SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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Whole No. 89.

FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Preliminary Work Accomplished for the Logical and Irresistible Union of the Socialist Forces at Indianapolis

BELEGATES FROM SEVENTEEN STATES PRESENT

Four Days' Session Marked by Great Enthusiasm-An Earnest Body of Class-Conscious International Socialists-Reports of National Officers Given Deafening Applause.

SECRETARY DEBS' REPORT & SURPRISE

Organized in Thirty-Two States in Twenty Months_Reception of Representatives of the Socialist Labor Party-Revised Platform Adopted.

FULL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

The first national convention of the Social Democratic Party of America was called to order promptly at 10 o'clock Tuesday morning, March 6, 1900, by Chairman Jesse Cox, at Reichwein's hall, Indianapolis, Ind. Comrade Caddon of Indianapolis

made an appropriate and cordial address of welcome to the delegates and said the convention would mark a new era in the

Socialist movement in this country. William Mailly of Haverhill, Mass., was unanimously chosen as temporary chairman, and Frederick G. Strickland of Chicago temporary secretary. On motion the following committees

were appointed by the chair: Rules and Regulations—Mahoney, Tennessee; Jones, Ohio; Forman, Wis-consin; Poague, North Dakota; Phil-lips, New York.

Credentials-Theodore Debs, Illinois; Martin, Ohio; Robinson, Kentucky, Haile, Massachusetts; Fechyew, Colorado.

Communications were read from A. Allen Noe of Ohio and the comrades in Oregon.

In response to call, F. G. Strickland and A. S. Edwards led the convention in singing "Hark! the Battle Cry Is Ringing" and the "Marseillaise." The credentials committee submitted

a partial report, showing the following egates present :

Colorado-W. H. Fechyew. Connecticut-W. Lonergan. Indiana-E. V. Debs. Ozanias, Grenling, J. Oneal, Evinger, H. Miller, J. W. Kelly, W. Blenko, Judson Oneal, M. Hallenberg, J. R. Backus. Illinois-Edwards, Strickland, R. H.

Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Corrine Brown, E. D. Wheelock, Jesse Cox, Stedman. Kentucky-F.C. Stumpf, J.H. Arnold,

seeking to better them by any methods deemed it unwise to associate themselves in a deemed it univise to associate themselves in a political movement, with any persons, how-ever honest and well-disposed, who did not understand, and could not subscribe to the fundamental principles of international Social-ism as stated and embodied in the platform adopted for the party; it is, therefore, made a condition of membership in the party, that the members subscribe to these fundamental the members subscribe to these fundamental principles.

The American people have been slow to The American people have been slow to recognize the now obvious fact, that the exist-ing economic capitalist system has, by con-centrating the capital of the country in the hands of a few, divided American society into two classes, whose interests are necessarily an-tagonistic and irreconcilable. Our people dis-lined are heritated to baliane that society had liked and hesitated to believe that society had become so divided into classes having clashing interests; but this truth has now been forced

become so divided into classes having classing interests; but this truth has now been forced upon their minds by the development of in-dustrial conditions, and it is being recognized and acted upon by the disinherited majority. It is upon this antagonism of class interests that the Socialist movement has been founded; not so much by the propaganda of agitation, as by the logic of events. The necessary re-sult of this class struggle is the organization of political parties in the interest of these res-pective classes, and the conflict between the classes, which has heretofore taken the form of an economic struggle, must necessarily in the near future develop into a political strug-gle between opposing political parties. Regrettable as this consequence may seem to many, it is nevertheless inevitable; and the sooner this fact is recognized by the people, the sooner the questions at issue between these antagonistic classes will be settled, and the causes of the conflict removed.

It is the mission of the Social Democratic party to remove these causes of conflict; to organize in a fraternal and indissoluble politiorganize in a fraternal and indissoluble point-cal union the men and women whose only possession is their labor power, and who by their brains and hands produce the wealth of the country, to the end that they may obtain the political power; and to establish a co-operative commonwealth, in which there will be no conflicting classes based upon economic no conflicting classes based upon economic inequalities.

inequalities. It is evident that blind denunciation of indi-viduals who uphold or profit by the present system of industry is less convincing to the masses than is the peaceful, but clear and forcible, explanation of the causes of existing evils, thus arousing the people to unite in removing them by political action. It has, therefore, been the policy of the So-cial Democratic party, by patient but powerful agitation and propaganda, to convince and organize the masses, avoiding so far as possi-ble all merely personal controversies both with enemies and misguided friends. To carry out this policy of propaganda and organizawith enemies and misguided friends. To carry out this policy of propaganda and organiza-tion, it becomes necessary, at the beginning of the movement, that the party should be provided with a newspaper, which should be the national organ of the party. Being with-out organizers in the field. it became necessary that a weekly messenger in the shape of such a newsparer should visit the homes of our comrades, for the purpose of keeping them in-formed of the progress of the movement, and formed of the progress of the movement, and to maintain their interest in it. Voluntary contributions of money from friends of the cause, and a timely loan from a comrade, enabled your committee to comfriends of the cause, and a timely loan from a comrade, enabled your committee to com-mence and maintain the publication of the So-cial Democratic Herald, until the organization became self-supporting. Comrade A. S. Ed-wards was chosen editor of the Herald; and we cannot too highly commend his unflagging industry, ability and self-sacrifice in the con-duct of the paper. But his efforts have been and still are greatly biampered by want of suf-ficient pecuniary means to properly conduct the paper. The circulation of the Herald has grown from 3,000 to 8,000, and is still rapidly increasing. It is sent gratuitously to every member of the party in good standing. The Social Democratic party, recognizing that the regularly organized trades unions rep-resent the economic phase of the class strug-gle, and that their members will ultimately become enlisted in this political phase, has at all times maintained a friendly attitude to-wards these unions, and rendered them such assistance as was within its power. Some of bistend to our speakers; and it is hoped and expected that the doors of the unions will be more and more opened to our agitation. The hope for large accessions to our party from the trade unionists in the near future. The dighteen months of its existence, our mary has elected to public office more than tweaty of its members.

rades nominate candidates for office in every political election wherever the opportunity shall exist. This course is highly important for agitational purposes, and to give oppor-tunity for the expression of Socialist sentiment.

ment. Our membership has grown with increasing rapidity. We now have about four thousand five hundred dues-paying members. One thousand new members have been added since

thousand new memoers have been added since January 1, 1900. The growth of the Socialist sentiment, and of the Socialist press in the United States, is highly satisfactory. There are now about twenty-five newspapers supporting the Social Democratic party. One of these, the "Appeal to Reason," has a weekly circulation of over one hundred thousand.

one hundred thousand. Your committee has sent greetings to the convention of the Socialist Labor party re-cently held at Rochester, 'N. Y.; and the So-cial Democratic party has also been repre-sented by Comrade Eugene Dietzgen at the International Socialist conference in Brussels, held last veer. The policy of our party during held last year. The policy of our party during the last eighteen months, in its attitude to-wards the trades union movement, in avoiding all personal controversies, and in endeavoring all personal controversies, and in endeavoring to maintain a dignified but earnest propa-ganda, has, we believe, commended itself to Socialists, as well as to reformers generally, and this policy has attracted the support of the independent Socialist press. The good reputation of the party thus gained is inseparably associated with the name "Social Democratic party"; and by this name the party has become known and respected throughout the country.

the party has become known and respected throughout the country. The hearty thanks of all comrades are due to our national secretary-treasurer Comrade Theodore Debs, for his tireless and unceasing efforts in behalf of the party. We doubt if another in all our ranks could be found more highly competent and devoted. Mrs. Theodore Debs and Mrs. A. S. Ed-wards have earned our gratitude by their un-selfish services to the national organization. In an address of this character it is cus-tomary to close with a series of recommenda-tions which are supposed to indicate the legis-lation that is required in the interest of the lation that is required in the interest of the party. Believing as I do that the representa-tives themselves are fully qualified to meet all the requirements of the party, I refer to their experience and fidelify, and have full faith in their ability to meet all the responsibilities of

Frederic Heath, National Executive Board, S. D. P.

Afternoon Session, March 6

Called to order by Chairman Mailly. On motion William Mailly was elected chairman for the day and F. G. Strick-land permanent secretary, with R. H. Johnson and E. V. Putnam assistant secretaries; sergeant-at-arms, H. Greuling. Report of the executive board was accepted and referred to committee.

The following committees were elected :

elected: Auditing — Butscher, Jones (Mass.), Miller, Lonergan, Strobel. Constitution — Cox, Jones (Ohio), Heath, Goebel, Haile, Robinson, Zorn. Declaration and Platform—Berger, Debs, London, Wheelock, Carey, Sted-man, Mahoney, Poague, Brown, Gor-don, Wenzel. Becolutions, Crumlay, Chase, Phil-

Resolutions-Crumley, Chase, Phillips, Farmer, Butscher.

Officers' Reports—Arnold (Wis.), Ar-nold (Ky.), Nagel, Oneal, Martin. Press and Publishing—Edwards, Gor-don, Farmer, Mailly, Hoehn. Manifesto—Debs (E. V.), MacCart-ney Chese Haile Carey

ney, Chase, Haile, Carey. Organized Labor-Miller (Ind.), Carey, Hoehn, Zorn, Debs.

Committee on credentials reported sixty-two delegates present, representing 1,815 votes. (These figures were increased by supplementary reports.)

EUGENE DEBS AND JOB HARRIMAN THE IDEAL STANDARD BEARERS

Their Nomination Arouses the Greatest Enthusiasm and Marks the Beginning of a Real Socialistic **Working Class Movement**

A NEW AND MUCH BRIGHTER ERA BEFORE US



Nominating Speech by F. O. MacCartney-G. B. Benham, of the S. L. P., Seconds Debs' Nomination-Declination and Suspense-The Call of Duty is Heard

THE MAN OF THE TIME TO THE FRONT

With a Fit Running Mate the Beginning of the End of Capitalist Industry will be Proclaimed under the Banner of the Social Democratic Party

GREETINGS FROM ORGANIZED LABOR WELCOMED

respond to the calendar year in order that it might harmonize with the four fiscal quarters of the year in which, under the constitution, the dues of members become payable and are collected, and which quarters also begin and end with the fiscal year.

Inception of Party

Inception of Party Comrades who were present at the memora-ble midnight meeting at the Revere house in Chicago in June, 1808, when the present party evolved from the Social Democracy, will re-member under what trying circumstances the new party began its career. Not only was the party without resources, but many of its mem-bers had lost confidence owing to the split in the Social Democracy and the fierce dissen-sions incident thereto. It was therefore a dif-ficult task from the very beginning to estab-lish the party, but undertaken by the dauntless few who stood sponsor for it with a full knowl-edge of the obstacles that were to be over-come, they went to work with a will born of faith in their undertaking and fror that day to this have battled untiringly for the succeeded will appear in part in the report of the finances and membership. Though seriously handicapped for the want of financial resources it will be gratifying to the comrades to know that the party has been able to meet every financial obligation and to maintain its credit unimpaired. The volume of business transacted during the brief existence of the party shows the

The volume of business transacted during the brief existence of the party shows the activity with which the work of organization and agitation have been carried forward.

In the following report is stated in detail the financial transactions of my office during the period of my incumbency. The official rec-ords and account books which accompany the report contain complete record and account of all receipts and disbursements and all other financial transactions in detail, and I respect fully request that the convention authorize the proper committee to audit and inspect my official accounts and report the result of the The receipts and disbursements appear in the subjoined tables:

Branches and Members

The number of branches in active operation at this time is 226, with a dues-paying mem-bership of 4,536. This number does not, of course, represent the full membership of the party, since there are thousands who support the party at the polls and and who support the party at the polls and act with it in all things who are not connected with it in the capacity of dues-paying members. As ter of fact the latter consist of but a small per-centage of the actual supporters of the party, the total number of whom can be known only when the votes are counted and the election returns are made.

be harmonious in its councils, loyal in its ob-ligations and wise in its deliberations, I have ligations and wise in its definition of the honor to subscribe myself, Yours fraternally, Theodore Debs.

[The tables of receipts and expenditures accompanying the report went astray and are believed to be in the hands of the auditing committee. An effort will be made to secure them for publication next week .- Ed.]

Adjourned to meet 9 o'clock Wednesday.

Morning Session, March 7

Called to order by Chairman Mailly. Seymour Stedman elected chairman of the day.

Communications read. One from Los Angeles referred to incoming executive board.

The auditing committee submitted the following report:

We, the auditing committee ap-pointed to examine the accounts and vouchers of the secretary-treasurer from June 15, 1898, to March 1, 1900, have examined them at length and find them correct in every particular. It would be difficult to improve upon the method of bookkeeping in use, and we highly commend the methodical accuracy employed. Every cent of receipts and expenditures was rigidly accounted for.

Samuel M. Jones, W. P. Lonergan, G. H. Strobell, William Butscher, H. Greuling, Committee.

The secretary was instructed to send the following in response to greetings from the Socialist workmen of New York:

"Chairman of Mass-Meeting, Cooper Union Institute, New York City: The Social Democratic Party of the United States, in national convention at Indianapolis assembled, extends its cordial sympathy with the cause of the proletariat of Porto Rico. Three cheers for the international Socialist movement!' Committee on officers' reports commended all reports and recommended their acceptance and adoption. Adjourned.



Adjournment taken to 2:30 p. m.

Massachusetts—Haile, Chase, Mac-Cartney, Jones, Mailly, Carey, Putney. Missouri—Putnam, Caldwell, Hoehn. New Hampshire—Gordon. New York-Butscher, Phillips, Lon-

don, Thomas. North Dakota—Poague. New Jersey—Strobell, Goebel. Ohio—Zorn, Taylor, Nagel, Crumley, Jones, Dillon, Arnold, Matz, Martin. Pennsylvania-Gillis. Texas—Farmer, Hampton. Tennessee—Mahoney. Wisconsin—Berger, Forman, Heath,

Arnold.

On motion a committee of five was appointed on organized labor.

Jesse Cox, chairman, read the report of the national executive board, as follows:

Report of Executive Board

Indianapolis, Ind., March 6, 1900. Comrades of the Convention: Your National Executive committee con-matulates you, and all the comrades of the locial Democratic party, upon the highly sat-factory growth and condition of the party, and of the Socialist movement in the United intes.

It has been deemed proper that at the open-ing of this convention a concise statement bould be made showing the origin and de-velopment of the party, its policy and present tame, and the prospect of its growth in the mmediate future.

The original organisers of our party, profit-ing by prior experience, believed that it is mential to the success of any Socialist politi-al party that its members abould be in accord at each other as to the main principles of the party, and the policy to be pursued. Therefore, the founders of this movement, this endeavoring to maintain a friendly atti-tion towards all those who are dissatisfied present conditions, and who are honestly

The following resolution was then adopted :

Whereas, a committee of nine, representing the Socialist Labor party, has been delegated to visit this convention to present certain mat-

ters of importance to this body; Therefore, be it Resolved, That a commit-tee of three members be appointed by the chair to meet said representatives of the Socialist Labor party and extend to them a welcome to this convention.

The chair appointed as such committee E. V. Debs, V. L. Berger and J. F. Carey.

Secretary Stedman of the national executive board then read his report, the same being a review of the work of the board, with which the membership is already familiar.

National Secretary-Treasurer Theodore Debs then presented his report, which is given below:

Secretary Debs' Report

Office of the National Secretary-Treasurer of the Social Democratic Party.

To the S. D. P. in National Convention As-sembled at Indianapolis, Ind., beginning Comrades:

Comrades:

I have the honor to submit the following, I have the honor to submit the following, my official reports as national secretary-treas-urer for the period beginning with my election by the executive board, June 16, 1898, and ending February 28, 1900, covering one year eight months and fifteen days. For convenience I have subdivided the re-port into three periods, as follows: First, from June 16, 1898, the day of my election, to and including December 31, 1898, the close of the calendar year. Second, from January 1, 1898, to December 31, 1899, inclusive.

31, 1800, inclusive. Third, from January 1, 1900, to February 28, 1900, inclusive. It will thus be observed that in the absence of any provision in the constitution I have made the fiscal year of the national party cor-

Rapid Growth

While the progress of the party has been eminently satisfactory from the beginning, I feel justified in inviting your attention to the extraordinary growth which has taken place in the two months immediately preceding the in the two months immediately preceding the convention. During the months of January and February of this year fifty-three new branches were instituted and 985 new duespaying members enrolled. This gratifying in-crease is going forward while this convention is in session. It bespeaks a year of tremen-dous increase in the number of branches, in the aggregate membership and in the scope and power of the party.

