

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

Vol. 1

BELLEVILLE, ILL., SATURDAY, MARCH 11, 1899.

NO. 36.

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

VICTORY AT AMESBURY.

A special dispatch to "The Herald," just as we go to press says, the local elections on Monday, March 6, resulted in the election of Comrades Jason Spofford, for Selectman, and Charles S. Wingate, for School Committeeman, both representing the Social Democratic Party.

Over 400 straight Socialist votes were cast.

Boston friends are requested to note where THE HERALD is kept on sale at various news stands.

Working people who are asking for a restoration of the "old" scale of wages will never get it. That isn't in the plan, boys.

The capitalists have transferred the money question for the time being from the United States to the Philippines.

A great batch of slaves in one or two industries have received a five and ten per cent raise of wages the past week. Many of them are so elated over the additional dollar that they have forgotten what the old rate of wages was a few years ago.

"London jewelers make belts and card cases from human skin. It is procured from the unclaimed bodies of indigent poor." Not content with having exploited these poor unfortunates to death, their emaciated carcasses must yield its cuticle before being dumped into the potter's field, so that the daughters of the rich may be adorned with a ghoulish decoration symbolizing "Man's Inhumanity to Man."

H. N. Casson has retired from the Ruskin colony and editorship of the Coming Nation and will locate at Toledo, Ohio, where there is some prospect of Mayor Jones starting a new paper with Mr. Casson as editor. Mayor Jones was defeated for renomination in the republican convention last week and announces his intention to run independently. H. N. Casson joined the Ruskin colony six months ago.

The first number of Progressive Thought, a 50 cent monthly magazine published by E. V. Debs & Co., Terre Haute, Ind., is now ready for delivery. It contains Comrade Debs' stirring and eloquent speech on "Liberty," delivered on his release from Woodstock; also "The Power of the Ideal," by Prof. Frank Parsons; "The Church and its Position Towards the Workingman," by Rev. S. S. Condo, and other good articles. Send 50 cents for a year's subscription and 25 cents for ten copies to Terre Haute.

Every man and woman in the country who desires to assist in opening the eyes of the great body of our people to the enslaving effects of capitalism, can afford to give ten cents to the propaganda fund of the S. D. P. This fund, small in its individual sacrifice, but mighty in its possibilities, was started by the indefatigable worker for the economic emancipation of the people, Eugene V. Debs. It is growing a little each week, but we ask every friend of liberty everywhere to give it a "lift." Put it up to \$1 a week. Every man who has done his part is hereby commissioned to solicit others to do something. They are waiting to be asked.

The Government appropriations for 1899 will amount to \$1,700,000,000
The total annual earnings of all the factory and workshop employees of the U. S. amount to \$2,200,000,000
The number of workmen whose year's labor at \$500 each will be required to pay the bill is 3,400,000
There's "benevolent assimilation" and government by capitalists, for you! Greater conspiracies against the liberty and well-being of a people were never conceived or enacted in any country on earth, than are now going on in this "land of the pilgrims' pride."

CONSTITUTION AND REFERENDUM.

Comrade Gordon speaks with his usual good sense when he says we ought to "stop throwing away valuable time over the details of a constitution and by-laws and get down to solid work." I do not agree with him, however, nor do I agree with Comrade Stedman, that the matter of adopting the constitution should be left to a convention. I am not a referendum enthusiast so far as capitalistic society is concerned (the direct legislation agitation will retard the Socialistic advance instead of helping it), but within our own ranks, I feel that it can be used with good effect. I therefore believe that the constitution should be settled by referendum rather than by a so-called representative convention. For a convention, after all, would give the matter into the hands of a committee. Though I do say it, as shouldn't, the national Executive Board is probably as capable for such work as an impromptu convention committee.

While the executive board had no legal right to declare the recent referendum vote off, it having been carried out according to letter, still the vote was so small that no one is likely to regret the board's action. The board now has the suggested amendments that were sent in to guide it in remodelling the constitution. It is in a position to draft a document that will be acceptable to the membership at large and which will, I am sure, get a substantial referendum endorsement. I shall urge this course at the next meeting of the board.

I do not like the idea of mixing up constitution tinkering with the deliberations of a convention called to prepare a national political platform and to choose our standard bearers for the battle of 1900. Let that convention give its whole mind to the impending campaign. It will have enough to think of if it acts with the necessary wisdom on that occasion. Moreover, let that convention be held at a point equally accessible from the several strongholds of our party so that it will be truly representative.

FREDERIC HEATH.

A CAPITALIST CONSPIRACY.

Prof. Geo. D. Herron makes the deliberate charge that the war with Spain was brought about, "to a great extent," through a conspiracy of the men who would profit most by such a national calamity—the capitalist class. He says:

"I derived my information from a man prominent in public life. From what he has told me and from documents which I now possess I know many terrible things. I can state positively that our being plunged into a war with Spain was brought about, to a great extent, through a conspiracy of the men who would profit by such a national calamity.

"The conspirators met in one of the great cities and made plans for subsidizing important newspapers, for furnishing munitions to Cuban insurgents and for other purposes which would in all likelihood bring about the results which they so much desired. The expenses were borne by all. The profits were to be derived from government contracts and by stock jobbing. I think that it would be a safe and conservative statement to say that they profited to the extent of fully \$30,000,000. I POSSESS A COPY OF THE CONTRACT WHICH WAS DRAWN UP BY THEM."

"I cannot disclose its details until permission is granted, but I am certain that my informant will give me the desired privilege as soon as we have, as a nation, entered again upon a peaceful state, possibly when the president's war investigating committee has finished its work."

While we wait for the details keep an eye on McKinley, the franchise commission and the contracts.

It is a good sign when the correspondents crowd the editor out of his space—as they have done this week—a sign of life and activity and an augury of future achievement. This is our answer to the fabrication that THE HERALD is dead; a healthy, vigorous, growing movement, a harmonious and aggressive party and a corps of intelligent Socialist writers compelling the editor to yield his space for the news of its vigor, its growth and its aggressiveness in the glorious cause of International Socialism. But, mark you, this editor will look after his corner next week and take care of the news besides. Send in more news.

THE ROSTRUM.

Extracts from an Interesting Address by F. G. R. Gordon, at Brockton, Mass., on "The Transition to Social Democracy."

TAKING his hearers back to the middle ages, where, under the feudal lords, agriculture yielded enough for all, he said both this and all other industries were carried on with greater intelligence and under better organization than had obtained since. Then all were plenteously supplied. While to-day we raised so much food people were starving, so many houses were built people were homeless and the great productiveness of industries found the people without proper apparel. There was no army of the unemployed, no Wall street, no soup kitchens in the middle ages. With Columbus' discovery came the spirit of conquest and the encouragement of piracy and other doubtful ventures for fame and money. Royal personages invested money for these ventures and from those days come the division of classes until we of to-day have capitalism.

Referring to our capitalists as philanthropists he drew comparisons. Armour founded the Armour institute, which cost over a million; the same Armour whose beef is now so prominently before the country. Carnegie, the founder of libraries, reduced his help 10 per cent. and made millions. Rockefeller, who has paid numerous church debts, monopolizes one of nature's products which costs him so little that he can ship and sell it all over the world at a ridiculously small price, yet he is to-day selling this oil to the Cubans at \$1.50 a gallon.

The records of Great Britain and other nations of the world showed that their success of to-day was founded upon piracy of the slave trade. Some of the oldest fortunes in Boston were built upon the furnishing of "rum and Bibles to convert the heathen."

This country, the speaker said, had now developed from a condition where panic came every 15 or 20 years until they are almost continuous, and until some change in the system resulted, crime and misery would constantly increase. He referred to the anarchist who from studying Ricardo's theory of value had gone insane on the subject of individual liberty. The wealthy class had endeavored to confound and join the anarchist and the Socialist, but one was directly opposed to the other.

As to how Socialism is to supersede the present system no cut and dried plan had or could be formed. No more could this be told than did Wendell Phillips know how the slaves were going to be freed. The transition to Socialism had already commenced in the freedom of the streets from the toll collector. There were 337 different industries absolutely owned by Socialism in the world, and 225 were in its control. The latter were like the milk industry, which while not wholly owned, is controlled to the extent that milk inspectors are provided to preserve the interests of the community. He drew a distinction between state and democratic Socialism. The former was paternalistic, while the latter was fraternal. The former was represented by Russia, where the Czar owned all and the people in a degree received from this method of Socialism. Switzerland was the finest illustration of fraternal Socialism and ownership by the people. The latter voted yes or no upon all laws enacted. Referring to the railroad fares in that country under Socialism, he said that for \$57.11 one could purchase a third-class fare, good for 365 days, or one year, on which one could ride all one pleased during the year, anywhere on the 2500 miles of railroad in Switzerland. The third-class service there was the same as the regular passenger service between Brockton and Boston. Thus, for \$57 one could ride a distance of 100,000 miles in Switzerland in a year.

Assuming the city of Brockton to be under the control of Socialism, with a mayor and city council of this faith, he undertook to show what might be immediately accomplished toward social conditions. The first step would be to consider how many people were out of employment and make a record of the skilled and unskilled labor in the city. Then taking into consideration what industries were most ripe for Socialism, the electric lighting and street railway and

[CONCLUDED ON PAGE EIGHT.]

MAILLY INTERVIEWS

MACDONALD OF LONDON

AS representative of THE HERALD I had the pleasure of interviewing Comrade J. R. Macdonald, of London, this morning for the benefit of the readers of our rational organ. Mr. Macdonald is visiting this country on a University Extension lecture course, and also on other official business as a journalist. His engagements are many and leave him little opportunity to devote any time or attention to the movement, but he yielded to the martyrdom of an interview with very good grace and an evident desire to impart as much information as an hour and a half would admit.

Naturally he would not discuss the movement in this country to any extent, but Mr. Macdonald freely and pointedly discussed the condition of the movement in Great Britain and said:

"The actual membership of both the Independent Labor party and the Social Democratic Federation is not increasing very much. No interest is being taken in domestic affairs, the whole attention of the people being taken up with Imperialism. The local branches of the party retain their old membership, but the number of recruits is not as large as formerly. Nevertheless, the Socialist movement was never as strong as now. We have failed to elect anyone to Parliament, our strength lying in local politics. From 300 to 400 members have been elected to town councils, school boards and boards of guardians, and invariably the work of these men has commanded the respect of the electors and when one gets in he paves the way for more. Many of them occupy the chairmanship of the most important bodies. The practical work of the Socialist parties is best judged by their municipal work. In municipal politics we are giving the ideas and setting the pace to everybody else. The result is everything is tending to Socialism and that leads naturally up to our Parliamentary prospects, and of these I speak for the Independent Labor Party.

