

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

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Capitalist Production is Merely a Passing Stage in the Economic History of Mankind.

The Standard Oil monopolists didn't compete for things—they stole them.

As long as workingmen are slaves at the polls they will be slaves in the workshop.

Expansion and imperialism is an opportunity for the classes; the masses can dig.

The heaviest shotted "argument" against Socialism up to date has been ridicule; but that has about spent itself and our steady march forward is the wonder of the world.

Reformers are those who believe in antidotes. Revolutionists believe in prevention rather than attempted cure. It is better to do away with the poison itself than to attempt to neutralize it by antidotes. Antidotes should be unnecessary.

James Stewart, a laborer of St. Louis, was hungry; he could get no work, did not want to starve, and took a pair of shoes belonging to someone else. Now he is a criminal. Nature gave him a stomach; society denied him an opportunity to get food, and the law labels him "criminal." The beauty of the "scheme" is bewildering.

"It is well the great mass obey the laws without inquiring why they were made so and not otherwise." Who said that, do you think? Some disturber of the peace, some awful agitator? It was Blackstone said that; and Blackstone was one of the wisest writers on law known to history. Good for Blackstone!

As the Social Democratic Federation of England says of the Independent Labor party, "it is a Social Democratic party, whether its leaders like to say so or not," so the Social Democratic party of America says of the S. L. P.: "It is a Social Democratic party in spite of its leaders, who can't be induced to admit what the S. L. P., aside from its leaders knows, that the S. D. P. is a Socialist party."

Preachers manage to keep busy and make a show of earning their salaries, by rebuking the child who don't go to Sunday school, the girl who goes to a dance, and the father of both who stays away from church. But mighty few of them are yet making any great exertion to save the child from the factory, the girl from the brothel, or the man from inhuman conditions forced upon him by christian capitalists.

The working class is the source of property and profit and opportunities of all kinds—for the exploiting class.

The exploiting class does not pay the wages of the working class; labor creates all values resulting from labor, including its wages.

All the real capital that any capitalist ever possessed was the result of labor; capital could never have existed unless labor had first existed, and the laborer, not the capitalist, is the important member of society.

The man who can make clothing he cannot buy is unfit to survive.

The man who can make books he has no opportunity of reading is unfit to survive.

The man who can invent a machine that throws him out of a job is unfit to survive.

The man who has skill and industry and can facilitate social production without proportionately increasing the opportunities of supplying his reasonable wants is unfit to survive.

Could anything be more ludicrous?

Moritz Ruther, an indefatigable worker for Socialism for many years and a valued contributor to our press, was elected alderman from his ward by the Socialists of Holyoke, Mass.

Members of the Social Democratic party will take victory and defeat as Socialists and never fuse or deal with other parties. This is the law of the organization, as it is the resolute purpose of members.

Say then, the might of tyrants hath its bounds; When the oppressed nowhere can find redress, When all unbearable hath grown the load, He reaches boldly up into the heavens, And gets him down his old eternal rights, Which hang up there inalienable ever—Unbreakable as are the stars themselves.—Schiller.

The giving of free concerts by musicians, who volunteered their services in the worst quarters of Liverpool, had the effect of inducing the people to clean up their alleys and court-yards. Give the people in the "worst quarters" a chance and they will improve it.

The Volunteers of America in Chicago fed 10,000 famishing people Christmas day; every night in the same city hundreds of girls and women gather with their baskets at the doors of the celebrated Kohlsaat bakeries and receive the crumbs and broken fragments that are made during the day. The war of humanity cost \$250,000,000—and the Cubans are hungry yet.

A large number of old time populist papers are running a "platform" which opens this way:

We will speak out, we will be heard, Though all earth's systems crack; We will not bate a single word, Nor take a letter back.

The lines are James Russell Lowell's and are fine; but one cannot help wondering what they are all about since the editors who fly them at the mast-head are now without a party and their "speaking out" has none of the old-time ring. Speak out, gentlemen, for Socialism and help crack the capitalist system of production.

A food analyst says nothing would hire him to eat vegetables put up in tin cans and sold in the groceries. They all contain a poison to preserve the fruit and while not enough is present to kill anyone, there is enough to work slow injury to the health. When you think of the large amount of canned goods consumed by the people you can see how the national health is endangered by the practices of these conscienceless profit hunters. Wouldn't it be just awful for the government to take charge of the canning industry in the interests of the public health!

We urge our members to resist the tendency on the part of those who are not clear on the subject to term Socialism "state Socialism." State Socialism is only one phase of Socialism and has reference to governmental schemes for organizing certain activities on a Socialistic plan and applying the amounts thus saved in taxes to efforts to relieve the abject condition of the working class. When you mean Socialism, say Socialism, which means a democratic administration of the industries and business of the people, by the people and for the people.

The great cities of the country are overrun with men who steal because they can get no work. At one place a man steals a reel of garden hose to get something to eat. At another a man steals a sack of brass castings for the same purpose. At another a man goes for something to eat direct and takes a chicken. At another a man has a starving wife and baby and steals some lead pipe to get food. These things are going on all over the land because men can't find work.

The ethical title to property is found only among those who have produced property; but the title is all they have.

Since May 1 last twenty new trusts have been formed with a capital stock of \$629,873,000, and the "new democracy" keeps right on talking about smashing trusts.

One man in New York City fed 5,000 poor people in a single district on Christmas day. Yet this country is "prosperous" and we are going abroad for markets for our surplus products.

Secretary Alger in his report on the war suggests that the United States government build a railway in Cuba, in order to give the Cubans work instead of charity. It is now time for capitalists to step in and nip that scheme in the bud.

The capitalist trust promoters have now got down to peanuts; they have found that the people eat so many peanuts that it is time to control and regulate the peanut stand. It is thought that about \$3,000,000 will serve as capital.

The new-radical-regenerated-try-again democracy (which is opposed to trusts and wants just one opportunity to smash 'em) is looking on with speechless stupefaction while one of its shining lights, Tom Johnson of Ohio, is engaged in a street-grabbing game at Havana. Four syndicates are battling for control; Johnson is at the head of one.

Edward B. Beales was married a year ago—to-day he occupies six feet in potters' field—he killed himself with a revolver—pawed his overcoat to obtain the instrument of his own destruction—cause, could find no employment—wife broken-hearted—happened in St. Louis—victims of capitalist production—and this is the life story of millions throughout this capitalist cursed world.

The Princeton university student, Mr. Christopher Easton, who organized a class for the study of Socialism, has "owing to the stress of circumstances," as a note to THE HERALD says, been compelled to abandon his work. The Princeton faculty found the students were taking too deep an interest in the subject, and by setting up a limit-line to intellectual investigation the faculty has earned the contempt of the unfettered minds of the country.

Thanks to our "wise" and "thoughtful" governors, the boot-black, washerwoman and nod carrier will soon be relieved from the back-breaking and heart-racking burden of placing revenue stamps on their checks and telegrams! Steps are to be taken in congress to do away with these features of the war tax. The tax on the rich man's tea, beer, tobacco and proprietary medicines will remain until the "wise" men have determined how little they can get along with.

The N. Y. People is significantly silent with regard to the Haverhill election, although its editor was there to make speeches. It is characteristic of the un-Socialistic bosses of the S. L. P. to suppress all information that is discouraging to that party. They insist on controlling the press of the party and then use that press for their own interest just as the capitalist class uses the associated press in its own interests. No decent, right-minded Socialist can fail to feel contempt for such methods—nay, more, he should firmly resent them, for they are against the welfare of the Socialist movement in this country.

"IT IS NOT SOCIALISM."

The difficulty which attends the efforts of the opponents of Socialism is just now taking a new and very interesting turn. It is all due to the rise of the Social Democratic party and its signal success at Haverhill. For years past the daily newspapers, irrespective of party affiliation, have vehemently denounced the public ownership by the nation of railroads, telegraphs, telephones and other services, as "rank" and "visionary" Socialism. No opportunity has been lost to vilify the advocates of public ownership as "impracticable dreamers," "enemies of good government," "social disturbers" and "Socialists." The same course exactly has been pursued in regard to the growing public sentiment in favor of municipal ownership of city traction, electric lighting plants, and so forth—it was all the rankest "Socialism" and not for a moment to be tolerated by sensible people who believed in liberty and progress. With very few exceptions this has been the attitude of the press for years towards public ownership of the utilities and services named, and the bitterest denunciations of the policy were democratic journals.

But "old Time, the clock setter," has taught these cunning bankrupts a lesson. They are now declaring with a vehemence quite equal to their recent rabid denunciations of "Socialistic" public ownership, that public ownership is not Socialism at all, and, to quote the New York World (democratic): "The discharge of obvious general and necessary municipal functions by a municipal government is not 'Socialism.'" The St. Louis Post-Dispatch recently said the same thing, and the democratic papers all over the country are taking up the cry: "Public ownership of public property (meaning, as they expressly state, street railways, electric light, gas and water works) is NOT Socialism."

For this concession and relief, much thanks, gentlemen! It marks a distinct advance in public opinion. It is a complete, radical and far-reaching change of front on your part. You are sadly battering and damaging your past reputations; but the issue is before the people, that much has been accomplished against your strenuous opposition, and now, having found that public ownership is not Socialism; you are welcome to make the most of your discovery.

There is a lesson in this for Socialists, especially for Socialists affiliated with the Social Democratic party. It is well to remember, especially at a time when so much that every Socialist favors is pronounced not Socialism, just what Socialism is. Socialism has for its object the establishment of a national and international system of co-operation through the common ownership by the people of all the means of production and distribution; it seeks the abolition of the wage system, the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism, and the democratic administration of industry by the people in their own behalf. "Socialism," says Prof. Sidney Webb, "is not to enable this or that comparatively few persons to lead an 'ideal' community life, expecting to convert the whole country; neither is it to enable Chicago to own street railways nor New York an electric plant. It is not to afford relief to the residents of any one municipality from the burden of profits paid to a corporation, but to loosen the fetters and set free the millions who toil in mill and mine, who cannot be colonized in any 'Free-land' or find work in any city, and make them joint owners of the means of production and masters of their own productive powers."