Extent of Organization

The party has rapidly marched from ocean to ocean and from the lakes to the gulf. We are now organized in thirty-two states and territories and growing at a rate to make it certain that within the next few months the Social Democratic party will be organized and will be a factor in every state and territory as well as in the nation at large.

Conclusion

In concluding this, my first report, I con-gratulate the convention upon the healthy con-dition of the party and the excellent outlook dition of the party and the excellent outlook for the future. In our councils, national, state and local, harmony and good will prevail. There is neither jealousy nor dissension to mar the good feeling or retard the progress of the party. With zeal and enthusiasm our com-rades are pressing forward in all directions bearing high the banner of international So-cialism.

cialism. My work has been a duty of love. I have had the aid and encouragement of true com-rades and associates, especially in trying hours. I have also had the unfinching support of the rank and file, and to one and all I wish to express my thanks and the assurance of my lasting gratitude. With the full faith that the convention will

Afternoon Session, March 7

Chairman Stedman presiding.

Moved that resolution from Boston branch on party organ be referred to press committee. Carried.

Then occurred an incident that will be historical in the Socialist movement of this country and mark the opening of fraternal relations between hitherto separate forces working toward the same goal. The reception committee, amid tumultuous and long-continued ap-plause, entered the hall with Job Harri-man and Morris Hilquit, two of the three representatives chosen from the Rochester committee. Comrade Harriman was presented to the convention in cordial and felicitous terms by Chairman Stedman. He spoke briefly but in words excellently chosen and glowing with true comradeship. Comrade Hilquit was next introduced.

He attributed past difficulties and fric-tion in the Socialist movement to personal eccentricities and prejudices, and declared that no good cause exists for the continued separation of the two par-ties. The Rochester convention, he said, purposely refrained from adopting a name, and the party he represented

(Continued on fifth page.)

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1900.

To the Workers To the workers Shall you complain who feed the world? Who clothe the world? Who house the world? Shall you complain who are the world, Of what the world may do? As from this hour You use your power, The world must follow you!

The world's life hangs on your right hand! Your strong right hand! Your skilled right hand! You hold the whole world in your hand. See to it what you do! Or dark or light, Or wrong for right Or wrong 'or right, The world is made by you!

Then rise as you never rose before! Nor hoped before! Nor dared before! And show as was never shown before, The power that lies in you! Stand all as one! See justice done! Believe, and Dare, and Do! —Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION ITS CAUSE AND CURE

By Charles H. Vail

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact of political corruption, most people are so familiar with it that it is taken as a matter of course. They say that "government is utterly corrupt, it is run in the interest of the few and there is no hope of improvement." Such peothe ple have no clear conception of cause of this condition, but they have observed that government is managed in the interest of the wealthy class and have participated, perhaps, in many futile efforts to secure good government. On the other hand there are those more optimistic, due perhaps to lack of experience, who inform us that something can and should be done to remove this ever growing evil. These people are actuated by noble motives but their efforts betray an utter lack of knowledge concerning the economic question, consequently of the causes of the evil they seek to remove. Failing to trace the evil to its source, they waste their time in dealing with its effects. They observe that men in public position frequently betray their trust and so conclude that the fault lies with the individual, and consequently demand that better men be nominated and elected to public office. This accomplished, they

think the problem solved! Usually such advocates of reform have but little conception of practical politics and absolutely no conception of the fact that the economic rulers are the political rulers. They little realize the power they are up against and the difficulties in the way of getting men nom-inated and elected that are not tools of the ruling class. They have also failed to observe that their remedy has been tried time and again and usually proved ineffective even where the difficulties have been surmounted and good men placed in office. The temptations which beset the public official under the present system is often more than his weak human nature can stand.

This brings us to the main question, What is the cause of political corrup-tion? The cause of this corruption is the opposition of private to public interests. Self-interest is the root. Legislators and councilmen are bribed either directly or indirectly, by those owning vast aggregations of wealth that special privileges may be obtained. Every trust, corporation or important business interest today is admitted to be politically corrupting power. If necessary the officials are bought outright but frequently a little stock a rail-road pass, or trolley blue ticket is all that is required. So long as individuals or corporations can advance their own interests at the expense of the public, so long there will be legislative corrup-tion. The lobby, of which so many complain, is but an effect of which selfinterest is the cause. It is a perfectly natural concomitant of the present system of industry. Many a man who was upright and honest when he entered public life has fallen from grace. The incentives today to corruption are too great to hope for much improvement. If men were perfect beings they might administer the present govern ment honestly and justly, but in the present stage of human development the temptations seem more than frail humanity can bear. So long as government must be administered by imperfect beings it would seem the only wise course to remove the motive of perfidy and dishonor. It is surely the height of absurdity for reformers to place all their efforts upon getting "good men" in of-fice and leave untouched a system of industry that makes them bad as soon as they get in. If the powers that be are unsuccessful in corrupting the official, he finds himself isolated and at the expiration of his term laid upon the shelf. The party has no use for a man that does not do the bidding of the master class, the campaign contributions are not forthcoming unless the nominee is believed to be all right, and usually only those who have been tried found faithful are allowed on the ticket. The would-be reformers, then, are working at the wrong end of the prob-lem. It is futile for them to blame individuals, to censure public officials for doing the very thing they are expected to do. If we support the system we ought not to make war on those who administer it. Neither does it do any good to rail at the political machine and

boss. These are effects, not causes. We might destroy a certain, political machine and boss, but unless we change the system another machine and boss would come into existence. No political boss could long maintain his power were it not for the contributions he is able to secure from corporate interests in return for favors rendered. It is corporate pap that builds up and maintains the political machine. In New York city the municipal ailment is not Tammany Hall but the business interests that use Tammany Hall to buy leg-islation at Albany and franchises at the city hall. Behind the political "ring" the private owners of public franchises. Public corruption is merely the overflow of business corruption. Our corrupt business system corrupts our political system, even in our highest courts. Political corruption has become an integral part of our business system -legislation, municapl, state and national, is now bought and sold in the open market. It is mere shortsightedness that blames the ward politician and public official. A little careful examination will reveal the fact that the ward politician and public official are merely agents of those who are endeavoring to

subserve their material interests. What is the remedy for this deplor-able condition? If the cause of political corruption is the opposition of pri-vate to public interests, the remedy, evi-

ley systems, etc., is a recognized source of corruption. Many examples might be given of the good results to government from placing these monopolies under public control. Public ownership will remove both the motive and opportunity for this corruption, it will pluck the evil up by the roots. What is true of the municipality is true of the state and nation. It is everywhere private interest opposed to public interest that is the cause of the evil. Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is the only remedy, and just in proportion as this is realized the evil will be removed. Remove the cause and the effect will disappear.

Socialism would greatly simplify gov ernment and render unnecessary its obnoxious powers which result from our false organization of society. Socialism means industrial self-government, a social democracy in which the people are their own masters. Let all who desire the abolition of political corruption join in the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

THE SOCIAL IDEAL

By Leonard D. Abbott

I know that it is not strictly "scien tific" to have ideals, but I frankly confess that I cannot help it! Of course we most of us recognize that the great



KARL MARX

dently, is to remove this antagonism, to make the interests of the individual identical with the public interest; in other words, to remove these interests from private or corporate management and control. This would remove both the motive and opportunity for corruption. The motive for political corrup-tion is the same as for business corruption-private gain. Private gain is the cause of selfishness and so long as men can advance their own interests at the expense of others, whether of individ-uals or of society, just so long the evils will remain untouched. This private gain is the cause of the dishonesty in both private and public business. course there is but one remedy, the abolition of this system of antagonisms, in which the interests of every man are set against the interests of every other man and of society as a whole. Socialism would make the interests of one identical with the interests of all. If we wish to remove public corrup-tion, then, we must remove the cause of dishonesty in public administrationprivate gain-and thus render it im possible for men to subserve individual interests by violating the public trust and then faithful, honest legislation will be secured. If men could not advance their own interests at the expense of the public, they would have no motive to bribe public officials. By removing capital from private control we re-move the cause of political jobbery. Un-der Socialism there would be no opportunity to raid the public treasury or secure fradulent appropriations for there would be no opportunity for one to engage in private business. There would be absolutely no opportunity for one to secure special privileges at the expense of the public and even if there were there would be no motive. One could only secure an excess of commodities which he would be unable to consume or dispose of. For the same reason the official would have no motive to sell out, even if there were a buyer, but, as a matter of fact, there would be no one with any interest to purchase, however much he might desire to sell. Under Socialism no one would have a desire to accumulate a great fortune for he could not capitalize it and make it a source of productivity. Political corruption is inherent in the present system and as long as the system remains we cannot hope for any improvement. It is futile, for instance, to complain of corrupt municipal government and at the same time consent to leaving public utilities in the hands of

private corporations. The private own-ership of the electric light, gas and trol-

world is pursuing its course regardless of what your ideal or my ideal may be. Yet after all we cannot but cherish more or less definite hopes of what society may one day become, and in so far as we exert any influence upon the thought of our time, we influence and shape the nature of the society that is to be. It will be a sorry day for our Socialist movement when it loses its idealism. Every idealist ought to be a Socialist; every Socialist must be an idealist, whether he is conscious of it or not.

It is impossible in a few words to adequately describe the glorious ideal of ocialism, to which the men and women of our movement are consecrating their lives today, with a whole-heartedness and a self-sacrifice almost unparalleled in the world's history. We can only say that it is the mightiest ideal that ever stirred the heart of humanity. We can only say that it is essentially revolutionary, and that it represents almost the thesis of existing conditions ant place of strife, we shall have rest and fellowship; in place of misery, happiness; in place of inequality, equality; in place of ugliness, beauty. What appeals to one first of all in this new life is its comfort and security. There will be no more of this mad, heartless scramble for wealth, no more of this mean, sordid commercialism. Our life will be sane and normal. We shall no longer conduct society on the principle of the herd in the pigstye, but rather in the spirit of kindly altruism and the recognition that an injury to one is an injury to all. We shall not need to think very much about the physical and material side of life at all. A few hours of pleasant labor, organ-ized in scientific fashion on a national scale, will produce enough—and more than enough—to satisfy every human need My soul rises up within me to greet the wholesomeness, the equality, of this new epoch in human history. As] dream of it, I feel like one transported from some pestilential swamp to a mountain summit, with its bracing ozone, its splendid panorama. Think of the petty and nauseous stupidity-the utter woodenness-of so much of our life today, with its snobbish castes and grades into which we so solemnly divide ourselves, its so-called "higher" and "lower" classes. Consider, on the one hand, the butterfly life of the ball-room; on the other hand, the drunken soddenness of the saloon. What inspiration it gives us to even think of these things swept from the earth forever! What joy it is to know that we shall one day have a society of real men and women,

instead of (too often) dolls! The world will never realize the pitiful waste and degradation of human life that has been going on through the long centuries, until Socialism produces a new race of men.

Socialism will mean simplicity. It will mean that we deliberately turn our backs on the myriad shams around us. The luxuries of today-the twelvecourse dinners, the two hundred dollar dresses, the multitude of servants-are simply signs of disease. It is hard to say which is the more detestable, the overbearing conceit of the plutocrat, or the cringing servility of the flunkey. How pleasant it is to think of the society of equality, enthroning honesty, simplicity, fellowship, and relegating to the ash-heap the pompous shams and the silly "respectability" of today!

Lastly, Socialism will mean beauty. I am sure that one of the first things men will turn their attention to, after the nightmare of capitalism has passed away, will be the beatification of their environment. We will no longer be able to tolerate for an instant the wretched shabbiness and sordidness of modern commercial life. We will put our souls into the architecture of our towns, and make them an ornament to nature, instead of a blot upon it. Everything in those days-from the cup and platter to the steamship-will be worth

admiring. We will make the world a garden of beauty. To my mind, William Morris' "News from Nowhere" is the most beautiful picture of the ideal society ever planned by the hand of man. And I think one might search long without finding anything to equal the exquisite charm of his verses:

Then all Mine and all Thine shall be Ours, and no more shall any man crave For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter a friend for a slave

And what wealth then shall be left us, when none shall gather gold, To buy his friend in the market, and pinch and pine the sold?

, what?---save the lovely city, and the little house on the hill, Nay, And the wastes and the woodland beauty, and the happy fields we till.

The homes of ancient story, the tombs of the mighty dead,

The wise men seeking out marvels, and the poet's teeming head.

The painter's hand of wonder, and the marvelous fiddle-bow, And the banded choirs of music--all those that do and know.

For all these shall be ours and all men's, nor shall any lack a share Of the soil and gain of living, in the days when the world grows fair.

THE MAN UNDER THE DRAY

"A heavy dray broke down in the street and a man was crushed and held captive beneath it. On top of the dray was a load of merchandise and on top of the merchandise were sitting a lot of Monopolists.

"A crowd of men gathered aboutt and began to discuss how to relieve the man crushed by the dray. They stayed so long and discussed so hard that the people finally created them into a Legislature.

Then they called in a lot more men, called Political Economists, who decided that the man had always been so crushed; it was his natural condition, and it was useless to think of releasing him.

"Edward Atkinson said it would overturn civilization to let the man get out from under the dray-and so it would.

"Next, chairs were endowed in uni-versities to teach that the man was there because he was not fit to survive, or that he had too much overproduction on top of him; that even if he got out he could

WHAT I HEAR PEOPLE SAY

The people are being educated-some by choice, but more from necessity. Employers are studying the "logic of events," owing to trusts. Employes are forced into this great "student class" by the infrequency of food in their stomachs and the frequency of patches on their clothing. It is true that some are only in the A B C class, but they are all earnest students!

A real estate man who used to occupy a large suite of rooms with help galore, but who now has "desk room," says: says: There is something wrong somewhere; I can't make things move.

A lady whose business it is to supply ladies' furnishings remarked : "It is terrible the number of people in the silk business who are thrown out of work by the combination."

Two business men who used to have offices of their own are now working for insurance companies. I asked one of them how he was getting along. "Fine," he replied. "The company has done more business this year than ever be-fore." "Oh," I said, "of course the com-pany is doing well. Nearly all the big companies are doing well. The country is run in the interests of the big companies. . But I remember the time when you used to have your own business in your own office." He sighed! I in-quired of the other one if he had noticed this peculiarly partial phrase of "pros-perity" and if he intended voting for the prosperity" men again.

Another real estate man is also thinking. He has noticed the growth of trusts and the fact that they get anything they want from congress down. I gave him some facts and figures on Socialism, municipal ownership, and what has been done in New Zealand. It is his opinion that "something like that will have to be done here. It seems that everything tends toward trusts, which throws out not only thousands of employes but many employers as well, who are forced to join the workers."

Still another real estate man, who has grown tired of being part of the great but stupid public who are not only being 'skinned" by the street railway companies but crowded and almost frozen to death as well, says: "I am in favor of municipal ownership of public utilities; I can't go as far as you do." Nevertheless he is in the lane that leads to the great Socialistic highway, and I can see his finish!

James T. Fishel, a private in the Seventeenth United States Infantry, recently completed his term of enlistment and returned from the Philippine Islands. In an interview in the Chicago Record a few days ago he said : "I should like to go back to the Philippines if Otis would allow me a license to go into business, but his policy is 'once a soldier, always a soldier,' and he will not grant them to any of the boys who have served out their time.'

Think of it ! That man went there to fight for his country, as he supposed, but that was a great error on his part. In reality he was fighting for the trusts. He can't go into business in the country he helped to grab, but the trusts and rich men, who dodge taxes and don't do any. of the fighting except with their mouths, can engage in business there.

"Trade follows the flag," you know! A lot of moral buzzards follow the flag, too, but they follow it after the Fishels risk their lives to place it there.. A vote for either of the old parties is a vote for a continuance of generals who are kind to the trusts. Don't forget that. I think Mr. Fishel ought to be cut-

ting his economic eye teeth!

