

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

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Socialism is Not a Sentiment, but a Product of the Developing Process of Society.

None of the mothers who furnish boys to carry on war against a people who want liberty can vote.

A patriot is "one who loves and serves his country." But Aguinaldo, who has shown great zeal in serving his country, is a "rebel." On the other hand, Gen. Merriam, who is zealously serving one class in his country out in Idaho, is one of your genuine patriots!

It is a sore disappointment that Uncle Sam has not been able thus far to keep his contract to deliver the Spanish prisoners in the Philippines to Spain. Not so much on Spain's account, for that \$20,000,000 is in the Spanish cash box; but because of the humiliation to the Jingo of the "strenuous life."

A G. A. R. Post in Missouri resolved that such men as Hale, Hoar, Atkinson and the 20 traitors in the Chicago University are "wholly unworthy of the protection of the flag." They missed the traitors who have deserted from the army and taken commands with the Filipinos and overlooked the fact that the flag did not protect the miners at Hazleton, or Coeur d'Alene, or Pana, or Homestead.

The "honor" of the military class is strikingly illustrated in the final outcome of the Dreyfus case. If any class in the world is capable of a more complete inundation of fraud and falsehood, cowardice and cruelty, then the people are prepared to look for it in military circles. The military life, as Tolstoy says, degrades men, and our recent wars have given us a foretaste of the possibilities that lie before these publicly uniformed and epauletted babblers and brawlers for "honor."

The last Colorado legislature passed an eight-hour law which goes into effect June 15. As usual, the employers of labor are figuring on beating the law. The American Smelting and Refining Co., at Denver, "posted a notice" to the effect that employees will hereafter be paid by the hour, instead of the day, and seductively inform the men that "they will be permitted to work more than eight hours, should they so elect." The men don't want it that way and 150 employed at the Durango smelter are already out on a strike.

A woman lies in a St. Louis hospital suffering from wounds inflicted by a brutal husband. Her story is a common one. From childhood she was a victim of poverty and misfortune, until she married to get a home. It is the story of millions of women, who under a capitalist form of society, are forced into rivalry in attracting men to procure a home. Equality of economic opportunity, for all women and all men, is the only moral relation between human beings and the only security for society.

A trades union insurance bill, including a part of the provisions of a bill introduced by Comrades Carey and Scates, has been passed over the governor's veto in the Massachusetts legislature, by a vote of 144 to 55 in the House and 25 to 9 in the Senate. The provisions of the bill exempt all regularly organized trades unions in the State from the operations of the State insurance laws, life, accident and fire, and permit the organization of benefit societies and other forms of insurance in accordance with the ideas of the trades unionists, without any interference of any kind by the State insurance department.

The price demanded by the owners for the Detroit street railroads is \$17,500,000; of this amount it is admitted \$10,000,000 represents the value put upon the franchises which the people through their municipal representatives gave away. The chief owner of the street-railroad monopoly of Detroit is Tom L. Johnson, the noted single taxer, who proposes to "devote the balance of his life" and "the bulk of his fortune to taxation reform." It will be seen that he also proposes to make a good start in his philanthropic career by taxing the people \$10,000,000 for a franchise that cost him nothing. Henry George's convert will be philanthropic provided the people furnish the money.

CHAMPION PROMISE BREAKER.

Workingmen who give their votes to the republican party because they believe in the honest intentions and patriotic motives of its leaders, have just been given another example of the shameful manner in which their confidence is betrayed. This time it is the president himself, whose zeal for party rises above patriotism, giving the lie to all the fulsome things that have been written about him during the past year by the crazy imperialists of administration organs. Not only that, he has gone back on the civil service pledge of his party and the promises contained in his inaugural address. This "greater-than-Washington" statesman; this "benevolent assimilator" by "criminal aggression;" this champion promise breaker in his inaugural address said:

"Reform in the civil service must go on. But the changes must be real and genuine, not perfunctory or PROMPTED BY ZEAL IN BEHALF OF ANY PARTY because it happens to be in power. * * I shall attempt its enforcement in the spirit in which it was enacted."

And what has he done? Instead of attempting its enforcement, he has undertaken its annulment; instead of helping civil service, which he said must "go on," he has given it a setback, prompted by zeal for the party in power. But let the pledge and the performance speak for themselves:

THE PLEDGE.

(From the platform adopted by the republican party in National Convention at St. Louis, June 18, 1896.)

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—The Civil Service law was placed on the statute book by the republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

(From Mr. McKinley's inaugural address, March 4, 1897.)

Reform in the civil service must go on. But the changes should be real and genuine, not perfunctory or prompted by zeal in behalf of any party because it happens to be in power. As a member of Congress I voted and spoke in favor of the present law, and I shall attempt its enforcement in the spirit in which it was enacted.

THE PERFORMANCE.

WASHINGTON, May 28.—President McKinley today issued an order removing absolutely from the operations of the civil service law about 5000 of the most important places among the 65,000 in the classified lists.

These include hundreds of places that pay good salaries and should be and are now filled by men who are especially qualified for the duties.

Mr. McKinley has so modified the rules that it is now possible to appoint "the faithful" to laborers' positions without examination and then advance them to any position, however high, without having to pass competitive examination.

The order of the president is an indirect nullification of practically the whole civil service system.

These capitalistic politics are referred to only to show the hypocrisy which permeates them. Do you workingmen see how you are humbugged?

OUR NEW COMRADE.

The Social Democratic party may well congratulate itself upon the acquisition of Comrade Mary E. Lease, the greatest woman on the American platform or any other. Wherever the voice of this gifted woman is heard, the principles of the party take hold of the people, and the party grows in influence and in power.

Comrade Lease knows, as few others do, the history of social evolution, and with her marvelous oratorical powers she sways an audience to her will, and it is not strange that where she has once spoken "the town is hers."

Let me say to all our branches and to all labor organizations that Comrade Mary E. Lease should be at the head of their list of speakers. One address from her will do a world of good. She puts all the power of her great soul into her speech and speaks like one inspired.

The address of Comrade Lease is, Mrs. Mary E. Lease, 436 St. Nicholas ave., New York City.

The oftener she is heard the more rapid and permanent the growth of our party. Let her be invited to every platform controlled by the working class, to whose emancipation she has consecrated her noble life.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Orrville, O.

While one mother in New York waited, weeping and heartweary, for the return of her stolen child, taken from a comfortable home, another mother offered her child for sale. Sophie Granoff, only 25 years old, has two children, Abram and Max. She is poor and unable to find employment. In her unhappy extremity she offers Abram for \$200, which she thinks would support little Max and herself until she gets work again. An American child for sale cheap! Who'll buy?

O God, that bread should be so dear, And flesh and blood so cheap!

WHO ARE THE TRAITORS?

Capitalistic governments may contend among themselves and capitalistic parties may wrangle over false issues and sham reforms to perpetuate their own existence and serve their capitalist masters; with these Socialists have nothing to do, except to enlighten the people on the burden and uselessness of the one and the utter insincerity of the other. But Socialists have an interest in the current events of the times and readily discriminate between two classes of events, viz., those which contribute to the orderly evolution of industry and society from a lower to a higher plane of civilization, i. e., from capitalist production and class rule to the co-operative commonwealth and social democracy, and those events which, enacted by the privileged classes and enemies of progress, are calculated to wrench all social bonds asunder and precipitate a violent revolution.

Current events of the latter description must raise the question "Who Are the Traitors?" in the mind of every man who knows the drift and seriously reflects over the future. In Paris last Sunday occurred an event that should give every such man pause. Is Anna Gould's prominent participation in the demonstration against the French republic indicative of the real sentiments of her class, the class which has plundered and despoiled the laboring class of this country? "Vive l'Armee!" and "Down with the Republic!" are the anti-republican cries credited to this American girl. This occurred in Paris, where thousands of American parasites are wont every year to spend their stealings, while people at home who live honest and honorable lives and produce the wealth of the country, live in poverty by the million and are being reduced to a slave class under the domination of the wealth they produce.

From time to time in the past dozen years enough has appeared in the columns of the press which opposes progress and apologizes for every infamous thing done by the capitalist class, however unlawful, brutal and iniquitous, to show that the real sentiment of that class in this country is antagonistic to justice, progress and the interests of wealth producers. Anna Gould's cry, "Down with the Republic!" though raised in Paris, is an echo of the real sentiment of her class in the United States. Everything American is belittled by that class; policies are reversed and traditions ignored by its political tools. Certainly, it is all done under the cloak of patriotism. So every betrayal of the people, every national calamity has been brought on under cover of hypocritical professions for the public good.

