported from various places.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

The Austrian government is pushing its reactionary work against the Socialists and the people in general to such an extent that it is hard to tell where this kind of misrule will end. The Social Democrats of this city will have a monster May Day demonstration.

DRESDEN, GERMANY.

The Social Democratic Party, according to a late report, has 70 Socialist city councilmen elected in 15 congressional districts of Saxony.

CHEMNITZ, GERMANY.

The Social Democrats of this district are now publishing a daily paper known as "Volksstimme" (People's Voice). Up to date the paper had been published three times a week.

GENERAL NOTES.

General Lawton has been compelled to evacuate the territory he had captured.

Only 26 miserable humans took the suicide route to death in San Francisco during the month of February, or nearly one for every day.

The Socialists of Carpentras, France, elected all their candidates to the city council (eight in all), and doubled their vote of a year ago.

In the pawnbroker shops of Paris are 37,000 quilts and blankets, 10,000 mattresses, 19,000 sheets, and 435,000 articles of wearing apparel.

It is estimated that in England one woman in six earns her own living.

Some 250 American cities have paid fire departments and 550 partly paid.

A joint resolution to establish a state printing house has passed both branches of the Michigan legislature.

HEALTH IS OF FIRST IMPORTANCE.

The lecture by Jas. A. Keown, M. D., on "Socialism and Its Relation to Health" read before the S. D. P., at Lynn, Mass., and published in numbers 41 and 42 of THE HERALD, covers almost every point that can be made on the subject.

All that he says of disease among the poor, of our present system of medicine, of the improvements in public health that could be made, is very true, but is the doctor sure he has the horse in front of the load? I quote some of his words: "How useless it is to tell a person who is striving with all his might for the bare necessities of life, that he is ruining his health or putting his life in danger, particularly if associated with these conditions, we have dense ignorance!"

Is it? If he is made to understand that what you say is true, won't he be apt to think, and instead of keeping on in the old rut, won't he try another field of labor? You may say, "if he can." Yes, but the desire for change has been awakened through health, or a desire for health. And health, even today, is the strongest incentive man has for improvement. From this incentive come such expressions as "How do you do?" "Folks well?" "Well, how are you today?" "Hoping these lines find you well;" "Then here's to the health of ——" "Good-bye, take good care of yourself." The first and last word to a friend, either written or conversational, is about the health.

The doctor again says, "Of what use is it to tell a person to keep his feet warm and dry if he has no shoes or rubbers?" Lots! It gives him the idea of health; not shoes for stylebut shoes for health, and the desire will change his object in life. "Of what use is it to tell a person to keep out of drafts or cold and eat nourishing food if he has insufficient clothing, no fire, and no means of getting any kind of food?" Let me ask of what use to Socialism, would such a person be, "particularly if associated with these conditions we have dense ignorance."

Socialism with such a population would not last a month. Now, do not be deceived by the thought of an occasional college graduate who is suffering from these conditions, for he is not very numerous, while the names of those suffering in "dense ignorance" are Adam Legion. This is the "Legion of Dishonor" of France, and America, and other barbaric countries.

Socialism will not stand with such people for its foundation. We say ignorance is the greatest foe we have to contend with in every trade and art. Then if we want social reform, drive off ignorance and show men how to live right as individuals. A society can be no higher than the individuals who compose it, and therefore individual improvement is the first step towards a better state of society. If humanity had been perfect, the rule of Rome and the world by a Pope would have given entire satisfaction, and the same is true of a kingdom or a representative government; but Pope and King, Senator and Representative were human and fell. Now all of their plans were fairly good—but man was unfairly bad.

As ignorance gives place to knowledge, the truth draws aside the cobwebs of selfishness, vices, idle gossip and superstition; and these are the chains to disease. Only by their removal is it possible for mankind to hold to the ideals presented by the poets and seers of the nineteenth century and of past ages.

The doctor uses these words: "The system which allows want will insure a continuance of disease." The people who allow disease will insure a continuance of want.

"We must solve the question of man's physical wants." Just so! Give him health!

"Before you can talk to him on a subject which requires deep and inward thought, he must be warmed by proper food and clothing, and he should have something else—he

should have education and training!" Sure! That's it! And Socialism is a "subject which requires deep and inward thought," and therefore requires of Mr. Adam Legion that he be educated and trained. Put him in the garden of Socialism with all his ignorance, selfishness, vices, idle gossip, superstition and disease, and he will take all the fruit off the trees in sort order—provided he has not already pulled off all the buds.

Do not think you are alone, doctor, in striking off in this, to you, new field of health reform. The largest organization (numerically) in the United States for reform is the Ralston Health Club, and the most powerful. What can it show up for the last election? Three governors of states, more than thirty congressmen, several senators, and doctors, judges, merchants, craftsmen, teachers, students professional men, authors, army officers and school children everywhere. Those among them who look far ahead (and not so very far either) see the Co-operative Commonwealth and know full well what they are working for. They know that the state can never be better than the individual—and last

GUY DWARDE.

A Laudable Innovation.

The book and job branch of Typographical Union No. 13, of Boston, has changed its constitution so as to permit discussion of political and economic subjects at its regular meetings. This is the first body of trades unionists in New England to take this progressive stand. Last week this branch of the union was addressed by George C. Cutting on the subject of "Law vs. Labor." At the next meeting the Rev. Samuel Brazier will speak on "Land and Labor."

In Alsace-Lorraine the Socialist movement is making great strides despite the efforts of the clericals to stop it.

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