THE FEDERATION AND SOCIALISM.

President Gompers and the Social Democratic Party.

ON Monday evening, December 12th, Victor L. Berger and the writer left Chicago for Kansas City, to help secure the endorsement of Socialism by the American Federation of Labor. We arrived Tuesday evening and joined Comrades Tobin, Carey, Hayes, Cowen and many others.

It soon became apparent that many Socialists in attendance on the convention were devoting their energies to defeat Gompers' re-election, which must of necessity have weakened their strength as Socialist propagandists. The Socialists, by many earnest and honest delegates, were regarded as personally antagonistic, with an ax to grind.

The opposition to Gompers was not on purely personal grounds, but because he had placed himself (unintentionally we believe) in the attitude of an enemy to Socialism. Such a discussion as personalities involved, we believed should be discarded, and all energies concentrated in a fight for a resolution endorsing Socialism. After a thorough discussion between Carey, Tobin, Berger, Hayes, Cowen and other comrades the following resolution was agreed upon:

Resolved, That this convention, believing that the labor problem will be solved only when the land and the means of production, distribution and exchange, are held as common property, and that the trade union movement, together with political action on class lines, are the best methods to reach this end, we, therefore, recommend trade unionists to vote only for such political parties as stand for the principles contained herein.

This was introduced into the convention by Comrade Tobin, Wednesday morning, December 14, at which time Comrade Berger and myself, entered the convention hall and took seats at the reporters' table.

At noon we called on President Gompers and endeavored to persuade him to support our resolution, which he declined to do, replying that the leaders could not afford to get so far ahead of the members of the organization, who were not sufficiently advanced.

In the afternoon, Sam'l B. Donnelly, the representative of the I. T. U., who, when the name of Karl Marx is mentioned, thinks of the lawyer in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," made a speech favoring expansion, and imperialism, but his recital of history provoked a laugh.

Steward Reed, in a clear cut argumentative manner, spoke opposing an increase of the army; he said, "It will be used against the laborer, and if the United States wishes to show humanity let them commence in Pennsylvania, where men live like rats."

After the adjournment of the convention, Comrades Berger and Mahon held a conversation with Gompers, during which President Gompers said: "I have read Karl Marx; I am as much of a Socialist as you (Berger) and I will vote the Social Democratic ticket and advise trades unionists to do so."

In the evening a gathering was held in the room of Berger and Stedman; those present were Kidd, Zorn, Carey, Bechtold, Berger, Stedman and Braunschweig (of the International Woodworkers). The Socialistic resolution was approved by all present, who were to vote for it in the convention. In the convention Braunschweig cast his 25 votes against it.

Among the many good speeches made in favor of the resolution (we

[CONCLUDED ON EIGHTH PAGE.]

TRUE SOCIALISM.

III.

MARXISM AND PSEUDO-MARXISM.

BY G. A. HOEHN.

(In the American Federationist.)

"With me the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought."—Marx.

MARXISM vs. Organized Scabdom.—The International Socialist and Trades Union Congress held in London, England, July 27 to August 1, 1898, put its foot mercilessly on those who have no better way of exhibiting their would-be Marxism than splitting the trades unions (i they can!) and organizing scab unions. This London labor parliament, where the Socialist and labor parties of England, Germany, France, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Switzerland, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark and Austria were represented, and where, besides, several hundred trades union delegates were in attendance (about 200 from Great Britain alone), the following resolutions were adopted:

"The trade union struggle of the workers is indispensable to resist the economic tyranny of capital, and thereby better the actual condition of the toilers. Without trade unions no living wage and shortening of hours of labor can be expected. By this struggle, however, the exploitation of labor will only be lessened not abolished. The exploitation of labor can only be done away with entirely when society has taken control of all the means of production, including the land and the means of distribution. This, however, requires in the first instance a system of legislative measures. In order to carry out these measures completely the working class should be the dominating political power, which depends on the standard of organization attained. The trade unions, therefore, help to consolidate the political power of the laboring classes by reason of their organizing efforts. The organization of the working class is incomplete and unfinished as long as it is political only.

"But the economic struggle also calls for political action by the laboring class. Whatever the workers gain from their employers in open disputes must be confirmed by law in order to be maintained, while trade conflicts may in other cases be rendered superfluous by legislative measures. The more international organization and co-operation of the capitalist world-market are perfected, the more international co-operation of the working classes in regard to trade union action, more especially the protection of labor by law, becomes necessary. . . . The congress declares the organization of the workers trade unions to be an urgent matter in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class and in connection with similar resolutions passed at the Brussels and Zurich congresses, considers it to be a duty of all workers who endeavor to liberate labor from the yoke of capitalism to join the unions in their respective trades.

"In order to make the trade unions as effective as possible they are recommended to organize as national trade unions in their respective countries, thus avoiding waste of power by small independent or local organizations. Especially, difference of political views ought not to be considered a reason for separate action in the economic struggle; on the other hand, the nature of the class struggle makes it the duty of the labor organizations to educate their fellow-members up to the truth of the Social Democracy.

"Trade unions should also admit female workers into their ranks, and secure for them equal wages for the same kind and amount of work. In the struggle for better wages and conditions of work, the trade unions ought to control the application of the existing laws for the protection of labor.

"The Congress declares that strikes and boycotts are necessary weapons to attain the object of trade unions. What is most essential is the thorough organization of

the working classes, as the successful management of a strike depends on the strength of its organization.

"The economic and industrial development is going on with such rapidity that a crisis may occur within a comparatively short time. The Congress, therefore, impresses upon the proletariat of all countries the imperative necessity for learning, as class-conscious citizens, how to administer the business of their respective countries for the common good."

The modern labor movement is the result of certain economic conditions; it is not the product of the result of any man or any number of men and their agitation. This most powerful rising of the wage-workers of all so-called civilized countries, this gigantic class struggle of the international proletariat, is the natural outgrowth of the capitalist industrial system of the last hundred years that has completely and mercilessly revolutionized the economic basis of the social family, and consequently has radically changed the economic, social and political relations of man to man in our modern society. Without this basic economic revolution of the 19th century the present labor movement would simply be impossible; all our agitation amount to nothing, for it would be sowing wheat on rock piles. Karl Marx never claimed to have invented and patented any plan or scheme after which the wage-workers' movement should be patterned, or after which the future state of society should be shaped. He did exactly the contrary, for he proved, by careful scientific investigation, that all attempts of social reform that are based on the disregard of the economic laws of social development will end, must end, in miserable failures. In clear and convincing arguments he exposed the utterly untenable position of the "ruling" professors of political economy, whom he denounced as mere high priests and lackeys of capitalism. Far from being a sectarian, Marx never made concessions to pseudo-science or to public prejudices. In the preface to the first edition of his great work, "Capital," he states his position as follows:

"Every opinion based on scientific criticism I welcome. As to the prejudices of so-called public opinion, to which I have never made concessions, now as aforesaid the maxim of the great Florentine is mine: 'Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti.'" Pursue your course; do not care for the people's talk!

As to Karl Marx's personal opinion of the trades union movement in general, it may rightfully be said, in the name of those that are acquainted not only with the letter but the spirit of his works, that it has been correctly and fully expressed by the quoted resolutions adopted by the International Socialist and Trades Union Congress held in London in 1896.

"The concentration of the wealth (created by the wage-working masses) in the hands of fewer and fewer persons going on with ever-increasing rapidity; the invention, improvement and general introduction of machinery and the consequent displacement of human labor; the exclusive ownership of this machinery by the comparatively small number of capitalists, and the frightful process of pauperization among the wage workers caused by this revolution in the means of production—all these factors being constantly and continuously at work to undermine the entire present state of society, it is quite natural that sooner or later the wage-working class will proclaim its declaration of independence, not only on the economic, but also on the political battlefield. This they will not do because it is their ideal, but because the economic conditions will compel them to do it just as the conditions have forced them to organize into trades unions. Self-preservation is the first law of nature; this holds good also in labor's struggle for emancipation.

All the general political elections during the last decade have conclusively shown the fact that radical changes are taking place in the minds of the people. A certain spirit of independence—a spirit of rebellion—is manifesting itself among the working people, who, consciously or unconsciously begin

to feel that the patient "modern society" is mortally sick, and that the disease threatens the health and life of many millions of human beings. Political parties can not, in these fermenting, feverish, economic, social and political struggles of our "fin de siècle," any longer claim a monopoly on the hard struggling wage-workers' vote. The political Baby Union towers that have been built yesterday will be destroyed by the lightning of the people's wrath to-morrow. We are standing to-day in the midst of the turmoil of an industrial, social and political revolution, gigantic in power and far-reaching in the effects such as has never yet been recorded in the history of mankind.

[To be continued]

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

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

AUSTRIA.
1895 90,000
1897 750,000

BELGIUM.
1894 334,500
1898 534,324

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

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

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

GREAT BRITAIN.
1895 55,000

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

SERVIA.
1895 50,000

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

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

UNITED STATES.
1890 13,704
1891 16,552
1892 21,512
1893 25,666
1894 30,020
1895 34,869
1896 36,275
1897 55,550
1898 (est.) 70,000

VOTE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

1898 12,411

TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.

1898 5,000,000

Membership dues payable January 1 Remit promptly.

HONOR ABOVE GOLD.

An Incident Which Illustrates the French Proletariat Character.

Speaking of French politics, I heard a most extraordinary story of another strange secret of contemporary life. Some years ago one might see in a restaurant at night, playing dominos quietly or conversing in tranquil tones a gentleman named Levy. He was a man who knew more of the secret history of the courts of Europe than any man of his time. To get a full account of his history and personality you must spend an evening with Joe Lyons, the owner of the Trocadero and a score of other restaurants, one of the most brilliant raconteurs as well as one of the best fellows in all London. Mr. Levy was a private detective, employed whenever a task of extreme delicacy and enormous importance was on hand. He was retained by the Bank of England, among other institutions, and I have heard that his services were esteemed so valuable that he got the magnificent salary of £10,000 a year from that institution.