Representative republican newspapers reflect this sort of treason daily to the mind clear enough to perceive it. Sometimes they are so out-spoken that none but the fool can fail to see that the real traitors are its loudest-mouthed brawlers for patriotism. Take for example a sample or two from an editorial recently printed in the Des Moines Gazette. This paper says it is a "ridiculous assumption that Congress alone has power to declare war." It says "Manifest destiny has made the old Federal Constitution an obsolete back number," that the Declaration of Independence is "an old chestnut" and "not entitled to reverence and respect;" it endorsed Parson Henson's assertion that the Declaration of Independence was "a devilish lie palmed off on an incredulous world." Then it goes on to smirch the memory of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and all the dead patriots of the past, and declares that none of them are "in the same class of exalted statesmen as McKinley, Hanna and Alger!"

Leaving the readers of this imperialistic-republican slush to decide for themselves as to the respective merits of Hanna and Lincoln, McKinley and Jefferson, Alger and Washington, in the realm of statesmanship, we urge serious consideration of the question: In the light of all the facts, who are the traitors, and how long will it be before Anna Gould's class in the United States cries "Down with the Republic?" and undertakes in the name of "manifest destiny" and the "public good" to put it down?

If Mr. McKinley don't expect the fellows who are to get political jobs, as a result of his setting aside civil service, to help Mr. McKinley to "four years more," what does he expect to accomplish by breaking his promises?

OBJECT OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Social Democracy has for its object the emancipation of the human race from the follies and vices of an imperfect condition of society, in which the workers scarcely possess the necessities of life and the idlers hold the mastery over luxurious plenty. It proposes to do this by abolishing the wage system as it now exists and correcting the unequal distribution of property by substituting the public or collective control and ownership of the means of production and distribution in place of private ownership. The means of production and distribution are the means of life; included in these means are the land, which is essential to every human being, and capital, without which the race reverts to the precarious modes of subsistence which distinguishes a civilized state from that of the savage. Socialists regard civilization as the enforced organization of food production and distribution; from subsisting on wild nuts and fruits and wild game, man has advanced to the cultivation of plants and animals and the storage and regulated distribution of food supplies. Distribution, however, is glaringly unequal, for while the workers starve, the drones are surfeited. Production, through inventions and the combination and co-operation of private capitalists, has been well-nigh perfected, but the wage system and private property in the means of production retains the unequal distribution of social wealth, and this can only be corrected by the common ownership of productive capital, followed by the co-operation of society as a whole for the benefit of all its members.

After the corporations have gobbled up everything worth having in the country, some of the states, lead by New York, are making a great clatter about "franchise taxation." It is the next republican dodge to catch the voting slaves.

In the competition among nations for the commerce of the world, the most successful nation will ultimately be the most degraded and have the most abject slaves. And the prospect is that the United States will be the most successful.

Dr. Albert Shaw, in the June Review of Reviews, writing on the Socialist view of monopoly, says "the Socialists do not like private property in anything." The editor of THE HERALD remembers the time when the doctor would not have written that way. It was some ten years ago, before he became editor of the Review. He knew then that Socialists sought only the abolition of private property in land and capital—the means of production. This he well knows to-day, and that under Socialism more people would enjoy the right of private property than under any system the world has yet known. But the doctor has changed with the times.

Wayland Hoyt, a Baptist preacher of Philadelphia, like most preachers, is mixed in his conception of the social gospel of Christ. Hear him (Hoyt):

"Christ is the solution for the difficulty regarding expansion. The only thing we can do is to thrash the Philippine natives until they understand who we are. I BELIEVE EVERY BULLET SENT, EVERY CANNON SHOT, MEANS RIGHTNESS. When we have conquered anarchy, then is the time to send the Christ there."

Hoyt's idea is to first murder the Filipinos and then send Christ through the graveyard. Hoyt is a great christian warrior!

On Tuesday afternoon, May 30, Comrade Debs addressed a monster meeting at East Palestine, Ohio, under the auspices of the Trades Assembly. East Palestine is within a mile of the Pennsylvania line, and but 50 miles west of Pittsburg. The meeting was held at the Fair Grounds, and long before the speaking began the grand stand was packed and the speaker's stand surrounded by an eager, enthusiastic multitude. There were people in attendance from all surrounding points, and Comrade Debs advises us that at least three new branches will be instituted in that vicinity as the result of the meeting.

WRITE YOUR FRIENDS TO SUBSCRIBE.

"THE FARMERS' DEMANDS."

DISCUSSION CONTINUED.

FACTS NEEDED TO CONVINC FARMERS.

The Social Democratic party declares for the "restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society." Since the land is the principal source of production, as a farmer, I would like to have it included also in definite terms. In framing a platform to suit the agricultural class, the Social Democratic party must go slow, it must have the advice and discussion by Socialist farmers all over the country. The collective ownership of the land conveys no terror to the old line populist farmer, for the most of them believe in it; and for that matter, it finds ready endorsement everywhere when properly explained. The terms under which the individual shall occupy and use the land should be concisely and simply stated. The natural title to land is "use and occupancy."

Our opponents have and will continue to charge that by the collective ownership of land, Socialists are trying to deprive the farmer of his home, and that he would be compelled to divide his possessions with the thrifless wanderer who begs a meal at his door. The S. D. P. owes it to its supporters to be explicit in this matter. Being opposed to rent, the system of taxation should be arranged (since we must countenance taxation during the transitory period from our present system to collectivism), to bear lightly on the home owner and heavily on the capitalist farmer, who works with other men's hands. My firm opinion is that the more revolutionary methods we adopt, so that they aim at justice to all, the quicker will we achieve our purposes. Reform is not what we are after. The tendency of parties is to retrograde, and it requires more effort to move an old party up to a new position than it does to organize a new one. I don't believe it wise to even consider the possibility of one individual controlling 6,000 acres of land under Socialism. The products of the soil are much more essential to humanity than gold and silver mines, or even oil wells. If we declare for collective ownership of these, why not for the land? I don't believe that the farmer will take as kindly to the idea of organized industry in his realm, as will the worker in other lines; but experience and object lessons will bring him to it. The farmer is in some respects the most free and independent worker of all, not used

to discipline, but to following his individual ideas.

There will be no harm in permitting him to do this, if his opportunities to do it are restricted. His ideal is a home of his own, sufficient tillable land to support his family, some grass, cows, pigs, chickens and so on, a place where he can sit under his vine and fig tree and none dare molest him. This is Socialism's opportunity. It can guarantee him these things and not deviate from its principles. The problem will be how much land will it require to support him under Socialism in comfort? My opinion is that twenty-five acres will be more than ample for a family in regular farming districts. This would suffice, but we can't jump to perfection in scientific agriculture in a bound. I would suggest that our comrades who have the ability and facilities make a study of this feature, and be certain that every statement made for the public be supported by incontrovertible facts. I would suggest that the actual labor cost of articles used by the farmer be ascertained, with the probable cost of transportation and distribution under Socialism. Such, for instance, as agricultural implements, furniture, musical instruments, cotton and woolen goods, shoes, hats and clothing.

As an illustration, I submit the following example. While I believe my figures to be approximate, they may not be correct:

The farmer sells a 500-pound bale of cotton for say \$22.50; with this he can buy a cheap grade of sulky plow and cultivators; the better implements will require from half to one bale more; two bales will buy a cheap grade of organ; one bale will buy about 337 yards of ordinary cotton goods. A bale of cotton will make say 2250 yards. Under Socialism there will be transportation, spinning and weaving, and distribution to pay for. This should give the farmer instead of 337 yards at least 900 yards; spinning and weaving 900 yards; transportation and distribution 450. The latter I believe should be much less, giving the farmer and factory worker more. Such figures as these presented to the farmer will furnish food for reflection, and reflection will lead him to the party that insures him material comfort on a common sense basis. Let these facts be compiled in brief and simple form, with facts in indisputable array and scattered broadcast among the farmers, and the harvest will be ready for the sickle.

W. ROPER.

THE COMING OF 'GENE.

