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

Stocks are booming—i. e., gambling is booming—and millionaires are prosperous. *

Free speech in the smoking room of the Massachusetts legislature; subject, Socialism; fifty Solons listening to Carey and Scates expounding principles of Social Democracy-we're getting on fine!

There are plenty of Americans who think that there never was any other order than the present—and there is never likely to be any other with their help.

The city, the state and the nation is in doubt as to how far they are obligated to protect human life. Why? Because all three are engaged in protecting property, which is a result of human life.

Many of the capitalist newspapers have such to say about Algerism and are calling Alger's removal. But this is all wrong; Alger is doing the work of his class and his class journals should uphold him.

Leaving out of the question all that the major-generals have had to say in regard to army beef, the masses of the people of this country are satisfied with the testimony of the private soldiers who were made sick by eating the stuff.

The railroad employees of Missouri who protest against a reduction of rates, have not yet been heard from concerning the \$200,000,000 of taxable corporation pro-perty in Missouri which escapes taxation nuaily.

The shivering and famishing proletariat throughout the world will receive with reet the sad news that Mr. and Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont are compelled by hard times to give up their beautiful house at Newport, cause they can't afford to spend \$1,000,-000 a year to keep it going.

Many persons turn away from Socialism at the thought of its political factories, political machines, political stores, political milroads, etc. Let those who are discouraged by such a picture think of social facs, social machines, social stores and social railroads, all operated by the people themselves to supply social needs, and they will begin to grasp the right idea.

Says the anti-Socialist: "Your system is very fascinating; but then men are too selfish, don't you know. for a Socialistic state." Well now my "Wise Mike," look around you and see what sublime unselfishness really characterizes the people; the great bulk of them allow a few men to gobhe up the whole earth and all that therein . Why, the masses are really more unselfit than the angels! Put that in your pipe and smoke it!

The Philadelphia Tageblatt publishes the allowing item: "The work was in vain.

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Republican office-holders at St. Louis are resisting investigation of their offices which does not increase public confidence in their official rectitude.

If in the industrial evolution the church and religion suffer, that is because the church, as an institution, has always been subservient to the power of the people's oppressors.

The new senator from Montana is reported to have an income of \$5,000 a day. But there are people who seem to think that the delivery of the government to "statesmen" with a long purse does not imperil the republic.

A report from Madrid says that 10,000 soldiers sent back from Cuba are begging for bread in the streets of that city. But the Spaniards are not alone. American soldiers have begged for bread and work, and have slept in jails since the war closed.

An interesting report from Comrades Scates and Carey appears in this paper. For the first time in the history of the United States our friends had the privilege of voting for a Socialist for the senate. Their choice was Comrade Winfield P. Porter of Newburyport, late candidate for the governorship on the S. D. ticket.

Some opponents of Socialism who talk about the absurdity of equality, without any clear perception of what they mean by it, think the only alternative of equality is millionaires and paupers and accept things as they are with complacency. Such people never amount to anything as factors in the world's progress.

The man who is oblivious to the teachings of history and current events in the world of industrial evolution, cannot understand the historical necessity of Socialism. There are plenty of men with skulls containing thirty ounces of brain matter whose UPPERSTANDING on the most decided trend of the times is woefally deficient.

The wholesale grocers of the West, following the example of other large manipulators of the people's necessaries, have held a preliminary conference looking toward combination of interests. Such an arrangement would dispense with needless "drummers" and needless expenses of many kinds and conduce to economy. But Socialism alone can prevent all the economic waste going on, and likely to go on, under a capitalist system.

The supply of valid arguments against Socialism is found not to be equal to the demand-of the capitalist class. Rockefeller should put another million into his university to train up a set of fellers with big bulging brains to manufacture new arguments against Socialism. A little ten-cent book on Socialism is influencing more minds and doing more good than all the political economy doctors of colleges and universities endowed by millionaires in the land. Read "Merrie England."

Baltimore has been struk by a great wage of prosperity-the consolidated street railway interests have been financed for \$70,-000,000, one-half of it in bonds.

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The molders at Granite City who are on strike against the capitalistic apprenticeship system, should read up on Socialism. Laborers above all others should know something about the labor question.

A proclamation issued by the mayor of Chicago, calling for old clothes, tood and money for the distressed poor of that city, says there are thousands in a pitiable condition FROM NO FAULT OF THEIR OWN. This is very hard on the prosperity yawpers. But whose fault is it thousands are in such terrible distress?

Socialism would remove the motive for corruption in public life; it is the only system that proposes to take all of the people into the public service, thus making administration of public affairs thoroughly pub-lic, which, if you will think it over, is quite compatible with the decrease of politic 1 fraud and jobbery, because it would be an administration of industry by the people themselves. What is the source of corruption now? The people? Not so, Wise Mike, think again!

While we have an army at the Phillipines coercing ten million "yellowbellies at two dollars a head" to accept our beneficent rule, Terry Powderly at New York, as a government officer, has just sent a woman with five children back to Russia. They were met at Castle Garden by the husband and father, an industrious and respected tailor of Richmond, Va., but Terry separated Moritz Becker from his wife and children, and in spite of all appeals they had to go back. What a queer thing is "benevolent assimilation!"

The Boston correspondent of a Massachusetts daily, referring to Comrades Carey Scates, says: "The new men from Haverhill are the subjects of a great deal or talk and curiosity, from the reason that they are Social Democrats. Messrs. Carey and Scates are gentlemenly appearing men, and men who impress one immediately as of good ability. There is nothing in their utterances to indicate that they have any purpose other than to improve industrial and social conditions about them."

There's nothing succeeds like success!

Never be discouraged by anything the "wise," the "wealthy" or the "good" say against Socialism. They are people who are looking out only for some vantage ground, and having gained it, like all the expropriators of wealth who have gone before them in the past, will hold on to their privileges till forced out by the gathering hosts of Social Democracy. The "wise" and the "good" are generally frauds intruding themselves on the people who could get along very well without their "goodness or their "wisdom."

Prosperity is so rampant in McKinley's own State, that at the present time there are 65,000 people who are being fed by charity.

Charles A. Wolcott was the biggest man in town at Russell, Kan., until the bank broke. He was president of the First National bank, whose funds he had used. In-vestigation showed that it was hopelessly insolvent. One of those bubbles that wise and pompous defenders of capitalism preside over. tots of em in the country, too.

It is time we had a contractors and builders' trust. Here comes news from Chicago that a big firm of contractors, the Michael Greenebaum Sons Company, have gone into bankruptcy with liabilities aggre-gating \$264,054 and assets to the weazeney little tune of \$21,000. Michael's sons are not up to date. They thought they could stand alone. If instead of going into bankruptcy they had gone into a trust, they might be standing yet.

Why do manufacturers and merchants go into trusts and combines? One reason is that it's difficult to keep out of them. This is caused by the greater difficulty of coing business single-handed. There is no other course; the trust is a haven of security for the stockholding and exploiting class; it insures them dividends, and the dividend overtops all considerations of country, patriotism and humanity. But, and this is the chief thing after all, the trust is doing work for us.

In the death of Myron W. Reed, which occurred last week at Denver, the cause of human progress loses an able, tireless and fearless champion. Myron Reed never hesitated to speak the truth as he saw it, regardless of consequences to himself. He was a friend of the common people and of the organized labor movement of the world. His sacrifices and his service endeared him to the masses. For boldly speaking the truth he was hated by conventional hypocrites; but for that also he will be loved and remembered.

It is not politics, friends, that makes commodities cheap or dear, but the determination of capitalists to protect themselves and their class interests.

It is not politics that saps the very vitals of the people, but the capitalist system which controls politics. It is not politics that determines the

ability or disability of the working class to obtain work and gain a living, but the capitalist system which must hold the mastery in the political to perpetuate its mastery in the economic field.

It is not politics that breeds corruption in public life, but the subjection of politics to the interests of capital.

The Brockton (Mass.) Enterprise hopes that Winfield P. Porter's "vision is elear and that it sees the truth in a dream of better days," when he says that "a party which does not have a clear vision of things a hundred times better than they are at present, does not deserve the name of party.' A Social Democrat is a man with a prospectus, a vision, if you please, and a vision is better than a record for a man and a party. Aspiration for justice and humane conditions of life is better than living in political cemeteries, moping around among records of what has been.

the candidates of the Socialist Labor party Il not appear on the official ballot at the ming municipal election. Only 2,087 sigtures were secured for the nomination tificates, while 3,600 were required. his is a lesson for those who have vainly agined that the cry of "Debsomaniacs" d "Social Democratic party fakirs" would comote the cause of Socialism.