Well, just after the downfall of the commune Mr. Levy was intrusted with one of the most delicate and, I might say, terrible missions in his life. There were several communist refugees in London. Levy tracked them out. A man of the world, without enthusiasms, acquainted with all the seamy side of life and of man, he yet had a broad, sympathetic imagination, and he was astounded by the picture he found in the miserable den—if I remember rightly it was a stable—in which he discovered the objects of his search. These men, who but a few weeks before had the government and the revenues of the great city of Paris under their command, were engaged in making a wretched bowl of soup, which was to be the one meal—and the one meal of them all—for 24 hours. Not one penny had stuck to their palms of all the millions that were at their mercy! "These men may be madmen," he said to a friend to whom he told the story, "but, according to their lights they are patriots!"

His wonder grew as they refused scornfully to surrender some papers which had fallen into their possession, in spite of dazzling offers of gold, which, as agent of the French government, he was authorized to offer them. They knew the horror and the terrible and appalling importance of the domestic secret in the life of a great man of which they held proofs, but they decided to keep the proofs, until they thought it right or wrong to publish the story to the world. And, though they refused the gold, they never told the secret, and France and Europe were saved one of the most cruel and devastating scandals of our times.—New York Herald.

BAY STATE NEWS LETTER.

It seems necessary right to correct a statement put into the mouth of our mayor-elect by one of the capitalist dailies, which is being received by our enemies with shouts of glee and by some of our friends with a little disappointment. Comrade Chase is made to say that our policy is not revolutionary but only educational, and that he expects to work in harmony with the other parties. What he did say was simply this: that he did not expect to bring about a resolution, especially as we have not the power if we wanted to; but that our year's work would at the least be educational, and that he did not anticipate any serious trouble in the city government. It is a mistake to say that we captured the city government of Haverhill. It puts us in a false position to say that we have control of the city. This could only be true if we had the mayor and a majority in both branches, or at least the board of aldermen—only three out of seven. If our fourth man had received 185 votes more than he did, we should have been all right as far as that branch is concerned, but would still have only three in the common council. Certainly we have enough to do a tremendous amount of agitation and education, which will

lead to a change of the laws which bind us hard and fast. If we had the mayor and a majority in both branches we could do (will you believe it?) very little in the way of radical Socialist enterprise, with the state laws as they stand. We could, of course, attempt more, but would run up against some state law or the Supreme Court at every turn, as we shall do anyway, and thus start our agitation. For instance, if we wanted to immediately take over the lighting of the city we run up against a state law which requires that such a proposition must be adopted by the city government in two successive years and then be referred to the people and accepted by them.

It is just here that the beauty of having representatives in the legislature will manifest itself. Our representatives can make a fight to have this, or other objectionable laws changed, and being only two, will naturally be defeated. Then we can appeal to the people to send in another dozen or two of representatives to their assistance next fall. The victory that we have gained, you see, is not that we have captured Haverhill and can turn it straightway into a model Socialist city, but that we are in a position to make a most effective agitation for the cause and bring the whole state along pretty well in line, towards Socialism. Then, of course, when the state attempts something we will run up against the federal laws, and then will need the help of other states as far advanced as our own. This thought ought to spur our comrades in other states to greater effort, and prevent our own from becoming so engrossed in local work as to forget our neighboring states and our duty to the national organization.

MARGARET HAILE.

"Shibboleth or Sibboleth."

COMRADES:—Doubtless there are reasons underlying both sides of the controversy regarding the name of the party, but is it not possible that some of these are more apparent than real.

One objection raised is that under the election laws it must appear on the ballot with its terms reversed. As for this objection, it seems of too little import to be seriously considered.

The illustration has been advanced against the use of the term "democratic" that "no man would name his child after the murderer, 'Holmes.'" But is it not true that to every man who associates that name with a murderer, several think at once of an efficient taker of criminals, and many more have their thoughts directed to a great writer? On the other side we have the term adopted by the organized Socialist parties very generally throughout the world. Moreover, the word "democratic" is itself pregnant with meaning which, when coupled with a qualifying term (Social) to distinguish it from that which is not democratic at all, becomes significant of the principle underlying our mode of action. Furthermore, our contemporary Socialist organization having been committed to the endorsement of representative government, the word democratic becomes a distinguished term of much importance.

The voters of Massachusetts do not seem to object very much to the name and the very fact that it designates the means as well as the ends which are sought, is reason for the retention of the present form.

I desire to add two definitions taken from Websters, and suggest that they be set up and kept standing in appropriate location in THE HERALD and other printed matter.

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

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

ADDISON W. BARR.
Worcester, Mass.

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DO YOUR DUTY--AND DO IT NOW.

PUCKERBRUSH ALLIANCE.



YOURS, J. H. Debs and all the rest of you:—At our last meetin' we had one of the old time doins. Dokter Abner cum out to try and sho us the strait and narrer path to politikal freedum. He uster oe a republikin, but he got to hollerin' fur free silver and helped to organize a noise that they kalled the silver republikin party, which was all leaders and wind—except the campaign fund.

In this state we had a funny kind of sirkus in 1896. The gold bug demokrats put up a ticket; then such demokratik porcupines as Allen O'Myers concocted a skeem to get a croud of colored men, commonly kalled "niggers," to get together in a room at a hotel in Columbus and nominate a ticket kalled the negro protective party. The main plank of their platform was that the g. o. p. did not whack up enuff offices to the brunnetts. Well, when the election got through the demokrats found this party was the damndest most expensive thing that ever was sent down the pike, and they was disgusted with a big D.

Well, when the legislature met, one of Mark Hanna's yellow boys from Cleveland put in a bill to make all parties that wanted to get on ballot by petition do so, by makin each person who sined a petition swear to vote that ticket, and as every petition must have one per cent of the vote, it looked as if the minority parties was done up. This bill did not pass, but one similar like it, put in by a demokrat, did.

The vote of the reform parties in 1896 was as follows:

Populist	6,276
Liberty (Prohib.)	3,105
Negro Protective	477
Silver Republicans (A noise)	9,858
Socialists	4,246

A petition required 8,554 signatures to get on the ticket. Well, the pops, liberties, which is a split off of the prohibitionists, the negro protectives and the so-called silver republikanites, kalled a conference of all the minority parties includin' the Socialists to get together and form some sort of a skeem to get around the Pugh law, as it was kalled in honor of its daddy. The result was a convenshun made up of fellers from all the above named bodies and supposed bodies, exceptin' the Socialists, which nominated a ticket kalled the union reform party, with a one plank platform fur the Initiative and Referendum. Then they begin to scratch gravel to get the names, and they got 'em, and you auter herd 'em yell with delite. They thought the Socialists cud not get enuff and that they would have to take this mixtur the same as the feller did the soup at the hotel, but they got fooled.

The election cum rite along and when the vote was counted the union reformers had 10,911, and the Socialists 5,874. They had 9,858 votes to go on and made a gain of 1,053 votes, while the Socialists with 4,246 votes to go on made a gain of 1,628; but that aint all. The Socialists did not have much money, and kept out of debt, while the union reformers spent over \$2,400 dollars; most of which they still owe. These are the parties that have called a conference to meet in Cincinnati next March to form a national party on the one plank plan—Initiative and Referendum.

When the chairman introduced Abner we seen he was no greeny. He is as smooth as the oil that cums from his town, only more refined. He did give us the nicest talk about all gettin' together, and from what I herd, I gess he carries out what he preaches. He sed he was in favor of Socialism and more too. I tole him we didn't want no more at the present time bein'. He sed if we had direkt legislation we cud get whatever we wanted. I tole him I didn't

believe no such stuff, that the fellers that had the ear of the majority wud do just what they do now, get the people befuddled and make the Initiative and Referendum ridiculous. I sed if the people seen real clear what was the real matter they would change it with the present machinery. I tole him I was in favor of direkt legislation long before he knew of such a thing, and when I was a Pop I uster have it for a hobby, but when I got my eyes open a little wider I seen that the Socialists who are the fathers of the idea, and the first ones to advocate it, were rite in sayin' that it might be a dangerous thing if the people were not edukated to their true ekonomik posishun in society. I don't want no bast-ard direkt legislation, and that's about what you will get unless you edukate the people to the underlyin' cause of the industrial inequality. Once they see that, you bet they will have direkt legislation with all that by rites goes wlth it. He went on to tell what a showin' their new party had made, and to make the gain look bigger he furgot to count the vote of the brunnette party in 1896, and he didn't thank me for bringin' that up in the croud, for it knocked about 500 off off his fingers. I gess they are a good deal like the demmies—kinder ashamed of the poor black man who didn't get enuff offices.

I tole him that I didn't think that they had anything to crow about, fur their votes cost 'em over two dollars a piece. He wanted to know how that was, and I sed, your gain of votes was 1,058, and your spendings over \$2,400, which made the figerin' esy. This too, with so many stay at homes. Why, last year the total vote in this state was over 150,000 less than in 1896, and this year the republikans was more than 20,000 short of their vote last year and the demokrats was over 50,000 short of last year. The dokter sed that lots of pops did not vote their ticket, but the silver republikins did, and if the pops wud, the vote been bigger. That made unkle John's eyes snap, and he ast the Dr. to name any silver republikin in this county who voted the union reform ticket and he had to admit that he was not well enuff posted in this county to say. Uncle John tole him that the pops uster cast over 40,000 votes in this state with spendin' less than \$400. I gess the silver republikins will have to pay most of the det, if they did most of the votin'. Abe Wilkins sed: "If youn's fellers in favor of Socialism as you are claimin' to be, why do you want us to drop all our platform except one thing, same as the pops did for the demokrats? I gess you don't know what Socialism is, or else you are in to big a hurry to get a office. I gess give you notice, that whenever any of youn's fellers get tired of middle class reform parties wastin' you time and money, you will always find the Socialist at the old stand, only bigger, kickin' for the overthrow of the competitive system and the establishment of ekonomik equality, until then you can fiddle on your one string fiddle—or any other, till the cows cum hum."