Miss Frances E. Willard, the great temperance agitator, in her address before the Woman's Christian Temperance union at Buffalo, N. Y., October 29, 1807. spoke of Socialism as follows: What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher law; it eliminates the activities for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood. To all who believe in a religion that touches men's homes and families and pockets-a religion that is a reality and not a Sunday suit only-I make this solemn appeal: Get some simple Socialist literature and read it until you understand it. Socialism is not robbery-it is justice. If it were robbery it would not number among its followers such men as the Rev. George D. Herron, W. D. Howells, Henry D. Lloyd, Washington Gladden, Mayor Jones of Toledo and others. And after you understand it, vote for it.

not walk, because of lack of experience in walking.

Then came the Theologians, who said the man's heart was bad and that he must be saved before the stuff could be taken off; finally, that if his heart could be got right he need not have the weight taken off.

And the Theologians secured a life job for centuries, just for preaching that the man could not possibly be anywhere than where he was.

"Finally a man came along who said: 'Why, take the stuff off and let the man go free.'

"That man was a Socialist."-George D. Herron.

Social Question and the Answer

The social problem is a problem to organize the world so that all men may be equally secure in the material means and social resources needful for a complete life. Public ownership of the sources and means of production is the answer to the social question, and the basis of spiritual liberty .- Herron.

Prosperity and Freedom

Property, when first instituted, was endurable; it did not take away from anybody the right and the means of becoming a land-owner, for there was no money, while there was vacant land in abundance. From the moment, however, that every free man could no longer appropriate a part of the soil, prop-erty has ceased to be a right. It has be-come a crying evil, and the cause of the misery and destitution of the masses. -Weitling.

A vote for the Social Democratic ticket is a vote for a great principle; it is a vote for the universal brotherhood of humanity without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or color.

A vote for the old parties is a vote for the old system of genteel but remorse-less plundering of the people.

Forrest S. Green.

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THE SOCALIST PROGRAM

The programme of Socialism is the assertion of two leading princi-First, we recognize, as the centruth of modern society, the inde-dence of all. No man now works ne, by division of labor and mutual hange, all are sharing in each other's Second, we apply the doctrine of nomic science to the art of govern-nt in insisting on the ethical right of joint workers, and the workers alone, he whole product of their labor, whole produce of labor is created by working class through access to the natural resources of the earth, and to this class it rightfully belongs.

OBJECTS AND PRINCIPLES

Socialism is economic democracy and es the socializing of all industries. It proposes to emancipate society from s rule, which rests upon the money power, which power in turn rests upon monopoly of the instruments of production and distribution. Socialism proposes to put an end to the devil's ce of capitalism now going on in the world, by taking all interests whatsoever from the control of the present irresponsible capitalist class, who are using these interests solely for their sordid welfare—thus enslaving the people—and placing these interests in the possession of a responsible national organism, the government, to be owned and operated for the benefit of all the people collect-ively, who have created these interests and to whom they rightfully benefits to whom they rightfully belong. fundamental principle or keystone of Socialism is that the workings of a Socialistic state must be for the benefit of all the people collectively. The aims of Socialism are principally

educational on account of its magnitude. requiring for its complete undertaking the acceptance of a large majority of the people, but the time is not far distant en Socialism will bombard capitalism out of its intrenched monopoly and give it a dose of its own medicine, "What are you going to do about it?" with the nswer, Socialism. Practical Socialism is a method of co-

operation managed by a state or nation, by which all production and distribution n fact, everything which is required for the support and welfare of the individual-shall be owned and operated by the people collectively and co-opera-tively, so as to enable them to provide for all their wants and guarantee them security of possession and employment for all time.

By doing this things will be produced for use in natural and legitimate channels, and not for profit, which will not exist under a Socialistic state.

Thus everything produced from land and raw material will be produced for use and not for profit. Houses will be built so that people may live in them, and all products will be utilized to serve a legitimate end and purpose. Under the present senseless system everything is produced for the one purpose—that of making money.

Socialism is a principle which requires that industries will be operated to enable people to live, and not pay tribute to and enrich one class, to the manifest injury of the great masses of the people. The system under which we now live

is essentially a robber system, and no honest man can succeed under such a system. The man who can lie, steal eat and take a dishonorable advantage of his fellow-men at every opportunity under a legally established system of rent, profit and interest, represents the "survival of the fittest" under our robber

Socialism requires that all land, natural resources and all means of produc-tion shall be owned and operated for the purpose of enabling the people who labor to live and receive the full product of their labor, thus preventing the capitalist class from despoiling them as is now done of four-fifths of the products of their labor. This implies a change of ownership from the present private system to the collective system, and uch of the so-called private property will be looked into and called to account. At present the above interests do not belong to the people, but to a few wealthy men who do not use them for the good of all the people, but simply to make wealth for their owners. The returns of the United States census of 1890 show that-

duced everything, do not own the land, farms, mines, mills, plants, railway and industrial systems of the nation, but that these are owned by the 9 per cent of the population-i. e., the capitalist classwho operate them solely for their own benefit. Under a Socialist state the people would own and operate the above. P. P. Ayer.

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

At the begining of a new century our convention assembles. The time is portentous of mighty changes. The heav-ens are darkened with bloody colored battle clouds; but we who have a certain hope for the future know that soon the gloom of strife will be dispelled by the golden effulgence of liberty's rising sun.

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the century now nearly dead the dynasties of European nations were hurled into oblivion by the French revolution, and the myrmidons of the mightiest monarchs were trampled beneath the swinging onward march of Napoleon's victorious legions. The old was dead and the new was not developed. Nought but battle and bloodshed on every side, the outlook was decidedly hopeless. Nevertheless, we who live at the end of this century perceive this striking lesson when we peer backward through the vista of 'the past one hun-dred years: Out of the social chaos caused by contending forces we see emerging the form of civic freedom and political equality. Political freedom, it is true, is not the ultimum bonum, yet it is the means of reaching any desired end required. As in the past, kings passed away and political power was assumed by the people, so in the near future capitalists will go and the proletariat inherit as its own the wealth which its labor has made possible. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was the motto of the French revolution; Liberty, Equality and Fraternity will be the bat-

the slogan of the future. In Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and England we perceive an interna-tional army of militant Socialists 7,000-000 strong, and America will soon swell the ranks of organized intelligent revolt with the solid phalanxes which are being marshaled beneath the standard of the Social Democratic party. Everywhere where political liberty prevails it is being used as a means of obtaining economic. freedom. In all lands where political freedom prevails, yes. But there is one great land with an area of 8,660,395 square miles-one-sixth of the land surface of the globe—and a population of 129,932,173, in which not even the re-motest vestige of political liberty is enjoyed, and where the despotism is as absolute as that of ancient Persia under a Darius, a Xerxes or an Artaxerxes Nevertheless this government knows no aristocracy between despot and people, and neither has it a well-developed plutocracy as is the case in other European countries. In Russia the autocrat is the great arch capitalist; the government, which consists of one ruler, controls all the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, salt mines, the silver and gold mines of Siberia and owns almost one-half of the national domain. Besides this it has a monopoly on the sale of tobacco, salt and spirits. A change in this government from a despotism to a republic would be a much nearer approach to the realization of Socialism than the colony of New Zealand is at present. Such a change may be possible in the near future, for it cannot be that Berlinsky, Korelenko, Sergius, Stepniak, Michael Bakounine, Peter Kropotkine and Leon Tolstoi have lived and battled in vain. It may be that while the Anglo-Saxon and Teuton are agitating and debating that in that far-off northeastern region of darkness and servitude, a Flarric Demos may suddenly arise, cast off manacles made weak with the rust of cen turies and call in clarion tones upon the peoples of the earth to follow in the onward and upward path of liberty. From whence or how the great change for the better will come I do not know. Yet ofttimes in the moments of my deepest pessimism I see a vision of hope. The great Goddess of Freedom, five thousand cubits high, with soft, benignant blue eyes, but with stern resolve enthroned upon her broad white brow, with the naked sword of revolt in one hand and the olive branch of peace in the other, advances with swift, unswerving stride, and in her train arrayed the deep phalanxes of the militant class-conscious proletariat, who march onward singing in the words of William Morris:

HOW SOCIALISM WOULD IMPROVE NEW YORK

Chas. H. Coulter in N. Y. Journal In the first place, it would abolish

taxes and give you an ideal city. It would abolish the gambling in the nec-essaries of life and it would make it impossible for one man or a few men to fatten on the great body of our citizens. It would make the happiness and wellbeing of the millions independent of the whim and rapacity of a few.

Put every enterprise of public utility into the hands of the people and have it run in the interest of the people, in-stead of for the profit of a few millionaires, and you would get enough reve-nue to make all taxes impossible and at the same time enable you to build up a city which, in the perfection of its public institutions, charities, hospitals, schools, places of recreation and amuse-ment, street improvements, facilities of transportation, etc., would outrank any-thing yet imagined.

The principles of socialism are now so well understood by careful and disinterested students than to dispute the accuracy of the above deductions is to set yourself down as ignorant. The matter is capable of exact mathematical proof.

Much more than this, however, can be accomplished, and will in the end be accomplished.

It is only a matter of time, when all

would improve it-would improve it so vastly that within less than a decade it would be hard to believe that the conditions of life, as they are today in this great metropolis, had ever existed.

Let me begin with the children, the children as I have seen them during my stay here, who live in the lower city, especially on the East Side. There is nothing more pathetic than their lives. Often unable to find room in the public schools, more often not furnished with proper clothing to be presentable in school, they grow up in squalid and vicious surroundings without a chance to fit themselves for the duties of citizenship.

Under a socialistic form of government every child, no matter how poor, no matter of what nationality, would be provided with the necessary clothing and the necessary food to attend school. It is, in my opinion, the state's duty to see to it that every child during its school-day age should not only be permitted but obliged to attend, and I am in favor of providing everything to facilitate this, even though it be necessary to provide in addition to shoes, cloth-ing and food a decent abode for them. This necessity has struck me with particular force in New York.

Of course all things which in their nature are connected with the public service should be under municipal for national control, as the case may be. That means, so far as New York is con-



EDWARD BELLAMY

production and distribution will be in the hands of the people-run by the people and in the interest of the peo-ple. When all profits will be devoted to the betterment of all the people, but when, nevertheless, each individual will be able to live his or her private life in-dependent of the others. Departments will be established for the operation of every industry and every man will share in the profits according to his ability and his willingness to work. His pri-vate life and his amusements he can regulate for himself. One may prefer a fast horse—the other a piano. That is none of the community's business. To interfere with the latter would be "com-munism," which is often confounded with "socialism."

The average man produces under the present system in four or five hours work a day sufficient to equal five or six thousand dollars a year-I mean that his actual labor is worth that amount, and that under a socialistic form of government the average man would ge much.

cerned, in addition to the public utilities common to all cities, the operation of the ferries. When I watch the throngs that are daily transported across your two rivers I am amazed that the desirability of having these great water highways run for the benefit of the city-that is, the benefit of the people-has not long ago suggested itself to every man and woman.

I assert—and the figures can be fur-nished—that if all the public utilities, such as railroads, street' railways, gas and electric plants, coal mines, water distribution, etc., were run under proper national and municipal control it would not be necessary to assess one cent of taxes for any purpose whatsoever, and we would have enough money to spend on improvements, schools and otherwise to turn every city into a model municipality. And especially is this true of New York City. But this is not all, by any means. I

believe that our present method of production and distribution is a constant breeder of misery, poverty and crime. I believe that an entire overturningpeaceably, of course-of these conditions is necessary. If everything that is produced now were produced under the supervision and guidance of the people, instead of being wholly a matter of profit and caprice of a few, no man would be obliged to work longer than, at the most, six hours a day, and yet be able to enjoy life, surrounded by the same comforts and luxuries that are now at the disposal of the man who earns \$6,000 a year or more. The postmaster-general in our country today stands at the head of our postal system. He can figure to a nicety just how many stamps are needed, how much stationery is needed, etc. I believe that if every industry were thus in the hands of a separate department of state there would be neither over nor underproduction, and there would be, consequently, no artificial fluctuation in values. The working hours of the men would be regulated by the department, and would in no case be longer than six hours.

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SEND ORDERS TO

HEODORE

Nine per cent of the population of the United States own 71 per cent of the wealth of the country.

Ninety-one per cent of the population was the other 29 per cent ; 4,000 people the above 9 per cent owning one-fifth the total wealth of the country

The national wealth is owned by-The capitalist class, \$42,203,000,000, 9 per cent of the population. The middle class, \$14,550,000,000, or

per cent of the population.

he working class (producers of all ht), \$2,746,000,000, or 52 per cent

he population. The above figures are suggestive as to powns the country, and the records powns the country are such complete ist history show no such complete my of the people since the ages conquest meant confiscation of all

it is plain by the above figures the wage-workers, who have pro"Wish ye peace, then be ye with us, let our hope be your desire; Wish ye war, then shall ye perish like the dry wood in the fire."

James Allman.

(Farmers' Review, Bonham, Tex.) The growth of the Socialist movement is something phenomenal. Only a few years ago such a thing as an avowed Socialist was uncommon, but they can now be found in every neighborhood con-tending for the Co-operative Commonwealth. They are to be found in all classes of society, among the rich as well as among the disinherited. Socialist papers are springing up all over the country proclaiming the necessity of the social revolution. Many ministers are becoming advocates of Socialism and the whole social fabric is being permeated whole social fabric is being permeated with the doctrine.

We advocate strongly the supplying of children with all they need to go to school. They should be properly clothed, shod, fed and sheltered in order that they may be properly educated. I have been asked what position the

socialists take on the liquor question. I answer that I am thoroughly in favor of letting every community decide that for Let the majority say whether alitself. coholic liquors shall be sold and let the majority impose such restrictions as it deems necessary.

There should be no rival political organizations fighting for patronage and spoils, and there would be none under a socialistic form of government. It would be to the interest of every man to see that the government was properly administered, and there would be no political parasites, hangers-on and professional politicians.

Among other things the pawnshops should be owned by the municipality. This would be of especial benefit to New York, where many people are often obliged to resort to them. Under a system of absolute socialism these would eventually disappear entirely, because they would get no customers, but in the meanwhile their operation by the city would be a boon to the poor. These are only a few and hastily se-

lected improvements that would follow if New York were governed on socialistic principles.

John C. Chase in N. Y. Journal

Every principle of true socialism, if put into operation in New York city,

If this system were adopted it would benefit New York more than any other municipality, because on account of its great size, its diversity of nationalities and the vastness of its public utilities, the evils that are sought to be remedied are more glaring here than anywhere else.

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THE VOTERS' CHOICE

By William Mailley

imperialism, the tariff or the trusts.

conditions of today exist because of one fact, the ownership by a class, a com-

paratively small proportion of society, of the instruments used to produce and

distribute those things necessary to the

sustenance and welfare of life. These

factors are the land, railroads, mines,

factories, stores, in short, the entire ma-

chinery of wealth production and dis-tribution. Ownership of this machin-ery presupposes control, and control in

its turn means the absolute supremacy

of this class in the social, ethical, religi

ous and political life of the remaining

members of society. This class is con-

sequently the ruling class in every na-

tion, large or small, republic, monarchy,

a despotism, wherever the present civi-

lization prevails. Monopolization of the

means by which society exists admits

dictation of the manner in which society

Ownership by society, the whole peo-

ple, of the machinery of wealth produc-

tion and distribution will mean equal ad-

vantages and opportunities to every

member of society, first, to make a living,

and secondly, to enjoy life by cultivating

the sciences, the arts, literature and every

other form of social and intellectual ac-

tivity. An industrial system barren of

classes, because it could not heed them.

The ruling possessing class at present is the capitalistic class. To continue its

existence this class seeks to perpetuate

the cause of its existence-Capitalism.

The governments, local, state, national

and finally international, constitute the

chief medium through which and by

which the capitalist system can be per-petuated. Consequently the capitalist

class consciously supports only those po-

litical parties whose managers and lead-

ers wilfully or ignorantly plan a contin-

ance of the capitalist system. In the

United States these parties are the repub-

lican, the large capitalist, and the demo-

cratic, the party of the rapidly diminish-

ing small capital, each differing in name,

The more possessing masses consti-te the working class. With no intent

in common with the capitalist class they

must consciously support a political par-

ty whose aim and purpose is the abolition

of Capitalism and the establishment of

Socialism. Freedom from the oppres-

sion of the ruling class must come

through the concerted efforts of the op-

pressed class. A political party pledged to Soialism is the only party entitled to

but worth repeating. If there be any who doubt or mock

what is herein written let them look

about them. The time has come when they must read and think and act. This

must be done sooner or later, and sooner

This is an old story now, oft repeated

the support of the working class.

rather than later.

both identical in aim and purpose.

tute the working class.