"We are convinced the most important task before us now is to win two or three seats in Parliament, and in two or three constituencies we are so strong that with good candidates we may not unreasonably expect to be successful. A good deal depends upon what the Liberals will do in these constituencies, but we are now in this position, if they oppose us all around we can defeat them in a sufficient number of constituencies to make their majority impossible. Our main object is to get our men into the House of Commons. We don't think it of importance to smash up anybody; we simply spread our opinions. We hope to run twenty-five candidates at the next election. We are not such an insignificant party that nobody takes an interest in us. The article explaining our program and political attitude written by Keir Hardie and myself, which appeared in the January Nineteenth Century, the leading English monthly magazine, sold more copies than has been sold for years."

Mr. Macdonald became very serious when I asked him my next question. "What prospects are there for the proposed union of the S. D. F. and I. L. P. being consummated?"

"The union," he said "is bound to come; the difficulty is how it is going to come. The S. D. F. up to within a few months ago has attacked the I. L. P. and its members in the most bitter way. It denied that we were Socialists, and whenever it was possible to misrepresent us individually it did so from its platform and its official organs. Still, that's no matter. We want union with the S. D. F., but we want to make sure that after the union comes we will not discover that it's a union on paper merely and that the old antagonistic feeling does not crop up again with the united party. Our proposal is therefore that the two organizations should remain as they are for some time, but that a joint committee should immediately organize and take charge of the general propagandist work and of all matters which the two parties conduct in common. This would go on for a short time, and, if this experiment was successful, there would be no need of keeping the two organizations and one Socialist party would follow eventually. What we fear is that the old S. D. F. spirit which has alienated from it the sympathy of the vast majority of Socialists in our

[CONCLUDED ON PAGE FOUR.]

ANARCHISM AND SOCIALISM

By ISADORE LADOFF.

EVERY error contains a grain of truth, and every truth the germ of error. The modus operandi of people without principles in dealing with opponents consists in throwing all the "isms" in one heap and labeling them indiscriminately as cranks and miscreants. But people with genuine convictions and ideas of their own can well afford to be just to everybody, who honestly disagrees with them. Truth fortunately cannot be monopolized by anybody, and sincere truthseeking is more precious than the possession of truth itself.

The object of this paper is to examine *sine ira et studio* the arguments, philosophy and ideals of anarchism, from the Socialistic point of view. There is no line of thought so alien, so diametrically opposed to Socialism, as so-called anarchism. And yet no teaching is so often mistakenly confounded by the popular mind with Socialism than anarchism. And, what signifies far more, the mixing up of these two theories of future social development is not altogether due to ignorance or malice.

There are indeed quite a few points in common between Socialism and philosophical anarchism. Both theories are essentially revolutionary. Both agree in their negation of the present state of society. Both are in favor of free association and opposed to the zoological struggle for existence called competition. The points of divergence are, however, very important. Socialism stands first of all for REAL "equality," for EQUAL opportunities to all members of society, for justice. Philosophical anarchists insist chiefly on individual liberty. Socialism considers the interests of the race, anarchism of the person; paramount. Socialism is based on the principle — "the highest good to the largest number," the anarchists want to guard the rights and privileges of minorities. Socialism demands in return from each member of society fulfillment of certain duties. Anarchism knows no limits to the part of the common produce and wealth which may be consumed by each individual. To the Socialist the State or government is all and all are the State. The anarchist abhors the State and government with the superstitious fear entertained by the orthodox priests of the medieval ages towards the evil one. Indeed the relation of the anarchists towards State cannot be characterized better than by the expression superstition, as we shall prove later.

Socialists want to organize society according to a general plan, founded on certain principles of science and ethics. Anarchists recognize only the chaotic play of "wills" of single individuals, which shall eventually result in voluntary co-operation and association. Such are in a nutshell the differences between Socialistic and anarchistic doctrines.

Before, however, we venture to analyze the soundness of the anarchistic antithesis to Socialism, we have to touch briefly upon two groups of men, who are quite frequently identified with philosophical anarchists without the slightest justification. I mean the individualists of the Spencerian school on one side and the Hoedels, Oteros, Nobilings, Passanantes, Ravachols and tutti quanti on the other side. The individualists are anything but revolutionary in their ideals and tendencies. They worship zoological evolution and expect the salvation of humanity from the exploitation of the weak by the strong, competition and other beauties of our present social system. Their practical ethics may be summed up in their golden rule: "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." On every attempt of organization and control of social forces they look with disfavor as on slavery in disguise. "Let alone and evolution will do the rest," is their somewhat fatalistic maxim. All kinds of egotism and rude

selfishness may pass under this pseudo-scientific cover. Individualists of this stamp are in more than one sense anarchists, but it would be an injustice to such philosophical anarchists as Peter Krapotkin and Elisee Reclus to be classed with the champions of our present industrial anarchy. The assassins of persons of high social standing, some of whose names we mentioned above, we would call Herostratians, from their prototype Herostratus. This degenerate burned one of the wonders of ancient Greece, the temple of Diana of Ephesus, from no other motive than morbid desire of fame.

The Herostratians are a pathological set of men. Not able to be great — they want to be notorious. Their acts of violence have no relation whatever to any particular social doctrine. It is morbid ambition of people, who have nothing to lose except their wretched life and nothing to gain except the thoughtless admiration of their like — that moves their dagger or throws their bomb. Born in misery and squalor, reared among the scum of the population, these stepchildren of society are full of hatred towards all who seem to rule it. Poorly, if at all educated, they are unable either to see anything below the surface of social relations, or to distinguish between systems and persons seemingly representing these systems.

That class of altruistic criminals ought to be treated like irresponsible lunatics. The rulers of our present society however prefer to surround them with the halo of martyrdom for an idea, with the purpose of impressing the popular mind with the belief that all the radical movements are pernicious and senseless. Once the popular prejudice is created — every act of the Herostratians is used as a pretext for repressive measures against "all the enemies of society," that means all radicals. It is a notable fact that countries like Italy, Spain and Russia, the most backward politically, socially and economically, where the people are kept in dense ignorance and dire distress, produce most of these Herostratians. The last are the blind tools of Nemesis pronouncing the memento mori to a system of affairs that outlived its usefulness and is about to pass into eternity. Without desiring it, the herostratians serve the retrograde and conservative elements of society more than anybody else and retard considerably the march of progressive ideas.

But let us return to the teachings of philosophical anarchists. Says Peter Krapotkin: "The essence of collectivism may be reduced to these points: Partial communism in the possession of instruments of production and education. Competition among individuals and groups for bread, housing and clothing. Individualism for work's of art and thought. The states aid for children, invalids and old people. The state will be substituted for the employer and his role of buyer and overseer of labor will be still an odious tyranny." Mr. Krapotkin obviously does not care to distinguish between competition and emulation. To competition Socialists are opposed (and with more justification than individualists, however radical in their view) by principle, but they have no objection to the incentive of emulation. Obviously, however, the cardinal point in the criticism of collectivism is with Mr. Krapotkin, as with all anarchists, the negation of the State or government. State and government are their bugaboos. According to them a State or government is not only essentially bad, but sure to spoil the best men, once they come in contact with it. No State or government so far has been free from abuse and this is considered as a valid argument against that institution in general.

The irrationality of such a conception will get clear at once if we

apply the same method of reasoning to association. All or nearly all associations of men are likely to be exploited by a few unscrupulous people to the detriment of the rest. Does it follow from this that associations are pernicious institutions? Would not the opposite conclusion be rather more logical? What can be abused can be used also! Anarchists insist so much on liberty, that they forget equality. But what is liberty without equality? Is it not a snare and a delusion in our great republic?

A recently immigrated German laborer defined liberty as follows: "If you have no money to buy bread with you are at liberty to go hungry; if you have no money to hire a lodging you are free to sleep on the street." Remarkably enough the anarchists are not in the least afraid of the abuses of liberty "because only those who do nothing make no mistakes." To the anarchists the state is personified in a ferocious looking policeman with a vicious club in his hand, striking to the right and left. The state is to the anarchist something outside of the people, not an organic growth with a justification in the past and capable of development; it was, is and shall always be an angel with the sword, keeping humanity out of the anarchistic paradise for its sins of commission and omission. The anarchists seldom take even the trouble to define what they mean by the expressions State and government, taking it for granted that everybody will have in view the state he happens to live in. The historical perspective is entirely lost sight of.

[CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

FRATERNITY.

THESE things shall be a loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise,
With flame of freedom in their souls
And light of knowledge in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave and strong,
To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
Learned shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall thrub
The pulse of one fraternity.

New arts shall bloom of loftier mold,
And mightier music thrill the skies,
And every tree shall be a song
When all the earth is paradise.

The Rash Ethiopian.

An imperialist and a mugwump, while travelling together (for a short distance) came upon an Ethiopian who was attacked by a robber. Running quickly to the rescue, they threw stones at the robber and made him surrender his booty. Struck by the beauty and value of his possessions, the Imperialist says to the Ethiopian, "All these things were ceded to us by that robber and we will extend to them a benevolent assimilation. In return let me give you this bible." The Ethiopian, on this announcement, desisted from his protestations of gratitude and picked up his club. The mugwump, who had listened to the conversation, timidly protested against robbing him of what he had been fighting for. While they were still debating the question, the indignant Ethiopian began to lay about with his club. "There," said the angry imperialist to the mugwump, "your treason has excited this man to open rebellion." Then he made an end of the Ethiopian. — Springfield Republican.

The Way Taxes Work.

The 200 young women who fold up wads of chewing gum in a factory in Brooklyn are no longer patriotic, and when the war with Spain is mentioned they exclaim in frigid chorus, "Forget!" The trouble is that they decided to strike on account of a reduction of one-half cent a package, which reduction was brought about by the war tax. The manager of the concern has sent to congress a petition showing how the tax has hurt the gum-chewers and the young ladies; how it is exorbitant and unjust. Until congress is heard from on the momentous subject the gum girls will pocket their wrath and wrap on at a reduction of 10 cents a day. A stamp tax that cannot be put upon the shoulders of the toiling masses would be a curiosity of modern statesmanship. — Pittsburgh Dispatch.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EDWARD BELLAMY.