Let's spread the palm of reason by the way
And hail the coming of the son of toil;
The toilers' champion comes in full array,
Equipped with wisdom 'gainst the vulture's spell;
With human justice teeming from his soul,
No matter what the force of swelling thought
That comes unto the thinker's brain
To thank this noble being who has taught
The magnitude of modern social shame—
That fills at times a struggling soul with pain—
No language can he find to fill the place,
The heart wherein the ever grateful thought
More deeply pure than even tops the grace
Of sudden thoughts in passion's heat begot
Whose mortal worth is easily forgot.
The lasting rays of Eugene's noble theme,
Is ne'er forgot by such who vend his praise;
Nor fill the consumption of the "dream"
Will we forget the shibboleth to raise.
And sing with freedom's voice the name
Of 'Gene.
F. W. Lennox in Birmingham (Ala.) Labor Advocate.

A TRIBUTE TO EUGENE DEBS.

[HOUSTON (TEX.) DAILY HERALD.]

Grand, fearless and unique, Eugene V. Debs, who lectures in this city to-morrow afternoon stands before the country as the living personification of intelligent labor reform. No leader ever yet raised his voice in behalf of the workingman in this country who is more respected by his opponents, or more devoted to his principles, than he. Unflinching and unpurchasable, artificial terrors cannot awe him nor judicial jugglery thwart his purpose; and in the serenity of his priceless integrity he is proof against both the threats and allure-

ments of corporate anarchy as well as the lawless combinations of capital and power.

Wise, conservative and just, he is too honest to truckle or pander to extremists, and to brave and chivalrous to use the influence he commands in taking undue advantage even against those who persecuted himself and outraged the class of which he is the matchless exponent.

The venal and subsidized press may sneer at his professions, the brutal trusts and soulless corporations may impugn his motives, but beneath and behind all this show of outward antipathy there is a secret respect for the man which no subterfuge can cover and which no superficial misrepresentations can gloss over.

The truth is, they fear Eugene V. Debs. They know he is battling for right. They know that in his great crusade he appeals to the intelligence and justice of the American people rather than to the wayward, ephemeral voice of prejudice. They know he has the courage of his convictions, and in the hands of such a man, backed up by that logical policy which is the keystone of his fight, success must ultimately triumph.

Perhaps no labor leader in this or any other country was ever yet so severely tested as was Eugene V. Debs in the great Chicago strike. In that extraordinary struggle he had arrayed against him the whole

machinery of the federal government—the United States soldiers to the number of about 2700, about 3500 deputy United States marshals, some 5000 state militia, probably 3500 deputy sheriffs, and a force of about 3000 police. The city was an armed camp with Gatling guns and cannons and bristling bayonets wherever the eye turned. In addition to this terrorizing and unconstitutional display there was also arrayed against him every railroad corporation, trust and monopoly in Chicago, with their legions of spies and henchmen, and—to cap the climax—the federal courts were in full blast, grinding out in the behest of capitalistic power those legal guerilla messengers known as "injunctions."

It was an awful period full of menace to the working masses, to liberty, and even to law itself. It was punctuated at intervals with the groans of innocent men and women and children, who took no part whatever in the strike, but were shot down on their own premises, or elsewhere while in the legitimate avocations, by the stray bullets of that "army of occupation" which seemed to be there for no other purpose than to assert the brute force of capital and crush and intimidate labor.

It was a period the end of which no man could foresee.

It threatened revolution, and from near and far the wires thundered with telegrams denouncing the military usurpation and tendering to Debs all the physical force necessary to meet and overcome it.

The whole city was, or seemed to be, resting on a volcano.

The excitement was intense and indescribable.

The lurid glow of conflagration lighted up Chicago at night, and all the serried columns of local and imported troops could not cope or stay its gathering destruction.

It was a critical, crucial epoch. The masses were ripe for revolt—aye, they chafed for the opportunity that would enable them to retaliate. Danger was widespread and imminent.

All that the people needed to make them rise in their might and sweep the federal cannon and soldiers in the lake was one word from Debs! At his bidding New York, St. Louis and other labor centers would have replied with the rapidity of a whirlwind to avenge their grievances, and then—the war between capital and labor, with all its sanguinary horrors, would have been inaugurated.

But Debs remained firm as a rock in his little office on Dearborn street. Too much of a statesman, he could not be goaded into precipitate action; too much of an American, he would not decree a conflict which would deluge the country in seas of blood; and too much of a friend to labor, he urged his followers to abstain from all illegal acts, and, like himself, trust to the weapons of law and justice to rectify their wrongs.

Above the multitude of millionaires who then sought to encompass his destruction, Eugene V. Debs, the laborer, towered up magnificently as a king; before the judges who invoked and enforced legal quibbles to deprive him of his liberty and incarcerate him in prison, he was as a moral giant, and above all the combined agencies which endeavored to overwhelm him and his cause, he rose as loftily, and proudly as the cedars of Lebanon beside a bunch of prairie cactus.

Throughout the terrible ordeal Debs was true as steel to the element he represented. It is an accepted fact that he could have obtained a fortune at that time, if he had yielded or played into the hands of the moneyocracy, but he was loyal to his principles and faithful to his followers, and ultimately preferred poverty and jail rather than be false to the faith that was in him.

Honest, brave and unselfish, he is the embodiment of intelligent labor reform, and is one of those grand characters of whom it may be truly said:

"The elements so mix in him
That Nature may stand up
And say to all the world—
This is a man!"

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

IMPERIAL EXTENSIONS— SOCIALIST INTENTIONS.

[From London Justice.]

In a well-known passage Marx has laid down the axiom that no social formation can be superceded until it has exhausted all the forms under which it can possibly maintain its existence. Now, it has hitherto been taken for granted by Socialists that the present capitalist system is (to use a favorite expression) "breaking down by its own weight"—that, like Goethe's "magician's apprentice," it is being overpowered by the very forces it has itself called into being. Unfortunately, Socialists have been too apt either to ignore the truth of Marx's law, or at least to be blind to the imminence of the danger of its application to the modern capitalist world. Few Socialists seem fully alive to the fact that modern imperialism is simply the dead-weight lift of capitalism *in extremis* to save its life for a season yet. The assumption of the speedy collapse of the capitalist system so often expressed by Socialists would be quite correct were it not for the omission to take into account this one factor in the calculation. And, unhappily, it is precisely this factor which threatens to upset the whole estimate hitherto formed by Socialists as to the immediate future.

That the sufficiently rapid opening up of the African continent and the Chinese Empire to the world-market must prolong the life of capitalism in all human probability for a time cannot be too strongly insisted upon. The capitalist class is well aware of the desperateness of the situation as it stands, and that the only hope for its own life lies in huge schemes of market-expansion forced on at a more than a hothouse pace. For what is the present situation? Old markets have become not merely exhausted as recipients of wares, but actually themselves competitors of those whose customers they formerly were. An unparalleled development of the power of production in itself, and an equally unparalleled increase of the area in which it operates, within less than a generation. Unless, then, the capitalist class can succeed in securing for itself sufficient breathing-space within a measurable distance of time, the days of the capitalist system are numbered. The immediate future of society lies in the results of the Colonial expansion now beginning. If it succeeds in overtaking the situation before capitalism reaches the *impasse* to which, in the natural course of development, it is hurrying, as already said, capitalism is saved for another season. If, on the other hand, the march of economic events in the civilized world is too quick for the process of "opening-up" the barbaric and savage world, then undoubtedly the present economic system will indeed "break down by its own weight," and that speedily. In one case capitalism will have found a fresh form under which it can develop itself; in the other, it will have come to the end of its tether.

The sure instinct of class self-preservation recognizes this—it recognizes that the question of to-day for class society as it exists, is the bringing of the barbaric and savage worlds under the complete domination of the world market of European civilization; in other words, of the modern great industry. Naturally there are jealousies between the rival "great powers" of the capitalist world as to the relative share of the spoil and the relative influence in the anticipated new capitalist epoch of the various States, i.e., of course the government classes of those States. But these are, after all, only family quarrels. All the "powers" are well aware that the cause of capitalistic civilization must not be sacrificed to national rivalries. All must in the last resort take part in the "white man's burden" of plundering, murdering and exploiting the black man, the red man or the yellow man, as the case may be, if the present system of class-privilege is to be maintained. This is abundantly manifest to-day in the international disputes which arise, invariably, of course, over rights of

possession or influence in some new market in process of being "opened-up." There is plenty of brag on both sides, but no fighting. International quarrels, which no longer than a generation ago would have inevitably led to an appeal to arms, are now settled, after the requisite amount of "bounce," in an amicable manner. The two brother-enemies agree to divide the spoil, and there the matter ends. The fighting is reserved for the barbaric and savages who dare to resist the simple-minded white man's invasion of their native countries, and who, destitute of Maxims and Gatlings, ignorant of the modern art of war, and unable to take accurate aim, form an excellent and safe target for the heroes sent to bring them the gospel of shoddy and the world-market.