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The "trust-the-President" theory is like old "trust-the-King" theory, because is King can do no harm." But the seldom did anything but harm, and residents are no wiser than kings. If we are to "trust the President," let us have a ev election and a vote on the abolition of many departments of government which the "trust-the-President" theory render trust-the presidents had proved them any wiser than kings we might think hout trusting them.

ther a six years' struggle by the union of St. Louis, six years of the most ent agitation and restless work, vichas at last come to organized labor and muract signed settling all points in dis-This battle began October 23, 1893, ended February 4, 1899. From the ming to the close of this fight our St. comrades have stood side by side aboulder to shoulder with the brewery

"The Labour Annual for 1899" is a monument to the industry, ability and broad spirit of liberality of its editor and publisher, Joseph Edwards, of Wallasey, England. Every succeeding issue of this admirable publication is made more indispens-able to social and political reformers. We are glad to announce that the Commonwealth Co., 28 Lafayette Place, New York, have been appointed American agents for the "Annual" and hope this arrangement will largely increase its sale on this side of the water.

Eastern papers express themselves in terms almost of astonishment at the evident sincerity of Social Democrats. This is only a reflection of the law of truth. Sincerity comes from a sense of right and its understanding. This sense of right, working thro sincere effort to better the conditions of life, will make our party appreciated. The sincere and intelligent Social Democrat has no need to fear the lawyer making the worse appear the better reason, or the swindler in trade, or the politician with loud professions for his constituents and secret service for his capitalist masters, for these are personifications of insincerity. and had degenerated into a "hunt after Be sincere and the people will find you out. dividends."

Even the old democratic party, in an attempt to keep up with the procession, pro-poses to lend a hand in the realization of the "impracticable." The Illinois legislature has before it one of the most sweeping public ownership bills ever formulated, and from every quarter come reports of democratic ownership movements. The "father" of the Illinois bill is careful to tell that he is "no Socialist." He is a democrat seek-ing to galvanize a moribund second-rate capitalistic party. The "impracticable" of yesterday is the NECESSITY of to-day, however, and that's something.

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Pertinent to Comrade Eugene Dietzgen's review of Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's "Labor Copartnership," the second and concluding part of which appears in this number of THE HERALD, is the testimony of Earl Grey, who last year declared that the co-operative movement in England "had degenerated too much into a hunt after dividends." He also said that he "looked in vain in the cooperative movement for an inspiring cause which would lift men up and impel them to labor for the common good," and clearly intimated that co-operation did not "have a soul above a shopkeeper's." Earl Grey has been for years one of the staunchest friends of co-operation and spoke as a friend of a cause which started as a "religion"

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth; He must still be up and doing Who would keep abreast of Truth.

A preacher at Indianapolis, Rev. J. A. Milburn, says social inequalities "make life picturesque." Not to the fellow in the social cellar, dominie! It may be that a salaried parson, viewing the scene of life from the comfortable altitude of the social parlor, can see in the struggle all the elements of a pastoral poem. What a soul such a parson must have! But the producers of wealth who furnish the parlors and are fleeced of their products to surcound the occupants with luxuries, to them there is anything specially lovely or pic-turesque in life's inequalities. This same bearer of God's message to men said "a few rich men made the world rich.' Such preaching as this is no doubt well paid for; its quality is probably determined by the pay; it is a kind of homage that hypocrisy pays to power.

LABOR COPARTNERSHIP.

An Examination of Henry D. Lloyd's Book and an Illustration of Utopian and Modern Socialism.

By E. DIEIZGEN.

II.

ERETOFORE I have tried to fighting in direct competition with d l lovd's labor copartnerships of Ireland. by boldly assuming that they had succeeded in wrenching the means of production out of the hands of the large capitalists. I now ask, is such an outcome probable? I believe that it is an idle fancy, a random thought. What makes the advocates of English labor copart nerships so .nthusiastic? they point to the fact that workingmen's co-operative associations in Engand have within 34 years accumulated a capital of 106 million dollars for about 11 million members, yielding in 1895 a profit of 26 million dollars or about 5 cents daily to each member. Only 5 per cent of this capital is engaged in productive co-operation and 95 per cept is invested in distributive or store co-operation. It cannot be the paltry 5 cents daily gain that the co-operators are so enthusiastic about. Surcly the trades union movement has achieved incomparably more for the English workers. Let me give some of the sentiments of George J. Holyoake. whom Mr. Lloyd praises as the Nestor of co-operation.

"Co-operation, in the social sense of the word, is a new power of industry, constituted by the equitable combination of worker, capitalist and consumer, and a new means of commercial morality, by which honesty is rendered productive." (The History of Co-operation in England. Vol. 1. page 2.) Ebenezer Elliott, in order to hit Socialists who do not exist except

savs an old co-operator, upon the the same that the French revolution had upon the peasantry of will make them thrifty and steady.'

for colonial markets. It is a lie. ocratizing itself, garlanded, dancand to conduct business enterprises to' trades unionism and independbe within control of the trusts? The well-being of the proletariat Seventy-five per cent. of the labor will be in 'co-operative communwho cannot earn more on an aver- ent political action, and expressly ing and set to music, the ten comage than about \$2 a day. Our book- for the purpose, not of making of today is non-productive of a ism,' which will permit the workmandments and the golden rule. epers, traveling salesmen, arch- profits for single useful article. members, but of col-**Faking** as ers to produce for themselves, and I think that is sufficient music of itects, lawyers, druggists, physilecting funds for the workingmen's example one class of these nonwill substitute a much greater home this sort to continue with some cians, etc., average not more than class organization and agitation, producers he referred to the 300 .market for the disturbing and unafter the pattern of our Belgian more sober facts. from \$600 to \$800 annually. These 000 drummers costing \$7,000,000 a wholesome quest for foreign mar-kets. Then colonial policy will While the 11-2 million of Enginvoluntary graduates of capitalist comrades. day. The trusts are reducing these lish co-operators have amassed 106 co-operations are being taught by The more efficient the joint efmen to idleness, and the same is cease to mean an extension of capiforts of trades unionism and politmillion dollars, less than 1-4 mil- sheer necessity what Socialism the case with thousands of other talist rapacity, and will represent stands for. The reader of Mr. ical action become, the better the Lloyd's "Labor Copartnership" is chances for putting into practice lion of English citizens have acnon-producers. If this 75 per cent. instead the development of human cumulated about 30,000 million of useless labor was being elimichances for putting into practice civilization. But to attain these dollars, not minding the many bil- left in doubt whether the capitalist class-conscious labor copartnernated by the trusts, how long would noble objects the universal prole-tariat must have before all things, lions previously gathered. Con-sequently the material chances of ships. Nationalization and munsystem is based on co-operation. He ought to have been reminded it be before one-half the population sequently the material chances of He ought to have been reminded icipalization of public utilities, success for the latter against the that Capitalism means compulsory when effected by and for the workof the country will be out of work? peace. We hold, then, that our Socialism is the remedy for this common and most pressing duty is to suppress by an inceasant Socialformer stand as 180 to 1, and are co-operation of the many workinging class, will rank among the chief condition." men for the benefit of the few caplabor copartnerships of that kind. growing daily. A fine prospect for The speeker then referred to the ist and working class propaganda italists, and, besides, co-operation the co-operators indeed! If in consequence of a strike or thinking business men who are all the germs of conflict. Besides, in most English pro-ductive labor copartnerships the of the few exploiters against the lockout workingmen want to start taking a lively interest in Socialism many exploited. As an instance a co-operative plant, they ought to and seeking light in that direction. "Let us, then, work together for this. It is necessary that we workingmen employed therein are of the latter the Chicago Tribune of feel satisfied: The growth of the movement is should all redouble our efforts. simply astonishing. Mayor Chase of Haverhill told me of speaking 1st. That sufficient means are owning only 20 to 30 per cent of the Jan. 15, 1899, contains the follow-"It is in this spirit that we send ing news item: "In consequence at hand for a line of industry not shares, the balance of the stock is to you our most fraternal sympsheld by outside co-operators and of the vast engineering strike of others claiming dividends and prof- 1899 a colossal federation of emas yet gobbled up by large or fedbefore the Twentieth .Century thies, in which we are sure we exothers claiming dividends and proferated capital; club of Boston and that he had press the feeling of the French nait-shares. The workingmen employers was formed to fight the 2nd. That honest and able manbeen invited to address the busition, which, in spite of certain indiployed in all of the English pro-ductive co-operations receive as a trades unions. On Oct. 3d, 1898, ness men of Gloucester on the same subject. The speaker had been in-vited and spoken before the Dalton agers are at their disposal; viduals, has profound esteem and representatives of 291 firms met. 3d. That a favorable market is loyal affection for your great and dividend on wages only 16 per cent when one firm alone contributed not lacking; noble people. Long live peace be-tween the nations! Hurrah for the of the profits, the rest is paid out \$175,000 to the preliminary ex-to the share and loan capital. The penses. They decided that no firm 4th. That the support of trades unions and of the Socialist party club of his city, the exclusive busi-ness men's club of the city, and universal proletariat! is to make a separate bargain with can be relied upon. paltry donations to charitable inthe branches of the party everystitutions hardly deserve mention-The workingmen starting a coworkmen, and every firm is to be where were taking in members at S.D.P. VOTE, NOVEMBER, 1898. ing. The capitalist character of the English labor copartnerships canguided by the advice of the Central operative enterprise want to be every meeting in ever-increasing Committee. The federation of em- ready to waive all expectations for numbers. These things he said 3749 2591 Massachusetts did not savor of defeat for the party ployers guarantees one year's net profits and dividends, and they Wisconsin not help cropping out. We see to-day the Co-operative Wholesale Society of England, which, by the 1645 Missouri New York (3 districts) 1245 New Hampshire 263 New Hampshire 256 way, pays no dividends on wages, The principal blessing that hum- of work, all the time animated by men and women. Terre Haute, Ind.,