SOME very entertaining reminiscences are given of the late Edward Bellamy in a recent number of *The Coming Age*, by the Rev. R. E. Bisbee, who was privileged to know not a little of the distinguished author of "Looking Backward" and "Equality."

After speaking of various notes and suggestions which Bellamy wrote during his last sickness and which were intended for use in future literary work, the writer says: "These notes confirm an impression that I already had that there were two Edward Bellamys — Bellamy the romance writer, and Bellamy the reformer. But Bellamy the reformer still dominates. In another part of the book I find this note: 'The Eye of the Needle, being an inquiry into the reasons why Jesus excluded the rich from the kingdom of heaven. In connection with this announcement of subject are numerous and copious notes and comments, which we lay aside with deep regret that the author could not have lived to elaborate the argument.' Further on the reverend writer touches on Bellamy's views on religion. 'Mr. Bellamy,' he says, 'did not attend church, and would not send his children to Sunday school. He was afraid, he said, that they would be taught more error than truth, and preachers, as a rule, had very little of value to say. This sounds a little harsh, and to those that did not understand his motive it seems a little unfair; but the truth is, Mr. Bellamy was a spiritual sensitive. He was a profound lover of the truth, and could not bear what seemed to him the slightest error. With him the greatest essentials of Christianity were truth and love. The dogmatic utterances of the pulpit were oftentimes like discords in music; they were simply unbearable to his refined ear. Mr. Bellamy never claimed that he had all the truth in himself, but he was a profound searcher after the truth. For this reason he was impatient with those people who claimed to know it all, and he abhorred the dogmatic ultimatums. It was stuff he did not wish his children to hear. Yet he appreciated the work of the church and gave it credit for the good accomplished by it. His latest notes show very clearly this appreciation and real sympathy.... But Mr. Bellamy's Christian character shines out most clearly in his ethical relations of life. There is nowhere an impure suggestion in any of his books. In business matters he was more than upright. He leaned backward. He did not take legitimate chances that came to him, because they did not square with his refined notions of right, and all ordinary chances to exploit the public in his own interest he indignantly scorned.'

"As a controversialist, Bellamy was the personification of fairness, gentleness and good humor. Nothing can be more admirable than the spirit in which he met his critics. One of the finest illustrations of this spirit is his reply to Francis Walker in the *North American Review* for March, 1890. Mr. Walker in his criticism has shown a woful ignorance of its subject — an ignorance wholly inexcusable in a man of his pretensions, and scarcely surpassed by the religious editors of to-day. When Bellamy was through with him nothing remained to be said. The *North American Review* article is also valuable as showing in a concise form, and in the clearest manner, the nature of the Nationalist, or Socialist programme."

"[The Bellamy agitation for Socialism was given the name of Nationalism by its leaders. It was an unwise choice. — Ed.]

"Those who think that Bellamy looked upon Socialism as the ultimate goal and destiny of humanity utterly failed to comprehend him. With him Socialism was but the next and necessary step in human progress. Because some will oppress their fellows if they can, we must make it impossible for any to do so. The highest ideal of

society is one in which all live together as brothers and in which love is the only motive for action. The path to this ideal leads through Socialism, but this ideal state is not Socialism.... The family is the prototype of this far off but coming civilization."

"[Our reverend friend probably unconsciously misrepresents Bellamy's views on this point. Love, as the only law, would not be all that is required for the organization of society, where the greater part of the things that minister to our wants are made by machinery in conjunction with associated labor. The association of laborers under the most economical division of labor, calls for a regulation of production. This regulation must be democratic and Socialistic. It is associated machine production that makes Socialism possible as well as necessary. Moreover, it is not quite true that we must have Socialism, as the writer indicates, merely because some people oppress others. The worst oppressor of all is the fact of private ownership of machine production and of distribution. Socialism means the freeing of production to society at large; it is the impersonal oppression that Socialism will correct. — Ed.]

"In my last conversation with him, I put the question plainly, 'Mr. Bellamy, you do not consider the social state pictured in *Equality* the end of human progress, do you?' 'Oh, no,' he replied, with what I felt to be almost a touch of impatience, 'it is only the beginning, when we get there we shall find a whole infinity beyond.' These were his last words to me. He had opened the door to let me out, when I asked the question. His hand was still on the knob when he answered. There he stood, that little pale man, within eight months of his death, with a far-away look in his eyes which I shall never forget, as he repeated — 'A whole infinity beyond.'

"One of Mr. Bellamy's most marked characteristics was his modesty, his insusceptibility to flattery. Authors are rare who secure a million readers, especially in their lifetime. This he accomplished. He received enough praise to turn almost any man's head, and yet it had not the slightest effect on him. He remained to the end, the same quiet, modest, unassuming neighbor and friend. In his reform work he was patient, gentle and conciliatory."

Edward Bellamy was born in 1850, his father being a clergyman. At eighteen he was writing editorials for the *New York Evening Post*, whose editor was William C. Bryant. Later he became an editorial writer on the *Springfield Union*, during which time he began to write for literary periodicals and to write books. What Mr. Bisbee says of his literary style may interest our readers:

"The literary style of Mr. Bellamy has been pronounced 'perfect' by good judges. He was a most laborious, painstaking writer. There is but one person in American literature with whom to compare Bellamy, the romancer, and that is Hawthorne. I felt this when I first read 'Miss Ludington's Sister,' and was afterward greatly gratified to find that Sylvester Baxter and W. D. Howells had accepted that conclusion long ago. I am aware that to say a writer resembles Hawthorne is to pay a very great compliment; but now I am going further, and say that in some particulars Bellamy surpassed Hawthorne. We must remember that Bellamy died at the age of only forty-eight. Before he was thirty he wrote 'Dr. Heidenhoff's Process,' a greater work than Hawthorne had produced at an equal age. Hawthorne's masterpiece was written in the maturity of his powers. As a reformer, 'Equality' is his greatest work, some critics and spiteful editors to the contrary notwithstanding and not only is it his greatest reform work, but it is the greatest, clearest, most definite statement of the Socialistic problem ever written. It may have a period of obscurity; but when men come to the study of the problems of social reform in real earnest, it will be revived and become the textbook of the toiler, and finally it will be regarded as the classic of reform literature."

Puckerbrush Alliance.



R. Debs and all the rest of you:

Charley Story's smilin' face showed up to our last meetin'. He lives over near Cabbagetown. The Prest. called on him for a speech, and he said:

"Jonas sent me one of them chain letters, and while I favor the egukashunal work that E. V. Debs and other Socialists are doin' as tendin' in the rite direxshun, yet I consider the Socialist party as premature. We can never climb the ladder of evolution at one step. It must cum step by step, and I'm convinced that the step is direkt legislashun. 2nd step: Knock county ring out and reduce county expenses. 3rd: Enact a few State laws in the interest of the people. 4th: By this time we shud have controlling voice in the Nashun's councils and give the people national depositories in every city and village—a safe deposite for the peoples (absolute) paper money, and a place where the people cud borrow munny of the government at 2 per cent. to be used in productive enterprises—not fur bankin'. Then nationalize the railroads, telegraf, telephone, includin' all general utilaties, and if at this time we find from experience that co-operation, a la Ruskin, didn't solve the land question, c uld nationalize land and other means of production. But to meit seems like folly to attempt all this at once. Give us direkt legislashun first and then all the rest will naturally foller, in accord with law of evolution. I look fur good seed to be sown at Cincinnati."

Well, sir, I had to laff rite out loud to his face. The idea of a feller carryin' around such a wastebasket full of stuff, callin' himself a Socialist. Why, I'd kall that fornyka-boogery in the first degree; or malpractice, I don't know which. I sed:

"Challey, you and 'Cyclone' Davis, of Findley 'ed make a good team—No, I don't mean the long mixer from Texas, but the prize det maker fur Union Reform party, who is cycloning the country to start another new party before he gets squared up with the Union Reform. Let me read you from his 'Cyclone' paper: 'The emblem of this party will be the stern and sorrowing face of the last and highest type of the American Indian, bearing in one hand his pipe of peace, and in the other our national emblem, the Star Spangled Banner.' I don't know which is funniest, your speech or his paper. They are beth like the injun wud say—Heap much confusion."

Miss Smart, the schoolteacher, pulled my coat-tail and whispered I was gettin' sassy and had better set down, and I did, but Abe Wilkins got rite up and sed:

"Our friend seems to think that he is presentin' an evolutionary plan for the redempshun of society, but, as a matter of fact, his plans wud retard the coming of ekonomik equality, fur which we aim. As Socialists, we object to the planless and wasteful system of production and distribushun of wealth, founded as it is, on competition, rent, interest and profit. He desires direkt legislashun to perpetuate the existence of the small capitalist, and calls it evolushun. The real evolushionists are the prompters of the great corporashuns, wrongly called trusts. The trust was a previous step in evolushun, and was a combinashun of separate corporashuns, while the more recent orginashuns are one big company for each line, with capital enuff to buy out everything in the line. Right here let me remind friend Story that the fact that so much capital is available fur investment shud prove to him the futility of expecting any remedy from monkeying with money or taxashun legislashun. The capital and wealth of the country is consensrated in the hands of a small class, whom I say are the real evolushionists."

"You know I uster be a republikan, and I still take the Chicago Weekly Inter Ocean, which is a genuine plutocratic sheet. In the issue for Feb. 14, 1899, their finanshul riter notes two pieces of evolution. The American Radiator Company, which he says controls 75 per cent. of the output of steam and water heating apparatus, with 10 millions of capital. Listen what he says about 'em:

"Considerable economies will be effected in the purchase of supplies, in frights, and reductions in salaries of salesmen."

"Such elimination of competition has been effected will proportionately increase the volume of business and will, as it were, reduce the percentage of the cost of operation. * * * During the year 1898, though there was a competitive war which was disastrous to other concerns, the old American Radiator company is credited with earning enough to pay its preferred dividends and something over 2 per cent. on the common stock."

"Management, of course, counts for nearly everything in an industrial enterprise. In this case the men who were successful in managing the old company will control the new. The expansion of the business is not such as should excite any apprehension on the part of shareholders that conditions will be presented with which the management is unfamiliar."

"They see the evils of competitive war, same as us Socialists do, but we differ as to who should get the benefits of systematic production and distribution. You notice they do away with useless salesmen for one thing. Just make a note of it."