I wish I cud tell you more of what he got, for it would be like Fatty Schmidt uster say, "Somedimes you gots vot you don't expect, and somedimes you expects vot you don't got," but I'm run out of paper.

Yours to the end,
JONAS HARRISON.
Puckerbrush, Ohio, Last Saturday.

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

Vote Nov. 8, 1898...12,000
Join the Social Democratic Party of America!

PATRIOT TRAMPS.
From positions of trust and emolument to a lodging among vagrants and drunks in a police station's cell is what patriotism did for William Rose and John Reynolds.

The two men, clean and intelligent looking, called at the East St. Louis police station at 9 o'clock last night and asked for permission to sleep on a bench in a cell. They exhibited honorable discharge papers in proof of their statement that they were ex-soldiers.

Chief Hauss told them they were welcome to sleep in the station, but remarked apologetically that they would not find the cells luxurious places.

"We are grateful for shelter and warmth," said one of them, as they were escorted back to the cells.

"This is what we get for being patriotic," said Reynolds. "When the call came for volunteers I was steward of the Savoy Hotel at Kansas City. I was making a good salary. I caught the patriot fever and enlisted. I was assigned to Co. K., Third Missouri Regiment. I was mustered out at Kansas City, Nov. 7. I was promised when I went to the front that my position would be held open for me.

"When I went to claim the fulfillment of the promise they told me they had a man who would work cheaper.

"I could get nothing to do there and went to Chicago. I was equally unsuccessful there. I am now on my way to Memphis. I have friends there and hope to get work."

Rose said he was in the employ of an oil company in Philadelphia when war was declared. He enlisted in Company A., First Pennsylvania. He was mustered out at Philadelphia, Oct. 26. He, too, had been promised that his position would be waiting for him, but the promise was not kept. He had formerly lived in Chicago. He went there.

"It was the worst place I could have gone," he said. "The town is overrun with discharged soldiers. There are so many they have provided a barracks for them to sleep in. I have met lots of men who were holding good positions before they enlisted and now they seem in a fair way to become tramps. Many of them have sold their discharge papers for the price of a meal.

"When I had about exhausted all my means I concluded I would better go away from Chicago. I met Reynolds and he suggested that we go to Memphis. The trainmen carried us when we showed them our papers.

"This is the first time that either of us ever slept in a police station."

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Wish They Had Heard Him.
The "Gazette," Burlington, Iowa, December 12: "If Debs were to come again next Sunday night he would have a crowded house. The men and women interested enough in the subject to go and hear him last night have spread the fame of the orator in Burlington, and now hundreds of citizens, laboring men and business men, are wishing they had gone to hear him.

"Eugene V. Debs is eloquent in the highest sense of the word. For pure eloquence there has not been a lecturer in Burlington for years who could surpass him. And the address was not all eloquence. It was scholarly and scientific as well. There was no ranting, no wild statements, no calamity-howling. Mr. Debs backed up his statements with authorities, and supported his assertions with facts and figures, the reliability of which could not be questioned.

"The audience last night was made up almost wholly of working men. Hence the sympathies of most of his hearers were naturally with the speakers. Those few who could not, perhaps, agree with Mr. Debs in his position on the labor question, were bound at least to hear him with attention, and with deep interest. He commanded the respect of his audience, and he held their closest attention for more than two full hours."

Read the S. D. P. platform, this page.

Social Democratic Party Platform

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS.

—BY THE—

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, DEC. 31, 1898.

S.D.P. VOTE, NOVEMBER, 1898.

Massachusetts	6411
Wisconsin	2591
Missouri	1645
New York (3 districts)	1245
New Hampshire	263
Terre Haute, Ind.,	256

Total 12,411

BLATCHFORD'S "MERRIE ENGLAND."

A Criticism by Eugene Dietzgen.

DEAR Mr. P.—Some weeks ago you asked me for a list of books giving the best information on Socialism. Such request coming from you, a man whom I had known for years to be thoughtful, but as yet little interested in Socialism, it could only have been inability of some kind, and not indifference, that so far prevented me from complying with it. Just recovering from a sick spell I take pleasure in mailing you to-day a copy of Blatchford's "Merrie England," which I consider to be the best introductory exposition of Socialism in the English language.

After reading this book once or twice and comparing its contents with your own experience, please refer to the following notes on "Merrie England" (Kerr & Co., Chicago, '98) from my standpoint on Modern Socialism as far as my humble knowledge of this science reaches.

I hope that Comrade Blatchford will someday act on the intimation in his closing chapter and make his "Merrie England" a model guide-book of Socialism. His straight forward, plain and happy diction conveys to heart and mind of the reader the ring of true conviction; particularly fascinating in this respect, is the second half of his book. Since this is the first book you read on Socialism, I am the more anxious to have you bear in mind the following points, viz.:

1. While sentiment and interest are powerful factors in human affairs and not to be separated from reason, it is left to the latter to remain the guiding factor, unless sentiment is to become maudlin weakness and interest to turn into brutal folly. We believe in Socialism, not only because it is more just than Capitalism, but, because it is rendered necessary and in fact unavoidable by economic evolution, the same as Capitalism was in its time. We claim that under Capitalism the means of production or productive powers have developed to such stupendous proportions that their private ownership is daily becoming more incompatible with human progress and welfare, and therefore, of necessity approaching the realization of their collective ownership by the people and for the people i. e., Socialism.

The profoundest thought underlying Socialism reads in Marx' words as follows:

"Each special mode of production and the social relations corresponding thereto, in short, the economic structure of society, is the real basis on which the juridical and political superstructure is raised, and to which definite social forms of thought (about good and bad, just and unjust, etc., E. D.) correspond; that the mode of production determines the character of the social, political, and intellectual life generally." (Capital, Humboldt Edit. Chap. 34.)

"Merrie England" emphasizes too exclusively the ethical view, though not by far as one-sided as presented by Christian Socialists.

2. Every man desirous of mastering the science of Socialism must needs study the capitalist mode of production, the source Socialism springs from. After you have read for a year socialist papers and tracts I would recommend to you the study of political economy, commencing with Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," (1 Vol.); next David Ricardo's works (1 Vol.); next Karl Marx' "Capital" (3 Vols.) Of the "Capital" Vol. I, read the first chapter after you have read the others.

The chief improvements of "Merrie England" can be made on economic lines, for instance:

A. On pages 15, 18, 25, where B. attacks the factory system in general, while he certainly can only wish to remove the ugly, disagreeable and injurious parts of the present factory system. If B. ridicules the arguments against the use of machinery on page 69, he certainly does not want to do away with the factory system.

B. On page 59, where B. says, "A thing bought is worth what it will bring," he evidently refers to the thing as use-value, and further on, when he states, "A thing sold is worth what it has cost," he means to add, to-day in average labor-time as an exchange value.

C. On page 62 B. overlooks that wages are the price paid for the commodity labor-power, and that wages are just the same as all prices regulated not only by value as determined by average labor time, but besides, by the law of demand and supply, which to-day is only another word for competition. On price and on value B. is in the dark, as shown furthermore on pages 67, 74, 75, 77. Also of capital he has no clear conception. See page 164. Neither commodities, nor money, nor means of production are capital in themselves, it depending entirely upon the use made of them. Only if these things are used for the exploitation of labor force do they become capital. Socialism thoroughly realized, what B. calls "Ideal Socialism," knows only of use-values and of no exchange value, of no commodity, of no money, of no capital.

D. On pages 62, 66, 71, 73 B. speaks of cheapness. By natural cheapness he means that brought about by increased productivity of labor force, a true blessing, the only warrant for the realization of Socialism but B. does not consider this blessing seriously enough and consequently commits a number of errors when he deals of artificial cheapness on pages 66, 71, 73, or cheapness resulting from competition, or from the law of supply and demand. In capitalist society this law or competition can only be temporarily overcome by monopoly which in its turn creates competition, or in other words by organizations of capitalists on the one hand or by organizations of workmen on the other. If prices of commodities advance, it does not follow, as on page 73, that labor is strongly enough organized to compel the payment of higher wages; the capitalists may be better organized and reap the entire benefit from the raise of prices, thereby reducing the purchasing power of the workmen's wages.

B.'s theory of waste on pages 65-67, takes it for granted that the working class is strongly enough organized to check the waste resulting from excessive exploitation by

reduction in the hours of labor, or by increased wages. Lacking such power, the workmen certainly take no interest in higher prices. I am sure B. will be the last one to attack cheapness resulting from productivity of labor.

E. On page 76 B. claims: "A state monopoly is Socialism." This I consider an unlucky phrase. With our comrade B., of course, state, government, people or nation stand for the entire community or society and not as these words now do, for a privileged class ruling state, government, people or nation. What is known as state "Socialism" nowadays is a misnomer, or class "Socialism," and has nothing to do with modern Socialism. The economist and adversary of Socialism, Rodbertus, was the father of state "Socialism." To prevent confusion it should be more plainly stated on pages 76, 80, 81 that the Socialists neither believe in monopoly nor in competition, but in co-operation of society organized for production and distribution without any privileged classes.

Nationalizing is, under capitalism, by no means equivalent to socializing. The national wealth is increasing to-day enormously hand in hand with the growing pauperization of the bulk of the people.

F. As minor points I would mention that the allusion on page 20 to vegetarian diet is irrelevant; that on page 37 the number of a family should be put at five instead of three members; that regarding luxuries, I would rather believe in the reading of his Grace of Argyll, since increasing wants of the community or increased general standard of life stand for increased culture and progress. After all necessities are supplied, no harm is done by indulging in luxuries, if the whim of any individuals produced them at their own expense.