show the futility of Mr. the Co-operative Wholesale Society

It occurs to me that the plan to reconstruct society by means of English co-operative schemes is on par with the idea of overcoming the capitalist system by means of colonization schemes. Both schemes alike are based on a total misconception of the present economic system, and of the capitalist money, law and court power. By both a means to an end is proposed that rather is apt to defer than to forward the end. Some of these advocates, Mr. Lloyd included, lay stress upon the point that it is less the material than the educational and moral effect of labor copartnerships they have in mind, such cooperation would teach workingmen to conduct and manage themselves stores, factories, etc. It seems strange that these reformers overlook what lessons of this kind capitalism is giving to workingmen at an ever increasing rate. Are the capitalist stockholders of railroads, factories, mines, stores, etc., runactual ma agement in the hands of

wage-workers that are ever coming nearer to the level of compensation with ordinary hands?

As an illustration I would state, Let them try. Such is their privmore brutally to the colonies than that last year the "Directors" of ate business and does not concern ent are made, in the majority of to this country, injures the just incases, by men of the employing the Western Electric Co. of Chicago, us as Socialists. We know that not t rests of other peoples, oppresses a stock company employing about all workingmen can do likewise, class, and naturally, are favorable and despoils the natives, and reduces 1600 men, decided to dispense and even the comparatively few to that class rather than to the the general activity of humanity. with foremen and superintendents workmen under special conditions working class. In reference to the "Your possessing and governing revision of the city charter of Brockearning \$1800 to \$4000 annually, only. We see in England many classes, condemned by the excess of On page 3 Mr. Holyoake quotes and what did they do? They disworkingmen's co-operative stores ton, he said it had been suggested capitalism to be dependent upon because of the lack of the departcharged the high-salaried men and to him that this might be changed foreign markets, readily regard as ment stores in the densely popu-lated industrial centres. With the industrial centres. With the employing class, and it behooves the part of other nations. Your put in their places some of the other n his brain. employees at a salary of \$1200 to What is a communist? One who has yearnings For equal division of unequal earnings, Idler or bungler, or both, he is willing • To fork out his penny and pocket your shilling. the people of the city to watch and These workingmen are advent of the latter, the former \$2000. statesmen have covertly approved will have outlived their principal be careful that nothing detrimental thus being charged to run and such treacherous enterprises as the manage the business, while the sousefulness. Let capitalist trades to their interests came of this Jameson raid, and their aggressive Vol. 2 inscribed to John Bright called directors earn about \$10,000 unions or trusts become more numchange.' imperialism is a perpetual menace M. P. (!), preface: "What an enannually for calling in their car-Referring to trusts, the speaker erous in England, and we will soon to the peace of the world. Thus said: "The result of the milk combine in New York was to throw see the end of most English proriages, once in a while every month, during truce is to war, co-operation French capitalism, shrunken, zealis to the never-ceasing conflict beto ascertain within a few hours, ductive co-operations of workingous and irritated, and English capitween labor and capital. It is the whether the balance sheets show Peace of Industry." a satisfactory profit. The other 16,000 men out of employment, men talism, greedy, insolent and un-scrupulous, multiply the points of a satisfactory profit. The other stockholders only take the trouble From the foregoing it may seem and their loss places a few more. perhaps that I am a decided op-Now, two more sentences out of men on the road to become millionirritation and of conflict. aires. In 1898 no less than 90 to pocket once or twice annually Mr. Lloyd's book: ponent to all labor copartnerships "But what adds to all these ills, "on general principles." Far from it. I consider them an im-"The effect of profit-sharing. their profit-share. Now, if the trusts were formed, throwing thousand to all these perils, is that in Western Electric Works were made ands of men out of work and comthe two countries the capitalist working people, he believes, will be a co-operative plant of the Lloyd's portant step in the right direction, binding from 1200 to 1300 millions class seeks to ally with itself a part of dollars capital. When it is known pattern, hardly any more workmon providing they are not of the Holof the proletariat. Our manufacyoake-Lloyd stamp, trying to fight could be taught to manage the that more than one-half the money turers and yours wish to persuade France; in giving them property it business than is now the case. It capital with capital or to harmoninvested in the country before these the workers that it is in their interconnot be denied toat we have in ize the claims of labor and capital. trusts were formed was similarly ests and to secure work for them, Chicago, as in all large centers, but providing they are undertaken employed, how long would it be (Page 277.) that they contend, even by war, merely as an auxiliary movement "Co-operation is business demthousands of people able to managebefore all the money invested would

by removing isolated, dwarfish inits place co-operative production at an ever-growing scale.

Capitalism teaches the workingclass three distinct forms of co-operation, viz.:

1st. Trade co-operation or trade unionism.

2nd. Political co-operation or political action.

3d. Industrial co-operation of concert work in factories, stores, etc.

But note the essential difference between the two former and the last kind of co-operation. While capitalism whips the working class into independent trades union and party co-operation, it necessitates, until overcome, the dependent industrial co-operation of workingmen in factories, stores, etc.

Only joint trades union and political action in the interest of the entire working class will pave the road for economic independence. Meanwhile all colonization and kindred co-operative schemes of the Lloyd's pattern are a sort of Don Quixotism, reactionary and a positive detriment to the labor movement. These labor copartnerships are fostered either by philanthropists ignorant of the laws underlying our present economic system. or by short-sighted workingmen endeavoring to become capitalists at the cost of their own class interests or by designing capitalists as a means to impede trade unionning and managing them, or is the ism and political action of the work-

ing class. Of course, we do not object, if some workingmen want to improve their lot oy industrial co-operation on the rown account

anity owes to Capitalism is co-oper-the productivity the profits for the assistance of their the profits for the assistance of their mainstays, class-conscious ON COLONIZATION. of labor. It is the blessed mission two mainstays, class-conscious of capitalism to usher in Socialism trades unionism and political action. In this way they would act "each dividual production and putting in for all" and "all for each". This would be true self-help by eachother help

Such labor copartnerships, marching on a separate road from that traveled by trades unionism on the one hand, and by independent tions for the great International political action on the other hand, with all three factors co-ordinately combining their efforts for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation-such and only such labor copartnerships I should as a Socialist consistently be able to encourage by all means Chicago, Jan. 26, 1899.

The White Man s Burden.

To serve your captives' need; To wait, in heavy harness, on fluttered folk and wild-Your new caught sullen peoples, Haif devil and half child.

Take up the White Man's burden— The savage wars of peace— Fill tuil the mouth of famine, And bid the sickness cease; And when your goal is nearest (The end for others sought) Watch sloth and heatuen folly Bring all your hope to asught, —RUDYARD KIPLING.

Porter at Brockton.

Winfield P. Porter, of Newburyport, late candidate of the Social Democratic party for governor of Massachusetts, spoke at Brockton, Sunday, Jan. 28. There was a large attendance, the hall being filled, and Comrade C. H. Coulter presided. From Comrade Porter's address we give the following extracts:

"The time is coming and it is not far distant when the workingmen, the great majority, will stand where they will receive that for which they ask. . The laws at pres-

The Joint Committee of French Socialists, composed of delegates elected from five great national organizations, sitting at No. 7, Rue Montmorency, Paris, last Sunday, was engaged in making prepara-Socialist Congress to be held in Paris in 1900. It also took into consideration the position of international affairs, and delegated Citizen Jaures to represent the committee at the great international meeting to be held in London on March 8, vext, and further decided to address to the English proletariat the following appeal:

TO THE ORGANIZED WORKERS AND SOCIALISTS OF ENGLAND.

"COMRADES :--- We witness with great uneasiness and the deepest indignation the efforts being made on both sides of the channel to excite against each other two great peoples, who for the good of humanity, should be united. We hope that the combined action of the proletariat will prevent a disastrous confiict.

"We know, and we proclaim, that the propertied and governing class of our country have had in the period of intense reaction, through which it has but recently passed, a large part of responsibility in this crisis. Always ready, as parvenus, to disown their Republican origin, they have been more flattered by the deceitful friendship of despots than solicitous of the sympathy of a free people. Our capitalist classes, without initiative and without vigor, return to the lazy exploitation of the old colonial methods. Their narrow protectionism, applied still

LAURENCE GRONLUND'S HE NEW ECONC

BY SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

He opens his work by showing of society. the necessity of immediate relief, drawing closer of class lines even with an erroneous issue

the last stage but one, for then gion." machinery is ready to the hand of The same the management.'