He next takes up the American Cereal company, with 15 millions capital, and says:

"The mills contracted for represent about 95 per cent. of the capacity of the country. The capitalization of the new company also provides for cash for the erection, in the city of Chicago, of the largest, finest and best equipped oatmeal and cereal mill in the world. This mill will be finished within a year, and when finished, will place the new company beyond the fear of any competition. Meanwhile the new company will have practically a monopoly of the oatmeal business, both bulk and package goods."

"Aside from the advantage resulting in consolidation in the way of maintaining fair and uniform prices throughout the country, and in the purchasing and storing of the grain to the best advantage, very great economies will result in the way of reduced cost in advertising and in the matter of transportation charges, as each locality will be supplied from the nearest mill. There will be additional savings resulting from the removal of the necessity for carrying large stocks of finished product in many markets, which is one of the great evils of the present competitive conditions, as these stocks are subject to great deterioration, also the release of the capital heretofore used in the carrying of these stocks. There is scarcely a department in which the consolidation will not bring about a saving."

"The greatest economy to be effected, however, is in the reduction of the cost of manufacture, resulting from the building of the new mill in Chicago. It is expected that at least 60 per cent. of the present business of the company can be supplied by this mill, and provide for the steadily increasing consumption."

"Notice how they are reducing the cost of production to the lowest possible point. Just what we Socialists want, only we want all the people to have the benefit of it and not a small class."

"These big combinations are doing all the practical educating in the details of management of vast affairs—the evolutionary part up to national and international control. We Socialists just carry evolution a little farther along, and dispense with the capitalist, the same as they are doing with the drummers, as useless factors, and with them rent, interest and profit, on which they have thrived. Then Socialism is a fact. Production will then no longer be restricted by the question of profit, but only by the wants of the people, and if they

ever get too much and have real over-production, they can just lay off a while and play being suckers and fools like the people of 1899. We farmers and our slaves of wives can then realize something of the benefits of civilization and less of 'em will go to the insane asylum as the result of isolashun, overwork and worry. That's why I'm a scientific Socialist. The Social Democratic party is not too soon, but just on time. Youn's fellers will meet at Cincinnati and repeat the folly of the People's party in attempting to save the masses by a middle class organization. You may enjoy it, but I will waste no time or money in that way."

I wanted to have sum fun after such solid shot, but the president sed time was up, so we adjourned. Yours to the end,

JONAS HARRISON.
Puckerbrush, Ohio, Last Saturday.

Women at Work.

The committee on industrial problems affecting women and children, which was appointed at the last biennial meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Denver, has issued a regular letter, from which we extract the following interesting passages:

"So large a portion of the people are obliged to devote their best energies to bread getting, that grace and refinement born of leisure are becoming rarer. Industrial necessity is shortening the period of childhood, is driving the boys and girls out of school into factories and shops at so early an age, that to predicate the ignorance of the future citizen is as startling as it is sure."

"The development of all social factors, art, literature, education, philanthropy and law is now waiting on industrial development. It is for these social factors that women's clubs are working. The time has come for an extension of effort towards those members of society upon whose labor all depend, and without whose improvement all demands for a higher standard will fail."

"The best and brightest minds of all countries are bending their energies towards industrial reform. Therefore, to attain a clearer vision for her own pursuits, to insure a safe and positive future for her children, to ally herself with the mental vigor of the age, organized womanhood must study the fundamental basis of progress, the growth of industrial methods."

The committee, of which Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, 6230 Woodlawn ave., Chicago, is chairman, urges the federated clubs to appoint committees with a view to a uniform course of investigation and study.

Charity's Twofold Aspect.

C. G. Trusdell, general superintendent of the Chicago Relief and Aid society, said recently:

"Charity has a twofold aspect. One is the sentiment that recognizes the sufferings and privation of the poor and has a desire to relieve them. The other is the price that society pays for its own protection. The aid given by the poor to the poor far exceeds all the contributions of the rich in point of sacrifice. The frauds attempted or perpetrated to obtain relief are nothing compared to the frauds perpetrated on the poor by sweatshops, defaulting contractors, adulterated provisions and exorbitant rents."

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

SOCIAL—Pertaining to society or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc.

DEMOCRATIC—Pertaining to Democracy; i. e., Movement by the people * * * in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively, or in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

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

Debs in the Lecture Field.

New York, N. Y., March 21
Aberdeen, S. D., June 28
Madison, 30

Social Democratic Party Platform

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies: trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

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

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.
2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.
3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.
4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.
5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

S. D. P. AND TRADES UNIONISM.

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS.

—BY THE—

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

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

National Secretary-Treasurer--THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill
EDITOR--A. S. EDWARDS.

Terms of Subscription.—One year, 50c. Six Months 25c. No papers are sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you are receiving it, then it has been paid for by a friend and no bill will follow.

[Entered at the Belleville Ill., Postoffice, as second class matter, December, 1898.]

BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, MAR. 11, 1899.

REPUBLIC OR DEMOCRACY?

Republic is a representative form of government under which the people elect lawmakers and executives to enforce the laws. Any measure passed by the representatives becomes law unless the highest executive makes use of his power of veto, in which case the legislative body must make it a law by passing the measure with a two-third majority.

Under such form of government the people rule indirectly and owing to the peculiar form of such government the direct will of the people can not be ascertained.

A democracy is a direct rule of the people; the people under such form of government propose and sanction the laws by a majority vote and elect the executives to enforce these laws. Under democracy a house of congress, chamber of deputies, reichstag, or house of commons would exercise advisory power only and the final decision rests with the people who are to obey these laws. Is a democracy possible under capitalism, that is, under private ownership of the means of production, distribution, transportation and communication? Is a democracy possible under a system of mutual co-operation?

Under capitalism the interests of a few that own all the economic means, are in direct antagonism with the interests of the many who are divested of all the economic means. Thus, the political institution under capitalism must be of such form as to guarantee the possibility of influencing those who make the laws, by intimidation and bribery. The intelligence of the people to determine on a good law is therefore not sufficient; the people are supposed to know in addition, who is capable of making a good law, and who is an honest individual and will remain honest. This ability of the people can not be realized and therefore we added to our platform a provision which shall protect the Social Democratic party against possible corruption, while the capitalist system lasts. In addition to this (Imperative Mandate, the right of the constituency to recall its representatives) we demand the Initiative and Referendum (direct legislation). From this it follows, that, if the people have not the power to make and propose good laws they are hampered in giving expression to their will; the difficulty which lies in the choice for lawmakers can only be overcome by giving the people the power to legislate directly. The corruption of the individual is not the fault of bad laws but the political system which gives individuals a chance to be corrupt.

The very foundation of all social demands thus shows itself to be democracy. If it were not democracy that guarantees Socialism its future, it would have to be the individual's integrity or honesty, and that can not hold good in the face of the fact that it makes no one corruption-proof by simply declaring himself in favor of Socialist principles. It is legislation, which must, simultaneously with the extension of the functions of government, become democratic. The Socialist must be a democrat to be a sincere Socialist. A Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth where the people do not practice democracy, in its widest sense, can only be more oppressive, dictatorial and not less corrupt than the present capitalist system.

It is the direct rule of the people, in a Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth which will not only simplify lawmaking, but will also make the practice of the Imperative Mandate less cumbersome and extenuate the necessity of its application; thus making violent disruptions impossible.

A co-operative commonwealth without democracy would be, like a capitalist system with democracy; a volcano which threatens at any moment with eruption.

The system proposed by the Social Democratic party is democratic in politics and social in economics; it is a Social Democracy. The S. D. P. is the only Socialist Party in the United States which is democratic in its own constitution and proposes to establish, not a "Socialist republic," but a Socialist Democracy.

It wants to procure for the people the full control of the political and economic system. It stands for the establishment of International Social Democracy.

CARL PANKOFF.

Rather Tough.

COMRADE EDITOR: A convention of religious reformers was held in Boston, Mass., about the 23d of February according to the Boston Globe, of Feb. 24th, at which the speakers were unanimous in their edifying opinion that the trouble with the country was that Jesus Christ and God had not been properly recognized in the constitution; "that God was manifesting his displeasure with us as a Christian nation" for not having mentioned Him by name in that famous document. This startling idea has been entirely overlooked up to this time by reformers and perhaps Carl Marx, Edward Bellamy and others who had different opinions on the subject may yet have been wrong, but it occurs to me that with the Christian church carrying all the depravity it can stagger under and God responsible for the natural laws of the universe, the weather, etc., we might charge a few items of unsatisfactory social and economic conditions to the capitalist class and their political tools. To charge everything to people we never saw is rather tough.

SUMNER F. CLAFLIN.

Municipalism in England.

The Countess of Warwick is an ardent supporter of municipal reforms in England.

London has over 400 governing bodies and they spend nearly \$65,000,000 a year.

The London School Board has taught swimming to over 3,000 pupils of its evening classes.

The municipal investments of Blackburn realize over \$50,000 a year in aid of the rates.

Birmingham is providing model cottages for unskilled laborers at 36 cents per room per week.

There is a growing sentiment in England favorable to training municipal officers before electing them.

Salford proposes to lay \$5,000,000 upon electrical works, tramways, sewage works and artisans' dwellings.

The London County Council is about to purchase land in Drury Lane at cost of \$500,000 on which to erect dwellings for working people.

There are at present 75 electrical works in operation owned by municipalities and 51 by private companies. 53 additional local bodies have resolved to set up electrical works of once.

OUR NEW YORK LETTER.

In the face of a heavy, depressing rainstorm a fair audience turned out last Sunday night to attend the first of a series of lectures given by the West Side branch at Crystal hall, 352 W. 35th St. Comrade Albert L. Vogl delivered an interesting lecture on "Poverty" and answered several questions very satisfactorily. A discussion followed and two new members were added to the branch. Sunday, March 5, Comrade Leonard D. Abbott will lecture on "William Morris Poet, Artist and Socialist" and we expect a good sized audience to hear him. On March 12th Comrade I. A. Hourwich will lecture on "Overproduction and Underconsumption," and on March 19th Comrade Abraham Cahan will lecture on "The Idealization of the Workingman." Readers of this paper, their friends and sympathizers are cordially invited to attend. Admission free.