C. B. has not touched upon the woman question at all. I would therefore advise you to write to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington St., Chicago, for a copy of Bebel's "Woman of the Past, Present and Future."

Yours truly,
E. DIETZGEN.

December 16, 1898.

THE VOTE ON SOCIALISM.

The first report sent to THE HERALD of the vote on the Tobin (Socialist) resolution, in the A. F. of L. convention, was 429 yeas, 1807 nays. This has since been corrected as follows: yeas, 493, nays 1971.

The delegates voting in the affirmative were: Tobin, Bechtold, Zorn, Cowen, Deckens, Dresler, Reid, Miller, Hahn, Mahon, Donohue, Kidd, Jones, Strauss, Schmalz, Hayes, Carey, White, Fahey, Bonbright, Cowan, Innis, Collahan, Thorne—493.

The negative vote was represented by: Perigny, Fitzgerald, Mulholland, Slocum, Giltthorpe, Grant, McGuire, Lloyd, Woodbury, Kent, Gompers, Tracy, Dornells, Whitaker, Morris, Cable, Adams Monaghan, Antler, Sabin, Duncan, O'Brien, Calk, Leigh, Lawlor, Cahill, Shaffer, Keefe, Conine, O'Connell, Warner, Call, Mitchell, Hunter, Lewis, Fahy, Fox, Valentines, Black, Sullivan, Kelley (John S.), Kenney, Smith, Keely, Furneth, Elderkin, Lennon, Bowman, Mills, White, Wetzel, Donnelly (S. B.) Cain, Morrison, Braunschweig, Shalroy, O'Sullivan, Driscoll, Doyle, McEvan, Curry, Bradley, Keefer, Casey, McNeil, Barrett, Jahns, Kirby, Josie, Blain, Plie-man, Morton, Brown, Tunily, Dold, O'Neil, Sefferan, Maher, Moore, Steadman, Powell, Rombold, Scanlon, Lawyer, Fox, Ins-kip—1,971.

The officers of the American Federation of Labor for the new year are: President, Samuel Gompers; vice-presidents, P. J. McGuire, James Duncan, James O'Connell, John F. Mitchell, Max Morris, Thomas I. Kidd; secretary, Frank Morrison; treasurer, John B. Lennon; fraternal delegates to Great Britain, T. F. Tracey and James O'Connell, and to Canada, John F. O'Sullivan. Detroit will be the next place of meeting.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.



HAVE a friend who tells me there is but one thing that prevents him becoming an out-and-out Socialist, and it is this: That Socialism does not respect the right of private property.

That being the only obstacle in the way of winning a new adherent, I have decided that we will settle the point in a few noon-hour talks; when I am through I will guarantee that my friend will make up his mind to vote the Social Democratic ticket at the very first opportunity.

If I do what the printers usually kick about, put up some of the words used in capitals or small capitals, that is because I am anxious to assist my friend all I can, as well as others who may read this. So I hope the editor will assist me in my missionary work by instructing the printers to "follow copy."

The point is that Socialism does NOT respect the RIGHT of PRIVATE property.

If this were true, it certainly would, as my friend says, constitute a serious objection. If there is anything that should be "respected" it is property—yes, PRIVATE property. Respect for property has too long stood in the way of regard for humanity.

I am the more desirous that Socialists should be understood on this point about property because, strange as it may appear, the Socialists are the best friends and truest champions of property, while their historical opponents—the capitalist class—who raise the cry of the "sacred right of property" (in behalf of the few), are really the only people who attack it.

It is of the greatest importance that the investigator should bear in mind that Socialists lay emphasis upon the idea of a UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF PROPERTY.

This idea should then be examined with the mind uninfluenced by the cry of capitalist lackeys that it is an attack on the PRINCIPLE of property. This cry is set up to prejudice honest people against Socialism and keep them in ignorance.

If then Socialism emphasizes and proposes the UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF PROPERTY, as it certainly does, anyone who is lead to believe merely that Socialism does not respect the right of private property, is lead only to see a HALF TRUTH, that is, to a misunderstanding of Socialism.

If the right to private property was universal and indefeasible, as Socialists would have it, none could be excluded and respect for the right to it would also be universal.

The thought next in order is that Socialism does deny private property rights, but what in? In the elements of nature and the means or instruments of wealth production and distribution. The negation of such private right is based on the undeniable fact that private ownership of land and capital (the means of production and distribution), operates to the impoverishment of the working class and tends directly to the destruction of the property rights of those who create property.

Remember this: The Socialist negation of property is of PROPERTY ONLY in the MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION. Until this is understood, one can not understand Socialism.

The natural right of every individual to the occupation and use of the land cannot be questioned; if the possession of the earth were not a common right, then occupation and monopoly by one man or a few could result in destroying the lives of all other men. While a sane mind never doubts, and common-sense never questions that men differ in special endowments and capacities, all men are exactly equal to each other in respect to natural environment and the right to live, and Socialism would afford to each an equal opportunity to

occupy and utilize land. But the mere natural right to live and occupy land without the social equality of access to the indispensable means of production and distribution, is wholly inadequate and has been made so by the necessary transformation of the individual tools of production into the modern machine.

Take a single trade to illustrate precisely what Socialism wants, then make your own application of it to all trades and to all industry: The shoemaker who made shoes by hand is now practically unknown; shoes are made by machines; in the making of shoes the workman with a kit of tools can not compete with the owners of machinery and dispose of his product; the markets are controlled by those who control machinery. Now Socialism does not propose the socializing of shoes that one man only can wear; it DOES propose to make common or collective PROPERTY of the modern tools—machines—by which shoes are produced. It proposes an expansion of the PRINCIPLE of property, in which all the members of society will be joint owners, have joint property rights in all the means of life, supplementing the natural right to land with the social right to the tools whereby land, in modified forms, is made by the application of labor to contribute to human wants and human welfare.

Socialism DOES respect the right of PRIVATE PROPERTY, vested in those who create property, and would enlarge their opportunities for its enjoyment.

It does NOT respect the right of private individuals to possess and to operate for PRIVATE PROFIT the indispensable sources of the maintenance of human life.

The foregoing will serve to open the subject and at some future "Noon Hour" we will go into it a little further. SEVEN OAKS.

OLD AND NEW HAVERHILL

The following letter addressed to Eugene V. Debs by Henry B. Ashplant, of London, Ontario, will be read with interest by our Haverhill friends:

Eugene V. Debs, Dear Comrade: Since I enjoyed the pleasure of greeting you in my own home in London, Ontario, I have many times hoped that we shall meet again. In meantime I take the opportunity afforded by recent events to again renew acquaintance. Sincerely as I regret the opposition of the Social Democratic organization to the S. L. P. of the United States, I wish to express to you my pleasure at the fact that of all points in the U. S., the city of Haverhill, Mass., is the first constituency to elect to a legislative assembly in the western hemisphere, representatives of the International Socialist principles.

My special pleasure at this epoch making event, lies in the fact, that I was 14 years employed in the factory of O. Gurteen & Sons, Haverhill Suffolk, England; (a firm employing 3000 hands) and that Haverhill, Mass., was founded by a pioneer from Haverhill, England. My former employer (O. Gurteen, Esq.) was the invited guest of the city of Haverhill, Mass., during its week of celebrations (on the 250th anniversary of its settlement) in 1890.

I also feel an added interest in the coincidence, that while Haverhill, Mass., is the first constituency in the U. S. to elect an International Socialist to an American legislative assembly, it was an emigrant from Haverhill, England, who this year, 1898, fought the first campaign in the Dominion of Canada for International Socialism, (from Haverhill, the mother town of Comrade Carey's home in Massachusetts).

The undersigned was the first and only candidate yet nominated to a legislative assembly in the Dominion of Canada, on the platform of International Socialism. Our vote was 126, watch it grow. This is indeed only "the beginning at a time."

Yours for the new era,
Henry B. Ashplant.
Nov. 28, 1898.

DO YOUR DUTY--AND DO IT NOW.

Among the Branches.

Branch Meetings.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for \$5 per month.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at 8 p. m. at the Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 9 p. m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Martin Steele, Secretary.

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

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

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesday at Concordia Turner Hall, 13th and Arsenal streets. Wm. Ruesche, Secretary, 3338 Iowa avenue.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stengel's Hall, corner Monroe and Pearl streets, every Monday evening.

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

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, Secretary, 602 Chestnut street.

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

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Monday at 8 p. m. sharp at 614 State street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfler, Treasurer.

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

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesday at 13th and Wyoming streets. Joe Shepherd, 3116 Wisconsin avenue.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 775 Twenty-fifth street.

Branch No. 2, New York (Elizbeth Assembly District) meets every Tuesday evening at 50 Orchard st., Room 17, at 8 p. m. Louis Pavsky, chairman; Jacob Leibovitz, 152 Forsyth st., secretary.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 P. M. Funk hall, south 24th and Josephine st. President W. Bohn, 241 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 215 Jane st.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at 209 E. Broadway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street, Secretary.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Branch officers are urged not to overlook the necessity of prompt collection and remittance to headquarters of the quarterly dues, which are payable on or before January 1st, 1899. Prompt attention to this matter is of the greatest importance to carrying on the work and the Executive Board urges upon all members a cheerful discharge of this first duty of the New Year to the organization.

The branches everywhere are being strengthened in numbers and show marked activity in their local fields.

A German assembly district organization of the Social Labor party in New York has applied for a charter and will join us in a body.

New branches are reported at Hartford, Conn., Brooklyn, N. Y., Baltimore, Md., Houston, Tex., and two in New York City; one of the latter is composed of former members of the 24th Assembly District of the S. L. P.

A new branch with thirty members has been organized at Houston, Texas. The organizer is Ad. Lenge, secretary of Local Brewers' Union, No. 111. The comrades expect to double the membership by January 1.