Our concerning ourselves with this goal, which may be a "hundred years distant in the future' which we are charged, is nevertheless a point of view that is profitable; it proves to us that the trust instead of being the people's foe, is really, though unwittingly and unwillingly, the people's best friend; it warns that every solution of any pending problem which is not in line with this goal, which is not a stepping stone to it, even if it be backed by a million bayonets, is worse than no solution.

The author advocates the immediste application of Socialistic measures, such as obligatory industrial arbitration, municipal enterprises, best to our present form of government. He advocates State recognition of labor organizations, extension of the national department of the educational system, the nationalizing of the telegraph, railways,

remedies, and shows society to be profit. a natural growth and the realization of present change, and future and development.

He speaks tersely of the rise of slavery, its necessity and its fall; the development of feudalism, its necessity and its fall; the early for- may enable him to succeed." eign commerce of Italian cities; the in the modern combine, the wage remaining." the system, He says, trust, however, has not interfered sory arbitration: legal recognition of coming events to us." The State regulation of the liquor traffic; and thus destroys the essence of the trol of railroad fares and nationalicompetitive system; it remains but zation of railroads; the extension to co-operate the employees.' shows the irrational position of of instruction, which are treated slavery and serfdom; and "contract" as it is illustrated in our wage system; and "Spencer is afraid to abandon the present personal auof an impersonal authority or the authority of the collectivity. 'notion'' of equality of remuneration, or control of work, and says, "we define the co-operative commonwealth as the state that will ing at the sun. own and manage all capital for the benefit of all the people and which will guarantee to all citizens suit-able labors and recompense them ACCORDING TO PERFORMANCE." They can save or spend as much they please, their income meas- to indoctrinate the working class, ity.-Century Dictionary.

TCE have received the late work uring their extravagance and gratiby Laurence Gronlund en-titled "The New Economy," published by Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago and New York. It contains 364 pages, gilt top and cloth bound. Typographically it wartig their extravagance and grati-fication of taste; they can hoard, travel, experiment, work early or late and live meanly or grandly, but no avenue will be open for in-vestment (with profits as an object) and therefore a man's consumption will be limited in value only to the is very artistically arranged. Price, will be limited in value only to the value of his efforts exerted in behalf

The freedom of collectivism will and notes the bitterness of the last give the environment for ideal national election as evidence of the morals, so the altruist should work for it, but "collectivism" is exclusively an economic system-the In treating of trusts, he says, realization of democracy in indus-"clearly the inevitable outcome is try; hence, it can have nothing to the beneficiaries of a system based that in the trust we have reached do directly with morals and reli-

The author plunges into the mocollectivity and the public will at a dern conflict among ethical teach-given time actually be compelled ers and moral philosophers, and by the spirit of democracy to asgree of credit. To the query "What is the ultimate good," he replies: "collectivism, because it will introduce the same order into morals that is the "dreaming" with that the Copernican system founded in astronomy. Egoism is essential and selfishness gratified wisely will bring forth conduct consistent with social growth as well as altruism."

between freedom and liberty which he says are too often used indis-ally, Socialists merely discovered criminately and "yet there is a them and defined their relationship difference"—liberty is a Latin word; to each other, and Socialists of all freedom is of Anglo-Saxon origin; liberty, negative, freedom, positive; "liberty denotes the absence of re-straints" "not controlled," or as an employer defined it, as a wit-ness on the stand, "Why, liberty, proletariat, who undermines his is the right of an American to do class by voting the capitalist ticket. socializing of mines, etc., by the as he damned please," freedom is Gronlund comes very near the line nation or State as may be adpated a positive acquisition, the power of trying to repudiate the theory of and opportunity to do that which class struggle. He does not beought to be done.

The author lucidly explains private property in wealth under "emotional." "They lack the due Socialism and shows that Socialists sense of the proportion of things; do not oppose private property subject to fanaticism and liable to etc. He points out the fallacy of try-ing ingenuity and invention of social capital the means of production for fare to them." "At present women

Chapter 6. "A wise program" is a thesis supporting opportunism revolutions to be a discovery of a and fabianism, Gronlund says, "in There is nothing I should regard natural order of social evolution this regard the statesman should as new to Socialists in this book, be an opportunist in the good sense "The New Economy." Gronlund, of the word, as every evolutionary in stating his reasons, says: collectivist is one-that is he will take advantage of every fact that good, enlightened people on the col-

The last two hundred pages of dawn of capitalism, and its stupen-dous and rapid achievements. "We sion of measures that seem most the spirit of individualism--meannow be behold the full blown flow- easily adopted, and the reasons time they are asked to effect cerapproving the same with quotation tain reforms, reforms that are really however, from prominent men with Social- practical because they will soften "but the istic inclinations, and it is this the social problem by raising the trust has arisen, and it has part of the book I regard as best economic condition of the wage raised business one rung higher up thought out, and of great merit, worker and taking under arms on the ladder of evolution. The among the measures are compul. struggling ability.

with the wage system-that has of trades unions; extension of the within the pages of this book and been left where it was, but it has powers and duties of the Depart-turned competition into co-opera-ment of Agriculture; State aid to deal could have been omitted maktion, and private capital into collec-lective capital, and it is just; there-municipalizing of street cars, tele-and consequently more interesting by it has become the greatest sign phones, fuel supply; civil service; and salable book. trust is the last evolutionary turn of the present social order; the trust co-operates capitals of many,

as Bellamy does with the notion that the collectivist state will bask in illimitable wealth, and that its citizens as a consequence work only a couple of hours daily." It is needless for me to show this misconception of Bellamy by Gronlund, for Equality is written in the purest and plainest English. Even Gronlund philosophiz :s and dreams in the closing pages on individu-

Gronlunds weeps "because Socialists in Europe preach class He is troubling his mind over windmills. Class interests are the basis of class antagonisms, i. e. war, not necessarily personal hatred.

We may admire or even love Mr. George, "Uncle Tom's" first mas-ter, but hate the slave holders as a class, for there we behold the concrete expression of the oppressor,

upon wrong and robbery. He says "The greatest blunder of the Socialists there (in Europe) is that they repudiate patriotism.' Of course that depends upon what Gronlund means by patriotism. It may be he defines it the same as Ben Johnson does: "the last refuge of a scoundrel." I will give him the benefit of the doubt. He observes that "The (Socialists) make the blunder of parting society in two parts by a horizontal linethe' wage workers below and all Gronlund draws a nice distinction differ. "They" never parted countries have recognized the truism that one economically may belong to one class, and personally labor for its destruction. Witness lieve in the expediency of woman's suffrage. He believes they are too can do just as much good by their private activity as they possibly could do with their suffrage.

"The object of this book is to unite all lectivism here presented as the worthy ideal of the twentieth cen-

There are many brilliant ideas

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 inmisery and degradation of the evergrowing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now incompel 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.

and independent political action and telephone center. Telephone 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 for the final abolition of the wage capitalism.

in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the SocialDemocratic Party of America.

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

ing us with millions of class-concious 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 2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopoltrusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all

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 security of subsistence, the poverty, regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevatensify the capitalist system, will tors, 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 That the trade union movement station shall also be a telegraph 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 system; we further recognize the The wage-workers and all those 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 The solidarity of labor connect- 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 all the people, irrespective of sex. 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 railroads, telegraph, telephone, all in order to secure and entorce the means of transportation, commun-ication, water works, gas and elect-of political views held by members ric plants, and other public utilities of the labor organizations should 4. The public ownership of all not be a reason for separate organgold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal ization in the economic struggle, and all other mines; also of all oil 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 patron-9. National insurance of working ize only such concerns selling products bearing the same. "Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions. which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would in-troduce a more perfect and equal recall of representatives by the distribution of the establishment of a legal "Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday. The author further says: "We as the instruments of production, deem it a most dangerous delusion the joint possession of the commun-to indoctrinate the working class, ity.—Century Dictionary. United States are concerned and the instruments of production, the introduction of international the modern white slavery of the arbitration instead. "Resolved, That we condemn the introduction of international the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

and perfection of educational opport Gronlund clearly and exquisitely tunities, facilities and systems Spencer, whom he says knows only "Status," that means personal authority as it manifested itself in-Socialists in reference to measures for immediate adoption.

This work contains elements of great strength which are largely thority and contract for fear of a undermined by jealousy, quibbling action on which modern societies national where possible. recurring status failing to conceive and uncertainties. There is room enough in these opening days of social transition for the author. The author severely criticises the He may have glory and fame without sneering at Bellamy. Grond-lund's jabs at that heroic author are like a blinking candle sputter-

He says of Bellamy sarcastically "His Euqality will start creative organizations just as little as his and gas wells. 'Nationalist' societies did." Such observations might have been omitted with advantage.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

What Socialism Is.

The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of associevery branch of human industry .-Worcester's Dictionary.

The abolition of that individual

depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action.—Imperial Dictionary. Any theory or system of labor

vidual effort and competition on against women.

distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital,

The author further says: "We as the instruments of production,

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing tacilities 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 ation for that of competition in free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and inter-

people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political organization which would abolish rights for men and women, and the entirely, or in great part, the indi- abolition of all laws discriminating

voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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UNIONI BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S. SATURDAY, FEB. 11, 1899.