The capitalist class of no country is more alive to the solidarity, the world over, of capitalist interests, than that of Great Britain, hence its affection for the policy of the "open door," an application of which we have just seen in the Soudan's free-trade edict for the newly conquered provinces of the Soudan. The great point is that the Soudan should be brought within the vortex of the world-market, thinks Kitchener, with true capitalistic instinct. As Britain may not be able to accomplish this fast enough, alone, it is desirable to throw the new country open to international trade competition.

The immediate objective of militant capitalism is Africa and China, but the Turkish Empire is assuredly destined to follow at no distant interval. Like the bourgeoisie political parties and religious sects, so the state-system of Christendom is more and more assuming the form of "one reactionary mass," its internecine rivalries are hulling down, and it is preparing to show a united front alike against the "enemy" at home, the Socialist party of the class-conscious revolutionary proletariat, and the "enemy" abroad, the barbaric and savage populations of the earth to be exploited—first of all as the dust-bins into which to shoot the superfluous rubbish of the great industry, and later as competitors in the labor-market with the white wage-slave. It is well that those sections of the European and the American working-classes who are still indifferent or wavering in their political attitude should bethink themselves what they are voting for when they give their suffrages to middle-class parties pledged to "imperial expansion" and a "forward" colonial policy, and what they are applauding when they cheer, say, a Kitchener—that they are helping to forge fresh chains for themselves and their class, and are acclaiming as heroes those who are engaged now in making those chains, and who will not be slow to rivet them when the time comes!

T. BELFORD BAX.

A National Conference.

The following resolution has been adopted by the National Executive Board:

Whereas, circumstances which were unforeseen at the time the present constitution of the Social Democratic Party was framed, have rendered some of the provisions of the said constitution, and especially that providing for the choosing of the Executive Board, impracticable of operation, and

Whereas, it is desirable that the members of said National Executive Board should at all times be in accord with the object of the party and its will, therefore be it

Resolved, that a conference of the Social Democratic Party be held. That two members from each State be selected by the branches of the respective States to act in conjunction with the National Executive Board; such conference to be held on the 6th and 7th day of July, 1899, at the office of National Headquarters in Chicago, Ill., for the purpose of proposing and submitting to a referendum vote of the branches a constitution for the party, and also fixing the time and place for the next national convention.

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

New York's Shameful Record.

[HARVEY RUSSELL IN COMMONWEALTH.]

In a recent number of Commonwealth I saw a statement to the effect that one-third of the population of the state of New York accepted charity in some form during 1898. I was prepared to believe that the general condition of the American people was pretty bad, but I questioned the truth of the statement which practically amounted to saying that one-third of the population of New York state are paupers, either in whole or in part; so I have made a little investigation, and send you the result. The figures are certainly appalling.

In answer to my inquiry, Mr. Robert W. Hebbard, secretary of the State Board of Charities, at Albany, N. Y., sends me a statement made by him in an address before the catholic summer school in August, 1898. His topic was "Charity and its Relation to Civil Government." In a letter to me dated May 16, 1899, which accompanies a printed copy of this address, he says that he is not able to add anything to the statement at present. Here are his figures: "Number of inmates received and cared for in state institutions, almshouses, nurseries, homes, reformatories, hospitals, etc., during the past fiscal year, 269,147. Charitable assistance was given at dispensaries to 1,523,699 persons. Out-door relief from overseers of the poor, etc., given to 758,609 persons; making the total number relieved by institutions, including hospitals and dispensaries, societies, associations and public officials, 2,551,455."

The population of New York state in December, 1898, was estimated by the State Board of Health (according to N. Y. World almanac) at 7,000,000; so that, "on the face of the returns," the statement that "one-third of the population of New York state are relatively paupers" is practically correct. Mr. Hebbard, however, adds this qualifying clause:

"It is not to be supposed, by any means, that these figures correctly represent the actual number of individuals assisted during the year, for there must be almost an endless and unavoidable amount of duplication in the figures given, which cannot even be estimated with any degree of certainty, since it is clear that any given case might have drawn relief from several of the sources mentioned, and would have been counted by each one; in various other ways there is room for much duplication in counting. Notwithstanding this, it must be clearly apparent from these figures that an uncommonly large number of the people of this state are more or less dependent upon charitable relief, and those well informed upon the subject are inclined to the belief that the unregistered and unreported charity which is bestowed will more than compensate for any duplication that consists in the official figures."

The italics are mine, not Mr. Hebbard's. The statement is certainly a startling one, and, as it appears to be carefully prepared and is probably quite near the truth, the wonder is that it has not attracted more attention and caused more comment than it appears to have done. Perhaps some one may put on a thinking-cap and draw some conclusions as to the future of a state which has a population of 7,000,000, one-third of whom are so destitute that they accept charity either in whole or in part. I am strongly of the opinion that Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts, or any other thickly populated state, will, upon investigation, yield practically the same results.

You remember that when "Mr. Gradgrind," in Dickens' story, asked "Sissy Jupe" whether she "was not in a prosperous condition" because she lived in a nation where only a small percentage of the population starved to death, "Sissy" replied that she "couldn't tell until she knew whether she was one of the small percentage who starved to death, or belonged to the big percentage who didn't,

and that she thought it must hurt quite as bad for the people who starved as it would if there were more of them." You remember, too, that "Mr. Gradgrind" said that "Sissy's answer was wrong; so perhaps Mr. Hebbard is only another "Sissy Jupe," who answers to the best of his ability, and perhaps the great unthinking public is only another "Mr. Gradgrind," who says that "Sissy" is wrong. Well! so much the worse for "Mr. Gradgrind," then, for "Sissy's" answer is correct, after all.

THE SPANISH INQUISITION.

A writer in Keir Hardie's Labor Leader gives an account of continued barbarities at Montjuich, Spain, with the latest revelations connected with the Barcelona outrage. He says:

"Practically the whole of the Spanish press is at present condemning the prison authorities of Montjuich, a recent event having afforded proof that the modern Inquisitors of Spain are still resolved to continue their barbarous practices upon unfortunate prisoners.

"Corporal Botas, one of the most prominent of the Montjuich torturers who was responsible for the terrible treatment of Francisco Gana, whose sad story the readers of the Labor Leader will remember, has again been distinguishing himself in the same infamous manner. He was eager to convict an honest working man, named Francisco Oliva, of theft on his own confession—Oliva's only "offense" being in reality that he was an active trade-unionist. So he was arrested and thrown into prison. There he was subjected to torture to force him to admit his guilt. The fingers of both his hands were placed in one of the diabolical instruments for which Montjuich has become infamous. This is called the "lazo de seguridad" (knot of safety), and by it the victim's fingers are slowly compressed by means of screws until the unfortunate wretch is driven by fearful agony to confess his "guilt." It was only when every one of Francisco Oliva's fingers were smashed to splinters that the required "confession" was wrung from him. But two days afterwards the real thief was discovered, and Oliva released with his smashed fingers!

"Of course this is nothing to what happened two years ago in Montjuich, as I myself know. Then the torturers were rewarded and promoted—Botas, the chief of the scoundrels, being still at the head of the Barcelona police. But now, thanks to the awakening of the popular conscience, not only in Spain, but throughout Europe, the Spanish authorities dare not defy public opinion. They are afraid of the foreign press, for they have arrested Corporal Botas, and put him in prison. This is indeed a wholesome change, and shows the value of the agitation against the Spanish atrocities which was carried on here and on the continent.

"Revelation recently made make the revision of the monstrous proceedings at Montjuich inevitable. Not only have those papers published the name of the man who it is now admitted committed the Barcelona bomb outrage, for which so many hundreds have been unjustly punished, but El Progress has conclusively proved that not one of the five men shot in Montjuich was in or near the place of the crime on the day it was committed. Surely now justice will be done—even in Spain."