This is Socialism.

ameliorate them.

lives.

Social Democratic Derald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board JESSE COX. Chairm SEYMOUR STEDMAN, . . Secrets EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER FREDERIC HEATH

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAR. 17, 1900.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Since the human race has no means of enjoyable existence, or of existence at all but what it derives of its own labor applied to the resources of the earth, and since the transformed tools of production have become the property of a class and are used primarily not for supplying wants, but for making profits, it would be reasonable if the great body of workers, divested by the economic evolution of ownership in the modern tools of production and dispossessed also of the land, demanded that the whole question of labor be considered in all its bearings as if it had now appeared for the first time. The working class, as such, has a right to demand a re-examination of the whole question. Justice and the good of the community demand it.

When the present century opened nearly all work was performed by hand and the various industries afforded opportunities for living getting. The per-sons engaged in them were, to a large extent, the owners of the tools or means of production. Note the marvellous change and try to grasp its meaning, its effects on civilization.

Work, in constantly increasing measure is done by machinery; the various industries afford opportunity for gaining a living to a comparatively few only, and a diminishing few, with almost unlimited opportunity for the owners of machinery to extend their dominion over the human race.

Millions of men are being reduced to beggary and the dependent class by this one fact of the monopolization of the modern means of production in the hands of an exploiting class.

It is estimated that the productive capacity of the labor-saving machinery in the United States is now equal to a hand-working population of 400,000,000

The machinery in the mills and factories of Great Britain alone is equal to doing the work of 375,000,000 men, more than all the adult inhabitants of the earth at this time. The single state of Massachusetts has

machinery enough to do as much work as 50,000,000 men could do by hand.

Massachusetts contains in its shoe factories enough machinery to produce in six months all the shoes that all the men, women and children in all the states require in twelve months.

A sewing machine does the work of twelve women. A Boston bootmaker with one man to run it makes 300 pairs of boots a day. In 1880 300 of these machines were at work in various countries and turned out 150,000,000 pairs. Glenn's California reaper will in twenty-four hours cut, thrash, winnow and bag the wheat from sixty acres. The Hercules ditcher removes 750 cubic yards per hour. The Darlington borer enables one man to do the work of seven in tunneling and reduces the cost by two-thirds.

Dr. H. F. Titus, one of the ablest and most popular ministers of Washington, and hitherto a leader of the non-partisan movement in Seattle, is out with the following declaration :

"Bryan stands for free silver, Agui-naldo and trust regulation, all makeshift or superficial issues. Some populists fondly fancy they can go into the demo-cratic party and make a 'new democracy' of it under Bryan. I do not so read the signs of the times. Rather, a new party is coming, with a new foundation principle-namely, just distribution of the products of labor. Eugene V. Debs, and not William J. Bryan, is the exponent of the new, the Social Democracy. We might as well begin first as last to cut straight down at the root of drunkenness, licentiousness, crime, poverty, idleness, of misconduct and misfor--namely, capitalism, the exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few.

Among the valued contributors to

the jail standard he admitted was impossible. But after one hundred years of progress a horse is, after all, nothing but a horse and can never be anything else; and likewise wage laborers may improve and improve until doomsday and yet after all as a class they will be nothing but dependent wage laborers, working only for their "keep," so long as the present system lasts. "Once a wage laborer, always a wage laborer, is truer today than ever before. The only substantial improvement that can be effected is to improve the wage system out of existence entirely. To claim that the present system of

production is the best that ever existed is to utter only a platitude. The fact that it has become the prevailing system is sufficient evidence that it is the "best." So was the slavery system of production at one time the "best," inasmuch as it was the prevailing system until new forms of production rendered it obsolete. The fact that changes have taken place in the past is the ground for our firm conviction, amounting to a moral certainty, that changes will take place in the future. By studying the tendencies of the time we are able to outline what the coming change will be and how and by whom it will be brought about. The industrial change (if that name is more acceptable than the word "revolution") which has already taken place will be followed by a corresponding political change, as has always been the case in the past. This change will be brought about by the intelligent use of the ballot. It will consist in the emancipation of the working class, for the working class and by the working class. This is the only class which is able to bring about a political change, and the only one in whose interest it is to do so. Marcus Hitch.

"DIVIDING UP"

"You Socialists want to 'divide up things'-make people who have niggered and saved all their lives divide up with a lot of bum-throwers who ought to be run out of the country or hung.' "Well, even so," retorted the Social

ist, "that need not worry you, for all you have to 'divide up' is the contents of that little brown jug you ship up from the city as often as you get your pension check, and the more you are obliged to 'divide up' that the better it would be for you. Now, did it ever occur to you to figure on the 'dividing up' that is taking place now in this era of prosperity fostered by your g. o. p., with its gold standard, protective tariff and benevolent assimilation policies?

"Never did? Then let me give you two or three of the simpler mental arithmetic problems in economic division." The actual labor cost of running a railway train is not to exceed, in all departments, that of fifteen men, or for a ten hours' run, 150 hours' labor; distance run, 400 miles ; passengers carried, 300, or a labor cost of one-half hour for each passenger. At 3 cents per mile railway tariff the cost is \$12 to each passenger. Now, the average earnings per diem, according to the United States census, for farm labor is 25 cents, or 21 cents per hour, if the farmer works only ten hours each day. The ratio of compensation under your g. o. p. prosperity regime of railway service to farm

service is 960 to 1; that is, under the present scheme of "dividing up" the average farmer gives 960 hours of productive farm service in exchange for one of railway service. If this is not "dividing up," my capitalistic friend, let us have the details of what in your opinion does constitute that operation. In the capitalist arithmetic the process of divi-sion is always "long" for the railways and "short" for the farmer, no matter, how vociferously he may shout and persistently vote for "the best system on

Call us idealists and our theories uto-

Socialists contend, and will continue to contend, that as long as capitalism exists there can be but one vital issue in all elections. And this issue covers all other so-called issues from whatever source they spring, be it the currency, In this national election, the notes will have to choose between capitalism and Socialism. That is the supreme issue in every country where exploited labor pays tribute to an exploiting class. Of the conditions that make this paramount to all other questions, what need to speak? They are known and realized by all who care to see, better then tongue can tell or pen depict. Let us waste few words on existing evils. Rather let us explain why such things are possible, and what can be done to The life blasting and soul withering

EUGENE DIETZGEN

tion be sent to our official organ and also to the Cleveland Citizen.

The grim reaper Death cut down a true and noble worker in the cause of emancipation when Mrs. Sabrie G. Aikin of Duluth ended her labors as editor and publisher of the Labor World. She was endowed with true heroism and rare ability and made her mark in her chosen field of work.

Peace to our dead. May their worth and fidelity be a source of encouragement to the living.

NEW BRANCHES

Oregon City, Ore.

Chairman, G. M. B. Jones; vice-chairman, W. B. Hiddleston; secretary, J. S. Imel; treasurer, C. E. Reynolds; organizer, Joseph Meindl.

Olympia, Wash.

Chairman, Alfred Taylor; vice-chairman, Jean B. Cutter; secretary, E. E. Martin; treasurer, F. N. Chase; organizer, H. S. Genevra Lake.

Salt Lake City, Utah

Chairman, Joseph Ward; vice-chair-man, C. A. Yetter; secretary, E. B. Judson; treasurer, Frank Pearson; organizer, A. B. Edler.

Stoughton, Mass.

Chairman, L. W. Drake; secretary, J. M. Sullivan; treasurer, Frank Smith. Wollaston, Mass.

Chairman, H. G. Marden; vice-chairman, C. J. Axberg; secretary, A. E. Baker; treasurer, O. F. W. Schrader. Pittsburg, Ky.

Chairman, M. L. Glancy; vice-chair-man, L. E. Pike; secretary, J. N. Hutch-ison; treasurer, Jacob Wyatt; organizer, M. J. Cullar.

Webster, Mass.

Chairman, Adolf Nothe; vice-chairman, Robert Pohler; secretary, Herman Bonat; treasurer, Adolf Koebke; organizer, Max Jahn.

Bingham Canyon, Utah

Chairman, W. D. Clays; vice-chairman, Carl Schneider; secretary, W. J. Burdette; treasurer, E. R. Powell; organizer, Fred Richards.

Tampa, Fla.

Chairman, R. L. Turner; vice-chairman, Joseph Hilgars; secretary, W. A. Platt; treasurer, G. L. Stephens; organizer, W. H. Frecker.

ELECTION RETURNS

In the local election at Hyde Park, Mass., last week the Social Democratic party made the usual remarkable gains and showed surprising strength. K. W. Dodge, for selectman, received 431 votes; William Deagle, selectman, 108; William Kaine, assessor, 143; A. E. Tib-betts, tax collector, 143; J. F. Tibbetts, barde of bacht 286

The Herald we are pleased to reckon the Rev. H. S. Genevra Lake of Olympia, Wash., who has in this number some stirring lines, "We're Coming, Great Jehovah." Comrade Lake has been listened to by thousands from Maine to California and is pronounced one of the most profound and eloquent speakers on Socialism and kindred topics in the country. We should be glad to learn that the comrades in the Evergreen State were making opportunities for Mrs. Lake to be heard. Branches can secure her services by addressing B. L. C., Box 502, Olympia, Wash.

The "Social Democracy Red Book," fresh from the press and fresh with an up-to-dateness that does great credit to the editor, Comrade Frederic Heath, is before us. It is a book that comes just in time to be of great service to the movement, and will, we hope, be given an extensive circulation by the Comrades everywhere. If you see it you will want it. The price is 15 cents; ten copies for \$1. Orders filled from The Herald office.

The Bohemian comrades of Chicago celebrated the commune last Saturday There was a large attendance night. and the musical programme and dance were much enjoyed. The financial result was satisfactory, and the publishing fund of Spravedlnost, the new Bohemian paper, will be benefited to the extent of \$70. The Herald trusts that the new paper, which was indorsed by the convention, will be well supported.

The national secretary asks for the indulgence of correspondents for a few days while he disposes of the letters ac-cumulated at headquarters during the convention. It might be several days before he can catch up, as a large amount of correspondence awaited his attention on returning to the office.

When I die I wish but two words written on my tombstone---"infidel" and "traitor." Infidel to a church that could be at peace in the presence of sin, traitor to a government that was a magnificent conspiracy against justice. — Wendell Phillips.

The Tampa (Fla.) Advance refers to the visit of Bryan to that place and says that all the questions he discussed are dead ones, while E. V. Debs dealt with the live economic questions of the day.

The Social Democrats of Somersworth, Mass., have nominated Comrade Charles H. Mellen for mayor, with a full list of aldermen and councilmen.

WELL, WHAT OF IT?

We are often told that laborers a better off today than ever before; that they are better fed, better clothed, better housed, better schooled. Admitting this for the sake of argument, the question arises, What of it? Are they any nearer economic independence? Are they any the less under the thumb of their employers? After the owning classes have once obtained possession of all the land and tools of production the question of the temporary rate of wages cuts no great figure with them. Having secured permanent control of the laborer by controlling his means of livelihood they can play with him as a cat does with a mouse-let him live awhile and then pinch him awhile. They have him on a chain and can let it out a little or pull it up a little, as it suits them; but there is no hope of ever getting beyond their clutches. The wage laborer is still nothing but a "hired man," and his class never can be anything else under the

present system, no matter what their

standard of living is. As one writer puts it, "The margin for the possible improvement of their lot is confined within narrow barriers which cannot be

So is a horse better off today than

formerly. Horses today are better fed, better stabled, better curried, better har-nessed, better blanketed, better shod

than one hundred years ago. In these particulars horses have made as much

progress as laborers, if not more. In fact, the cab horse standard of living

was set up by Gen. Booth as the highest he expected to achieve for the poor of

passed

A single boy with a knitting machine does as much knitting as 100 persons could perform 100 years ago.

The productive power of society, by discovery and invention, has been doubled every ten years, and even in less than ten, during the century, yet misery, want, degradation, insanity, suicide and murder-nearly all having their procuring cause in the economic distress of the masses who have made civilization only to be stripped of the means of maintaining it-are common-

The increase of crime, due funda-mentally to the private ownership of the people's tools of production, has become so alarming that a scientific writer proposes the restoration of the "Tarpeian rock, from which the crim-inal class may be hurled to death." Private ownership of the machinery of production, which machinery is quite

as essential to society now as the in-dividual tool used to be, is a standing menace to the peace of society and involves the destruction of civilization if continued.

The Social Democratic party calls The Social Democratic party calls upon the working class to examine the labor question in the light of these revo-lutionizing facts and to support, this year, the practical program of this party for the emancipation of the makers of civilization who, under capitalism, are denied the enjoyment of the results of their labor. their labor.

Or again, according to the Associated Press correspondent, Mr. Frank A. Carpenter, the labor cost of a factory-made pair of men's shoes that retail for from \$2.50 to \$3.50, is but twenty minutesone-third of an hour. But make it three times as much-one hour. For that one hour of shoe-factory labor the farmer has to return from 100 to 150 hours of farm labor, a ratio of from 100 to 150 to 1. No "dividing up" there, of course. But what blank ruin would engulf the American voting king if an industrial bureau were to furnish him shoes on the same plan it does postage stampsthe cost of the service! Perish the thought and vote the old ticket.

Or again, the farmer buys a common lumber wagon, price \$75. Labor cost of production at factory, forty-five hours less. Ratio of division in this 'sum' or in economic division, 67 to 1, and Grandpa Hayseed keeps on voting the good old party ticket. He believes in "incentive," he does, and means to maintain his "glorious independence." Or, again, as actually happened in this

county lately, attorney fees allowed by the court for less than five days' actual services-but call it ten days-were \$400-\$40 per day; or a division at the ratio of 160 to 1, and our fusion friends propose to fill the gap with a 16 to 1 free standard white metal and national license-to-trusts policy. Let us pr-mean "divide up." F. E. Miller. De Soto, Kan.

The Hernid Los flots are go at 35 conts per hundred conts London; to attain anything as good as

nd neverthei that ceaseless striving, for a utopian ideal is nobler and grander than slavish submission to a present day inferno.

William Mailly. Haverhill, Mass.

IN MEMORIAM

The Herald regrets to learn of the death of Comrade Frederick Scrimshaw, assistant editor of the New York People and author of that clever satirical work "the Dogs and the Fleas." This regret will be shared by Socialists everywhere who admired the man and appreciated his work for the cause he loved.

We have the painful duty of recording the death of Comrade Fred J. Braun of Cleveland. Our deceased comrade was one of the most devoted workers in the organization. At the joint meeting of Branches Nos. 2 and 3 of the Social Democracy, held Sunday, March 4, the following resolution was adopted :

"Whereas, It is with the most profound sorrow we learn that one of our comrades has passed from this life-one of our most patient and hardest workers in the cause of freedom and the emancipation of mankind-namely, our dearly beloved comrade and brother Fred J. Braun; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we here assembled in behalf of the Social Democratic party extend to the bereaved family of our departed comrade and brother our most sincere and heartfelt sympathy and condolence; further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolu-

board of health, 386. Our vote at H Park last fall was 13. Hurrah for So cialism and the Social Democratic party!

The Socialists of Newark, N. J., in convention assembled March 6, decided to unite under the name of the "Social Democratic Party" and nominated for mayor Edward C. Wind, together with a full local ticket, including candidates for all offices to be voted upon at the approaching municipal election.

DEBS' LECTURE TOUR

Bloomington, Ill afternoon	March H
Peoria, III evening	Marcall
Aoline. III	THE REAL
Blue Island, III	Marcela
	MATCHAN
Nebb City Ma	1 I E . St. A.C.
lonlin Mo	A State Street
Galena, Kanevening	Marce P

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending June 30 are due at the headquarters, 196 Washington st., Chicago, Ill-on or before April 5. Prompt remittance is of the high portance to insure the intere of the organization, and branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

SOCIAL DEMOGRATIC HERALD, SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1900.

THE CONVENTION

with his colleagues held itself open to adopt any name. Comrade Benham was the next to

speak, and supported the purpose of his committee in coming to the convention.