[Published by Request.]

ROOM FOR MORE. Squire E. Putney, of Massachusetts, Joins the Ranks of the S. D. P.

in Massachusetts ever had. He 2nd.

joined the party in 1890, and since of organization that our Nat. Ex. that time has occupied every posi- Committee be composed of deletion of trust and responsibility the gates from each state of the Union. party in the state had to bestow. I know it will be said that the He was organizer of the Boston party has already considered such American Section from 1891 to a proposition, and defeated the 1896, and literary agent for two same. But then it was claimed that years. In 1891 he was elected to the time was not ripe for the change the state committee and served as and it is certain that many who besecretary of that body until 1897, lieved that we must sometime when the seat of the state commit- change our form of national organtee w s removed to Holyoke. ization, voted against the change at From 1891 to 1895 inclusive he had that time. full charge of the agitation on Boston Common. He was nominated for auditor on the first state ticket in Massachusetts, and has since been candidate for governor, state treasurer, attorney general, repre-sentative. mayor and alderman. He is a fluent, clear and convincing or Croker as boss of American speaker, and a faithful and indefatigable worker. Surely if any man among the rank and file of the S. L. P. has earned a right to be heard in the councils of that party, if any man's protest should be received with at least respectful considera-

tion, that man is Squire E. Putney, The letters which follow explain Comrade Putney's position: Somerville, Dec. 19, 1898.

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COM-KUHN, SECRETARY.

DEAR COMRADES: - Because of my desire for the success of the S. L. P. and thereby the triumph of the proletariat of America, I sub- any in return. Stick to our labor mit to you the following propositions and sentiments, and while I am well aware that, as an individual member I cannot initiate through the Nat. Ex. Committee matter for party legislation, yet it may be possible by this individual expression to bring through the incentive sion to bring through the incentive which will sweep away all opposi-of your good judgment, together which will sweep away all opposi-tion and establish the comparative

to which he was responsible and as he (Carey) has been true to Socialist labor principles, this continued cry af traitor is simply spite. Only one act of his while in the city government of Haverhill has + ver to my knowledge been charged against him; viz: his vote for a new t'omrade S: E. Putney, of Somer-ville, 'ass., who has just resigned capitalist system lasts we shall need from the S. L. P., and joined the soldiers and policemen, and are Social Democratic Party, is one of those who approve of proper ac-the oldest, most prominent and commodations for them to be con-

2nd. I would suggest, as a basis

It seems to me the choosing of a Nat. Ex. Committee by a single section becomes more and more unwise and absurd. If the republican and democratic parties chose their Nat. Ex. Committee in the same manner it would mean Platt politics.

3d. I am convinced that the action of our party in becoming officially connected with the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was a mistake. When the question was before the party I refrained from voting because of not having the advantage of association with organized labor; and I was willing to leave the decision to those who had this advantage, though I doubt-MITTEE, S. L. P., MR. HENRY ed the party's accepting the proposition. I am now satisfied that it will be better for the party not to seek official indorsement from any labor organization; or indorse politics. Seek by education and faithfulness to wage labor rights and trust to the dawn of class-consciousness in the American wageworkers, (which is sure to come) and without abuse or malice in heart or speech, we shall surely tion was therefore an absurdity. tion, and establish the co-operative

unfairly.

In conclusion let me say that while this letter may seem long, and the Nat. Committee may not approve, rest assured I have written it from a sense of duty, and without personal prejudices against anyone.

Yours respectfully SQUIKE E. PUTNEY.

Rejoinder to reply of national executive of the S. L. P., in N. Y. People of Jan 5.

GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL FXE CUTIVE COMMITTEE OF S. L. P.

Your reply of Jan. 5 to my letter of Dec. 19, 1898, seems little more than a further manifestation of your ill-temper and spleen against Comrade Carey As to your allusions to myself with terms such as "confused, " "incompetency," "treascn," "defamation of character," etc., I care very little. My feelings demanded expression; and I regret that you have not seen ht to take my remonstrance in the spirit in which it was written.

Your efforts to keep the direction of the Socialist movement in S. L. P. hands, would have suggested faithfulnesss and ability instead of continued misrepresentation of comrades dissatisfied with S. L. P. methods and tactics. Your attempt to break down Carey by directing too much effort against him in the columns of the People, and sending special agents to Haverhill to "show up that man Carey" have resulted but ignominiously to you and victoriously to him.

I am now convinced that it would be folly for the Social Democratic party to unite with the S. L. P., so long as the latter continues to place such men as now in charge of its propaganda. For myself, I may never again give so much time as in the past for Socialism, what little opportunity I have for work shall be given to the S. D. P. and I advise those of my comrades in Boston who have determined upon an overturn in party management, local and national, not to waste their energy in a fruitless struggle with continuous wrangles, but to join the party which devotes its time and energy to fighting the common enemy, the capitalist system.

With your customary ingenuity you entirely pervert any statement in regard to Comrade Carey. What I did say was to the effect that inasmuch his section which had nominated him and conducted his campaign, and to which alone he was responsible, had withdrawn from the party, no other cause was open to him than, to go with them. The Socialist principle of the imperative mandate never contem plated that a representative should be subject to recall by any other body than his own constituency. The demand of the national executive, in New York for his resignahave a Socialist party in America Your idea of one's obligation to the

resentation, or treating an opponent men by force of arms at a coming or woman suffered had repute of uprising ol the working class. account of anything said by me Gentlemen, no one who knows me and if proven so I would be willing would ask the first part of this to take back water to even m question. Let me ask in turn, did t ever occur to you that nations as

well as individuals were competitors, and that owing to this fact there were international as well as 'omestic combinations, and that nations as well as individuals have ole alert and by at least a show of force compel recognition and re-spect. It is "do or be done" with nations as well as with individuals. for my part, I am proud as an American citizen with a revolutionary ancestry that I belong to a nation that can take care of itself. No insurrectionary or anarchistic methods, as you suggest are to establish the co operative common- has since placed in position of trust wealth in this country. When the wage workers are self-reliant enough t vote themselves into power all the powers of government, soldiers, guns, policemen and clubs are theirs.

You further ask was it not I who at the last Massachusetts state onvention was shown to have detamed the character of a comrade, and when called upon to substantiate my statements, failed to do so. and was compelled to take back-water.

I reply that at the last Massachusetts state convention I protested against a certain nomination as I had a right to do, I said all I intended to say at the time. I stood by it at the time and until the end and I stand by it now; and as to taking back water you are mis nformed. Some one from Massachusetts has been putting you

The Vote Unsatisfactory.

TO THE BRANCHES AND COMRADES: The vote which has been received and tabulated below cannot be satisfactory to any of our members. The vote shows considerable opposition (among those interested) o each section, and the publication of the proposed amendments received would require an excess of ing the next few months. the entire space of our paper. I should like here to say that the tion should be left for a future vote of Massachusetts Branch No. consideration because with increase was not definitely stated in the etter received from their secretary, but the result would be the same regardless of how it was cast, as will be observed by the table.

satisfactory constitution can be sire a convention at least during adopted by means of our present the early part of this year. The system. It will be necessary for expense would not warrant the adus to hold a national convention for vantage of it. the nomination of national candidates soon, and, I think, then a

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worst enemy

You say that I cannot truthfully show a single person of those have in mind who has left the pa ty or was made to leave it whose defection has not left the party be ter and purer to the extent of his leave-taking. This statement of yours shows that you have known nothing of the personnel of the S.L. P. in and near Boston for the last ten years. I assert and defy contradiction that all those, publicly known in Mass., who have left the S. L. P. for any cause are better and purer men and women than any whom the S. L. P. of Boston and responsibility. Indeed it is quite commonly remarked in the S. L. P. that character is of no importance.

Gentlemen I am satisfied of your incompetency as directors of the Socialist movement. Your conduct as directors suggest the possibility that some syndicate has employed you to make Socialism ridiculous in this country. I hope however that the S. L. P. may some time perceive the error of its ways, and mend them, and thus instead of being a hindrance become a help to the cause of Socialism.

Yours with true fraternity. SQUIRE E. PUTNEY.

Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898.

chusetts has been putting you through the stuffing process. Whatever ill reputes some of the comrades obtained it was well established without the need of any help from me. I should feel ex-tremely sorry if any good man

constitution can be adopted which will be relatively satisfactory to all; therefore, I suggest, (if it meets approval) that some Branch submit a resolution in two paragraphs; the first fixing the date of the National Convention, and the second fixing the method and proportion of representation. The same to be discussed and voted upon dur-

The place of holding the convenin branches and due reference to railway expenses, a different place later might be selected in preference to the selected place of the present. I do not believe there are many I am firmly convinced that no states (1 know of none) which de-

Yours fraternally SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

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	with the opportunities of your po-	commonwealth	town, city, state and national office	Section 2. Ye	es 1 1	0 57	32 10	-15 1	0 9	4 3	5 ii	19 5	6 1	2 7
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	the good of our party and cause.	better for the People, our party or-	er to wield when once he gets con-	Section 4. Ye	0 18			11 10	0	1 33	5 11	19 *		12 7
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	tional Ex. Committee with the	vective and epithets against those	in New York City! It would make	section 6. Ye	es 1 1 0 13	U 57	32 10	15 10	0 9	4 3	3 11	10 5	6 1	12 7
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	parties.	selves with us for the complete over-		Section 9. No	es 1 10	0 57	32 10	15	10	1 83	6 11	19		12 7
	It is unfortunate that we have	throw of the capitalist system. As					82 10	10	0	1 38		19		
	two Socialis' parties in this country;	reform was the incentive of labor	wheeding, and "snap meetings"	Section 10. Y	0 12		STREET, BURGER,	1603664674475.36	8	1 33	3 11	19 5	State State	12 7
	and every effort should be made to	those trained in its not strange that	is all bluff. The vote by which	Section 11. No	0, 18	9 07	52 10	15 10		1 38	4 11	19 5		12 7
	unite all who are willing to work	those trained in its environment are	the Haverhill section withdrew	Quatton in Ye	es 1 10) 57	32 10	15 10	0 10	4 8	4 11	19 5	6 1	12 7
	and vote for the Co-operative Com-	revolutionary movement. But	from the S.L. P., was nearly as large	Section 13. Ve	es 1 10) 57	32 10	15 10		4 8	1 11 ⁻¹	5	. 6 1	2 7
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	contains many who would be a	in any wise greatly better the	satisfied with the People and the	AND REPORT OF A DESCRIPTION OF A	ANALY STREET, S				2010/00/06/06 10:00/07/07	1 33		19 * *		
	great neip in a united Socialist	dition of labor, or solve the labor	tactics of the party as evidenced by	Section 10. No	0 18	1	10	10 10	D + 1	1 33	5 11	19 5		27
	Tames E Curey of Haverhill and	question these people are sure to	their letter to you conclomning these	NO.	D 18				SPECT FILLS	4 8	· 11	19 .	6 1	2 7
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	many others.	for the overthrow of the wage labor	tactics, which you (the National Executive Committee) forwarded	Section 19. Ye	DE 1 10	57	32 10	15 10	î i	3	11	19 5	6 1	3 Ŧ
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	ist persecution for his faithfulness	so often false that they are for the	to the massachusells state commit-		0 18			他们的目标的时候	10.	1 33		19		
	to wage labor He alone would be	greater part disbelieved and attri	You lay great stress on my state-						9.1	1 33		19 6		2 1
1	- tower of strength such as we never	buted to malice and selfish inter.	ment that so long on the conitalist	No	0 13				0 10	83	u.	19 5	6 1	2 7
	have yet had in the S. L. P.	ests. The logic of our party organ	system lasts we shall need soldiers	Section 23. Ye.	18 1 10 18	57	82 10		0.10	3	11	19 5	6 1	2 17
-	I know much is made from	is good, but its methods of dealing	and policement and ask if I ever	Section 24. Ye	os 1 10 0 13	57	82 10	15 JA		1 3	11	19 5	6 1	3 7
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	Haverhill city council at the (bid-	often not above the ordinary scur-	that there exists in modern society	Section 2.		••••••		79 66	Bec	ction 13.		It parter a star of	107	67
The second second	ding of our Nat. Ex. Committee,	rility of a partisan capitalistic press.	an irrepressible class struggle, and	Section 8.			187	76	980	tion 14			19788330888	
	but please remember that when he	While steadfastly, forcibly and in-	whether it over occurred to me that	Section 5.				76 86	Rec	ction 16			197	66 67
C. Martin	joined the Social Democracy his	telligently advocating our princip-	armories, increased armies, im-	Section 7.				66 74				The second second second	1000000000	1
	section went with him, and the	les, and exposing the folly of ex-	proved weapons and the like are	Section 9.		1	195	67 .	Bec	ction 19.	**********		184 183	76
	body that nominated him and con-	clusively reform advocates, I be-	provided with an eye single to the	Section 10			178	84	Sec	tion 21			184	10
	ducted his campaign, was the body	lieve we gain nothing by misrep-	purpose of beating down working-	Section 11. Section 12				66 66		ction 23	No BRANCE BURNERS	出现 计算机 化合金化合金	102 08.000	66 T
A PARTY OF			9					-		- A.				
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Imong the Branches.

Branch Meetings.

Branch Meetings inserted for

Branch No. 1 of the Social Dem-by, meets every Sunday eve at ry of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, old., \$ p. m. Haisey Rutler, Mrs. Martin Steele, Secretary. of Illinois, Chicago, meets every vevening. Thos. Kirwin, Secre-

in. 6, Indiana, meets first Satur-ig and 3rd Sunday afternoon of th at Beichwein's Hall, corner Noble streets, Indianapolis. J.

No. 3, 5t. Louis, meets second and usday at Concordia Turner H.11, Argenal streets. Leonard Stoll, 7,1834 Menard St.

a. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in all, 65 York streets, second and days, at 3 p. m. Lectures, dis usiness meeting, first and third 8 p. m.

, Philadelphia, meets every , sp. m., City Hall, North Plaza. 2. Milwaukee, meets every first Thursday of the month at Volk-all, corner Twenty-first and Cen-s at 5 p. m. Edward Koepfer,

nkee Central Committee of the emocratic Party of America meets a third Monday at 8 p. m. sharp at strrct. Eugene H. Rooney, Secre in Doerfier, Treasurer.

onn Doernet, freasurer. ch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania every Sunday at 754 south Third Philadelphia, at 7.80. Discussion to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

h No. 4, Milwaukee meets every first of Friday each month at Mueller's sormer Twenty-third and Brown George Moerschel, Secretary, 778 Afth street.

ann street. n No. 2. NewYork (Eighth Assembly meets every Tuesday evening at gton st., 3d floor, Room 5 -Louis rsky, 537 E 12th st., Secretary.

No 4, Pittsburg, Pa., meets every evening at 7:50 P. M., Funk hall, h and Josephine sts. President W. 4 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. 1 Innet 1. Jane st.

side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets ath Thursday of each month at 209 adway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street,

and S. (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday F. S., a Outters Hall, Clark's Block, cor. in and Contre streets. Every member peted to attend at least one meeting oth Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm

month. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm area, Secretary. Branch B., Massachusetts-East Boston-metseterr Monday at SP. M. at 99 Chelsea M. A.L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec. Branch A. Missouri, meets every Tuesday tisr M. at 1900 Union ave., Kansas City. G.J. Stor, 1930 W. 9th street, Sec. Branch S. New York, (24th Assembly Dis-trict) mets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the moth at 234 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. Mark, Sec.



and the set of the set of the second of the set of the set of the second Massachusetts

State Committee The 'recently-elected S ate Committee of the Massachusetts S. D. P. held its first meeting last Monday evening, in Boston. Every one of its twelve members was present, coming in from Haverhill. Brockton, Whitman, Newburyport, I ynn and different parts of Boston. The secretary's report showed that the proceedings of the convention had been almost unanimously endorsed by the membership; and the Committee proceeded to organ-ize. Comrade Lewis M. Scates was elected treasurer and Margaret Haile secretary, corresponding, recording and financial. Comrade Mrs. Konikow will superintend the distribution of literature for the Committee, ard her home at 10-3 Washington street, will be the headquarters for Social Democratic

literature in Massachusetts. The form of application blank adopted by the convention was the only point on which there was any considerable difference of opinion among the membership. Some considered it too severe and rigid. and others thought that application blanks should be gotten out by the National Executive rather than by the State Committee, so that they might be uniform throughout the whole country. Although there was a large majority in favor of the Haverhill form, the one adopted by the convention, it was decided by the State Committee, in view of the considerable minority opposing it, to recommend to the National Executive the speedy issuing of a general form, requiring only the three essentials to membership, viz., a belief in the general principles of socialism, a renouncing of acknowledgment of the principles, platform and constitution of the Social Democratic Party.

The Committee will hold regular meetings on the first Saturday of each month, and a special meeting is called for Sunday, February 12, at 12 M., at 1043 Washington street, Boston.

A by-law providing for the payment into the treasury of the State Committee of ten cents per quarter out of the local dues of each member, was adopted unanimously, the first quarter beginning with Jan-uary, 1899. As the State Committee has such important work before it, the branches are requested to send in their first quarter's per capita at their earliest convenience. Bear in mind that there are 32 cities and 321 towns in Massachusetts. that they all have to be organized, and that nothing can be done without money.

Roumanian Gomrades.

Our Roumanian New York comrades begin to wake up; the membership of our organization is steadincreasing in number. The ilv agitation in our district is carried on with brilliant success. We have lectures on Socialism every Friday evening, with very good attendance; our lecturer next Friday will be Comrade Dr. Ingerman. The agitation is carried on very systematically by these lectures and spreading literature among our fellow Roumanians. At the last meeting we decided to instruct our delegates to favor the engagement of Comrade Mailly as organizer of Greater New York and help to organize new branches. We are doing our duty and nothing less.