The Austrian textile workers are still out on strike for a ten-hour day. If another month's supplies can be secured they may win their battle. At present the hours are 11 or 11½, and the wages are 8s. a week for women and 9s. or 10s. for men. There are prospects of help from English unions. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers have just voted £20 to the strike fund, and the Lancashire unions are likely to "put their hands down."

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

Trusts Eliminate the Drummers

Commercial travellers of the East are about to follow the example set by their brethren of the West and protest against the formation of trusts. They hold that the amalgamation of many industries into one monster concern invariably effects the travelling salesman first, because it does away with competition and obviates the necessity of "drumming" trade.

Just when official action will be taken has not yet been announced, but it will be shortly after the return of Mr. Paul N. Friedlaender, of No. 100 Maiden lane, to the city. Mr. Friedlaender, who is secretary of the Travellers' Protective Association of America, New York division, is now away on a trip.

The Travellers' Protective Association will work in harmony with the Commercial Traveller's National League, which has headquarters in New York, and a joint meeting may be held.

Charles A. Barcher, until recently chairman of the legislative committee of the T. P. A., and for many years publisher of a commercial travellers' paper, said:

"There is no doubt that the formation of trusts has a tendency to eliminate the 'drummer' as a factor in the distribution of goods, and my mail convinces me that the 'boys' are becoming thoroughly aroused on the subject. One of the big trusts, I am credibly informed, has dispensed with the services of 2,100 men since January 1, and another recently formed by the baking powder manufacturers, now has but two men on the road. Think of it! A meeting for the purpose of protesting will undoubtedly be held in this city soon.

"There are approximately, 350,000 commercial travellers in the United States, but interest in this subject is by no means confined to them. They are far and away the best patrons of railroads and hotels and, therefore, every hotel will and every railroad should become an agent of the propaganda which they propose to begin. The craft is the first to feel it when amalgamated industries begin the work of contracting expenses.

"It is the very essence of the trust policy to make one man do work formerly demanding the time and talents of three or four. Take the sugar trust for example. It has done away with the system of employing travelling salesmen altogether, operating through jobbers and forcing those who handle its goods to sign agreements which surrenders their commercial liberty.

"The Standard Oil Co. is another type scarcely less conspicuous. According to its capitalization and profits it employs fewer salesmen than any other concern in existence. It stands to reason that this is the case. What use has a monopoly for solicitors of trade? In the West commercial travellers have already taken action, and it was their initiative which suggested a similar protest from us. As soon as Mr. Friedlaender returns something will be done you may rest assured."

—New York Herald.

Gentlemen colonists are not in demand in South Africa. Well educated young fellows are glad to get berths as waiters, bar-keepers, or even cooks. The Counted Rifles and the B. S. A. police are inundated with would-be recruits, and hundreds of men are walking about Kimberley in a semi-starving condition.

"Some years ago Snowdon was put up for public sale, and now it is the turn of Kilarney," says Truth. "A chance will shortly be offered to millionaires of becoming purchasers of one of the most charming Lakes of Kilarney, its most picturesque islands, and a whole range of lofty mountains."

Dr. Feeney, of the New York Board of Health, told a journalist that the sweat-shop poor of that city supply themselves and their families with the necessities of life on earnings of 40 cents a day by ransacking after hours all the receptacles for refuse they can find.

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 incipiency; 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 workingmen 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.

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, JUNE 10, 1899

SHAMEFULL PRESS CENSORSHIP.

Tolstoy's latest novel, "The Awakening," now running in the Cosmopolitan magazine, has been partially re-written by somebody responsible for its publication in "free" America. The work of one of the greatest living writers is subjected to a remarkable press censorship and is given to his progressive and enlightened American readers in mutilated form! In the re-writing, Ernest H. Crosby says, the social message of the work has been treated in a "disgraceful way." Whole chapters have been tampered with and long incidents expurgated.

This is wholly in keeping with the almost unrebuked insolence of the public authorities of nearly all the governments of the earth, and the truculence of the conservative classes to these authorities. In Russia the book seems to have passed the governmental cowards and mutilators with the blotting out of one passage only, and that referred to the influence on men of the military life. Our conservatives and Jingoes in America, in deference to the wild (and unsavory) military tendency of the times, have not only followed the Russian example in this particular, but have given the autocratic Muscovite points on the art of destroying an author's work. For example: a reference to the cruelty and injustice of private property in land, is made in the Americanized version, to bear upon Russian landlordism only.

In England "The Awakening" is now appearing in a Socialist paper, the Clarion of London, and it will be gratifying to American Socialists, however much they may differ with some of Tolstoy's teachings, to know that the Clarion version of the novel is a faithful and complete translation of his work. For the benefit of HERALD readers who may be following the story in the Cosmopolitan, we reproduce the expurgated passage on the depraving influence of military service, which, needless to say, is quite as applicable to such service in the American republic as the Russian despotism. Here is what Tolstoy says:

"Military life in general depraves men. It places them in conditions of complete idleness, i. e., absence of any useful work, frees them of their common human duties, which it replaces by merely conventional ones to the honor of the regiment, the uniform, the flag, and, while giving them on the one hand absolute power over other men, puts them into conditions of servile obedience to those of higher rank than themselves.

But when to the usual depraving influence of military service, with its honors, uniforms, flags, its permitted violence and murder, the depraving influence of riches, and the nearness to and intercourse with members of the imperial family, as is the case in the chosen regiment of the guards, in which all the officers are rich and of good family, then this depraving influence leads the men who succumb to it, to a perfect mania of selfishness. And this mania of selfishness attacked Nekhludoff from the moment he entered the army and began living in the way his companions lived. He had no occupation whatever, except to dress in a uniform splendidly made and well brushed by other people, and with arms also made and cleaned

and handed to him by others, and ride to reviews on a fine horse which had been bred, broken in, and fed by others. There, with other men like himself, he had to wave as word, to shoot, and to teach others to do the same. He had no other work, and the highly-placed persons, the young and old, the Tsar and those near him, not only sanctioned this occupation, but praised and thanked him for it.

"After this was done it was thought important to eat, and particularly to drink, in officers' clubs, or salons of the best restaurants, squandering large sums of money, which came from some invisible source; then theatres, ballets, women, and then again riding on horseback, waving of swords and jumping, and again the squandering of money, wine, cards, and women. This kind of life acts on military men even more depravingly than on others, because if any other than a military man leads such a life, he cannot help being ashamed of it in the depth of his heart. A military man is on the contrary proud of a life of this kind, especially at war time, and Nekhludoff had entered the army just after war with the Turks was declared. "We are prepared to sacrifice our life at the wars, and, therefore, a gay, reckless life is not only pardonable, but absolutely necessary for us, and so we lead it." Such were Nekhludoff's confused thoughts at this period of his existence, and he felt at the time the delight of being free of the moral barriers he had formerly set himself. And the state he lived in was that of a mania of selfishness."

Another Point Raised.

The question, "Is it possible or desirable to grant equal political and economic rights to man, woman and child, without regard to age, mentality, or morality," was asked of the chairman of the recent Social Democratic convention in Massachusetts.

The question was slighted in the hurry of the convention work. In a declaration of principles we should say just what we mean in as plain language as possible. Let us look at the first section of the platform.—"The Social Democratic party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child, are conditioned on equal political and economic rights." This it seems is a little ambiguous. Does this mean that every child no matter how young, the feeble minded, criminals, are to have equal political rights? Impossible. Why, government would not last until it was made if this were so. Reason is a necessary thing in a just and lasting government.

Can children, the feeble minded, criminals, the lazy, take advantage of equal economic rights, or right; shall the Social Democratic government consider these as wards of the State and care for them accordingly?

Equal political and economic rights can be given to men and women who are mentally sound, naturalized citizens, and not criminals, and who are willing to share the costs and rewards of government.

All others are evidently in some other category and if so our platform should make it clear. It is to be remembered that this platform is to sustain much criticism in the future.

If the party is to raise the school age, to twenty one or at all, we by this very plank contradict the first

which declares equal political and economic rights to children; and instead, we make them go to school, or at least keep them away from whatever may be the child's inclination. To be logical, it seems to me we should leave out this first section and qualify it as regards criminals, the feeble-minded, and naturalized, foreigners.