An Indianapolis photographer who had waited long to get a shot at the dele-gates was then given an opportunity, and all present were grouped together for that purpose.

After the recess the report on plat-form was received, and while the discus-sion was on Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen, the third member of the sub-convnittee from Rochester, arrived and was given a rousing reception. He responded in a heartfelt manner.

On motion the visiting delegates were given seats and a voice in the proceed-

ings of the convention. Comrade E. V. Debs moved that a committee be elected to meet the committee representing the Socialist Labor party in conference for the purpose of considering and deciding upon the mat-ters relating to the unification of the parties; said committee to report its action back to this body and to be subject to the approval of the same. Carried.

The committee elected was as follows: Hoehn, Putnam, Berger, London, Rob-inson, Chase, MacCartney, Butscher, Strobel, Lonergan, Brown, Putney, Cox, Heath.

Discussion of the platform was then resumed, and after some slight changes the same was adopted.

The Platform

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights. In our economic development an industrial

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of h's product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employ-ment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

labor. Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the in-security of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social roduction and The present system of social roduction and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capital-ist class and the propertyless class. The mid-dle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competi-tion. The issue is now between the two class-es first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

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

italist system. Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be; First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists. Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of produc-tion and distribution. to be administered by society in the common interest of all its mem-bers, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism. The working class and all those in sym-nathy with their historic mission to realize

The working class and all those in syn-pathy with their historic 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 all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the mil-lions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to in-ternational Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the fol-

lowing demands: First-Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

The following report from the press and publishing committee was read and received. After discussion, in which the need of free discussion in the party organ was emphasized, the report as adopted was as follows :

The undersigned, your committee on Social Democratic press, respectfully report that we have had under consideration suggestions made relative to the establishment of a co-operative publishing plant controlled by the party. While we are not prepared at this time to make any definite recommendations, owing to financial considerations, or opinion is that the course of the party should be in the direction of such control and we recom-mend:

First-That the incoming National Execu-tive board be instructed to take under con-sideration the establishment of a central bureau of literature.

Second—That a committee consisting of three be selected by the convention with in-structions to arrange for furnishing to pub-lishers of Socialist and other newspapers plate matter. Third-That members of the party consider

wisely the difficulties incident to starting new papers and the almost invariable loss attend-

papers and the almost invariable loss attend-ing the duplication of printing plants. Fourth—That a communication be sent from national headquarters to editors of all pub-lications in sympathy with the principles of the party and printed in German, Bohemian, Hebrew and other languages, requesting them to print all official or party news for the bene-fit of their readers and that official documents be furnished for this purpose. Filth—That official indorsement be given the Snarveldsnost a Bohemian weekly namer

the Sparveldsnost, a Bohemian weekly paper to be published by the Bohemian comrades of Chicago. This recommendation is made upon the understanding by your committee that the paper will be the property of the Bohemian branches of Chicago and under their editorial control.

W. E. Farmer, Chairman. A. S. Edwards, Secretary. For the Committee.

After much discussion relative to some parts of the report on organized labor the following resolutions were adopted:

Attitude Toward Trades Unions

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union move-ment and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-work-ing class. We recommend to the members of ing class. We recommend to the memory of the Social Democratic party the following general rules: First-Join the union of your respective

trade Second-Assist in building up and strength-

ening the trade union movement. Third—Support the union labels of all

Fourth-Educate your fellow-unionists on

Fourn—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor move-ment, on economic and political lines. Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recog-nizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class. Sixth—Educate the members of the unions

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Demo-

cratic party. Seventh-Trades unions are by historical ne-Seventh—I rades unions are by historical ne-cessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emm acipation. ema icipation.

The conference committee of fourteen on union then reported. After thorough discussion the following recommendations were adopted :

First-That a committee of nine be elected by this convention to confer with the committee of the S. L. P. in relation to union.

Second-That the convention instruct its committee of nine to urge the selection of the name "Social Democratic Party" as the most appropriate name of the united party if union shall be effected.

Third-That after the conference of the two committees aforesaid all recommendations or reports of the committees and all questions, including especially the question of party name, shall be submitted to a majority referendum vote of each party, said vote to be taken separately by each party. Provided, however, that in case any

question other than that of party name submitted to a referendum vote shall fail of concurrence, the committee shall have power to submit new propositions regarding such matters to a referendum vote.

consecration to his class and to his kind. He took the first movements which were open to his influence. He was a wage-earner; he was a working man. He therefore identified himself with those movements which look to the improvement of the conditions of his class, to the maintenance of the standard of living of

the maintenance of the standard of riving or his class. This was the great trades union movement, and it finally culminated in one of the most heroic strikes in modern history, a strike based upon love for fellow-man, a strike which was the quintessence of unselfishness, of self-abnegation, a strike in which men asked not only that their own rate of wages should be maintained but that the wages, the stand-ard of living, of their fellow-men, should be maintained. In the meantime capitalism had been reach-

In the meantime capitalism had been reaching its maturity. A critical point has been reached. A strike was inaugurated by the American Railway union delegates and men. American Railway union delegates and men. The capitalist party gave forth its ultimate power in the courts, for the courts in the evo-lution of the capitalist class had become sub-servient and did their will. This man defied the courts in the cause of humanity. This man jeopardized his life, and finally he gave himself to imprisonment. For the time being the courts had their sway, and the capitalistic class was triumphant. The man thus giving himself had followed the evolution of the labor movement. He had gots from one party to another party in the evolution of politics, his mind open, all alive. When he entered the tomb he had completed one cycle of his life. There it was that, like a John of Patmos, he had revealed to him a vision of the things that were to be, of the new

a John of Patmos, he had revealed to him a vision of the things that were to be, of the new kingdom, of the new era. There it was that there came to him a message which was the completion of the Pilgrim's Progress of labor. When he came forth from that tomb it was to a 'resurrection of life and the first message that he reve to his class as he came from his that he gave to his class as he came from his darkened cell was a message of liberty. He became the liberator. Then the inevitable movement and the man had met, and they were never again to be separated. He was still to continue to mold the movement, and the movement was again to transform him into a liberator of his kind, and now the time has come when the first presidential campaign

has come when the next presidential campaign shall be prosecuted. We would not tax him. We would rather preserve his life as more precious than our own. If he will commit that life to us we will preserve that life. We ask him to give us his name. It is for him to decide. I there-fore place in nomination the name of one whom we have the peerless charmoin of labor whom we love, the peerless champion of labor, the knight errant of the new chivalry which will mean the emancipation of our land. I place in nomination the name of Eugene V. Deb

A mighty wave of enthusiasm rose when the speaker resumed his seat. All eyes were, turned on Gene. The applause gradually subsiding, he arose and said :

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: How completely I respond to the very beautiful and touching words of the comrade it is impossible for me to say, deeply moved as I am by this manifestation of your confidence and good will. When I attempt to give expression to the emotions within me, all words become mean-ingless. Far more than language can express do I appreciate the confidence of the comrades who would make me the standard-bearer of the campaign in which we are now entering. I say again in the presence of my comrades that there is nothing within my power to be-stow that I would not gladly give in the interest of this party. But for certain reasons which are sufficient but not necessary to be stated, it is not possible for me to accept the honor you wish to confer on me. Strange as it may seem to you, I say that I cannot accept the nomination. I am not considering my own honor, but only that of the Social Democratic party, of which I am only a simple member. I hope you will not consider me indifferent to your appeal. could not be insensible to it without being destitute of every quality that dig-nifies human nature. For twenty-five years I have been enlisted in the cause of labor; I have done what has been in my power to advance that cause. There are considerations of health which make it impossible for me to accept the nomination. I hope the comrades will be considerate and accept my declination in the same spirit in which I am compelled to tender it."

For a few moments the profoundest silence prevailed, every one present realizing how much to this man meant any other course, but all hoping that the very silence itself was the herald of joy to come. Hoehn of Missouri was the first to break it; with great feeling he appealed to Debs to reconsider his decision. Benham of the S. L. P. committee followed, and, urging an acceptance, said: "We have a climate out in California that is good for men like you. Come out there with us; we will care for you." Harriman added his plea for the you." sake of duty, union and Socialism. Others also pled, all in vain; the convention's choice, the choice of the visiting delegates, sat immovable as a statue. The session had been prolonged for the purpose of making the nominations Thursday night, but failing in this an adjournment was taken to Friday morning.

gress at Paris, but after discussion the matter was referred to the committee of nine.

Debs and Harriman

MacCartney of Massachusetts then took the floor and in a few words renominated Eugene Victor Debs for president amid a storm of cheers. Benham of California rose and seconded the nomination, which was made unanimous

by a rising vote. Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin then placed in nomination for vice-president Job Harriman of California. Instantly the delegates were on their feet; the ticket was complete; the ideal ticket had been named. While the nominees stood on either hand of Chairman Chase, the convention indulged in a demonstration the like of which has never before occurred in a Socialist gathering on American soil.

The nomination of the committee of nine to confer with the Rochester committee was then taken up. There were fifteen nominees and the vote was taken by ballot, each delegate casting as many votes as he had credentials.

On motion the committee of nine was empowered to fill vacancies.

The following resolution was adopted : "Resolved, That our incoming national executive board be instructed to devise ways and means for a systematic campaign of agitation and organization among the working women of the country by means of a special committee."

A new constitution was submitted, adopted and referred to a committee of eighteen.

On motion the present executive board and officers were instructed in serve until the committee of nine reported.

On motion the Manifesto was referred to committee of eighteen.

On motion the matter of party emblems was referred to the joint committee.

On motion the time of meeting for the joint committee was left to the committee itself.

On motion Seymour Stedman was chosen as chairman of committee, with power to select four others to solicit funds.

On motion the convention tendered a vote of thanks to the comrades of Indianapolis, to the city press, the secretary and assistants.

Short addresses followed by Harriman, Hilquit and Hayes.

Chairman Stedman announced as the committee on funds-Strobel, MacCart-ney, Finn, Haile, Zorn, Mil'er (N. Y.). Stedman, MacCartney, Hilquit and Benham were appointed a committee to escort the candidate for president to the hall.

Adjourned.

Afternoon Session, March 9

Called to order at 2 p. m. by Chairman Chase.

Debs and Harriman were escorted into the hall, creating an extraordinary scene of enthusiasm, which was repeated when both ascended to the platform. Again and again the cheering was resumed as Debs in a brief speech announced his acceptance. He was followed by Harriman, who met with a demonstration that indicated unmistakably the spirit and purpose of the delegates.

Tellers reported the following elected as members of the union committee of mine: V. L. Berger, J. C. Chase, W. Butscher, Mararet Haile, G. A. Hoehn, Frederic Heath, W. E. Farmer, Sey-mour Stedman, J. F. Carey.

Moved that those next following the nine in number of votes fill vacancies. Carried. The convention then adjourned sine

die, all joining in singing the "Marseillaise."

Social Democratic Party

Cooper Union Mass Meeting

The Socialist workmen of New York, in Cooper union mass-meeting assembled, ex-tend to convention of Social Democratic party fraternal greeetings with the confident hope that the deliberations of the convention will show to the world the solidarity of labor in actual fact and that all shadow of differences will disclose into one grand harmony of cowill dissolve into one grand karmony of po-litical action.

Woodworkers' International Union

The Amalgamated Woodworkers' Interna-tional Union of America in convention as-sembled extend fraternal greetings and con-gratulate you upon the rapid progress of your movement in America. We hope your efforts will be crowned with success. Three cheers for organized labor and Socialism for organized labor and Socialism.

United New Jersey Socialists

We, the united members of the Socialist La bor party and Social Democratic party send from our joint county convention of Essex county, New Jersey, greeting to the comrades assembled at the national convention of the Social Democratic party and hope that our example of unity will be followed by you.

More Gains in Massachusetts

Victories in Amesbury, Spofford, two of-fices; Dr. Adams, board of health. Merrimack, Heath, police. Georgetown, Dawkins, overseer poor. Big gains for Social Democrats. Hurrah for unity.

From a Texas Comrade

Greetings to the heroes of humanity. May your deliberations accomplish that class-con-scious unity which will free the masses from their serfdom. Fraternally, Karl Feige.

New York Central Committee

New York City Central committee sends fraternal greetings and wants Debs for presi-dent and unity under Social Democratic name. Hurrah for international Socialism. Leonard D. Abbott, Secy.

Section San Francisco, S. L. P.

Comrades, we greet you with words of Karl Marx: "Workingmen of all countries, unite." Branch 15, Brooklyn

Let your convention be the foundation of Socialist unity and progress.

Voice of Labor, New York

Heartiest congratulations. March forward through unity to victory. Debs for president.

Fourth Assembly Dist., New York Fraternal greeting. Let unity be the guide on your way

Columbus, Ohio, Branch Our best wishes from branch to convention. Winfield P. Porter, Massachusetts Congratulations on presidential and vice-presidential nominations. On to victory.

List of Delegates

Colorado-W. H. Fechyew.

Connecticut—W. P. Lonergan. Indiana—E. V. Debs, J. Ozanics, H. Greuling, James Oneal, Ed Evinger, J. W. Kelly, Hugo Miller, W. Blenko, J. R. Backus, Judson Oneal, Matt Hallen-

berg, H. Stumpfle, J. Breil. Illinois-Mrs. Corinne Brown, Jesse Cox, A. S. Edwards, R. H. Johnson, Mrs. R. H. Johnson, F. G. Strickland, Seymour Stedman; E. D. Wheelock, Kentucky—F. C. Stumpf, J. H. Ar-nold, A. Hirshberg, P. L. Robinson. Maryland—E. H. Wenzel.

Massachusetts-Margaret Haile, J. C. Chase, F. O. MacCartney, S. M. Jones,

William Mailley, J. F. Carey, S. E. Put-

Missouri-G. A. Hoehn, E. V. Put-

nam, S. K. Caldwell. New Hampshire—F. G. R. Gordon. New Jersey—G. H. Strobel, G. H.

New York-Elizabeth H. Thomas, I.

North Dakota-G. W. Poague. Ohio-Charles R. Martin, W. E. Tay-

lor, Julius Zorn, A. Nagel, H. R. Crum-

ley, Charles O. Jones, J. M. Dillon, F. J. Arnold, Joseph Matz, J. L. Franz. Pennsylvania—M. Gillis, F. W. Hirt. Tennessee—W. Mahoney. . Texas—W. E. Farmer, S. J. Hamp-

Wisconsin-V. L. Berger, F. Heath,

A. B. Forman, L. A. Arnold.

Phillips, William Butscher, M. London,

Goebel

L. Miller.

control of government by the people irre-spective of sex. Second—The public ownership of all indus-

tries controlled by monopolies, trusts and com-

Third—The public ownership of all rail-roads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities

public utilities. Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells. Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production. Sixth—The inauguration of a system of pub-lic works and improvements for the employ-

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of pub-lic works and improvements for the employ-ment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose. Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public. Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, in-stead of local, and international when possible. Ninth-National insurance of working peo-

stead of local, and international when possible. Ninth—National insurance of working peo-ple against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age. Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women. Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

the voters. Twelfth-Abolition of war and the introduc-tion of international arbitration.

Adjourned.

Morning Session, March 8

Convention was called to order by Chairman Stedman.

The credentials committee reported that sixty-seven delegates were present from seventeen states, with 2,090 votes. John C. Chase was elected chairman for the day.

The Nominations

On motion the convention then proceeded to nominate candidates for president and vice-president of the United States. Frederic O. MacCartney of Massachusetts took the floor and said:

Mr. Chairman and Comrades of the S. D. P.

Mr. Chairman and Comrades of the S. D. P. in Convention: I know that it is customary in the nomina-tion of a candidate for president to give forth utterances which are winged with eloquence. Now, I am not an eloquent man, but I believe that the comrades will accept în lieu of elo-quence a few words that come from the heart of the one who makes the nomination. In a dark epoch of strife a child was born, an epoch of strife between two great classes of society. On the one hand there was the maturing capitalist class, and on the other hand there was the evolution of the self-com-scious, class-conscious, wage-earning, working

hand there was the evolution of the self-con-scious, class-conscious, wage-earning, working class. From the earliest time that this child could take cognizance of the condition of the class into which he was born his interest be-gan to develop in the destinies of his class. There was therefore the conjunction of the birth of a great movement with the birth of a great man. The individual is subservient to the growth of any epoch; nevertheless, the individual who grasps the meaning of the epoch in which he lives makes his impress upon the epoch, and molds it by the power of his individuality. And thus began a campaign of conquest of

his individuality. And thus began a campaign of conquest of the minds of his fellow countrymen in order to bring it about. I say that the man contributes to the epoch, and the spoch in turn contributes to his life. Twenty-five years ago the young man, grown from a child, definitely gave his life in

Morning Session, March 9

The convention was called to order by Chairman Chase.