M. ROSIER, Sec.

Brooklyn At Work.

Branch 12 held its regular meeting Feb. 2, at which the reports of delegates Mrs. Imogene, C. Fales and myself, regarding the action of the conference held in New York last Sunday was received and fully approved. Delegates were elected to attend first meeting of City Central Committee to be held on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 12th.

It was decided to engage perma-nent, headquarters and Colville college, 497 Franklin ave., was selected. Cannot give meeting night just yet for we are not positive as to what night the hall may be free for rental.

Brooklyn is getting into working shape at last and we expect good results by the time the next campaign is over.

WM. BUTSCHER, Org.

Eyes On Brockton.

COMRADE EDITOR:-Brockton is a city that you will all do well to keep your eyes on. We have a magnificent movement there. It is the largest S. D. P. branch in the country and the way they are disall other political parties, and an tributing Socialist literature is a surprise to even the old Socialist veterans. New members are joining every meeting night. If the good work is kept up Brockton will be carried by the Social Democratic party in 1900. Not only are the comrades looking after Brockton but they are looking after the nearby towns as well.

Haverhill must look to her laurels or Brockton will yet pass her. But what is the matter with every well organized town following Brockton's example.

are not only good Socialists but no a vote will be cast at Brockton that

The Rising Tide.

The tide is fast rising in New-Please bear in mind, also, that the greatest crime in the whole category of transgressions is a failure to answer the secretary's lettors! dresses on Socialism coming from said it did not, that the collective power of the State should be used ries; the editorial declaration of regular appropriation comes up in one local paper for Socialism and the use of a column weekly, in the fully informed upon it. interests of Socialism, by another local paper; and the growth of the local branch of the S. D. P. At the last meeting, nine new members joined the branch. Others have since applied for membership. The city government are to be in-vited to attend the meeting Thursday, Feb. 19, when speakers and refreshments will be provided. New quarters have been secured in one of the most convenient halls in the city, Mechanic's Hall, in which meetings will be held monthly or oftener. The new struggle for independence is on. Another victory for humanity will soon be won. NEWBURYPORT.

SOCIALISM IN MASSACHUSETTS.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BOSTON, FEB. 3, 1899.

TO THE COMRADES: -- In submitting this report we desire to state that we allowed the interval between the first week of the legislative session and this date to elapse without submitting the report as we thought it best, as this day concludes the time limit for the introduction of new business, to wait \$100 per annum, which was bur-until we could present a complete ried, we voted for it. We will send list of the bills we have presented the bills introduced by us for pubin one report. We presented three orders as follows:

1. Providing for a legislative inquiry into the cause of the Marlboro (Mass.) shoe strike; lost, 134 No, 78 Yes, on roll call after debate, in which Carey participated We voted, Yes.

2. Providing for action in the direction of the State a suming the business of life and fire insurance. Lost, only 22 voting for it; 2 S. D., 9 D., 11 Rep.

3. Providing for State ownership of the ice industry in what is known as the "Metropolitan District." Lost, 76 No, 57 Yes. On both of the above bills Carey spoke. The other bills are:

1. To raise the school age from 14 to 16, and to forbid the employment of children under 16 in factories, etc.

2. A bill providing for 8 hours or less for State, County, Town or City employes.

3. A Bill to prevent employers from exacting indemnity bonds from their employees.

4. A bill exempting the sum of not less than \$10 per week of a worker's income from attachment. 5. A Bill making the non-pay-

ment of wages punishable when witheld by fraud or crime.

6. A Bill giving to persons who desire to interview employees in factories, etc.. certain privileges. 7. A Bill giving to employees upon railroads certain rights to recover damages for injuries.

8. A Bill stating testimony to be admitted under provisions of No. 7.

9. A Bill stating manner of process for both of the above.

10. A Bill providing for trial by jury in cases of contempt of court. 11. A Bill to prevent coercion of employees.

12. A Bill to provide for the election of the Superintendent of Streets of the City of Haverhill by the people.

Outside of ordinary routine matters a bill providing for an emergency appropriation of \$30,000 for the extermination of the Gypsy moth, received our support.

In the House a long debate occurred upon this, some maintaining the whole matter to be a fraud, others also in opposition arguing that the State should leave it to the

we would vote for a democrat, the democrats thought we would vote for a republican. We voted for a Sociali-t.

We keep up a constant fight in the smoking room and elsewhere for Social Democracy, having sometimes as many as 50 members gathered around us in argument. The papers give us a deal of attention. editorials and otherwise, we are made the subject of cartoons and in all they do a lot of advertising for Socialism. On a bill increasing the pay of watchman in the State House lication after all is in print. For the Social Democratic Party

Sincerely and Fraternally, LOUIS M. SCATES, JAMES F. CAREY.

DEMOCRACY.

D^{EMOCRACY!} Democracy! Word dear as life itself to me! As sunlight shines on all allke, As darkness falls on all by night, s blow the winis o'er every sea, As thought unchained will ever be So equal rights are thy demands, And for all freedom in all lands.

The stars of night ever declare That each nian born is rightful heir To all that Nature holds to man Of life, of death—of all he can Of pleasure, pain, or woe control, From mountain heights to the grey sea— Through all of life's mortality.

No laws shall stay eternal right, No statute old or new shall blight Man's swelling hopes that come there m The dream, the dawn of the full day When sceptres, thrones, and tyrants all Into oblivion's pit shall fall; When all shall cast off love of pelf And all shall masters be of self. there may

And all shall masters be a state of the hour. Break down the barriers, gain the power, To use the land, to sail the sea, to hold the lools, unchecked and free; No tribute pay, but service give. Let each man work that all may live Banish all bonds and usury, Be free—set free! Democracy! —A, W. THOMAS.

Are Doing Their Duty.

The Boston Herald of Jan. 29, says: "The constituents of the two Social Democratic representatives in the Legislature from Haverhill will have no reason to complain of them for lack of industry. If their prudence were equal to their zeal they would be among the leaders

of the House. And they are certainly not without ingenuity in discovering subjects for the play of their theories. Yesterday Mr. Carey proposed an inquiry, which if extended into legislation, would wipe out the ice industry as a private enterprise in the metropolitan district, while his associate, Mr. Scates, presented a bill to insure the legal standing of the walking delegate at all factories where he is now persona non grata with the proprietor. The House is making short shrift of these Socialistic propositions, and we assume that these two to which we have called attention will speedily follow their predecessors to the legislative waste basket."

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

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

Social—Pertaining to society or the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc. DEMOCRATIC-Pertaining to Democracy; i. e., Movement by the people * * in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively, or in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

The hustling Brockton comrades better men can be found on earth. They mean business and next fall will be a surprise.

F. G. R. GORDON.

Red Tape.

MRADE EDITOR:-I agree with nde Hæhn in the facts which ents in relation to the votes ocialism and the membership eorganization. We may as nake up our minds first as that too much red tape will co. The great mass of the care nothing for red tape never will. Whatever rules we let them be simple and We don't need a catechism d long. We want to know if is a true Socialist. The real y loving Socialist may feel too dent to subscribe to a lot of and regulations. He may even to pledge his word to tevery candidate that may minated. We are all human ng to hear some S. L. one S. L. P. man in a ever saw. I know a cer-F. G. R. GORDON.

letters !

Our lively little East Boston branch had a well-attended public meeting in Lyceum Hall Friday evening, with Comrades Carey and S. E. Putney as speakers. The audience was unquestionably proletarian; and though the younger element in it somewhat taxed the forbearance of the speakers, the majority listened attentively to what was entirely new doctrine to them. A harvest surely will come from the good seed that is being so courageously sown by the East Boston comrades.

MARGARET HAILE.

Mayor Chase of Haverhill will speak at Brockton, Mass, under the is us not forget that. It is auspices of the local branch, Sun-day, Feb. 12. The Daily Enterprise of Brockton in announcing the meeting says Mayor Chase "beadvise their brother work-meeting says Mayor Units also a sides being a brainy man is also a braid "Das Capital," a book brilliant and interesting speaker." brilliant and interesting speaker." The Brockton Enterprise thinks L P. man who says he that at the rate trusts are being ocialism from a to z, yet formed in this country it wont be read Marx, Hyndman, many years before every workman will be drawing from a trust just the whole world is talking Don't spoil a Socialist and no more." That's the prospect which private ownership of the cil—Elias Jacobson. means of life presents to us, exactly. Comptroller—E. H. Wenzel. means of life presents to us, exactly.

SPRING ELECTIONS-1899.

Social Democratic Party Candidates. BALTIMORE.

Mayor-Chas. B. Backman. Pres. Second Branch City Coun-

inquiries by mail; discussion of rather than to leave it to the indi-Socialist topics in stores and facto- vidual; the bill was passed. The a few, weeks and we will then be

We have joined in every demand for a roll call, whether asked for by those with whom we voted or the others, so that all may find upon record our votes. We have not as yet missed a session.