To one who has attended three conventions of Social Democrats the last was an agreeable surprise. That we are growing was very evident by the attendance. We are also gaining in experience as was shown by comparison with former conventions. A more harmonious, able, honest and determined body of men and women I never saw in any party convention. The dawn of Socialism is already brightly lighting up the coming day.

"Fight on, thou brave true hearts, and falter not through dark fortune and through bright. The cause thou fightest for so far as it is true, no farther, yet precisely so far, is very sure of victory. The falsehood alone of it will be conquered, will be abolished, as it ought to be, but the truth of it is part of nature's own laws, co-operates with the world's eternal tendencies, and cannot be conquered."

J. A. KEOWN.

A Plea for the Filipinos.

As to the charge so often reiterated by the capitalist press that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government, it has no value, as we seem intent upon not giving them an opportunity to show whether they can govern themselves or not. And we may as well dispel our fears that they would be worse off under some other form of bondage than ours. If we want to give them an object lesson in self-government, where does the scope of our humanitarian duties end? Turkey and Russia are both incapable of governing themselves, and Germany is a great military despotism, whose people have no more constitutional freedom than the English of the time of the barons. Should we not exercise our beneficent influence over these peoples as well, and teach them how to govern themselves? We have race problems of our own which we have given up in despair, although the races have been side by side for a century.

With the Filipinos we have a people who have been struggling for many years to be free, and, having achieved their freedom, they want to be free to work out their destiny without the aid or consent of other people. Therefore the paramount question before the American people, and which must be answered, is: What are the Filipinos to get? In the language of Patrick Henry, "liberty or death."

Of the barbarity and inhumanity of which we have been guilty toward these oppressed people, every man and woman should cry aloud against it, for they cannot remain silent without becoming partakers in the iniquity.—P. P. Ayer, in the Chicago Chronicle.

St. Louis Members, Attention!

The Central branch of St. Louis, composed of all the ward branches, will hold a meeting at Ashenbroedel hall, 604 Market st., Sunday afternoon, June 18th. The meeting will be opened at 2:30 p. m. Com. E. V. Putnam will speak upon "Industrial Freedom." After the lecture a general discussion will be held, in which each speaker will be allowed five minutes. A short business meeting will be held after the program. All members are urged to attend and help make this an enthusiastic meeting. The time is ripe for spreading Socialism in St. Louis and we should not miss the opportunity.

The first meeting of the city central committee under the new constitution, adopted at Ashenbroedel hall last month, will be held June 15th, 8 p. m., in Room 7, International Bank Building, 4th and Chestnut sts. By this constitution, the organizer of each branch is made a delegate to the city central committee. Branches having more than five members are allowed one delegate for each five additional members, no branch to have more than three. Organizers will please take notice of this and attend the meetings of the committee.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE.

Not long ago I happened to pass by a hall, on whose doors was the flaring announcement of the fact that a baby show was being held inside.

In a moment of temporary insanity I joined the procession entering, and passed into the gates of Baby-land, accompanied by a whole regiment of infant-ry.

I might as well have climbed into the tower of Babe-l, with the multitudinous praises of multitudinous babies, all sounding at the same time.

Talk about babies!
Babies to right of me,
Babies to left of me,
Babies in front of me,
Blubbered and sniggered;
Staring with goggling eyes,
Filling the air with cries,
All for a paltry prize,
And I—I was jiggered!
It was a great show.

All the babies were arrayed in their best bib and tucker, and showed every symptom of Republican prosperity.

But I didn't notice among the number any of the little tots I saw on B. street the day before. They were as plentiful as mosquitoes in New Jersey, and swarmed over the ground like fishworms after a spring shower.

Their affinity to nature was apparent on their faces, which had well-nigh assimilated with their native mud.

Their clothes, like the manufacture of Lynn shoes, were made on the cut-down system and allowed free-passes to all the dust in the vicinity.

I was sorry that their father's purses—or pants, pockets for the poor have no purses—did not permit them to be shown in triumph at the baby show.

While here at the show, every mother-heart throbbed with pride at the exhibited charms of her darling, in B. street the mother was too weary, and the child was too dirty, for nature's charms to be seen and admired.

'Twasn't hardly fair, anyhow, this baby business.

There was a woman I knew at that time who had read with all a mother's interest of the baby show, and whose eyes filled with tears as she turned down the cradle's coverlet and gaped with tender compassion on the deformed limb of her baby boy.

It was no fault of his, this hideous birthright—or birth wrong. Nor did it make less angelic the spotless character of the tiny babe.

The qualities of true manhood were as likely to be locked up in his deformed body, as in the fairer features of the show babies.

But it barred him from the show.

It did one good to see the attentions lavished on the little toddlers. Each child became for the time an autocratic sovereign.

But it's a pity we can't babyize children a little longer than we do. The horrible habit of throwing them on the street half a dozen years hence, to become the human phonographs of all the profanity and lewdness that floats in the air, is enough to make one wish that they would never grow out of babyhood.

Some of them will be like the snowflakes that fell on city streets last winter and were trodden under foot, and finally disappeared in the gutter.

I would rather sow flowers on the grave of my baby, than have seeds sown in him that will make him less pure than he is now.

And to carry these babies out from that hall into the streets, and allow them to grow up and absorb the immorality and vice that the selfish competitive system generates and perpetuates, is virtually to condemn them to moral execution. And to perpetuate the system itself is to become guilty of the crime of manslaughter.

Pshaw, what's the use of having a baby show, and of strutting around in selfish triumph because somebody else's baby has been less fortunate in looks. Our babies are alike pure and innocent, whether they are American or Chinese. Let the mothers keep their babies for ten years, and then put them on show. Let them display their extensive vocabulary of unpoetic and unpolite street talk. Let us have a boy show, and see the effect of ten years training in American homes and American streets.

I was walking up Washington street in Boston, and I saw a commotion in an alley way. Going nearer I beheld two boys of tender years and tough character engaged in a pugilistic encounter.

One little boy had long hair that curled down over his shoulders, and who, in repose, would have been the very picture of little Lord Fauntleroy.

But he wasn't in repose, as he struck with impish ferocity at his tiny opponent.

And the human current of Boston paused, and haw-hawed, and rolled on.

And a man show is too awful a topic to be considered.

MERLIN.

BEFORE THE CONFERENCE.

[Written for THE HERALD.]

SAYS Emperor Nick,
"I'm heartily sick
Of ever increasing my army;"
Says Emperor Bill
"Disarm if you will,
The thing cannot possibly harm me."

Says Nick, "understand,
That every land
Must follow my lead in the matter."
Says Bill, "oh, I see
You're weak in the knee,
So we must not grow any fatter."

Says Nick, "I believe,
You hardly perceive
The earnestness of my suggestion;"
Says Bill, "not at all
You want what I call
My fasting to help your digestion."

Says Emperor Nick,
"You're devilish quick
In jumping at faulty conclusions;"
Says Bill, "I don't know,
But I can't bestow
Much thought on such silly illusions."

Says Nick, "don't you see
That you are like me,
Ort pinched in the matter of money?"
Says Bill, "I admit
But don't care a bit,
I need a big army, my honey."

Says Nick, "think you France
Might lead you a dance,
Supposing she catches you napping?"
Says Bill, "no, mein Gott,
The friends she has got
Are now her vitality sapping."

Says Nick, "then I ween,
I see what you mean, [Bebels,]
You think of your Liebknechts and
Says Bill, "why of course,
And they are much worse
Than even your desperate rebels."

Says Nick, "that I doubt
For neither my knout,
Nor even Siberia could crush them;"
Says Bill Number Two,
"I grant this is true,
And yet mine will put to the blush them."

Says Nick, "Tommy-rot!
My fellows I wot,
Are worse than the fiercest Castilians;"
Says Bill, "you are wrong,
For while they are strong, [Irons,]
It's mine that you count by the mil."

Says Nick, "that's so,
But still you will go
To join at the Hague my convention;"
Says Bill, "oh the plague
Take you and the Hague,
That was a most stupid invention"

Says Nick, "you are rough,
Says Bill, "and you bluff!"
We see thro' your tricks all the better."
Says Nick, "but you will—"
"What, be there?" says Bill
"Yes, Potz tausend Kreuz Donner-
wetter!" M. WISCHESKY.

Debs' Lectures.