On motion the following were appointed a committee to arrange to furnish plate matter to Socialist and other publishers: Gordon, Evinger, Edwards.

The following resolution was adopted : "That the national executive board be instructed to formulate and publish, in such form as they deem advisable, general instructions to organizers in reference to the organization or formation of local branches of the Social Democratic

The committee of nine was instructed, as the report shows, to urge the adop-tion of the name "Social Democratic Party" for the united party. This met with no opposition in the convention, and was the unanimous sentiment of the delegates. Morris Hilquit in his first address to the convention declared that the Rochester convention had purposely refrained from adopting a name, and the party he represented was willing to adopt any name the committee on union might agree upon.

The committee of nine representing the Social Democratic party met and decided to hold a joint meeting at New York in two weeks. In the event that any of the nine are unable to attend, the four receiving the highest vote in the order named and entitled by vote of the convention to fill vacancies are: Lonergan, Connecticut; Martin, Ohio; Ma-honey, Tennessee; Strobel, Newark.

GREETINGS OVER THE WIRES

The following dispatches were re-ceived and read to the convention during the four days' sessions :

New York Jewish Socialists

New York Jewish Socialists send fraternal greetings to Social Democratic convention. Let the party be the light of emancipation of America's proletariat from economic slavery to freedom. We are animated by the spirit of brotherhood and in our good will partici-pate in the labors of the party's representa-tives for the welfare of the party's representa-ism. Step forward on the road of progress and lead us to "justice and unity."

Following is the committee of nine to confer with the Rochester committee on the matter of union and the vote each

Committee of Nine

received.	
V. L. Berger	1861
I. C. Chase	1731
William Butscher	1677
Margaret Haile	1591
G. A. Hoehn	1568
F. Heath	1386
W. E. Farmer	1305
S. Stedman	1303
J. F. Carey	1236

A Pleasant Incident

One of the incidents of convention week that will not soon be forgotten occurred at the New Occidental hotel Friday. When the delegates were seated for dinner one of the comrades rose and proposed a vote of thanks to the waiter girls, which was given with a hearty cheer. A few moments later another was seen trying to make himself heard above the din of conversation. He said he thought the delegates should do more than give thanks, and in behalf of those present tendered the girls a purse of \$11, which had been quietly made up for their benefit. Then Mrs. Corinne Brown seized the occasion for a few appropriate words to the girls, telling them who the guests were and advising them to study Socialism and marry Socialist husbands. One of their number acknowledged in an appreciative manner this parting evidence of good will, and the delegates turned their attention to the dinner.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1900.

Alderman—Wm. H. James Alderman—Joseph J. Novek Alderman—G. M. Schmidt 29 66

42

Massachusetts, Fall, 1899.

20 MONTHS' RECORD

[Fism the Social Democratic Red Book, edite by Frederic Heath; price, 15 cents]

Second Milwaukee Assembly District-

E. Krupp Third Milwaukee Assembly District— Geo. Landwehr Fourth Milwaukee Assembly District—

Jas Sheehan Twelfth Milwaukee Assembly District— Emil Seidel Fifteenth Milwaukee Assembly District

(Calumet and Manitowoc counties.) Wisconsin, Fall, 1898. For Governor-Howard Tuttle (S. D.

For Governor-Howard Tuttle (S. D. P.)
Henry Reise (S. L. P.).... 1,473
Lieutenant-Governor-E. P. Hassinger (S. D. P.)....
H. C. Gauger (S. L. P.).... 1,543
Secretary of State-Thos. C. P. Meyers (S. D. P.).....
E. B. Bartelt (S. L. P.).... 1,550
State Treasurer-August Mohr (S. D. P.)....

 For Lieutenant-Governor-T. M. Skinner
 5.899

 Por Secretary of State-C. H. Bradley 9.285
 5.607

 For Treasurer-C. W. White
 6,302

 For Auditor-C. S. Grieves
 6.823

 New Hampshire, November, 1898.
 507

 For Governor-Sumner F. Claftin
 263

 Haverhill, Mass., November, 1898.
 507

 For State Senator, Fourth Essex District-J. C. Chase
 1,110

 For Representative, Third Essex District-L. M. Scates*
 674

 For Congress, Sixth District-A. L.
 Gillen

 Gillen
 845

Gillen New York City, November, 1898. Twelfth Assembly District-Jos. Baron-

Eighth Assembly District-Louis Mil-

ler Fourth Assembly District-Meyer Lon-

98

54

118

404

158

1,473 Issi

2,535

2,540

845

128

AT THE BALLOT BOX

November, 1899. For Representative-Frederic O. Mc-46

51

 Essex (Havenin) District, Mass., November, 1899.

 For Representative, Fifth District—

 James F. Carey*
 909

 (361 majority.)

 Third Representative District—Louis

 M. Scates
 814

 Fourth Representative District—C. S.

 Woodcock
 657

 45

84

465

580

... 3,526

321

301

(311 majority.) For Alderman—Frank A. Beal 2,854 For Alderman—Louis M. Scates* 3,074

 For Alderman—Louis M. Scates*
 3,074

 (34 plurality.)
 For Alderman—Jos. W. Bean*
 3,409

 (340 majority.)
 Haverhill, Mass., December, 1898.

 For Mayor—John C. Chase*
 2,293

 S. L. P.
 68

 For Alderman—G. A. Kelley
 2,146

 For Alderman—C. A. Kelley
 1,371

 For Alderman—C. A. Frazer
 1,302

 For Alderman—C. A. Frazer
 1,700

son* For Assistant Assessor-F. S. Reed* ...

641 912 158

192

421 134 806

276

208

240

229 228 220

220

229

63

114

457

565

744 248

302

51 156 88

48 84

132

110

 Vote of S. D. P.
 Note of S. D. P.

 Vigo County (Terre Haute), Ind., November, 1898.
 For Sheriff—Henry Stuempfle
 260

 Missouri, November, 1898.
 For Judge Supreme Court—Albert Sanderson
 1,645

 S. L. P.
 1,056
 1,645

 For Judge Supreme Court, short term
 -G. A. Hoehn
 1,631

 S. L. P.
 1,036
 1,646

 For Superintendent Public Schools—
 Rendell
 1,646

 For Railroad Commissioner—Stors...
 1,649

 St. Louis Congressional, November, 1898.
 Tenth District—Keefer
 229

 S. L. P.
 121
 149

 S. L. P.
 144
 144

 Twelfth District—Tomsen
 100
 S. L. P.
 100

 Assessor—Gunderman Assessor—Orcutt Assessor—Kellner Alderman—Pike, 13; Theuer Councilmen—Smith, 36; Spelman, 63; : 220

Councilmen—Smith, 36; Spelman, 63;
Schlaf
Lynn, Mass., December, 1899.
For Mayor—Ernest W. Timson
S. L. P.
330
For Aldermen—Gidney, 529; Hitchcock, 454; Jackson, 506; Jones, 556; Kilks, 470; Lee, 530; Miles, 482; Nottal, 297; Stone
Newburyport, Mass., December, 1899.
For Mayor—Chas. W. Johnson
For Alderman—S. H. Noyes
For Alderman—George W. Hussey*...
For Alderman—E. C. Lang
For Councilman—L. A. Thibault
For Councilman—D. F. Souther
For Councilman—C. P. Preble
For Councilman—C. P. Preble For Councilman—C. E. Preble For Councilman—T. H. Chishell For Councilman—F. W. Dorr...... For School Board—Mrs. Elizabeth

Maryland cast 315 votes in 1892, 403 in 1895, 587 in 1896 and 508 in 1897. Massachusetts cast 1,429 votes in 1891, 676 in 1892, 2,033 in 1893, 3,104 in 1894, 3,249 in 1895 and 2,114 in 1896, In 1897 it cast 6,301. Michigan cast 358 votes in a local election (Detroit) in 1895 and 297 in the same kind of an election in 1896. In 1897 it cast 2,106. Minnesota cast 867 in 1896. Missouri cast 1,631 votes (St. Louis) in 1893, 1,537 in 1894 and 596 in 1896. New Hampshire cast 228 votes in 1896. New Hampshire cast 228 votes in 1896. New Jersey cast 472 votes in 1897, 1,338 in 1892, 2,018 in 1893, 5,309 in 1894, 4,147 in 1895, 3,985 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 4,350. New York cast 13,704 votes in 1893, 15,808 in 1894, 21,497 in 1895 and 17,667 in 1895. In 1897 it cast 20,854. Ohio cast 40, votes in 2, local election

In 1894, 21,497 in 1895 and 17,007 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 20,854. Ohio cast 470 votes in a local election (Cleveland) in 1894, 1,867 in 1895 and 1,167 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 4,242. Pennsylvania cast 898 in 1892, 1,733 in 1894, 1,329 in 1895 and 1,683 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 5,048

1,329 in 1695 and 1,059 in 1694, 1,730 in 1895, cast 5,048.
 Rhode Island cast 592 in 1894, 1,730 in 1895, 558 in 1896, 1,386 in 1897.
 Vermont cast 48 votes in 1895
 Virginia cast 108 votes in 1896, 528 in 1897.
 Wisconsin cast 1,314 in 1896.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PRESS

The following is an incomplete list of the weekly newspapers in the United States giving an entire or partial support to the Social Democratic party: Social Democratic Herald. A. S. Edwards,

editor, room 56, 126 Washington street, Chi-cago. Price 50 cents a year. Appeal to Reason. J. A. Wayland, editor,

Girard, Kan. Price 50 cents per year. Haverhill Social Democrat. Wm. Mailly, editor, Haverhill, Mass. Price 50 cents per

vear.

Social Democrat. 614 State street, Milwaukee. Price 50 cents per year. Journal. Warren, Mass. Public Ownership. Erie, Pa. The Toiler. Ed. Evinger, editor, Terre

Haute, Ind. Coming Nation. Duke, Georgia. Price 50

Coming Nation. Duke, Georgia. Price so cents per year. Vorwaerts, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State street Milwaukee. Price \$2 per year. Die Wahrheit, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State street, Milwau-kee. Price \$2 per year. Volks-Anwalt (German). Gustav A. Hechn en North Fourth/intert Peren 7 St.

Volks-Anwalt (German). Gustav A. Hoehn, 22 North Fourth'street, Room 7, St. Louis. Price \$1:50 per year. New Light. E. E. Vail, editor, Port An-geles, Wash. Price 50 cents per year. The Farmers' Review. W. E. Farmer, ed-itor, Bonham, Texas. Per year, 50 cents. Sheboygan Volksblat (German). Oscar Loebel, editor, Sheboygan, Wis Per year, \$1.50.

\$1.50.

\$1.50. People's Press. A. D. Hale, editor, Albany, Ore. Price \$1.25 per year. Spravedlinest (Bohemian). Chicago.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Austria.			Ge	many.	
1895	90,000	1867			30,00
1897	750,000	1871			101,92
Belgium.	5 Sec	1874			351,67
1894	334,500	1877			486,84
1898	534,324	1878			437,15
Denmark.	001,004	1881			311,96
1872	315	1884			599,99
1884	6.805	1887			763,12
1887	8,408	1890			
1890	17,232				
1892	20,098	1898			2,125,00
1895	25,019		Gene	Britai	
898	32,000	1005			
France.	00,000	1050			55,000
1885	-30,000			taly.	
888	91.000	1893			20,00
893	590,000				76,40
898	000 000	1897			134,49
			S	ervia.	
United States		1895			50,000
1890	13.704			pain.	
1891	16,552	1902	6	pain,	7.00
1892	21,512	1805			14,80
1893	25,666	1907			28,00
1894	30,020	1001			
1895	34,869	-		erland	
1896	36,275	1890			13,50
1817	55,550				29,82
1898	91,749	1896			\$6,46

They Hewed the Path

The sword of Gideon, sword of God Be with ye, Boers. Brave men of peace Ye hewed the path, ye brake the sod, Ye fed white flocks of fat increase Where Saxon foot had never trod; Where Saxon foot unto this day Had measured not, had never known Had ye not bravely led the way And made such happy homes your own.

And yet meanwhile ten thousand miles She seeks ye out. Well, welcome her! Give her such welcome with such will As Boston gave in battle's whir That red, dread day at Bunker Hill.

-Joachim Miller.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch. San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday even-ings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thurs-day evening.

Business meetings (for members) every Thurs-day evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 35 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

street, Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sun-day afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 125½ Spring St. J. Franc, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT.

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockwille, L. Schlaf, Scretary. Branch No. 3, New Haren, meets every Tuesday eve-ning, at 198 State St., at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 185 Frank St. Rranch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS.

HLLINOIS. Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dear-born St. Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Went-

 b4-59 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.
 NEW YORE.
 The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wilzig's Hall, 55 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.
 East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Tunerday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 163 Buffolk St.
 Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1669 Second Av., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.
 Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 96th St.
 Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the force of Labor, 423 Grand St. Jacob Panken, Organizer, 128 Division St.
 Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, headquarters, 351 Ruiledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 515 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butscher, Secretary, 251 Ruiledge St.
 Branch No. 20, New York, 28th Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at the Secretary, 251 Ruiledge St.
 Branch No. 20, New York, 28th Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave. R. Hoppe, Secretary, 235 Ruiledge St.
 Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8140. born St. Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 204 Went-worth Ave. Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets sec-ond and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 655 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jellnek, Sec-retary, 606 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jellnek, Sec-retary, 606 Blue Island Ave. Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p.m. in Dander's place, 1080 W. 185t place. Joseph Dunder, Sccretary. Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second a fourth Sun days of each month at Andr. Muzik's, 40 String St. Path Chiapeeka, Secretary, 364 Rable St. Branch No. 5 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 635 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Gelsler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St. Branch No. 9 Chrcago et at 1.45 W. 63rd t., first ad third Sundays at 3 p.m. S. L. Westine, Secretary, 624 Center ave. INDIANA. R. Hoppe, Secretary, 232 E. soth St. OHIO.
 Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meet-ings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m. Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.
 Branch No. 4. Cincinnati, meets at Richeinen Hall southeast corner fith and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited E. Biederman, Sec., 215 Vine St.
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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1900.

ON THE EVE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY A Visi

I dreamed I was once more in exile in the Arctic region, watching the dark blue starry skies at night, nearly in the center of the northern part of the horizon. I saw a deep, dark segment, so deep and dark and menacing that a feeling of awe and terror crept unawares over me. Strangely enough, the deep dark segment, glaring like a bottomless abyss under the feet of a daring mountain climber and ready to swallow him at any moment not only did not repel me, but rather attracted all my attention with an unexplainable fascination. Whitish clouds of indistinct, perpetually changing shape and outlines were slowly creeping forward and backward, like shadows of dethroned ancient deities, over the black abyss. At times the shadows broadened, spread out, glimmered with phosphoric flames covering like a phantastical huge curtain a considerable part of the horizon and then vanished at once, leaving the same menacing deep Egyptian darkness behind. The gigantic shadows reappeared, took more distinct shape and outlines, more intense colors; green, blue, red ; all the shades and hues of the rainbow in the most unexpected but always harmonious combinations.

It was a chaotic vision, a series of perpetually changing pictures. At times a part, at times the whole horizon, at times the starry heavens and the snowbound soil, and even the intensely cold atmosphere appeared in flames, as if all the volcanoes of the globe were thrown into a state of the most violent eruption. The waves of the scene of colored flames seemed to menace everything and everybody on earth, like an irresistible flood of fire. And not a sound, even the faintest, could be heard. I looked and waited and wondered. A crushing feeling of my human nothingness overwhelmed me. I felt like shutting my eyes, dazzled and tired out by the vision, when suddenly a divine being approached before me, as if borne by the waves of flaming air. It would be futile and sacrilegious at the same time on my part to attempt to describe the heavenly apparition-so celestially beautiful and radiant and yet so human, plain and everyday like. I felt as happy, calm, hopeful as never in my life before or after. So much goodness, so much sweetness and simplicity radiated from the childlike, womanly countenance of the goddess. I at that moment felt with all the fibres of my body, with all the powers of my soul that I was in the presence of a goddess, and all the dross of everyday drudgery, cares, fears and anxieties melted away, leaving behind the pure gold of an exalted human

"Follow me!" uttered the goddess touching me with the torch in her left hand, and her voice sounded like the murmur of flowers caressed by the zephyr wind in spring. "I am the future of the human race.