Comrade Geo. Howie writes from Manchester, N. H.: "One member of the S. D. P. in this city stands at the back of \$100 for state expenses. Would that we could raise the money from the dead who are now praying 'Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth'—Amen, comrade, and amen, as some of our dear 'dead' friends would say.

In accordance with the decision at the general meeting of St. Louis branches at Bohemian National hall, December 18th, 1898, the nominating convention of the Social Democratic party of St. Louis has been called at Walhalla Hall, 10th street and Franklin avenue, for Sunday, January 15th, 1899, at 2 P. M. A full municipal ticket will be nominated.

ST. LOUIS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

CALL FOR CONVENTION.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Please take notice that a mass convention, open to all members of the Social Democratic Party, and to members only, will be held on Sunday, January 8, at 724 Washington street, Boston, at 10 A. M., for the purpose of discussing and laying out a definite plan of action for the ensuing year.

MARGARET HAILE,
Secretary State Committee.

BRANCHES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Please take notice that on Sunday, January 8, 1899, at 724 Washington street, Boston, immediately upon adjournment of the mass convention called as above, or not later than 5 P. M., a delegate convention will be called to order, and proceed to the election of a State Committee and the adoption of the rules and regulations for the guidance and government of the same. Each branch is entitled to one delegate for every twenty-five members, and one extra for every additional twenty-five or major fraction thereof.

Margaret Haile,
Secretary State Committee.

Amesbury, Mass.

At our regular meeting, Dec. 21, we took in one new member. We had a large attendance which is the usual record of the last three months. It was voted that we open a parliamentary class next Friday evening, we do not propose to be defeated on parliamentary tactics in our struggle for economic liberty. C. W. Greene was elected correspondent to the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD. Our committee on articles to be inserted in the town warrant are hard at work. It is expected that we will have but a few articles this year but that they will be of first class quality and show the voters that we are for the workingmen and the best interest of the town.

Our Amesbury (Mass.) comrades have secured new quarters in Bartlett's block on the market square. They are at present at work formulating plans for the Spring campaign. Chas. W. Green reports that the recent meeting took up the constitution of national council. Sec. 1 was amended to read "This organization shall be known as the American Socialist party." Sec. 7, voted to amend to read as follows: "Any member of the board may be removed by majority vote," etc., instead of two-thirds. Sec. 16, voted to amend by changing the name of official paper to "American Socialist." Sec. 20, voted to read "American Socialist" instead of Social Democratic HERALD. The rest of the constitution was adopted as read.

AMESBURY.

The East Side Branch No. 1, S. D. P., New York, had a very interesting meeting last week. Five new members joined the branch. A committee was appointed to get Comrade Gordon of New Hampshire as organizer for New York. Arrangements were made to invite Comrades Carey and Chase to New York for mass meetings, the proceeds to go for THE HERALD. The convention which is called by the branch for all the Jewish locals of the S. D. P. will be held December 31st. The main question will be organization and agitation for the S. D. P. and as well for the trades unions. A. GUYER, Secretary.

Great astonishment is expressed in some quarters at the report that a trust is being formed to control the Philippine islands. But why not? Trusts already control the United States and the control is so profitable that no one need be surprised if the trusts seek to expand their opportunities for plunder. An expansion of mental vision would be a good thing for some people.

Secretary Stedman's Position.

TO THE MEMBERS:

I have endeavored to refrain from using the columns of the paper to express my own opinion in regard to either the policy, name or technical construction of our organization.

I care nothing as to the construction of the constitution except that it shall be so framed as to give the utmost facility for retiring the chief officers of the organization under a referendum, and if the movement increases and grows rapidly it will ride over all the hair-splitting regulations which may stand in the way of its growth.

I am opposed to a change of the name—

1. Because the name we have expresses clearly and comprehensively exactly what we stand for.

2. It negates state Socialism or state Capitalism.

I am opposed to the name American Socialist Party—

1. Because the first word stands for nothing. Canada, Brazil and Mexico are in America.

2. It does not indicate the difference between Democratic Socialism and Bismarck Socialism, which should be understood thoroughly.

I am in favor of the present name, because the greatest Socialist party in the world by its repeated elections and by its world wide reputation is constantly advertising the name we bear.

I am not willing to go out either in Chicago, or in Illinois, and start explaining the reasons why a new name has been adopted; and the consistency of the party and the further fact that it is Social Democracy under a new name. I prefer to devote my time in explaining what Socialism is and in doing that I explain exactly what Social Democracy stands for. In fact, I shall not do it.

The fact that a prominent party bears the name "Democracy" is a fancied more than a real injury to our movement or organization.

DUES AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

I hope that the plan suggested by the St. Louis branches will be defeated.

The first and all important reason is, that it means a discontinuance of the publication of THE HERALD.

2. The falling off of subscriptions to one-third of what they are at present.

3. Because members join the movement to take no paper and those who are luke-warm and read little on the subject are the very ones we should have supplied constantly and periodically with papers standing for the cause in which we are interested.

I suggest that if the St. Louis branches want a discontinuation of THE HERALD that they propose an amendment and do it directly, as I do not wish the giving up of the national headquarters and the discontinuation of the paper through bankruptcy while I am on the Executive Committee.

If my conclusions seem a little passionate, I answer, quoting Hugo, that sometimes "right has its passion."

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

St. Louis Branch, No. 3, held an important meeting at Concordia Turner Hall, Tuesday, December 27th. Considerable interest was shown in the work of organization for the Spring campaign.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch, recently organized, has secured Hemm's Hall, northeast corner Broadway and Keokuk streets for its place of meeting, and will hold its first meeting, since organization, there on Sunday morning, January 8th, 1899, at 9:30 o'clock. This branch will meet every second and fourth Sunday.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch will be organized at Stoermer's Hall, 18th and Lynch streets, on Sunday morning, January 1, 1899, at 10 o'clock. All resident in the ward are invited to join.

ANNA F. SMITH, Organizer.

Membership dues payable January 1 Remit promptly.

Butscher of Brooklyn.

COMRADE EDITOR:—For the past three weeks I have been reading in the HERALD, articles referring to changing our party name by reason of having to print same on the official ballot in the state of Massachusetts, viz: "Democratic Social Party," which no doubt complicated matters somewhat for some of our comrades in that locality on election day.

While I do not favor changing our party name too often, still, if the organization think it best to do so again, I would suggest that we call ourselves "The Socialist Party," pure and simple.

I do not think it necessary to add "of America," or "U. S.," as you can readily see that part is superfluous; for in this country we know the party is a home product, and in Europe they will naturally add that portion on when referring to us.

Regarding our constitution, I have carefully studied same and fully approve it as far as it goes; but I would suggest to the national board that a clause referring to no fusion excepting with a recognized straight Socialist party be inserted therein.

This I believe a precautionary measure and one which every earnest Social Democrat should consider while our organization is in its infancy.

I further wish to suggest to the national board to also insert clause, that no newspaper shall be recognized as an official organ of the S. D. P., unless it is so licensed by the board. I believe all efforts should be concentrated on one good paper, such as the Social Democratic HERALD is, and all energy expended in making that a magnificent success both intellectual and financial.

WM. BUTSCHER.

New Hampshire Notes.

At the meeting of Branch 3, held December 18, one new member was elected and two dollars appropriated to the city committee.

Our Swedish Branch is making fine progress. They took in five new members at their meeting, December 18. They now have twenty-two members in good standing.

Enoch Johnson, the first secretary of Branch 4 (Swedish) Manchester, writes a very interesting letter from his far off native land. He greatly enjoyed reading the Social Democratic HERALD every week.

Our Somersworth Branch is the banner branch. The boys there are trying to make a second Haverhill out of Somersworth.

Branches 3 and 7 have voted in favor of the constitution as published in the HERALD.

At a business meeting of the city committee, Manchester, it was voted to send the Arbeiter-Zeitung und Volks-Anwalt for one year to the Turn Hall Society. GORDON.

Friday evening, December 16, Somersworth Branch Social Democratic party, entertained the party candidate for governor at the recent election with an oyster supper. Fifty invitations were sent out and their comfortable quarters near the centre of the city were a scene of the utmost enthusiasm. Comrade Mellen was master of the program and makes an excellent presiding officer. There is a chance, a good one, with proper effort of putting this comrade into the executive chair of the city, where he enjoys the confidence of all. After the discussion of the eatables, union made cigars were passed and while the boys enjoyed the same they paid close attention for an hour and a half to Comrade Clafin's exposition of the principles of Socialism. About 20 of those present followed with brief but telling remarks, and there seems to be a decided push toward Socialism among the wage-workers of Somersworth.

HAMPSHIRE.

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

Hereafter the price of THE HERALD in bundle orders will be one cent a copy.

PROF. WILLIAM WATKINS.

In the death of Prof. William Watkins of Dayton, Ohio, announced in this paper last week, the cause of Socialism in the United States loses one of its most fearless and ablest advocates. The editor of THE HERALD enjoyed for years his personal friendship; with him knowledge was the chief end of man; in talents and in character he was richly endowed; in his devotion to Socialism he was a moral hero; in his loves he was true and manly; his mind was a continent of learning and his heart-knowledge made life about him glorious.

Our departed comrade had attained his sixty-seventh year. For thirty years he was prominent in the public school work of his native State, Ohio, and was a teacher in the High School of Dayton for thirteen years. A scholarly man in the highest and best sense, he revelled in the world's literature with equal facility in the Latin, Greek, French, German and English tongues. Twice a candidate of the Socialists for governor of his State, he enjoyed the universal confidence and love of all his comrades and by them will be long remembered as a man who chose right with invincible resolution and honored the cause he espoused.

Sprouting in Kentucky.

I think it an excellent idea to have the comrades persuade their merchants, grocers, barbers, blacksmiths, &c., to take our paper. It is not so hard to obtain subscriptions as most comrades seem to think. A little persuasion and a simple and friendly statement of the principles and purposes of Socialism and Socialists will in four cases in ten secure a subscription.