East Palestine, Ohio, May 30.	
Montpelier, Ind., June 3.	
Fort Wayne, " " " 4.	
Lima, Ohio, " " " 5.	
Xenia, " " " 6.	
Hamilton, O., " " " 7.	
Nelsonville, O., " " " 8.	
Wellston, O., " " " 9.	
Massilon, O., " " " 11.	
Salem, O., " " " 12.	
New Castle, Pa., " " " 13.	
Rochester, Pa., " " " 14.	
Beaver Falls, Pa., " " " 15.	
Zanesville, O., " " " 16.	
Gas City, Ind., " " " 17.	
Albany, Ind., " " " 18.	

New branches are organized at East Bridgewater, Mass., and Danville, Ill.

Rev. H. S. Geneva Lake, an eloquent speaker and ardent Socialist, may be secured for lectures in western Washington, on liberal terms. Address: Olympia, Wash., Box 502.

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

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Branch Meetings inserted for the month.

Colorado.
Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party meets every Sunday eve at 8 p. m. at the California street, Colorado, 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Secretary. Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 125 Washington street.

Connecticut.
Branch 8 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 988 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 8 p. m. Secretary, Cornelius Franks, 165 Frank street.

Illinois.
Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thos. Kerwin, Secretary, 204 Westworth ave.
Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2nd and 4th Saturday evening at Nagl's Hall, 101 Blue Island ave. Sec. Fred. Jonas, 667 Madison ave.
Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 3rd Saturday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School Lad Karcel cor. 19th and Leavitt sts. Secretary Frank Out, 966 W. 30th st.

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.

Maryland.
Branch No. 1, Baltimore, Md., meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public in-charge.
Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at 311 W. German st., Secretary Frank Marek, 1408 N. Gay st.

Massachusetts.
Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springdale Turner Hall, Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.
Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 32 Summer st., near Market st., business meeting every Monday night at 8 p. m. Open house. Public invited. Sec. W. Timson, 25 Albany st., Fin. Sec. Treas. Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday 127 E. Main, in Cutters Hall, Clark's Block, cor. Main and Centre streets. Every member expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 352 West Elm street, Secretary.

Massachusetts—East Boston.
Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at 19 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 104 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Halle, 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, 100 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, 3480 Tennessee ave.
St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3rd Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Rhine Hall, 13th and Wyoming streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meler, 3004 Indiana avenue.
St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at VIT's Hall, Broadway and Keokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 334 Michigan avenue.
St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 2d Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 480 N. Broadway, Organizer, Julius Blumenfeld, 37 Cowan street.
St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 15th and 16th streets, Organizer, H. J. Steigerwalt, 223 Chamber street.
Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 180 Union ave., Kansas City. Sec. J. Storz, 1230 W. 9th street, Sec.
St. Louis Twentieth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 100 St. Ferdinand avenue, Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 350 St. Ferdinand ave.
St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (9th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 1031 South Twelfth street, Organizer John Zach, 101 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, 331 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 101 Warner avenue, Organizer, G. Gandler, 110 S. 30th street.

New York.
New York Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3d Thursday at 112 Clinton street, Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.
Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Forward Club Rooms, 107 Forsyth st., discussion meetings second and fourth Tuesdays, discussion meetings first and third Thursdays of each month, New York City, Secretary, Louis Palevsky, 157 East 12th st.
Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of the month, at the Club Rooms of the Labor, 107 Henry street, Nicholas Bauer, secretary, 331 Madison st.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 34 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 55th st., Sec.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters S. D. P., 251 Rutledge st., meets every third Thursday at 8:15 p. m. All persons interested in Socialism are invited to attend and to join the party. Wm. Butcher, Sec.

Branch No. 20, New York, (28 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursday's of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 153 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary R. Hoppe, 328 E. 80th 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 rooms of the Social Democratic League, 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 No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Friday at 6:14 south Third street, Philadelphia, at 8 p. m. Discussion until 9. J. Gearson, 423 S. 3d st., 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 Gentke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month, at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania avenue. R. Schoen, S. 12th street, secretary-treasurer.

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, 775 Twenty-fifth street.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic party of America, meets on the first Monday of each month at 5 p. m., sharp, at No. 618 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

Eugene V. Debs.....	50
Monte Carlo.....	5 00
Mrs. H. S. Lake.....	50
M. Josephson.....	10
R. Mark.....	20
Previously reported.....	\$153 50
Total.....	\$159 50

FIRST ANNUAL MILE-STONE.

The Social Democratic Party of America passes its first annual mile-stone to-day. From the day of its birth to its first anniversary the party has not only surpassed the hopes and expectations of those who, at sunrise in the morning of June 11, 1898, shook hands at the Revere House, Chicago, and separated for their homes to engage in the work of organization; but in many sections of the country has set the old political parties to figuring on the future possibilities of a young party that in one year scores so many successes at the polls on a clean-cut, revolutionary, Socialist platform.

The party's achievements clearly show that a large segment of people were ready for it, with its thoroughly democratic administration, its liberal tactics and its broad principles. The support which it has received during this first year is an earnest of what it may expect in the years to come, so long as it follows the essential lines of liberality upon which it set out.

The following is a list of Socialists elected by the party during the year in important elections:

On Nov. 8, 1898:
James F. Carey, representative Fifth Essex District, Mass.
Louis M. Scates, representative Third Essex District, Mass.

On Dec. 6, 1898:
John C. Chase, Mayor of Haverhill, Mass.; the following being also of this place:
Parkman B. Flanders, Ald. Ward 4.
Charles H. Bradley, Ald. Ward 6.
Joe W. Bean, Ald. Ward 7.
James H. Hillsgrove, Councilman Ward 5.
Joseph Bellefeuille, Councilman Ward 5.
Albert L. Gillen, Councilman Ward 7.
Frank Reed, Assistant Assessor.
Newman W. Wason, School Committee.

On March 6, 1899.
Jason Spofford, Selectman, Amesbury Mass.

The headquarters of the Social Democratic Party are at 126 Washington street, Chicago, where information may be obtained from Theodore Debs, National Secretary-Treasurer.

Massachusetts Convention

The campaign of the Social Democratic party in Massachusetts has opened. It promises to be a memorable one in the history of the State and will bring greatly increased strength to the party. The State convention was held Sunday, May 28, in American hall, Washington street, Boston. Delegates were present from all the branches in the State and the business was transacted between 10 o'clock in the morning and 6 in the evening in a manner highly creditable to all concerned. Representative James F. Carey was made permanent chairman and Margaret Haile secretary.

Following is the list of nominees:
For governor—Winfield P. Porter of Newburyport.

For lieutenant governor—Isaac W. Skinner of Brockton.

For secretary of state—Charles H. Bradley of Haverhill.

For treasurer—C. W. White of Winchester.

For attorney general—A. W. Barr of Worcester.

For auditor—Angus McDonald of Boston.

A new State Committee was elected as follows: Charles Lowell of Whitman, A. P. Bosworth of Brockton, Dr. Billings of Rockland, E. W. Timson of Lynn, Augus McDonald of Boston, Dr. Gibbs of Worcester, Margaret Haile of Boston, James F. Carey of Haverhill, John C. Chase of Haverhill, W. P. Porter of Newburyport, J. A. Lamb of Quincy and Dr. M. J. Konikow of Boston.

The declaration of principles adopted contained the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated federal constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. 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, waterworks, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, and further, 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, as well as local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, and lack of employment, and pensions in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for 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 their constituencies.
12. Abolition of war as far as the

United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

13. The abolition of child labor, and, as a step in that direction, the raising of the school age to 16 years.
14. The right of trial by jury in case of contempt of court.
15. Public ownership of the ice industry in the metropolitan district, and ice to be furnished to consumers at cost.
16. A more effective employers' liability law.
17. A graduated income and inheritance tax.
18. Self-government for cities and towns in all local affairs.
19. The state to assume life and fire insurance.

First Anniversary.

In order that the first anniversary of the Social Democratic Party shall not go by without some sort of recognition, the New York delegates to the memorable Chicago convention have arranged a meeting and concert to be held on Saturday night, June 10th, the evening of the anniversary. Pacific hall, 209 E. Broadway, has been engaged and besides the speaking there will be vocal and musical selections rendered by friends and comrades. Comrade Margaret Haile has been invited to attend, but up to this writing it is not known definitely whether she will be here for the occasion or not. If she does come she will receive a hearty welcome. The admission to the celebration has been placed at five cents in order to assist in defraying expenses and every comrade in Greater New York is urged to be present.