The comrades on the Vorwaerts arrangements committee of the ball given on Feb. 18th last, have kindly donated the City Central Committee twenty-five dollars, and the general agitation fund of the national S. D. P. twenty-five dollars from the proceeds derived from the ball. Besides this the Greater New York Arbeiter Zeitung, the organ of the German comrades, and the West Side Branch also received benefits from the sale of tickets donated them by the committee.

All of which goes to show that for comradeship and generosity the Jewish comrades are hard to beat.

The William Morris Forward Club, composed of progressive and energetic young Socialists, have been made has been to issue circulars to I. L. P. branches, attacking the Executive of the I. L. P. and practically inviting our branches to secede from us and join the S. D. F. They have also gone down into districts where we had spent a great of money and energy in pioneer work and have attempted to reap the benefit after we sowed the seed. That also happened since they have declared in favor of union. I should like your readers to be quite clear as to the I. L. P. position. We want a united party, but we want to make sure that it will be a harmonious one. In speaking this way I am expressing the unanimous sentiments of my colleagues of the Central Executive of the I. L. P.

Last Saturday night the Roumanian Club, Stefan Stanco branch, S. D. P. gave a successful lecture and concert at Odd Fellows' hall, 98 Forsythe St. and netted a neat sum for the agitation fund of the branch. A copy of Comrade E. V. Debs' pamphlet on "Liberty" was presented to everyone present.

The Socialist preamble and platform spoken of by me in my letter last week was adopted by the Central Federated Union on Sunday afternoon last without a dissenting vote. This is admitted to be a great step forward on the part of the strongest central body of organized labor in New York.

The celebration of the commune will be held on Friday night March 17th at the Progress Assembly Rooms, Ave. A. between 1st and 2nd sts. The affair will consist of speeches, music and singing and will be for the benefit of the City Central Committee.

TOUCHSTONE.

New York, March 4th.

EDITOR'S TIME SAVERS.

T. L.—Can't print it; for anybody to print it is a waste of time and effort. The single proposition to "tax the trusts out of existence" is nonsense. Send it to some "smash-the-trusts" democratic newspaper.

W. B.—There are now in existence, or incubating, half a dozen parties favoring the particular "reform" you seem to think could bring the "millennium." But the difficulty is that the "millennium" is not in sight even where your "reform" has long been in operation.

C. G. W.—The speech delivered by Eugene V. Debs at Battery D, Chicago, on "Liberty," is published in "Progressive Thought," a monthly magazine by E. V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.; subscription, 50 cents per year. The date was Nov. 22, 1895.

G. H. W.—Sorry, but we cannot conscientiously comply with your request; so much unhappiness and injustice has resulted to individuals from such schemes, wherever and whenever they have been tried, that we are compelled to be cautious in giving the slightest encouragement to new ventures of that kind.

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

Leicester is going in for a water supply which will cost \$20,000,000.

A FILIPINO POEM.

[It is reported that our Government has requested the German Kaiser not to interfere with us in our attempt to restore order and peace in the Philippines.]

SAYS Uncle Sam to Kaiser,
"I'm the greatest civilizer.
Just be quiet, Bill, and watch me do the trick,
Don't think that I'm a fool, man,
For at Latimer and Pullman,
I put rebellion down amazing quick.

"Keep your hands off, Bill my honey,
Don't you see me making money?
I may give you ten per cent of all I get.
When I've licked those 'tarnel heathen,
I will make them good and free, then,
I'll get every mother's son of them in debt.

"I'll relieve their dull stagnation,
C used by over-population;
I will teach those sleepy natives how to run:
I will fertilize the soil there,
With the blood of those who toil there,
I will train them with the mortgage and the gun.

"We will Christianize them gladly,
For we know they need it badly,
We will send their darkened souls to endless day;
When the word to fire is given,
We will shoot them into heaven,
Where their bitter burning tears are wiped away.

"So withdraw your navy, Willie,
Don't rush in and be so silly,
Just sit down and see me make those heathen walk;
Then I'll sell them beer and toddies,
And I'll free their souls from bodies,
Till Manila is as Christian as New York."

H. N. CASSON.

Macdonald Interviewed.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

country may attempt to run the united movement on the old narrow S. D. F. lines and that would be disastrous to Socialism in our country. This is no mere imaginative fear of our party, because one of the ways in which the S. D. F. has shown its friendship or the I. L. P. since those approaches for union have been made has been to issue circulars to I. L. P. branches, attacking the Executive of the I. L. P. and practically inviting our branches to secede from us and join the S. D. F. They have also gone down into districts where we had spent a great of money and energy in pioneer work and have attempted to reap the benefit after we sowed the seed. That also happened since they have declared in favor of union. I should like your readers to be quite clear as to the I. L. P. position. We want a united party, but we want to make sure that it will be a harmonious one. In speaking this way I am expressing the unanimous sentiments of my colleagues of the Central Executive of the I. L. P.

Speaking of the trade unions, Mr. Macdonald said: "The British Trade Union Congress is definitely committed to Socialism. At the Norwich congress in '96 a Socialist resolution was adopted. This did not please the old style trades unionists, who invariably are in the majority on the Parliamentary Committee, which serves between the annual sessions of the Congress. It was a strange fact but true, that the delegates from the Trades Councils, or central bodies, were Socialists, and, in order to get rid of these, the Parliamentary Committee arranged the standing orders so as the central bodies would not be represented. At the Cardiff Congress in '97 the Socialist resolutions did not come up, but at the Bristol meeting last year the Socialist resolution, as the world now knows, was adopted by an overwhelming majority. This, too, when the old style trades unionists thought they had arranged matters so as Socialism would never again be successful in the Congress. The Socialist resolution is now on the agenda of the congress and it is there to stay. This result is due chiefly to the agitation carried on by the Independent Labor party among the unions."

Mr. Macdonald's opinion of the Social Democratic party of America was expressed as follows: "We, of the I. L. P., feel very kindly toward the Social Democratic party. Were I to reside here permanently, I would certainly join it in preference to any other."

Mr. Macdonald is a member of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labor Party for three years, elected yearly by the annual conference of the party.

He is also a member of the executive of the Fabian Society, the only one who holds both positions. (Contested for the seat from Southampton in the House of Commons at the last election and is now considering to contest Leicester, Woolwich, Southhampton and one of the divisions of Glasgow at the next election. Leicester is the most important town from an I. L. P. point of view. This is his second visit to the United States, being here in 1897. He will sail for England next Wednesday on the Majestic. He is a fluent conversationalist, handsome, clear-eyed and altogether of a high type of manhood, intellectually and every way. I would judge him to be possessed of good executive ability and of strong mental force.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

New York, March 1, 1899.

Brockton Branch Items.

Clark's hall was filled Sunday evening, February 26, by an enthusiastic and intelligent looking crowd. There was present about 40 of the fair sex, who braved the rain. Comrade F. G. R. Gordon was the speaker, the subject being "Transition to Social Democracy and answer to critics of Socialism." A few more meetings like that, and we will have a second Haverhill. In the hall were noticed many business and professional men.

An effort is being made to get Comrade Gordon to locate here and we are hopeful of meeting with success. If we do, well—prepare to hear something drop.

Organizer Skinner has a number of towns that he is looking after, and he is doing great work. At a recent meeting of Branch, 24 new members joined.

Comrade Skinner, organizer of Brockton Branch, addressed the Coming Nation club at Quincy, February 22. This was followed by a meeting, Sunday afternoon, Feb. 26, Wilson hall being filled with an enthusiastic crowd. Comrade F. G. R. Gordon was the speaker, and by the interest in the lecture we are convinced that it won't be long before we have a branch there. We sold 54 books, all we had. This club is composed of first-class material and the comrades propose from now on to make an active campaign in Quincy. They will try to secure Rep. James Carey or Mayor John C. Chase for their next lecture.

G. A. M.

THE HERALD

Can be obtained at the following News stands in Boston:
Brigham's Restaurant News Stand, (Sibley's), 642 Washington St.
Mahoney's Car, Harrison Ave. and Washington St.
Cohen's Columbia Book Store, 95 Washington St.
J. C. Treaner, 1065 Washington St.
E. P. Lindsey, 1357 Washington St.
W. B. Smith, 1575 Washington St.

WANTED—Copies of the Social Democrat, Vol. IV, Nos. 19, 21, 22, 23; and Vol. V, 17 and 24, to complete a file. FREDERIC HEATH, 612 Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Branch Meetings.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for the month.

Chicago Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 175 California street, corner, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Secretary, Mrs. Martin Steele, Secretary.

Branch 2 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday at the month, at St. George's Hall, 888 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 3 p. m. new Haven, Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Franklin street.

Branch 101 Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thos. Kirwin, Secretary.

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

Branch 9, (Mass.) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark's block, cor. of Main and Centre streets. Every member expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 352 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Turner Hall, Organizer, Louis Kunt, 121 High street.

Massachusetts State Committee meets the 1st Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m. at 1104 Washington street, Boston. All communications and names intended for the Massachusetts state committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Haile, Greenwood st., Roxbury.

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, 101 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Sanderson, 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 Saturday 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. Langhrib, 2110 Lynch street.

St. Louis 14th Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Concordia Turner Hall, 13th and Arsenal streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3004 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at 7th's Hall, Broadway and Keokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 324 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 450 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenenthal, 85 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 13th and Monroe streets. Organizer H. J. Stelgerwald, 112 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twentieth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 101 St. Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 850 St. Ferdinand ave.

East-side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets 1st and 4th Thursday of each month at 209 E. Broadway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Morris Forward Club Rooms, 107 Forsyth st., business meetings second and fourth Tuesdays. Discussion meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month. New York City, Secretary, Louis Palevsky, 537 East 12th st.

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

Branch 8, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 334 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 5th st., Sec.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 232 Hewes street, meets 1st and 3d Thursday's at 8 p. m. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and cooperate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. W. Scher, 232 Hewes st., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York, (28 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursday's of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary H. Hays, 28 E. 80th street.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Wilson's Hall, 123 York streets, 1st and 3d Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

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

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

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., Funk hall, 24th and Josephine sts. President W. Hays, 24 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Hays, 24 Addison st.

Branch No. 1, Wisconsin, meets Ethical Society Building every second and fourth Wednesday of the month. Everybody is welcome.