The time has come when all intelligent and earnest Socialists can take pride in their avowal of the fact and work in the open for the propagation of the faith. From now on we are going to work hard to secure a good strong foot-hold here in the city of Louisville.

JOS. H. ARNOLD.

TRUE AIM OF SOCIALISM.

The aim of modern Socialism is not the subdivision of property, whether capital or land, but the control of it by the representatives of the community. The aim of the modern Socialist movement is not to enable this or that comparatively free persons to lead an ideal life, but to loosen the fetters of the millions who toil in our factories and mines, and who cannot possibly be moved to Freeland and Utopia. For the last two generations we have had social prophets, who, seeing the impossibility of at once converting the whole country, founded here and there small communities of the faithful, who immediately endeavored to put into practice whatever complete ideal they possessed. The gradual adoption of this ideal by the whole people was expected from the steady expansion of these isolated communities. But in no single case has this expectation been fulfilled. Most of these isolated colonies outside the world have failed. Some few, under more favorable circumstances, have grown prosperous. But whether they become rich or remain poor, they are equally disastrous to the real progress of Socialism inside the world as we know it. Wise prophets nowadays do not found a partial community which adopts the whole faith; they cause rather the partial adoption of their faith by the whole community. Incomplete reform is effected in the world of ordinary citizens instead of complete reform outside of it. Genuine Socialism grows by vertical instead of horizontal expansion; we must make even more socialistic the institutions amidst which we live, instead of expecting them to be suddenly surprised by any new set imported from elsewhere. By this method progress may be slow, but failure is impossible. No nation having once nationalized any industry has ever retraced its steps or reversed its station.—Sidney Webb.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, as said, turns the power

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

BRITISH I.L.P. PLATFORM.

The true object of industry being the production of the requirements of life, the responsibility for this production should rest with the community collectively; therefore the land, being the storehouse of all the necessities of life, should be declared and treated as public property.

The capital necessary for industrial operations should be owned and used collectively.

Work, and wealth resulting therefrom, should be equitably distributed over the population.

As means to these ends, we demand the enactment of following measures:

1. A maximum eight-hour working day, a six-days working week, and the retention of all existing holidays as well as Labor Day (May 1st), secured by law.

2. The provision of work to all capable adult applicants at recognized trade-union rates, with statutory minimum of sixpence per hour. In order to remuneratively employ the applicants, Parish, to:

(a) organize and undertake such industries as they may consider desirable; (b) compulsorily acquire land, purchase, erect, or manufacture buildings, stock or other articles for carrying on such industries; (c) levy rates on the rental values of the district, and borrow money on the security of such rates for any of the above purposes.

3. State pensions for every person over 50 years of age, and adequate provisions for all widows, orphans, sick and disabled workers.

4. Free, secular, primary, secondary and university education, with free maintenance while at school or university.

5. The raising of the age of child labor, with a view to its ultimate extinction.

6. Municipalization and public control of the drink question.

7. Abolition of indirect taxation, and the gradual transfer of all public burdens to unearned incomes with a view to their ultimate extinction.

The Independent Labor Party is in favor of every proposal for extending electoral rights to both men and women, and democratizing the system of government.

NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

In submitting the revised constitution for the national organization which will be found in this paper, the Executive Board calls attention to the omission of a constitution for State and Local Branches. This omission is made because the national constitution must determine largely the nature of the rest. Upon the final adoption of the national constitution, a draft of State and Branch constitutions will be submitted.

It is suggested that members be as brief as possible in stating their reasons for and against its adoption. There should be free and full discussion, but it is hoped that repetition and irrelevant matters will be avoided.

After the adoption of the National constitution, followed by the State and Branch constitutions, they will be submitted to a vote as a whole. SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Sec. Ex. Bd.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION OF ENGLAND.

OBJECT.

The socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic state in the interests of the entire community, and the complete emancipation of labor from the domination of capitalism and landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes.

1. All organizers or administrators to be elected by equal direct adult suffrage, and to be maintained by the community.

2. Legislation by the people in such wise that no project of law shall become binding till accepted by the majority of the people.

3. The abolition of standing armies, and the establishment of National citizen forces; the people to decide on peace or war.

4. All education to be compulsory, secular, industrial, and free.

5. The administration of justice to be free to all.

6. The means of production, distribution, and exchange to be declared and treated as collective or common property.

7. The production and distribution of wealth to be regulated by the community in the common interests of all its members.

8. The establishment of international courts of arbitration.

As measures called for to palliate the evils of our existing society the Social Democratic Federation urges for immediate adoption:—

The compulsory construction by public bodies of healthy dwellings for the people, such dwellings to be let at rents to cover the cost of construction and maintenance alone.

Free secular and technical education, compulsory upon all classes, together with free maintenance for the children in all state schools.

No child to be employed in any trade or occupation until 14 years of age, and have penalties to be inflicted on employers infringing this law.

Eight hours or less to be the normal working day, or not more than forty-four hours per week, to be fixed in all trades and industries by legislative enactment. Imprisonment to be inflicted on employers for any infringement of this law.

Cumulative taxation upon all incomes exceeding £300.

State appropriation of railways and canals; municipal ownership and control of gas, electric light and water supplies; the organization of tramway and omnibus services and similar monopolies in the interests of the entire community.

The extension of the post office banks so that they shall absorb all private institutions that derive a profit from operations in money or credit.

Repudiation of the national debt. Nationalisation of the land and organization of agricultural and industrial armies under state or municipal co-operative principles.

The disestablishment and disendowment of all state churches. The establishment of adequate pensions for the aged and infirm workers.

Every person attaining the age of fifty to be kept by the community, work being optional after that age. The establishment of municipal hospitals, municipal control of the food and coal supply, abolition of present workhouse system, and the provision of useful work for the unemployed. State control of lifeboat service.

As means for the peaceful attainment of these objects the Social Democratic Federation advocates: Payment of members of parliament and all local bodies, payment of official expenses of election out of public funds, adult suffrage, annual parliaments, proportional representation, second ballot, initiative and referendum, canvassing to be illegal, abolition of the monarchy and the house of lords, extension of the powers of county, town, district and parish councils, legislative independence for all parts of the Empire.

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

WYCKOFF'S WANDERINGS.

During the past year Scribner's Magazine ran as a serial an account of the experiences of one Walter A. Wyckoff, who has since become a professor at Princeton college, and who left a life of ease to enter the ranks of unskilled labor so as to study the conditions surrounding the lives of the great proletariat. The account has just appeared in book form and we clip the following very good review of it from the American Fabian:

"The Workers," by Walter A. Wyckoff, is a modestly written account of a young student of sociology, who, in order to study at first hand the conditions of labor, started out penniless, and led for two years the life of an unskilled workman. The list of his roles included ditch-digger, scavenger, waiter, hotel porter, lumberman, farm hand, etc.

"The author has been praised in some quarters for not 'theorizing' or proposing any remedies for the evils he saw. An easy-going public is much obliged to him for amusing them with his story, and refraining from boring them with uncomfortable theories about making things better. To speak frankly, to us the writer seems to take this position rather from necessity than from complaisance. He has apparently a mind quite in a state of making large deductions. It is interested in details and quite taken up with them, this for the curious reason that the writer is by nature hazy, vague, emotional, and feels—as such natures frequently do—a haunting desire to come in contact with reality. Such people are, for instance, never quite certain that a stone is hard, and have to go out and take hold of one to assure themselves of the fact. Consider the lack of imagination and the weak sense of reality which necessitates a man's digging and breaking stone and chopping wood before he can be quite sure how it feels to be tired and hungry!

"Moreover, in all such cases of artificial endeavor, the real essence of the situation is missed. The real difficulty and sorrow of the lives of hard workers lie, first, in the hopelessness of their position, and this the rich young man—who has come down to 'study' them (as though they were beetles or something) and can return to his luxurious villa with its butler and champagne cocktails at any moment he desires—cannot know. That is to say, he cannot know it 'by experience,' the way we are told that such knowledge must come; on the contrary, he can know it—and in this way only—by the aid of imagination and intelligence if he have them in sufficient quantities.

"Again, the writer masquerading as worker had no family weighing upon him, he had good health and he had no fear for the future. And yet he thought by merely working side by side with The Workers he could come to know their lives!"

The above is in error to some extent. Mr. Wyckoff did suggest a remedy in a feeble way—a most absurd remedy. He said that if the people would only go back to the country from the cities all would be merry as a marriage bell, and the social and industrial problem would fade away, tra la la! When he began his account he showed traces of Socialistic feeling and many expected that he would at least hint at the Socialistic remedy for the ills he painted, before he got through. The suspicion is quite strong, however, that that Princeton professorship tempered his closing chapters. There was a surprising change of view and his story came to such an abrupt ending that it looked very much as if there had been a hasty revision and lopping off at the last moment. We are not prepared to say whether Wyckoff is either child-like or foxy, but we do incline to the latter opinion. As to his 'remedy,' it is hardly worth while discussing such an absurdity. There must be a deep reason why people crowd to the cities and therefore that reason is a fact that must be reckoned with by the sociologist. That the modern forces of society force the people into the cities is clear to anyone with perception. The best that can be gotten out of Mr. Wyckoff's observations as to the

country with relation to the workers is that those wanderers could be skinned by the wage-masters with less discomfort to them (the workers) in the country than in the city. All of which is very amusing. —T. R. M.

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

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

—Social Democratic Party Platform.

Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

Name and Headquarters.

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

How organized.

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

1. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

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

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

4. An Executive Board of five members

Executive Board.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Revenues and Funds.

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

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

The National Council.

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

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

Official Paper.

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

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

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

Referendum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Recall of Officers.

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

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

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

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

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

What Socialism Is.

The whole aim and purpose of Socialism is a closer union of social factors. The present need is growth in that direction.—Richard P. Ely.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—Wm. Morris.