I had no will but hers, and obeyed silently and joyfully, like a child, the com-mand of a well-beloved mother. The earth at once lost the power of attraction for my body and soul, and I felt lifted to heights unspeakable. I lost all idea about space and time. The stony walls, iron doors and armed sentinels did not exist for us, and we passed into a dark, damp, cold and filthy dungeon deep under the surface of the earth. A prematurely aged man with remarkably noble and intelligent features with chained hands and feet slept near to the slimy wall on a wooden bench. Fearful phantasma seemed to disturb the prisoner. The goddess touched him with her torch., The prisoner did not rise, but a happy smile rejuvenated the careworn

a hundred million of subjects did not seem to be happy and contented.

"I wish I could be a poor peasant," said he to his wife. "The burden of my crown is too heavy for my head. I am the least free of all my subjects, and my rule is, after all, only nominal. I do not and cannot know and ascertain the real needs of my people, and if I would and could I would be powerless to accomplish any real good. I am the servant of my advisers and cannot make one step independently. I am surrounded by people I cannot trust and must any moment be ready to meet a violent death. The future does not belong to us so-called mighty rulers. Our days have passed. O! for the humble lot of the poorest of my subjects!"

Not less surprising was our experience in the palace of one of the richest men on earth. "Do not congratulate me with new years and centuries," said he to his intimate friends. "The future does not belong to us financial kings. Our days have passed and I really am not quite certain if there is any cause to lament it. My life was, frankly speaking, a failure as far as real human happiness is concerned. I exhausted all my energies in amassing fabulous wealth. At first I enjoyed success; but soon got used to it and looked upon it as a matter of course. I had no time to enjoy life in my young years and lost the capacity for enjoyment in my declining age. My friends are few, my enemies name are legion. And my conscience bothers me sometimes more than I care to confess. I did, alas! many a thing in my career I would give my life to be undone. O! for the humble lot of one of the humblest of my employers! My wealth turns more and more burdensome to me with every hour.

We then visited the pope of Rome. He at once recognized the goddess, but did not seem to be especially edified by her arrival.

"I do not see any reason to rejoice in the advent of the new century. As a representative of one of the strongest dogmatic religions I have to confess that. our days have passed and the future does not belong to us churchmen. The old creeds are decaying fast. But what replaces them? A total absence of any philosophy of life, of any guiding principle of conduct.

Again we soared through space till we stopped in the midst of one of the largest cities of the United States. A numberless crowd of hateners was gathered around a young carpenter, a speaker with a self-concentrated, dreamy expression on his unusually handsome face. His voice was remarkably clear, strong and winning. The audience was spellbound and thoroughly in touch with the magnetic personality of the orator. He spoke about the prospects of the new century with unsurpassed eloquence. The passing nineteenth century was the epoch of unchecked individualism, pessimism and selfishness, of purely negative ideas (as so-called political freedom, competition, etc.), of destruction of old institutions without building new ones to replace then, of religious hypocrisy and general moral cowardice. The speaker hailed in glowing words the twentieth century as the dawn of a new era of race consciousness instead of individualism, altruism instead of selfishness and optimism instead of pessimism. Positive ideals as a basis for the construction of perfected social institutions, ideals of human brotherhood and solidarity of all interest will replace the old fetishes of the sovereign personality.

There was no trace of declamation or mannerism to be noted in the speaker. He appealed not only to the reason, but the innermost hearts of his audience, to the holy of holies of the human soul. And there was not one man or woman pretty little son, when he is awake; I so hardened and soiled by the meanness of their lives as were not touched and ennobled for the time being. The divine spark weakly glowing under the heaps of moral, or rather immoral, rubbish even in the most depraved human being was blown into flames and the enthusiasm of the listener was great. Indeed, before their spiritual eyes were unrolled vistas of thought and sentiments, of the existence of which they never dreamed, were pointed out motives of action about which they never heard. But, above all, they were made to feel for the first time in their barren lives the deep sacredness, high dignity and true significance of human relations. He preached the gospel of humanity turned divine, of humanity identified with divinity, of the total renunciation of the personality in the interests of the race-this sublime unity with a past full of mysterious charm and a future too glorious to be imagined by us. The longer he spoke the greater ran the enthusiasm of his listeners, the more their number grew. Every word of the prophet of raceism was wired by special reporters to all the nooks and corners of the globe and aroused everywhere the same enthusiasm, kindled the same religious ardor, implanted the same ideals and aspirations. For the first time in the history of the world all humanity was united in one all-absorbing thought-its perfect solidarity as a race. Again we soared through space till we arrived at Paris. The world's fair was in its climax of attraction, but it was overshadowed by the world's congress of na-tions assembled with the purpose to in-augurate eternal peace on earth and good will to men, to devise new social and ecoyear, a new century. The ruler of nomic institutions on the basis of reason

and equity, to do away forever with exploitation of one class by another in any shape or manner, to inaugurate real freedom and equality, to proclaim the religion of divine humanity. The world's history never witnessed such a mighty throng of people of the higher mental and moral capacity as the representatives of this congress. The world's history never witnessed deliberations so profound in their nature, so broad in their scope, so deep in their significance.

I was so enthused by the sight of the world's congress of nations as to venture to say a few words myself, but at that moment I awoke, and the vision vanished. The sun was still under the horizon, but its light messenger, the rosy rays, spread like a heap of sheaves upward into the deep azure of the starry sky. The eastern part of the sky seemed to glow in a sea of molten gold, silver and rubies. The upper rim of the sun appeared over the horizon, blending us, joyous spectators, with its fiery light and inaugurating the glorious dawn of the XXth century.

Son der Thorheit! Traeume immer Wenn dir's Herz im Busen schwillt, Dach im Leben suche nim mer Deiner Traeume Elenbild.

Isador Ladoff.

Song of the Factory Slave (By Ernest Jones.) The land it is the landlord's; The and the state state states of the sea: The ore the usurer's coffer fills, But what remains for me? The engine whiles for master's craft; The steel shines to defend; With labor's arms, what labor raised, For labor's foe to spend. The camp, the pulpit, and the law, For rich men's sons are free; Theirs-theirs are learning, art, and arms; But what remains for me?

The coming hope, the future day When wrong to right shall bow; And hearts that have the courage, man, To make that future now.

I pay for all this learning, I toil for all their ease; They render back in coin for coin, Want, ignorance, disease; Toil, toil, and then a cheerless home, Where hungry passions cross; Eternal gain to them who give, To me eternal loss! The hour of leisure—happiness— The rich alone may see: The playful child, the smiling wife; But what remains for me

The coming hope, etc.

They render back-these rich men-A pauper's niggard fee A pauper's niggard tec Mayhap a prison, then a grave, And think they're quits with me. But not a fond wife's heart that breaks, A poor man's child that dies, Ve score not on our hollow cheeks And in our sunken eyes; W We read it there, whene'er we meet, And as the sum we see, ach asks, "The rich the wealth have got, ach asks, "The rich the we But what remains for me?

The coming hope, etc.

We bear the wrong in silence, We store it in our brain; They think us dull, they think us dead, But we shall rise again. A trumpet through the lands will ring, A tramplet through the lattice with ring, A heaving through their mass, A trampling through their palaces, Until they break like glass; We'll cease to weep by cherished graves, From lowly homes we'll flee, And will es solls our million morch And still as rolls our million-march, Its watchword brave shall be.

The coming hope, the future day, When wrong to right shall bow; And hearts that have the courage, man, To make that future now. -London Social Democrat.

"MY BOY" By Morris Rosenfeld, Author of "Songs from the Ghetto"

I have a little boy, a fine little follow is he! When I see him, it appears to me the whole world is mine. Only rarely, rarely I see him, my

SHOES AND SOCIALISM

An article under this heading appeared in the New York Sun, date of December 24, 1899, and was printed in the Social Democratic Herald of January 6, 1900. It would seem that the Sun would like some light in connection with the recent Social Democratic successes in Haverhill and Brockton, relative to the relationship between shoes and Socialism.

If the Herald will permit, the writer, an inventor and deviser of new things and ideas, would like to mention a few points which may throw some light upon the question.

History tells us that nearly all great and good men spent their youthful days in shoemaking and thus the reform movement began. The shoes are the guide and protector of humanity's forthcoming. The emblems or tools that the shoemaker used were connected with some good old historical names that served as the mainspring of the forthcoming of the battle of humanity.

The mention of a few will illustrate. First the (awl), all, which means the same as alpha, if we jump over the small (kit), we will find the (last), that means omega. We have thus found the beginning of the end. The shoemakers are the founders of the people's understanding; they cut and form the innersoul. trim and finish to their own last, the same he does with the (outersoul) which is turned out to endure the hardships of world. Then the (soul) sole is truly hammered and leveled. You can step upon snakes and scorpions and all the sharks of Wall street cannot stand up against you.

They are the cutters and shapers of the (tongue) and the tongue that they form serves for all nations, regardless of languages.

He digs the (channel) through which all (thread) must run, and whether you believe it or not, the shoemaker never gets stuck like others who may have tried, for he has a small bunch that is bristling with good points and his thread runs as smooth as wax. If you are getting weak, the shoemaker will put on a backstay. If your (soul) is uneasy or noisy, he will ease it up and bring about harmony. He connects the top and bottom (body and soul); he puts (eyes) in the body so the shoes are the feet's lantern and light you on your paths. They upbuild people who are going wrong and when they find a wicked (sole) they cut it off and throw it in a consuming fire. He connects the now (so common welt) to the (soul) and without him we would all die within six months of consumption or some other sickness.

The only thing he does not part with is his heart and brains, for he needs them for future use.

Breaking away from genuine shoemaker's language, and using common, every-day talking, we can sum up the relationship this way: A shoemaker as an individual has been able to make a fairly good living, and has had something left with which to buy literature; furthermore, his place of business has been a bureau of information, particularly in the line of politics, and has had a good following in those who came in to kill time. There was a time when a skilled workman received medals and honors of various kinds for a high quality of workmanship, using the best material; then the competition was in seeing who could produce the best. Today this competition is on a different basisto see how greater price can be produced by using the cheapest materials and get the greatest production in the least time; hence we have few or no shoes that are manufactured, but shoes that are machinefactured. A competent worker knows his business from beginand and is justly a shoem: The only opportunity now left a thorough shoemaker is to become a sixtysecond part of a shoemaker, or a feeder on a machine that makes shoes. Thus the shoemaker has seen his trade ruined and can only see his salvation out from wage slavery through Socialism. There is no chance for a workman to compete with capitalism, for it requires millions of dollars instead of a few hand tools, as was the case a few years back. The shoes are now made for profit instead of for wear and comfort. The greater part of the shoes made today consist of shoddy, such as paper counters and heels with vamps cut short. The upper leather is glazed, enameled; creased, pressed and pebbled. The upper leather made from one ordinary cow hide will appear in the market under twenty or more different false names, some of which are the following : Grain, kip, calf, seal, goat, kangaroo, with numerous prefixes and affixes. Is it, then, any wonder that shoemakers, as a class, have had the advantage of others in discerning the deceit practiced under a capitalistic system of commercialism? The shoemakers are heartily sick of the system which has ruined their trade and compelled them to participate in making an inferior product from that made by them with the old hand tools for a bare existence. This would not be the case if the machinery were operated by the community, for then the best material would be used and the shoes would be made for wear and comfort, and not for profit. The same will apply to all branches of indus-try; therefore, if you would like all things which you are consuming pure,

wholesome and durable, become a Socialist. Wake up! Follow the leaders who proclaim the dawn of the new day, when no man shall live upon the sweat and toil of others or by rent, profit or fraud, but where every man shall have what he produces, and not, as now, only a small portion which comes to him in the shape of a wage. In view of the experiences of shoemakers and their honest belief that salvation can only come to the human race through unity at the polls, consequently they have identified themselves with the Social Democratic party in a class-conscious movement.

7

Down with the classes! Up with the masses!

- Defeat to the traitor
- .That money can buy.

This has been the battle cry in both Haverhill and Brockton, and has surely been a winner. May the same battle cry be heard in every city and town until there is no more talk of the classes and masses, but of the common welfare of the human race.

Karl W. Leaf.

ANOTHER VIEW OF GOEBEL

Editor of The Herald: The article of Comrade James Allman in your issue of Feb. 24 moves me to say a few words with reference to the assassination of Goebel.

From the proletariat point of view, it is a great error to conclude that Wm. Goebel was an enemy to any corporation. He did not question their right of exploitation of the people, although as a matter of political tactics he did publicly object to their having certain special privileges-at least without his consent.

As a member of the bar, and having had a few cases in Covington (Goebel's home) I am somewhat familiar with Goebel's "opposition" to the capitalistic class.

While the assassination must meet with the severest condemnation, on every hand, yet Goebel was himself responsible. for the conditions which caused it, just as he was responsible for the conditions which resulted in his killing Banker Sanford. Sanford may have drawn his weapon- first, but Goebel's merciless abuse drove him to desperation.

As a Socialist, I do not believe in attacking individuals, realizing that they are but the creatures of their environments, but it is sometimes necessary to the explanation of circumstances.

Goebel was a' most capable, coldblooded, mercenary, political bully, who was never known to smile. His method of accomplishing his end was by force and chicanery. At the moment he was shot he was accompanied by the two most notorious duelists and bullies in the state of Kentucky-Jack Chinn and Eph Lilliard-for several years his principal henchmen in state politics. Goebel was the czar of Kenton coun-

ty politics and the most powerful leader in state politics, and herein lies the solution to his "capitalist opposition." bled the corporations.

All legislation in the state, and particularly in Kenton county, required his indorsement.

Furthermore, his ability to get enormous judgments against corporations was recognized, and hence nearly all the damage suits filed in Kenton county for several years were filed through him. The judges of the bench were practically his appointees, and, the "hangers-on" of the courts, some of whom always got on the juries, were his ward-heelers. Is it any wonder that corporate greed chafed under his regime, and connived for his downfall? This seeming opposition to corporations made many friends for Goebel among the common people, but he was not fighting their battle. The class-conscious Socialist will not allow these events in capitalist politics to confuse him, knowing as he does that that fight does not concern him, but is merely a fight over the division of spoils fleeced from the working class. Goebel was not the advocate of any principle the operation of which would directly facilitate the emancipation of the working class. An Observer.

face of the martyr. "It is new year, the first of a new cen-tury. You know me; I came to console you," said the goddess. you

"To console me?" retorted the unfortunate, with a faint, broken voice, once so musical and magnetic. "Do not trouble yourself about me! You had no more devoted servant than me. I sacrificed my life-blood to the cause of humanity and here I am-a slave of slaves, a broken vessel! Go to the mighty of the earth

-to the kings, emperors and czars !" An indescribable sadness overshadowed the divine face and we departed. Again we soared silently through the space still we stopped before a small frame building and entered a small room all filled with books, manuscripts, maps and philosophical instruments. An old, venerable sage was dreaming in his old-tashioned chair. The goddess touched him with her torch and repeated her greeting.

"A new century, indeed! What a consolation !" answered the scientist sarcastically. "I spent all my life in the seeking of truth, opened new vistas of thought, made many discoveries and inventions. But did all this improve the conditions, inten the burden of the poor, the downdden, the persecuted, the disinherited? Go to the priests, to the successful captains of industry and politicians !"

Again sadness crept over the features the deity and we departed. We then tered the splendid palace of a mighty -the Czar of Russia. Surrounded almost inhuman luxury, and treated a demi-god, he dreamed on his gorthrone. The goddess did not touch with her torch, and he took no heed His wife and child came in and ratulated him on the advent of the find him always asleep, I see him only at night.

My work drives men out early and brings me home late; oh, my own flesh is a stranger to me! oh, strange to me the glances of my child!

I come home in anguish and shrouded in darkness-my pale wife tells me how nicely the child plays.

How sweetly he talks, how brightly he asks: "O mother, good mother, when will my good, good papa come and bring me a penny?'