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

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

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of the month at Volkman's Hall, corner Twenty-first and Center streets at 8 p. m. Edward Koepfer, Secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Monday at 8 p. m. sharp at 1st state street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic party of America meets the 1st Sunday of the month at 8 p. m., at 618 East Water street. Eugene A. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Sheffield has made a profit out of its street railways since their nationalization in July, 1896, of \$15,000. The committee is now contemplating one cent fares.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

C W Fesenmeyer	\$ 10
Otis M. Staples	25
J. Pauker	10
M. Leibowitz	10
M. Engel	10
J. Gutenberg	10
I. Levit	10
A. Fogel	25
Kalovsky	10
B. Shambellin	10
R. Feingos	15
M. Goldin	20
H. Balbet	10
J. Rose, stretch	10
Sam Avion	10
A. Walpert	10
A. Sadows	25
N. N.	10
Racow	25
Deutsch	10
L. Morgallus	10
Sacker	10
H. Brandy	10
Bodenstein	15
Mandewich	15
H. Herman	25
M. Landy	10
H. Edelstein	15
E. Balbet	10
Keshiman	10
J. Mintz	10
Mishkind	10
S. Cohen	10
Hochberg	10
W. Leich	10
A. Keller	10
H. Conckman	10
Poplisky	15
L. Lipman	10
Welshay	10
S. Ginsberg	10
Levsky	10
A. J. Herick	50
Morris Goldstein	10
M. N. Meisel	10
J. Rosen	10
S. Bonfield	10
M. Jonson	25
Meikel	10
S. Merdel	25
Mrs. A. K.	10
Dr. Kaplan	15
M. Turiz	10
M. Winchewsky	25
Taboshnikof	25
Goldberg	10
L. Krizinsky	10
L. Altschuler	25
A. Guyer	10
Jno. A. Grady	10
Wm. Bohm	10
Martin J. Hession	10
F. W. Lamon	30
Previously reported	59 80
Total	\$88 70

A new branch has been organized in Pennsylvania of Bohemian comrades. This branch is not large in numbers, but the material is excellent.

Comrades, are you calling your friends' attention to the propaganda fund? Many of your friends would be interested in it. It is possible for a thousand members to raise a thousand dollars in thirty days for that fund. Shall it be done? Who will be the first of one thousand to raise one dollar?

Encouraged by the organization of an English speaking branch last week, German speaking comrades at Buffalo have organized. A second meeting was held last Sunday for the purpose of completing the organization. German speaking comrades desiring to join this branch should call on or communicate with Joseph Roesh, 981 Michigan st.

Massachusetts has been heard from again this week with another splendid branch at Rockland of 21 charter members. With the application was an order for a goodly amount of literature, which is an indication that these comrades will lose no time in taking up the good work and spreading the light of Socialism. The secretary is Jno. F. Nolan.

Within the past week two Socialist clubs numbering more than 100 members have joined the Social Democratic Party, in a body, in the city Chicago. Notwithstanding the fact that these two branches have been in the party, but a few days the comrades have already begun a most vigorous campaign of education and agitation that will yield gratifying results. They are thoroughly in earnest and will be heard from in the future.

Brockton, Mass., Times: "Some of the Brockton comrades of Social Democracy have been interesting themselves in the organization of a branch of the party in Taunton, and with such success that names sufficient in number to form a branch have already been secured. Considerable interest in Socialism is being awakened in that city and the new branch will probably be

organized during the present week."

A special meeting of Branch 10, 4th Assembly District of New York, was held March 1. The secretary, Comrade Nicholas Rosenauer, reports initiation fees for the membership paid. It was decided to increase the monthly dues to 25 cents and to pay 5 cents per capita to the City Central Committee. Comrades Penkin and Levin were elected delegates to that body. The free offer of the club rooms of the Voice of Labor for the branch meetings was gratefully accepted. Regular meetings of the branch will be held every second and fourth Friday of each month. The branch decided to order a small bundle of HERALD's and make a house to house canvass for subscriptions. A number of comrades volunteered for this work. All persons in sympathy with the S. D. P. residing in the 4th district are invited to join the branch. The address of Secretary Rosenauer is 331 Madison st.

Debs at Linton.

Eugene V. Debs delivered his great lecture on "Labor and Liberty" here on Feb. 28th, to a delighted audience who sat entranced during his delivery. Indeed it seemed at times as if they literally were holding their breath lest they should lose a word. On the streets and in the stores the lecture has been the sole theme of conversation. It has overshadowed all other topics.

The seed has been sown and has evidently taken hold. It will soon bear an abundant harvest. Steps have already been taken to keep up the agitation and education of the people by disseminating Socialistic literature. DAN.

Send And Get It.

Take a postal card and address it as follows: Department of Agriculture, Division of Publications, Washington, D. C. Turn it over and write this: Please send me a copy of "Extract 122," Agricultural Production and Prices, by George K. Holmes. Sign your name and address, and in return you will get a 30 page pamphlet containing much of value to a Socialist. The table showing the difference in labor time and cost of various farm crops raised by hand and by machines is something every Socialist should have in his pocket, particularly those who are running against silverbugs, the fellows haunted by "the crime of '73."

CHAS. R. MARTIN,
Tiffin, Ohio.

Neither Dead Nor Sleeping.

Perhaps the comrades from other states are laboring under the impression that the Milwaukee comrades have gone to sleep and retired from the race since Massachusetts has taken the lead. But that is not the case. We are more active than ever and making strenuous efforts to secure the lead. At the last meeting we enrolled 8 new members. Plans were discussed for the 1900 campaign. The Central committee has decided to send an organizer through the state, who will begin within a month and stay until 1901 or longer. The expenses to be defrayed by a number of members donating \$1 a month each; we have also introduced the stamp system, duplicating the European plan.

At our next propaganda meeting, which will take place Friday, March 10, Comrade R. Meister will lecture on "The Magnitude of Figures." By no means are we dead. We will make it very interesting for Massachusetts or any other state.

F. W. REHFELD,
Secretary of Branch 9, Milwaukee.

St. Louis Notes.

The 9th ward branch met Feb. 28, Putnam in the chair, and made final arrangements for a mass meeting March 5th, delivering some 2000 circulars to the precinct committees for distribution. All members were requested to collect as much as possible for the campaign. The delegates to the C. C. C. were instructed to ask that body to recommend that all branches take an active part in the commune celebration at Druid's hall, March 18th, also that the banner of the Social

Democratic party of St. Louis be loaned for the occasion. Transfers were granted to Comrades Frapp, Cholly and Knop.

The 2nd ward branch held an agitation meeting Feb. 28th, which was addressed by Comrades Steigerwald, Smith and Sanderson. Quite an interested audience was present and three-fourths of the same signed applications for membership in the party organization.

1st ward branch did not hold meeting March 1st, the members being too busy in the work of securing signatures for the certificates of nomination.

ALBERT E. SANDERSON,
Secretary City Central Committee.

Good News from Nashua.

Comrade G. H. Webster writes from Nashua, N. H., that the work is progressing very satisfactorily at that point, that the efforts put forth by the comrades during the winter will tell in the next campaign, and that a large accession to the membership of the Branch will soon be reported. For speakers Nashua has had Comrades Gordon and Chase, and to-morrow, March 12, Comrades W. P. Porter and Ridge Oriel will speak. Patriots' Hall has been engaged for the Branch meetings every Thursday evening and lively interest is manifested in the work of the party by the people of the community.

Greater New York.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York met Feb. 25th at 107 Forsyth st. in the rooms of the William Morris club. The delegates from the various branches gave encouraging reports. One branch had arranged a course of public lectures for Sunday evenings, one distributed 200 copies of THE HERALD weekly, and others reported other interesting work. Organizer Mailly submitted a financial report and an account of work done by him. He had visited several meetings of branches, had made arrangements with the William Morris club for the use of their rooms by the committee, and had organized a series of public lectures in conjunction with the Westside Branch. The organizer was instructed to visit Mr. Charles Sprague Smith and request him to invite a representative of the S. D. P. to address the People's Institute. The committee adopted by-laws, passed a vote of thanks to the Forward for a contribution of \$25, and appointed a sub-committee to arrange a commune festival.

E. H. THOMAS, Sec.

Whitman Forging Ahead.

COMRADE EDITOR:—We are still on the advance here in Whitman. Everybody seems to be talking Socialism, as we have had a number of our comrades come here and deliver addresses. Comrades Gordon, Carey and Porter have been here at different times during the winter, and last Saturday evening we were favored by a visit from no less a personage than Mayor Chase of Haverhill. He was to have delivered a lecture here on Friday evening, February 24, but owing to pressure of business, he could not come; and Comrade Porter, who appeared in his stead, was a very acceptable substitute, and made a fine impression on his audience, of whom a number of the clergy as well as the secretary of Y. M. C. A. formed a part. Rockland one of our neighboring towns has formed a Branch with the 20 odd members and bids fair to be numbered among the "top notch" in State by the time the fall campaign rolls around.

Abington, another neighbor, and part of our representative district, is about ready for our party. I merely state these facts to show to the comrades throughout the country how Socialism is taking root in old Plymouth county. Whitman, Mass. DUFF.

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

Carey Hits 'Em Hard.

A constitutional amendment came up in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Friday, March 3, to grant equal suffrage to women. After several members had spoken against it in various veins, (the last being a Boston representative, a republican, who aroused the House to scornful laughter against woman suffrage), Comrade Carey spoke. He said:

"I regret, Mr. Speaker, my inability to hear all that the gentleman from Boston has said upon this question, but his opposition to political equality of women with men was presented in such a manner that the laughter of the members drowned his voice and I, because of the intervening space, could hear only part of his remarks. But from such as I did hear and from the laughter of this House, I am compelled to rise and in the name of reason to protest against degrading this subject into one only worthy of arousing the merriment of representatives of this commonwealth. Sir, from what I did hear, he but played with coarse fingers upon the coarsest fibers of the sex who constitute this body, and it is well for him and well for you, gentlemen, that no woman is here with the right to rise in defense of her sex. But in their absence I and my colleague, in the name of the Social Democratic movement of the world, pledged to the support of absolute equality of women with men, both economic and political, meet your ridicule, your scorn with logic, with reason and defy you."

Here he presented an argument upon the historic enslavement of woman by men; her gradual emancipation, and the members became silent as he talked. He concluded by saying: "You say 'the place for women is at home,' then why do you not keep them there? Why do you by maintaining capitalism, force them into the factories, the mills, the shops, and then deny them that power by which and by which only their emancipation is possible? Why do you compel them to become the victims of an economic system that imprisons them in slavery and refuse them the key that will unlock the door of their prison—the ballot? I still see women tied with the cords of capitalism to the machines of the shoe factories whence I came. I ask, nay I demand in their name, the power, the political power to meet and conquer the forces that enslave them."