TOUCHSTONE.
New York.

Growing at Evansville.

As we have been organized for over a month now and nothing has been heard from us through your columns, I fear that some of our comrades may think that we have followed the example of the previous branch in this place and "gone the way of all the world." It is to disabuse them of this idea that the following report is made.

Evansville Branch was organized April 29th with seven members and since that time has increased the same to fourteen with a prospect for large additions in the near future. It holds meetings at 925 W. Franklin st. every Wednesday evening. And although our membership at present is small, the meetings are always enthusiastic and interesting to a high degree. We have paid out of our propaganda fund for 100 copies of "Municipal Socialism" and 25 three months' subscription to "Appeal to Reason" for general distribution and have circulated various other literature, including numerous copies of "Merrie England" and have a surplus in both our general and propaganda funds today. Recognizing the fact that "God works with us" we feel confident that, although our membership is small at present, a rapid growth of our membership and the principles which we advocate is certain to follow our efforts in the future.

C. W. HEWITT, Secretary.
Evansville, Ind.

The National Secretary-Treasurer is now prepared to furnish membership cards at \$1.00 per hundred; applications for membership at 25 cents per hundred, and charters at \$2.00 each. Address for these supplies, Theodore Debs, 129 Washington street, Chicago.

The statement comes from New York that hotel proprietors throughout the country are complaining of loss of business due to the decline in the numbers of commercial travelers on the road, which is in turn due to the formation of trusts. It is asserted that something like 75,000 drummers have been thrown out of employment recently under the rapid re-organization of industry into large monopolistic combinations. This is a surprising figure, but it may be a measurably true one. Many commercial travelers are losing their places on account of trusts, and the subject is one of very serious discussion among them as a class.—Springfield Republican.

Resolutions of Regret

At the last meeting of Branch 16, S. D. P., Haverhill, Mass., the following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, The all-reaching and swift hand of death has recently entered our midst, and, without warning removed from among us our beloved comrade, George W. Maynes, and

WHEREAS, In those days of little encouragement our comrade was an ardent supporter of our principles, cheerfully doing volunteer work at a time when to be actively identified with us subjected him to the sneers and scorn of those whom he sought to benefit, and

WHEREAS: Up to the time of his death without seeking reward, our comrade quietly continued to give of his time and money to bring about the universal recognition of the brotherhood of man, therefore be it

Resolved, by Branch 16, S. D. P., that by the departure of Comrade Maynes the world loses a valuable citizen, the Socialist movement a willing and unselfish worker, and his family and the members of this branch a devoted and beloved companion.

Resolved, that in extending our sympathy to the family of our comrade, we congratulate them that in that future time when his beloved principles are triumphant his memory will not be a reproach to his descendants, but will stand out in pleasing contrast to the memory of the multitude of his contemporaries.

Resolved, that the death of our comrade in middle age, at this time, is as the extinguishment of a brilliant light, which, having illuminated the night of prejudice and ignorance, flutters an instant and goes out while yet the bright and warm light of the morning of justice is far off, thus leaving the leaving the world in darkness and in sorrow.

Resolved, that copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the family of our late comrade, to the Haverhill Evening Gazette and to our official organ, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be spread upon our records and a page devoted to the memory of our late comrade, George W. Maynes.

Rockland, Mass.

The second of the series of three jubilee meetings of the Brockton, Whitman and Rockland branches was held last evening at Phoenix Opera House, Rockland. The new Socialist band, composed of twenty-six good musicians made a very creditable showing indeed and succeeded in drawing nearly 500 people into the hall where we proceeded to entertain them with a variety performance consisting of readings, singing, dancing, etc. Two short addresses were included in the program. Comrade F. P. McCartney gave them a practical talk of about fifteen minutes bristling with facts rather than theories. Miss Lizzie Harlow made an appeal more directly to the women who made up more than half of the audience. It was a noticeable fact that, although the lighter part of our entertainment was presented by very good talent indeed, the audience was more interested in what Comrades McCartney and Harlow had to say, showing that they had come there to learn something of the movement.

The entertainment wound up with two hours dancing and was voted a huge success. We have them on the run in this section and no mistake. We shall soon start a series of open air meetings and with the aid of our Socialist band we shall get such crowds as have not been seen since anti-slavery times.

We are looking forward to Comrade McCartney's future with great expectations. He has resigned his pastorate so that he may give his full time to Socialist propaganda.

B.
By abolishing the contract system of street cleaning the commissioners of the District of Columbia paid 25 cents more to the laborer and saved 40 per cent. in expenses. The laborers employed direct by the city proved to be the better for city and for the men.

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 workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.
The Social Democratic Party of

America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers, at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

S. D. P. AND 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.

REPORT YOUR BRANCH NEWS WEEKLY.

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.

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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.

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

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 by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.

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

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

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times. The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication.

Recall of a member of the Executive Committee shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

RECALL OF OFFICERS.

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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Gleanings.

There are 65,000 Socialists among the German bricklayers.

A railroad trust is being formed to include all roads between Chicago and New York.

In the two districts of Holland in which elections occurred recently the Socialist vote rose to 6,977 from 2,384 last year.

Ninety per cent. of the growers and packers of five of the principal raisin growing counties of California have formed a combine to hold up the price of raisins.

If a servant in Germany falls sick, her mistress is not allowed to discharge her, but must pay 47 cents a day for her hospital expenses until she is perfectly well.

Geneva, Switzerland supplies power to its inhabitants at a trifling cost. It is even used to run sewing machines. The town has turbines at two points on the Rhone river.

Attorney-General Monnett, of Ohio, computes that the Standard Oil Company annually makes a profit of two and a half times the entire value of crops and farm products of the State of Ohio.

In Iceland men and women are in every respect political equals. The nation which numbers about 70,000 people, is governed by representatives elected by men and women together.

The supreme court of California upholds the right of labor organizations to boycott the obnoxious employers and will not issue injunction on other grounds than specific acts of a criminal character.

There are hundreds of people in Russia eating grass to preserve life. There are hundreds of thousands of soldiers in Russia, not one of whom ever earns a dollar, and not one of whom is required to eat grass.

The New York Letter Carriers' Association has canceled its contracts for new uniforms with a certain clothing house because it discovered, after it had signed the same, that the firm employed non-union men.

A law passed by the Nebraska legislature prohibits a railroad company from requiring a conductor, engineer, fireman, brakeman, telegraph operator, or trainman, who has worked ten consecutive hours, except in case of casualties, to again go on duty until he has had at least eight hours' rest.

Thirty thousand skilled workmen, 15,000 of whom are in the Indiana natural gas belt, are out of work by the summer closing of the window-glass plants of the country. The shut-down is just one month earlier than it has been in years past and it threatens to be from six to eight months' duration, owing to large stocks and threatening labor complications.

There are many protests in New York at the spectacles of numbers of discharged volunteers, who enlisted in the late war and are now sweeping the streets begging and loafing with their uniforms on. When they were discharged, the men, some of them being substitutes for plutes and professional patriots, were without employment or resources, and their uniforms were and still are their only possession.

Ferdinand Brunetiere, the critic and academician, in an interview with the correspondent of the St. Petersburg Novoye Vremya, thus spoke of Tolstoy's "Resurrection," and his objections thereto:—

"Of course, I recognize in it a true chef d'œuvre, equal to 'The Kreutzer Sonata,' and even to 'Anna Varenina.' But I could not publish it in the Revue. We cannot treat such subjects, however noble the purpose and tendency."

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Although Socialism would really benefit all classes, the initiative and propaganda must rest chiefly with the proletariat. The property holders, like the slave holders of old, are blind to their higher interests. To be sure there are a few here and there who are able to look beyond the horizon of their own class and perceive the doom of capitalist production. Of course, we can expect nothing from large exploiters. While it is true that ultimately they would reap an advantage, still they would lose the power and distinction they enjoy to-day and would be obliged to render some useful service to society, all of which is decidedly distasteful to them. But it is otherwise with the small producers and traders; they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Under the present system they are hopelessly doomed to bankruptcy, and it is only a question of little time before they will join the ever-growing majority—the proletariat. But their ignorance of economic conditions, which leads them to hope for the preservation of their class, binds them to the sinking ship of small enterprise. We can hope for but little from the members of this class so long as they retain their economic foothold, but when they become expropriated and are thrown into the proletariat class, they furnish good material for Socialism.

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