I hear it, and I hasten: it must be, ves, it shall be! The father's love flames up; my child must see me!

I stand by his cradle, and see and listen, and hush! A dream moves his 'Oh, where is, where is papa?' lips: I kiss the little blue eyes, they open: "O child!" They see me, they see me, and soon close up again.

"Here stands your papa, darling! Here is a penny for you!" A dream moves the little lips: "Oh, where is, where is papa?"

I stand in pain and anguish, and bit-erness, and I think: "When you terness, and awake some day, my child, you will find me no more!"

Whenever a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of produc-tion, the laborer, free or not free, must add to the working time necessary to his own maintenance an extra working time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production, whether the proprietor be the Athenian Etruscan theocrat, Nor-man baron, American slave-owner, Wallachian boyard, modern landlord or cap-italist.-Karl Marx.

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THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC

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Human vivisection.

I have just received a dainty, per-fumed request from a society in Boston to fill out an inclosed petition against the practice of vivisection in the state. It is in furtherance of a dignified attempt made by "culchah" to save the poor "dawg.

It's well enough in its way. The dogs deserve our help, no doubt, against the barbarities practiced on them by the students of science. There is much un-necessary pain inflicted on animals in this study, and our fellow-brutes deserve our assistance.

But good heavens! have these people time to waste on cats and dogs when a process of human vivisection is going on? What right have they to use their human energies to abolish brute wrongs when their human fellows are under-going a process equally painful and unnecessary?

I say that this competitive life is pure, cold-blooded vivisection. By its infamous methods the poor are being literally torn to pieces and flayed alive.

In factories where wheels whirr, and where greed refuses to put up barriers of safety, the workers are daily caught, cushed and flung out, a mass of bloody jelly.

In sweatshops where women and babes toil from dawn to dim, from birth to death, their lives are crushed out with greater and more prolonged torture than any dog suffers under the vivisecting knife.

In homes, so called, where haggard women dread the wakening hunger of their babes, and await the slow step of the husbands whose bread-winning services society rejects, there are human hearts crushed, broken, torn out with a cruelty no doctor, however savage or calloused, would think of inflicting on a brute.

And yet, in spite of it all, these gloved reformers applaud sentiments of republican prosperity, vote for puppets and plead for pups!

When we have stayed the social knife that cleaves homes, hearts and happiness in pieces, we may perhaps assist our four-legged brethren. At present we will use our energy for the relief of bipeds.

Heathendom here.

Not long ago I heard a minister-one of that class who go out to heathendom for a six months' jaunt, and then spend the next twenty-five years as ecclesiastical tramps, or, as they are generally called, "returned" missionaries — de-scribe in harrowing phrases the condi-tion of the poor benighted heathen, who never read the bible nor said grace before they indulged in a cannibal feast.

He pictured the various acts of heathenish barbarity practiced by the un-Christian race, and pleaded pathetically for his hearers' co-operation and cashmostly cash-in order that the heathen might receive the blessed gospel whose tenets are so comforting to McKinley, Rockefeller and Russell Sage.

As he drew one vivid picture after another of heathendom there came up in my mind a parallel to each in so-called civilization. We in our own way are guilty of deeds just as evil, but we have acquired the art of gilding the brass of barbarism with the gold plate of civilization

There is not a deed of cruety, of superstitious folly, of selfish injustice, that is not duplicated in present-day civiliza-

WE ARE COMING, GREAT JEHOVAH A LABOR ANTHEM BY H. S. GENEVRA LAKE

We are coming, great Jehovah, thou who makest stars and years; For the toil of loving service in "the bonds of liberty";

We are coming from the lowlands of the Earth with all its tears; We are coming with our cypress for the

- sins that we have done;
- We are coming, great Jehovah, with our faces towards the sun.
- We are coming from the darkness, we are moving toward the light; We have toiled too long for nothing, we
- have strayed away from right; have lain in meek submission, we
- have crouched, and cried, and prayed;
- We are coming now from darkness, with our spirits undismayed.
- We are coming, great Jehovah, as the slime comes from the sea;
- We shall toil no more for tyrants, who pretend 'tis toil for thee;
- For the God of all the planets needs no sacrifice from man;
- We can see with clearer vision in the great eternal plan.

We are banner bearers, only, of the truth that all are free,

And the one who would have comfort must of comfort ever give; We are coming great Jehovah, and de-clare our right to live.

- We shall live as freemen, truly, with our passions curbed to peace;
- We shall scatter and shall gather, and shall share the earth's increase; we shout with solemn gladness as the squadrons march and form; Oh.
- can see the sun is rising through the blinding mist and storm."
- We are coming, great Jehovah, as the shipwrecked from the sea;
- We will climb the rigging Progress, and survey the life to be; We are coming, oh, we're coming, with
- our leader true and tried,
- In the Commonwealth of Justice to forevermore abide.

Chorus :---

- We are coming, oh, we're coming, with our leader true and tried, In the Commonwealth of Justice to for
- evermore abide.



NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

of vice. They dreamed of heaven and voted for hell!

The American juggernaut. Again, we read of the car of juggernaut, under whose ponderous wheels the religious fanatics flung themselves, to be crushed to death.

No one can question the suicidal character of such acts. No one will think them either wise or sane. And yet we have in our own country scenes almost identically similar.

Do you remember the crowds of workingmen who in 1896 used to tear up the turf on a Canton lawn and made the air hideous with their patriotic yells? Do you remember how workingmen cast their votes for the presidential idol of the idolatrous jingo, thinking thereby to gain the favor of the gods of fortune? What has come of it all? Have the

over the contents of the refuse barrels on the sidewalk.

I have seen, in poorhouses, the aged poor herded with the insane, spending. the remainder of what in many cases have been useful lives in the company of

fools and imbeciles. Better would it.be, and more humane, to shoot them down by a charitable bullet, and give them at least the blessing of oblivion. Better still to give them, under Socialism, their rights and reward. Merlin.



other of the great intellectual leaders of our movement disappears from the surface, I seem to drop into a mood such as the one alluded to, and then there is, for a while at least, nothing but visions of what the Scandinavian saga calls the ride of the heroes to Valhalla.

It was on the 7th of last month that a message was cabled here from Paris, France, that Peter Lavroff, the grand old Russian, had ceased to exist. He was, among the prominent European Socialists, the fifth that had departed since I crossed the ocean some five years The first to go was Frederick Enago. gels, the last glorious ovation in whose honor I was privileged to witness at the close of the Zurich (Switzerland) international Socialist congress, in August, 1893. Then went the heroic, never-tobe-forgotten Stepniak, a man whom you would have thought incapable of taking the life of a fly, and who did not flinch nor falter when he was called upon to destroy one of the fiercest and most bloodthirsty of the Russian tyrant's henchmen. The next to go was he whom many English-speaking generations to come will delight to honor under the name of William Morris. A year or so later we all mourned the irreparable loss of Eleanor Marx, the lady who not only glorified in being the bearer of the most revered name in the history of Socialism, but who for many years acted the part of interpreter among all the civilized nations participating in the struggle for the regeneration of the human race. And now it was Lavroff's turn to go.

Twenty-one years ago, when in the course of my peregrinations I arrived at Paris, and spent there the hungriest but nevertheless the happiest half-year of my life, I, in common with many other young fellows, sat at the feet of the Socialist Gamaliel, then already an old man. Everybody felt a better, nobler, braver person for being in his company and as we listened to his earnest, instructive and withal unpretentious talk, we felt as if the grand future of mankind were almost within our grasp.

* * *

All around the outlook was gloomy and disheartening. France was still bleeding after the wounds which the brutes who vanquished the commune had inflicted on her very heart-on Paris. Germany, where the anti-Socialist law had a short time ago come into force, was one tremendous jail. Russia was daily witnessing the slaughter of her most heroic children. Austria was fast asleep, Italy was in chains and Switzerland looked like giving up her freedom, her past and her ghost. England was of course what she has always been, but not what she ought to have been : Shelley was still dead to her, while Morris was as yet but "the idle singer of an empty day." Everything looked dismal and dreary wherever you turned, but you had only to contemplate the grand, serene, loving old face of Peter Lavroff. and there was light and faith and hope and gladness.

* * *

And now he is gone. Our French comrades have honored themselves by giving him an honorable escort to his last place of refuge, where tyranny will not torment him any more. We will follow in his footsteps until our business in life shall be over and done.

M. Winchevsky.

SOCIAL MORALITY

It is only by comparison with the straight that we recognize what is crooked, and a comparison of society as it is with society as it ought to be reveals clearly the crookedness, the inic sity, the immorality of our present social state. derbert

the vacant faces, the barren lives of ceaseless toil and grinding poverty of the millions in the city slums, the mines and factories, to be overwhelmed with a sense of how woefully short they fall of reaching the individual ideal.

Then how about the parental ideal? Then how about the parental ideal? The crime that capitalism is perpetrating from day to day against the children is appalling. It is not the fault of the in-dividual parents. They cannot do other-wise under the capitalist system, poor victims! Instead of caring for the chil-dren and fully equipping them for after dren and fully equipping them for after life, we let 500,000 of them die in infancy, and mostly from preventable disancy, and mostly from preventable dis-eases—mostly from lack of proper care, of pure air and nourishing food. They work in soap and hemp factories till they become blind for a miserable 35 cents to \$1.15 per day. They work in cotton bleacheries till their skin is white than the cloth they bleach. The statisthan the cloth they bleach. The statistics of the Massachusetts bureau of labor show that the average workingman in this state has to depend upon his children for two-fifths of his family's income. Instead of the parents following nature's second law and providing amply for their children, the children in their tender years are forced into the factories and mills to help support their parents.

But it is our social conduct that is the most atrocious and immoral, because it is the foundation and the cause of all the rest. Bear in mind that our social ideal demands that the welfare of each individual and of his children shall be sought, without interfering with the equal right of every other person. Now, I say that our whole industrial system is based directly and fundamentally upon interference with the equal rights of others to support themselves and their

families out of the natural fertility of the earth, and by means of the machinery of wealth production which are the re-sult of the labor and inventive genius of all the generations of workers past and present.

From the individualistic beginning the race has been climbing onward and upward toward the ideal of moral social conduct, and today the capitalist system stands directly in the way of its further progress. It is a moral necessity, as well as an economic one, that this barrier to human progress should be swept away, and that an industrial system be instituted which shall enable the race to go forward to a realization of the social ideal of mutual helpfulness in attaining the longest, broadest, fullest and most complete life for every human being that is born upon the earth.

Margaret Haile.

CALL TO ACTION

Boston.

ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today with-out from one to a dozen Socialists who are not affiliated UNATTACHED SOCIALISTS; the last State election in Mis-souri votes were cast for the can-didates of the Social Democratic Party in nearly every connty in the State.

county in the State. In almost every community a thoroughly wide-swake and earnest Socialist, with little exertion, could in WHAT THEY or week effect the organization CAN DO of a Branch of the Social Demands of this party will be found in this paper; read it and UNCOMPROMISING; You will see that the party is SOCIALIST PARTY is straight, uncompromising So-cialist organization, recognized as such in the Internationalmovement for Bocialism. The trimph of the Socializ cance which is the interna-

as such in the International movement for Socialism. The trimph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organisation, DEMOCRATIC science, requires organisation, DEMOCRATIC science, requires organisation, as any set of individuals short by no individual science in the set through the referendam. The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching im-portance to the people and especially to the intelligent, THIS YEARS United States; the latter have any low low low producing people of the CAMPAIGN United States; the latter have parties.

parties. Socialists'should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncom-promising Socialism, and to de this the co-operation of every attached Socialist in the work of

tion. Tear off the cloak of religion and refinement and you find the savage.

Slaying our babes.

Women, we are told, used to unclasp their babes' clinging arms from their necks and fling them screaming into the jaws of crocodiles in the Ganges. We shudder with horror, and do-the same thing.

Every one who is aiding to perpetuate, by influence or vote, our present system of competitive life, is consigning his or her children to a cursed fate. Every parent who conservatively continues and religiously worships the river of wealth, is literally flinging his children to the crocodiles of capital.

The thousands of suicides who last year cast away their lives had parents who a generation ago voted to sustain the system that has slain their offspring. They were "good, patriotic citizens," most of them, who believed that competition was the life of trade, and who never foresaw that it would be the death of the trader.

What chance have our children to win success unless we aid in making social conditions more conducive to health and happiness? How dare a man face his children who is making no attempt to rid the path of industrial life from the pitfalls that are proving the death of so many now?

The thousands of prostitutes in our cities today had parents who believed in things as they were, and are, never dreaming that their conservatism helped to fling their daughters into the stream

gods smiled on them? Have their sacrifices been rewarded?

Or have not the wheels of industry, on which the republican god rested, rolled on and over them?

Every workingman who is urged on into patriotic fervor by the subsidized press, and is made to vote for a capitalistic party under the guise of loyalty to a flag-fetich, and is afterward robbed by the party for whom he voted, is in precisely the same condition as the heathen devotee, who, spurred by the priesthood, flung himself under the wheels of juggernaut.

A republican workingman is a social suicide.

The aged poor.

Not very long ago certain tribes of pagan Canadian Indians practiced the custom of killing all those of the tribe who by reason of age or infirmity were unfitted for work or war. When it was decided that a man had outlived his usefulness he was quickly put out of the

way. Sometimes I think we have not greatly improved upon the expeditious method of the Indians. Contrasting it with the treatment accorded the old poor now, it seems to resolve itself into a question of speed only.

It is a commonly accepted fact today that the old have less and less chance to procure employment. The tendency of industry is to discriminate, constantly and increasingly, in favor of the young and against the old.

I have seen on the streets of Boston, times without number, old women with scrawny and bruised fingers, clawing

Among the charming Rubayat of the Persian astronomer-poet Omar Khay-yam there is a quatrain which, in Fitzgerald's masterly translation, reads as follows:

"Whether at Naishapur or Babylon, Whether the cup with sweet or bitter run.

Life's wine is oozing drop by drop, Life's leaves are falling one by one.

Ever since the 7th day of last month. those lines, which for a number of years have lain dormant in my almost overburdened memory, have risen ghost-like in my mind, stalking there by night and day, now and then disappearing for a moment, only the more impressively to mark their reappearance and to persecute me by their presence.

There they were, do what I might. In vain I sought refuge from them in the truth of Dickens' pages, and in the fiction of the newspaper columns; in vain I tried to find a means of escape by studying the gentle ways of the rude Boers, and the poetical brutality of the polished Kipling; in vain I busied myself in figuring out the income of Car-negie, and the outcome of triumphant plutocracy. All in vain. Everywhere and in everything I seemed to see noth-ing but "Life's oozing wine," or "Life's falling leaves," just as if the structure founded on greed and propped up by crime which we call human society contained no other real living fact but grim, ghastly death.

r, in his Data of Ethics," in which he seeks to find a scientific basis for morals, sets up a standard of individual, parental and social conduct which is difficult to surpass. That kind of individual conduct is good or moral, he says, which preserves the life of the individual for the longest possible period and at the same time insures the broadest life, the widest range of healthful and pleasurable activities, the fullest development of all his faculties. This is selfpreservation, the first law of nature. And the second law is like unto it, being the preservation of offspring. That kind of parental conduct is good which best takes care of the young and develops, equips and prepares them in youth to follow out the individual ideal of a long, broad and complete life.

Next we come to social morality. That kind of social conduct is good or moral which enables a man to live up to the two former standards, to secure for himself and his offspring the longest and most complete life without at the same time interfering with the equal right of every other to do the same for himself and his offspring. No one can fail to realize the beauty

and the justice of this ideal of conduct, nor can any one fail to realize the absolute impossibility of its attainment under the present system. The working classes exist under such

conditions of overwork, lack of nourishment and improper sanitation, that they cannot live out one-half of their allotted Now, I am not generally given to gloomy contemplation of incurable ills, but as from time to time one or the three score years and ten. The average

organization, where

The Social Democratic Party is now organized in mot than half the States; it convists of Local Branchas HOW States Unions and a Nation ORGANIZED Coordin A Local Branch ma It will nominate condidates for Freedom and Vie

It will nominate con President next March

President next March. Full instructions and all necessary supplies for or ganising Local Branches may be obtained from SEND FOR INSTRUCTIONS the National Secretary, Tisc-dore Debs, 126 Washington St. Chicago, Illinois.

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