When he concluded he was greeted with applause from the galleries and even some of the members, while opposed, joined in the tribute.

The "Boston Journal" the leading republican daily paper, said "Mr. Carey of Haverhill made an impressive speech."

Broming at Milwaukee.

Hanna is not the only girl in this world, neither is the White House the only pebble on the beach.

Our Chicago friends call Milwaukee the "saloon up the lake."

Beer is not the only good thing in our Cream City, we have some things better; but the best and the latest is the monopolization of all south side forces by the S. D. Party.

You can readily see that we are up to date and just in style.

Watch us boom!
ALBERT S. FORMAN,
Organizer Branch No. 9.

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA.

Would you like to correspond with a British comrade, of the same trade, profession, pursuit or study, or with a view to a knowledge of the Social Democratic and labor methods and progress in Great Britain? Send us your name and address trade, etc., and we will introduce you to a desirable correspondent. To cover cost of exchange etc. send International money order for 50 cents payable to H. M. Reade, 95 Charlotte St. Hightown, Manchester, England.

The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry.—Worcester's Dictionary.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

NAME AND LOCATION.

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

MEMBERSHIP.

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

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

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

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

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

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

DUES AND FEES.

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

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

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

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

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

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

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

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

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

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

JURISDICTION.

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

ELECTIONS.

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

BY-LAWS.

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

TRIALS.

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

APPEALS.

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

AMENDMENTS.

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

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

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

Can You Help?

PORT ANGELES, WASH., DEC. 7, 1898. At a meeting held by the Socialists of this city, one of the sisters offered the following:

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

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

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

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

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

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

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

AUSTRIA.

1895	90,000
1897	750,000

BELGIUM.

1894	334,500
1898	584,324

DENMARK.

1872	315
1884	6,805
1887	8,408
1890	17,232
1892	20,098
1895	25,019

FRANCE.

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

GERMANY.

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

GREAT BRITAIN.

1895	55,000
------	--------

ITALY.

1893	26,000
1895	76,400
1897	134,496

SERBIA.

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

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

LABOR

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY
BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.
(MISSOURI ORGAN.)

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:—One year, \$1.00; six months, 50c; three months 25c; single copies 5c. Address

ALBERT E. SANDERSON,
MANAGER,
Room 7, International Bank Building,
Fourth and Chestnut Sts.,
St. Louis, Mo.

Academy of Architecture and Building Art, Industrial and Commercial School.

1742 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Instructions given in all branches of Architecture, Art, Engineering, Industry and Commerce. Complete course for Architectural and Mechanical Draftsmen; Diplomas given. The complete Business Course: Book-keeping and English branches thoroughly taught. Languages taught: German, French, Spanish. Preparing for College and for obtaining Steam Engineers' License. Ladies admitted and trained for office positions.

NIGHT AND DAY CLASSES.
Students may enter at any time and select such studies as they desire.

Instructions by Mail
For those prevented from attending in person. Send 15 cents in stamps for a useful book of interest in self-instruction. Mention S. D. HERALD when writing.

For information, circulars, etc., call at the school or address the Principal:

HY. MAACK, ARCHITECT.
PLANS for public and private buildings prepared at moderate charges.

ARBEITER - ZEITUNG
AND VOLKS-ANWALT.

Published by the

Co-operative Commonwealth ASSOCIATION,

No. 7, International Bank Building, ST. LOUIS, MO.

A German Advocate of the Social Democratic Party, Edited by G. A. Hoehn.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, \$1.50.

DR. L. H. DAVIS,
Specialist for the

DISEASES OF WOMEN.
1025 Park Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone, Sidney 362.

Office Hours: 11 to 1, 4 to 8 and also all night.

Witt Brothers,
Undertakers and Embalmers.

809 and 811 Hickory Street,
St. Louis, Mo.

Wm. Gerhardt & Son,
Saloon and Lunch Room.

UNION BEER.

The Finest Merchant's Lunch and Union Goods Only.

S. E. corner 7th & St. Charles Street, St. Louis, Mo.

Where Trades Unionists will find the S. D. P.

The trades 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 both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

—Social Democratic Party Platform

Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898.

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

Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

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

HOW ORGANIZED.

Section 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2d. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.

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

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

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

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

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

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

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

OFFICIAL PAPER.

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

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

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

REFERENDUM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Section 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, within fifteen days from the selection of said officers, and each member

shall have a vote thereon to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close 20 days after the date calling for the referendum.

Section 21. The National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive Board, but if the said national officers shall be so removed or discharged, they may appeal the case to the members of the organization by stating the grounds of protest, serving a copy on the chairman and secretary of the National Council and the Executive Board, the same not to occupy more than two columns of the official paper, an equal space to be given the Council or Executive to state their side of the controversy; the votes shall be mailed to any member of the Council or Executive Board the petitioner may designate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close 20 days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

Section 22. The question shall be: "Shall the action of the Executive Board (or the National Council as the case may be) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the action, the petitioner shall then be reinstated.

Section 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it), the National Secretary-Treasurer, or the Editor may be removed by the members of the organization in the following manner: A petition endorsed by five per cent. of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within 10 days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

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

HOW ORGANIZED.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REVENUES.

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

THE STATE UNION.

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

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

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

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

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY.

Karl Marx, Capital, Cloth.....	\$2.00
F. W. Sprague, Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation, Cloth.....	1.00
Gronlund, The Co-operative Commonwealth, Paper.....	.25
August Babel, Woman: Past, Present and Future.....	.25
Blatchford, Merrie England.....	.10
Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward.....	.50
Edward Bellamy, Equality, Cloth.....	1.25
Lissagary, History of the Commune of 1871.....	1.00
Charles Vail, Modern Socialism.....	.25
Ashplant, Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits.....	.15
Herbert Casson, The Red Light.....	.25
Henry D. Lloyd, Wealth Against Commonwealth.....	1.00
Volney, The Ruins of Empires.....	.55
Thomas Paine, The Rights of Man.....	.20
The Socialism of John Stuart Mill, Edited by Bliss.....	.25
Henry George, Social Problems.....	.25
Osborne Ward, The Ancient Lowly.....	1.50
Adams, President John Smith.....	.25
Richard T. Ely, Socialism and Social Reform.....	1.50
Buchner, Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	1.00

PAMPHLETS.

F. G. R. Gordon, Hard Times: Cause and Cure.....	.05
Karl Marx, Analysis of Money.....	.05
Watkins, Evolution of Industry.....	.05
Leonard D. Abbott, The Society of the Future.....	.05
F. Lasalle, What is Capital.....	.05
H. M. Hyndman, Socialism and Slavery.....	.05
F. Lasalle, The Workingman's Programme.....	.10

THE HERALD LEAFLETS.

No. 1 Contains "A WORD WITH YOU, JOHN!" being an admirably prepared paper by "Wayfarer," based on a chapter in "Merrie England."	
"THE REAL MASTERS"—pertinent questions addressed to workmen.	
The "DECLARATION AND POLITICAL DEMANDS" of the Social Democratic Party of America.	
1000 copies.....	\$2.00
500 copies.....	1.00
250 copies.....	.60
100 copies.....	.25

Theodore Debs, Sec.-Treas.,

126 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

Smoke only Union Cigars!

BE SURE THAT EVERY BOX BEARS THIS



(BLUE) UNION LABEL.

The blue Label is issued by:

Cigarmakers' International Union of America.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP. The Appeal just issued a municipal ownership edition, which is jammed full of facts and figures on this phase of the movement. The price is 40 cents per hundred, \$4.00 per thousand. It is propaganda matter for the branches. The Appeal offers 500 quarterly subscriptions to any S. D. branch sending in 100 yearly subscriptions at 50 cents each. The Appeal costs 15 cents for 3 months or 50 cents a year. Address
APPEAL TO REASON, Girard Kans.

DEBS ON "LIBERTY."

The great speech of Eugene V. Debs on "Liberation Day," delivered at Battery D, Chicago, on the occasion of his release from Woodstock jail has just been printed in pamphlet form. The speech has become a classic in labor literature; every friend of liberty should have it.

Single copies.....	5 cents.
Ten copies.....	25 cents.
One hundred copies.....	\$1.50

Address,

E. V. DEBS & CO.,

TERRE HAUTE, IND

"Progressive Thought"
A RADICAL MONTHLY.
Send for Sample Copy.
50c PER YEAR; 25c FOR 6 MOS.

WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

Arbeiter Zeitung, the organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, in speaking of the Hazleton, Pa., massacre and the killing of a number of Austrian workmen by Sheriff Martin and his deputies, says: "The Austrian government was defeated in its attempt to secure damage from the Washington government for the families of the Hazleton massacre victims. The semi-official papers of our government may talk about the 'arrogance of the Americans.' While this 'arrogance' may exist, it does not exonerate Count Goluchowski and his government. From the first moment on he showed very little interest in securing justice for the families of the Hazleton victims. We call ourselves one of the powers of the world and here we see how the government is silently looking on when poor Austrian workmen are shot down like dogs in foreign countries. The ruling classes of all countries agree whenever the question of fighting the claims of the proletariat comes up. Our government in Vienna, like the government in Washington, silently indorses the murderous work of Sheriff Martin and his gang in Hazleton. Poor striking workmen are treated as rebels, who, according to the capitalist class, in monarchy and republic alike, are to be cured by lead and powder. The sympathy of our Austrian government is not with the poor families whose fathers and brothers were murdered in Hazleton; no, their sympathy is with the capitalist class of America that sanctioned the massacre under the pretext of upholding so-called 'law and order.'"

LONDON, ENGLAND.

London Justice has the following to say about "our war" in the Philippine Islands: "The policy now being pursued by America in the Philippines is nothing short of infamous. Having stirred up and assisted the Filipinos in their revolt against Spain, the Yankees are now engaged in slaughtering them in order to make them submit to the yoke of American capitalism. If the infamy now being perpetrated in the Philippines by the forces of Christian, capitalist America were being enacted anywhere by the 'unspeakable Turk,' the whole press of this country would be denouncing it as a monstrous and infernal business which called for the armed intervention of the Powers. But America is not a barbarous Asiatic power; she is, on the contrary, a civilized Christian state, and, therefore, is free, like Russia, to commit such crimes against humanity as that now being perpetrated in the Philippines with impunity." This is strong language, but it contains several grains of truth!