Let no man fear the name of "Socialism." The movement of the working class for justice by any other name would be as terrible.—Father William Barry.

The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transmutation of private competing capitals into united collective capital.—Dr. Alb. Schaeffle.

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

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

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

Any theory or system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

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Social Democratic Herald

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The following list of books is by no means complete, but it contains many of the ablest works on Economics, Politics and the Labor Movement. Any books desired, but not included in the list, will be procured at publisher's prices. Orders sent to the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD will receive prompt attention. The price, which covers the cost of postage, must accompany your order.

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

PAMPHLETS.

Fred. Engels, Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science.....	.05
The Class Struggle.....	.05
The Religion of Capitalism and Socialism Explained.....	.05
The Proletariat and Down With Socialism.....	.05
F. G. R. Gordon, Hard Times: Cause and Cure.....	.05
Karl Marx, Analysis of Money.....	.05
Watkins, Evolution of Industry.....	.05
Leonard D. Abbott, The Society of the Future.....	.05

THE HERALD LEAFLETS.

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Have you taken a Vote on the Constitution of National Council?

WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

OFFENBACH, GERMANY.

The Social Democratic party elected sixteen members to the city council of this city.

LEIPZIG, GERMANY.

The cartoonist, Theo. Heine, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for lese majeste. He ridiculed the Emperor's recent trip to Jerusalem.

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL.

The printers of this city are publishing a new paper under the name "O Brazil Typographico."

GIRONDE, FRANCE.

The Gironde Federation of the Parti Ouvrier have established a new Socialist organ, Le Socialiste de la Gironde.

MONTLUÇON, FRANCE.

Jean Dormory, Socialist deputy and mayor of Montluçon, France, died recently. He was one of the most prominent Socialists and best champions of the cause of the working people of his country.

BERNE, SWITZERLAND.

There are thousands of unemployed working people in this city. The city council is trying to inaugurate public works and employ as many of the unfortunate proletarians as possible.

CHARLOTTENBURG, GERMANY.

The expenses of the Emperor's trip to Jerusalem are estimated at 10,000,000 marks, about \$2,500,000.

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

The capitalist government has prohibited the holding of the Social Democratic Party congress which should take place during the Christmas week.

SOLOTHURN, SWITZERLAND.

The indebtedness of the Swiss farmers is rapidly increasing. In 1890 the mortgage indebtedness on the farms in the canton of Solothurn was 98,232,609 francs, in 1897 it had increased to 127,578,290 francs. The same as in America! O, ye happy farmers of so-called free republics!

BARCELONA, SPAIN.

The Socialists are very active in helping to build up a strong trades union movement. A strong Longshoremen's Union has just been organized.

MILAN, ITALY.

Comrade Filippo Turati, who was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment, is one of the brightest and bravest men in the Social Democratic Party of Italy. He was the editor of the "Critica Sociale." In 1891 he took a prominent part in the proceedings of the International Labor congress in Brussels, Belgium. We hope the good comrade may soon be free and return to the battlefield of labor. We send him our hearty thanks and appreciation he has done for the noble cause of International Social Democracy.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

Herr Albert Schmidt, Social-Democratic member of the Reichstag for Magdeburg, is to be proceeded against on a charge of lese majeste, arising out of a recent speech on the threatened measure against strike leaders. It will be remembered that at Oeynhausen, during the autumn, the Kaiser made a speech, in which he announced that those who incited to strike were to be imprisoned under the new law with hard labor.

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

The Social Democratic organ, "Justice," says: "Glasgow has always been a difficult place for the Social Democratic movement in Great Britain. Nowhere has more vigorous or better work been done under the greatest possible discouragement. Hitherto it has been a depressing task for an S. D. F. speaker to visit Glasgow, so much was evidently being left undone or done wrong. Now the movement is evidently on the right track there, and we may well hope, will go ahead speedily in an organized fashion."

LONDON, ENGLAND.

It is none too soon for our com-

rades throughout Great Britain, members of the I. L. P. as well as members of the S. D. F., to begin to make ready for the great International Socialist Congress of Paris in 1900, says London Justice. This will be the greatest Socialist Congress ever held, the French Socialists are carefully organizing themselves, are sinking all old bitterness and personal feelings in a conjoint endeavor to meet their visitors as one party of fusion and discipline. Yet their differences are of fifty years growth. France will be solid, Germany will be solid, Austria-Hungary will be solid, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy will all be solid. Why should not the Social Democratic party of Great Britain—for the I. L. P., whether its leaders like to say so or not, is a Social Democratic party—go there also solid?

MECKLENBURG, GERMANY.

The government is trying to prevent distribution of literature on Sundays, because the Social Democratic agitators are stirring up the rural districts to such an extent that the people prefer to attend Socialist meetings instead of going to the church of their capitalist masters. The Socialists hold that, if such a law would be enacted, they would insist that the priests and pastors be also prevented from spreading their literature on Sundays; they claim that Socialism was nearer to the teachings of Christ than capitalist churchism.

The Pacific Coast "Echo."

The following intelligent and captivating reply to a correspondent is from a paper called "Class Struggle," printed, ostensibly in the interest of Socialism, at..... and edited by.....

"M. J. K., El Paso, Texas.—You seem vexed because we have not proclaimed the election of Carey and Scates of the Social Democratic Party to the Legislature of Massachusetts. This paper rejoices at the election of Socialists but Carey and Scates are not Socialists however loudly they may proclaim themselves such. Carey was driven from the S. L. P. for a treacherous attempt to disorganize it. And while a member of the Haverhill city council he betrayed the working class by voting to appropriate public funds for an armory."

"M. J. K." is Comrade M. J. Kingsbury, a man quite capable of appreciating such aspersions upon honest men and Socialists at their true value.

The following letter to the editor of THE HERALD is from Comrade S. E. Putney, of Somerville, Mass., a member of the S. L. P. (on the ground) and a man who knows what he writes about:

To the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD:—I desire, as a member of the S. L. P., to protest against the editorial of "The People" of Dec. 18, on the election of Comrade J. F. Carey and others, of Haverhill. Insist upon the Haverhill election as being a victory for Socialism. I know Mr. John C. Chase to be an honest and intelligent workingman; and no one need fear his ability to give service as mayor of Haverhill in a manner creditable to Socialist principles. I am afraid some fear he will give too much credit.

I rejoice also in the election of James F. Carey to the legislature, and I do not think the Haverhill Social Democrats (Socialists) would send Mr. Scates unless he is also trustworthy. This villifying of Carey because of the Armory bill is silly, and shows how some are hard pressed for charges. As long as we have men as soldiers and police in the public service, it is our duty to provide them with suitable accommodations.

I consider the Social Democratic and S. L. P. parties two advance columns of Socialists, working to the same end only by different methods and tactics. The best will surely win in the end.

Yours with charity to all and malice to none.

SQUIRE E. PUTNEY.

Join the Social Democratic Party of America!

THE FEDERATION AND SOCIALISM.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE.]

are all familiar with the arguments against it) I here quote Mahon's as published in the proceedings: "I have always stood squarely and honestly for trades unionism, but believe in Socialism; but not as it is represented by the Socialist Labor party, for I disagree with the tactics of their organization. The question before this convention is the resolution of Mr. Tobin; that question was whether it was better to join or indorse some political party on class lines, and which was the best method to reach the result. * * * I do not care to talk history; we all know the past and its mistakes; it is the future that confronts us; we came here to discuss this shoulder to shoulder, and not as enemies, but as trades unionists. You say, don't talk politics. What do you want us to talk? Every one of you talk politics from morning to night. My friends, I say to you that you must be progressive. They will not permit us to run our boycotts after awhile, by preventing them by injunction, and with this weapon in their hands it is hard to tell what will happen. But the ballot is our weapon. You say let us meet it as trades unionists. I say to you let us meet it as Socialists; why, you have been meeting it as trades unionists since 1860. We are not denying that our trades unionism has given good results—but we should have political action as well."

The A. F. of L. has gone into politics; here is the proof: resolutions indorsing free silver, anti-expansion, income tax, anti-scalper law, etc.

I believe the vote was fairly representative of the average trades unionist. We cannot expect these delegates like crusaders to march on; for the present they will view the battle like generals of modern warfare, from the rear.

Comrades we must all work persistently and indefatigably to convert the trades union rank and file and when they speak the A. F. of L. will bow to their will or cease to exist. The trades unionists are ready for the message we bring. We must help them (and they will respond) until unitedly we march upon the dragon whose fangs are buried in the quivering breast of every civilized nation.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

Carey at Manchester.

James F. Carey, Socialist representative of Haverhill, Mass., and Morris Sidowitch, a promising young Hebrew speaker for Socialism, enlivened the meeting of Branch 3, Manchester, N. H., by their presence Christmas evening. Comrade Sidowitch addressed the Jewish residents in the afternoon and will be here again to organize a branch later on. Mayor-elect John C. Chase, of Haverhill, was also in Manchester, December 26.

Comrade Claffin, of Manchester, was the guest of the Exeter comrades at their meeting for organization, December 20, but owing to a stormy evening the organization was not completed. There are many Socialists in Exeter, where the books of Edward Bellamy have done effective work. Some of the leading business and professional men, as well as many of the manual workers, are already fully persuaded as to the truth and necessity of Socialism and the collective ownership of the tools of production and distribution.

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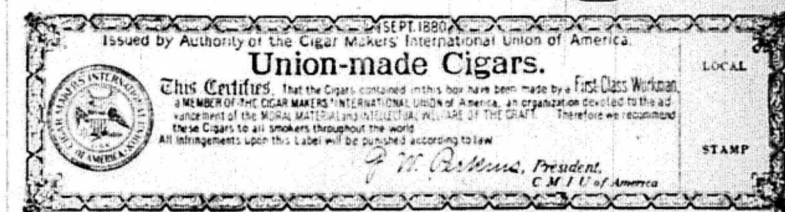
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