WEST HAM, ENGLAND.

Comrade H. M. Hyndman of the Social Democratic Federation publishes an article in Socialist papers on "The Tyranny of the Trust" in which he says: "The growth of trusts in the United States is the most remarkable economic phenomenon of the century. Socialists have, of course, from Fourier onward, predicted, for the past seventy or eighty years, that capitalist monopoly would be the inevitable result of capitalist competition. But, until within the past decade, the movement in that direction has been comparatively slow, or, at any rate, comparatively unobserved. Now every great industry in the United States is monopolized and controlled by a few very rich men and their hangers-on. There is practically no free market in anything, except, perhaps, in bread and meat. The middle class of America is being completely crushed out as an independent class. Distributors and shopkeepers, wholesale and retail, are nothing more than the commission agents of the trusts."

DRESDEN, GERMANY.

A number of Socialist workmen have been arrested in this city, be-

cause they insisted on collecting money for the poor families of their comrades who were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for taking part in the Loebtau strike riot. It seems that the government is determined to wage a "war of extermination" against the Socialists, but the latter are equally determined to accept the challenge and fight to the finish.

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

Comrade Alex Pfeiffer, a Social Democratic agitator, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for inciting "class hatred" in a mass meeting of working men.

PRAGUE, AUSTRIA.

Over 3,000 men, women and children are on strike in the Iser Mountain district. The suffering among these poor people is indescribable.

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

It is reported that over 70,000 miners threaten to go on strike March 15, if their demand for an increase of wages is not granted.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

The general trades union congress of Germany will be held May 8th in Frankfurt on the Maine.

NATIONAL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The American Federation of Labor decided to send an organizer into the South during the coming year for the purpose of organizing colored men. There was a fierce discussion on the subject, says a Kansas City correspondent, the most ardent supporters of the proposition being southern men. It was pointed out that because of cheap wages which the colored men had always received the wages of white men were being kept down, and the argument was advanced that the reason colored men came north, entered the mines at ruinous wages and assisted in breaking up labor organizations and defeating their members was that even at half the wages the white men of the north received the colored man was vastly better off. Several delegates said they had colored men in their organizations, and they had always found them to be loyal.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Reports from Arkansas and Indian Territory are to the effect that a general miners' strike is imminent in that district that may involve over 10,000.

GENERAL NOTES.

Vorwarts, of Berlin, has a subscription list of 52,000 and paid a profit during the past twelve months of 53,000 marks into the treasury of the Social Democratic party. In all the party publishes 68 papers in Germany.

A boy of 13 was killed while crossing a railway at Lunville, France, and his parents were awarded \$5,000. An American judge in Pennsylvania recently fixed the value of a child's life at \$2.

Tobacco workers at Bedford, Va., it is said, have not received any money in five years. They get something to eat at the pluck me stores and do not know that they are slaves.

During the war the United States attorney general suspended the 8 hour law in government establishments, and now it is practically a dead letter.

During the year 1897, in New York city, the bodies of nearly 2,000 dead babies were found in ash barrels, area ways and vaults.

The announcement is made that the New York Central railroad is about to establish a large printing office to do its own work.

H. M. Hyndman presided at the great international peace meeting in London last Wednesday night.

The average monthly wage of male teachers in 1898 was \$60.87, and of female teachers, \$51.84.

The Independent Labor party of England has started to raise a propaganda fund of \$5000.

There is a report that a Socialist daily paper will be started in London.

New England woolen mills are enforcing a ten per cent reduction.

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

THE ROSTRUM.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE ONE.]

Gas plants would naturally come first. Another thing which needed correction was the insurance system and the establishment of a municipal system in connection with the fire department which is virtually but a protection to the insurance company and its interests. With these changes Brockton would derive an income of \$200,000 a year as a result, which could be applied in various ways for the benefit of the people. The city laborers might be given an eight-hour day and union wages; carpenters and masons might be employed with the money to build homes, which could be rented to the industrial worker by the city at the cost of maintenance, \$4 or \$5 a month, a municipal boarding house might be established, a public laundry where for a few cents an hour the housewife could have the advantage of every known convenience for washing. Then a municipal farm might be established, with modern machinery upon it and with skillful foremen; the crops to be taken to the municipal warehouse for sale at a slight advance over the cost of production. These were not new things but were in successful operation in European cities. Glasgow had its public laundries, where for four cents an hour the housewife had the use of every advantage known in laundry work. Paris had a large municipal farm where thousands of workmen found employment and of all the thousands employed there was only one who had ever been expelled because too lazy to work.

Berlin, Germany, Mr. Gordon said, had expended \$6,000,000 to purchase 20,000 acres of land which was used as a municipal farm by the city. The sewerage of the city had been conducted to it through miles of tunnels; and here thousands of workmen were employed at double the wages received from the private farmers of Germany, yet the city last year made a profit of \$845,000 off this farm. With the coming of national ownership of railways, telegraphs, telephones, canals and shipping, together with state and municipal ownership of public utilities, he predicted that manufactories not socialized would be compelled to raise the wages of employees and thus early the effect would be felt.

Quoting from the census reports regarding Brockton for 1890 he gave interesting deductions. The census for that year showed a population for the city of 21,012, and a total of wealth produced amounting to \$21,160,161. This would average a production on the part of every man, woman and child, of \$1002. It was also given that the family average that year was \$3, or a total of \$5,761 in wealth, which every family produced. He ventured that this amount was not received by every family that year. He found further that many of the population mentioned included children at school and others too aged to work, or that only about 11,000 people produced this wealth, of which many were not wealth producers, such as clerks in stores and bookkeepers. There were but \$120 shoemakers against a product of \$17,000,000 in wealth in the shoe industry, which, reckoned at the retail price, demonstrated that a shoemaker received \$1 for producing \$6.48 in value, or at manufacturers' cost, \$4.66, and taking out of the raw material, a little over \$5.

MERRIE ENGLAND.

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

A PLAIN EXPOSITION OF SOCIALISM. POSTAGE PAID 10c.

100 COPIES, \$4.00

850,000 COPIES SOLD IN ENGLAND. Revised from Latest London Edition.

SEND ORDERS TO

Debs in the Lecture Field.

New York, N. Y. March 21
Aberdeen, S. D. June 28
Madison, " , 30

WHAT THE READERS SAY



"We like it better than any Socialist paper in America."
"It is dignified, able and constructive."
"THE HERALD is all right; last number was excellent."
"It has improved from beginning—is admirable."
"Its tone, its logic and comradeship, make it the best."

Social Democratic Herald

Official Paper of the Social Democratic Party of America.

ESTABLISHED, JULY 9, 1898.

IT CIRCULATES AROUND THE WORLD.

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES BY ABLE WRITERS ON SOCIALISM IN EVERY NUMBER.

IT ADVOCATES THE COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

Is in Touch with the International Socialist Movement and Prints the News.

Invites the Co-operation of Socialists to Extend its Influence.

Query No. 2: Does Your Barber Read It?

Published Weekly : 50 Cents a year.

EIGHT PAGES. FORTY COLUMNS.

SEND CORRESPONDENCE AND REMITTANCES TO THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Buy Only With this  Union Bread Union Label.

UNION BAKERIES IN ST. LOUIS.

R. Wohlfrom, 3765 South Broadway.

Wm. Voegel, 115 So. 2nd St.

S. Wibracht, 5251 No. Broadway.

Charles Schmitz, 22nd and Howard Sts.

Musicians' Mutual Benefit Ass'n.

AFFILIATED WITH THE

American Federation of Labor.

The only musician union that is recognized by Organized Labor.

B. F. SELLERS, Secretary.

OWEN MILLER, President.

Headquarters: 604 Market Street, St. Louis, Mo.

Send Five Cents to Comrade Anna F. Smith, 7 International Bank Building, St. Louis, Mo., for one of the Buttons designed by St. Louis Comrades.

THE MOST IMPORTANT BOOK OF THE DAY

BETWEEN CESAR AND JESUS.

By Professor GEORGE D. HERRON

OF IOWA COLLEGE

This book contains eight lectures delivered by Professor Herron last fall in Chicago under the auspices of the National Christian Citizenship League. The interest aroused was so intense that he is now repeating the course to immense audiences in one of the largest halls of Chicago. Professor Herron is the prophet of a better time and this is his greatest book.

No one should be without this book. It touches every present day question by revealing the foundation upon which the settlement of all these questions must rest. It contains the message which pre-eminently needs to be heard just now. It is of special value to all preachers, teachers, reformers and professional men and women.

Comments on Prof. Herron's Writings
"The burden of the Lord is upon his soul. No modern writer has stirred us more deeply than this author."—MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

"Dr. Herron thinks and speaks as one under the compulsion of heavenly visions and voices."—REV. CHAS. A. BEERY, D. D., ENGLAND.

"Above all those I have ever known, he seems to me to come near to a vision of God that he is—does not argue; he appeals to one's moral nature; he pleads, he commands."—THE NEW YORK CRITIC.

"Here speaks a man with the profound conviction and intense earnestness of one of the old Hebrew prophets."—JOSIAH STORRE, D. D.

Send for "BETWEEN CESAR AND JESUS," 276 pages, 10mo, in cloth, gilt top. Should sell for \$1.00, but will be sent postpaid for only 75 CENTS.

Wanted:—Live Agents Everywhere

ADDRESS

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO, ILL.

Die Wahrheit

(THE TRUTH.)

Victor L. Berger, Redakteur.

"Die Wahrheit" vertritt die Prinzipien der Sozialdemokratischen Partei von Amerika in klarer, ungetrübter und schneidiger Weise.

"Die Wahrheit" bekämpft jede Art Kompromisserei ebenso, wie alle Art hohler Phrasen, mag dieselbe auch noch so 'revolutionär' klingen.

"Die Wahrheit" erscheint allwöchentlich achteilig in Groß-Format. Preis zwei Dollars pro Jahr.

Probe-Subskription auf drei Monate für 25 Cents. (Man gebrauche Briefmarken.)

"Die Wahrheit" macht sehr liberale Bedingungen für Agenten. Organisatoren, Sekretäre und Agitatoren der Sozialdemokratischen Partei finden einen guten Nebenverdienst, indem sie 'Die Wahrheit' kolportieren.

Alle Zuschriften sind zu richten an VICTOR L. BERGER, 614 State St., MILWAUKEE, WIS.