We have been before the Committee on Labor at its every meeting arguing for all labor bills referred to it.

In the Committee on Public Service, of which Comrade Scates is a member, he has opposed every bill granting increased salary to Judges. Comrade Carey's committee (Committee on Counties) is one of no importance.

The election of U. S. Senator, Jan. 14, was by roll call. Carey's name was highest on the roll; when his name was called he voted for Winfield P. Porter, of Newbury-port; when Scates' name was called he voted for Porter also. Porter was the S. D. candidate for gover-the for the fort and competition on troduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, nor in last election. For the first and would make land and capital, time in the history of America votes as the instruments of production, were cast for a Socialist for the U. the joint possession of the commun-S. Senate. The republicans thought ity .- Century Dictionary.

What Socialism Is.

The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of associ-Worcester's Dictionary.

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

Any theory or system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the indi-vidual effort and competition on

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES

* NAME AND LOCATION.

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

MEMBERSHIP.

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

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

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

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

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

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

DUES AND FEES.

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

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

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

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order endum, and a majorit determine the result. er to the National Council and the local branch shall remit the in a amount due for the entire PORT ANGELES, WASH., DEC. 7, 1898. ubership of the branch.

Sec. 14. Any member of the

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

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

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

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

JURISDICTION.

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

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

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

TRIALS.

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

APPEALS.

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

AMENDMENTS.

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

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

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

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

N 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 teudal 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' in its incipiency; but already it contains in embryo THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION .-Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production- a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms or 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 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 CAP-ITALIST 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. .-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 suberabundance of workingmen without em ployment and without means of existance. But these two forces of production and social wellbeing 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 capitala 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. -Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropria-tion 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 VO employees III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION .-Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizesthe public power, and, with its aid, turns the power

of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capital. ist 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 produc-tion 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 naturelord 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 proletartat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they be-lieve in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Be-low 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 be-lieve 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 proportion

proportions.	
AUSTRIA.	
1895	90,000
1897	750,000
BELGIUM.	
1894	334,500
1898	534,324
DENMARK.	
1 872	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
18981	
GERMANY.	
1867	30,000
1871	101,927
1874	351,670
1877	486,843
1878	437,158
1991	
1881	311,961

1884..... 599,990

1887..... 763,128

1890.....1,427,298

GREAT BRITAIN

LABOR

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EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer or her mite. and organizer, and such others as We reque may be determined, who shall be elected and qualified. They shall sending their mite. perform such duties as appertain Send all remittances to our county perform such duties as appertain Send all remittances to our county to their several offices and as the central committe secretary, Herlocal branch may direct. The man Culver. DAVID O'BRIEN, board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meeting- as may be required. Port Angeles, Clallam Co., Wash.

Can You Help?

At a meeting held by the Socialists of this city, one of the sisters offered the following:

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

The resolution was adopted unan-Sec. 13. The officers of the imously and a fund was started board shall consist of a chairman, by each member contributing his

We request all papers favorable to Socialism to give this appeal clected at each annual meeting and space, and furthermore we will send serve until their successors are copies of the paper to all those

Chairman Co. Cen. Com. HERMAN CULVER, Secretary.

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
SWITZERLAN	
1890	13,5.0
1893	29,822
1896	36,468
UNITED STAT	
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
TE OF SOCIAL DEMO	RATIC PART
OF AMERICA	
A STATE OF A	

1898

TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.

9,749

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Where Trades Unionists

will find the S. D.R.

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

-Social Democratic Party Platfo

Social Democratic Pari of America.

Organized June 11, 1896.

OBJECT -- The Social Democratic Party America declares its object to be the se-lishment of a system of co-operative duction and distribution, through the storation to the people of all the mean production and distribution. to be an istered by organized society in the in-of the whole people, and the comp emancipation of society from the sec

social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS. ecide upon.

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HOW ORGANIZED.

n 2. The Social Democratic of America shall be organized

Local branches limited to members each.

d. State Unions before state conone representative from each branch; provided that branchhers shall be entitled to a repstative for each additional v-five members or major part f after which each state shall de its own method of organ.

A National Council composed e representative from each nutive for each additional 500 Council. hers or major part thereof. h. An Executive Board of five

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

ection 3. The Executive Board ll be elected quadrennialiy by National Council; having gensupervision of the organization d be empowered to provide such les, issue such orders and adopt measures as may be required carry out the objects of the organprovided that no action stion, provided that no action he constitution and declaration of

Section 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the nationm (and such other officers our years, and their salaries fired by the Executive Committee to be approved by the direct vote of the members through the refer-

second Tuesday in May of each ar, and such special meetings as y be required.

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

tion 7. Any member of the and may be removed by a mamy vote of all the members of ganization as hereinafter pro-

Section 8. Any member of the and, or national officer may be wed at any time by the Nation-Council as hereinafter provided. d political office, except under Social Democratic Party.

in this cons

Section 15, The National Countion 1. This organization cil shall constitute the legislative be known as the Social Dem- body of the organization and shall ic Party of America, and its guarters shall be located at legislation, subject to referender marters shall be located at 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 State Unions before state con-n of 1900 shall be composed the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the wing more than twenty-five 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 con-

ventions of the organization shall and territory; provided that having more than 500 bers shall be entitled to a rep-may be determined by the National Tuesday in May, at such place as may be determined by the National

REFERENDUM.

Executive Board may be removed reinstated. by the imperative mandate in the following manuer : Any three neglect or refusal to act upon said chairman of the Executive Board, the same, then by filing a petition submitted to a referendum vote with the chairn in of the said within 10 days; should said chair-Executive Board; and up in the man fail to do this, then any five to act, by filing such petition with regular meeting, shall have power three members of the National to call for said vote and the same, smay be required) shall be elected Council. other than the petitioners, after due hearing of both sides as who shall act as a committee for provided in section 21, shall be the purpose of receiving and acting taken. as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writing setting forth fully and at large Section 5. Members of the the grounds upon which the recall Intecntive Board shall receive no is demanded. Such officers or compensation for their services committee with whom such pety shall hold stated meetings on ition 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 of the petition required to be de- lative body of the state. livered to him.

such answer within ten (10) days

shall have a vote thereon to be sent by the secretary of his local 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 such sources as chairman and secretary of the may determine. 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 desig-nate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close 20 days after the date of the pub-

lication of the referendum. Section 22 The question shall e: "Shall the action of the be: Executive Board (or the National Council as the case may be) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the Section 19. The members of the action, the petitioner shall then be

Section 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it), members of the National Coancil the National Secretary-Treasurer, may demand the resignation of any or the Editor may be removed by member of the National Executive the members of the organization in Board, by filing a petition with the the following manner: A petition secretary of said Executive Com-mittee; and upon said secretary's members shall be filed with the petition within five days after filing who shall cause the same to be said chairman's neglect or refusal branches, by official action at a

CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

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

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The ----- State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America shall consist of delegates from the receipt by the person representing local branches in this whose recall is desired of the copy state, and shall constitute the legis-

Sec. 3. The Executive Board The petitioners shall be served shall consist of five members forthwith by registered letter from and shall have general supervision ction 9. No member shall political effice, except under social Democratic Party. ction 10. All questions not ided for in this constitution

branch to the chairman of the all questions of appeal from local cutive Board shall serve as secre-Executive Board, the vote to be branches, shall be decided by the tary of the State Union and keep a

transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

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

THE STATE UNION.

The chairman of the Executive the declaration of principles.

Sec. 9. All questions not pro- Board shall preside over its delibervided for in the constitution, and ations. The secretary of the Exechairman, such decisions to be final correct record of its proceedings, and in full effect unless otherwise submitting a copy of the same to submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

ordered by the Board. Sec. 10. At each annual meet-ing the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the tive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified

Sec. 14. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be neces-sary, determine the policy of the_ state organizations and do all other things required to carry con the objects of the organization, provided Sec. 12. The State Union shall that no action is taken inconsistent meet annually at such place as its with this constitution, the consti-members may determine, in April. tution of the National Council or



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THE HERALD LEAFLETS.

No. 1 Contains "A WORD WITH YOU, JOHN 1" being an admirably prepared paper by "Wayfarer," based on a chapter in "Merrie England."

all questions of appear share ded by the chairman, such de-tons to be final and in full effect ordered by the

tion 11. At each annual meetthe officers of the board shall complete reports of the actions of their several offices transmit a copy to each local

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

ection 12. The revenue of the zation shall be derived from idmission fee of twenty-five (25) and dues of twenty-five payable quarterly in advance, ch member.

tion 13. The funds of the citation shall be deposited in bank or banks as the may direct and the National by and Treasurer shall be to execute a bond for the performance of his duties an amount as the board goire.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

on 14. The National Counall meet annualy on the first by in May at such place as accutiveBoard may determine, to change by referendum ations.

questions of appeal shall be after receipt of such copy.

committee holding said petition tion of the National Council or the shall mail a complete copy of the declaration of principles.

proceedings to the person whose

the National Council thereon. by the officer or chairman of the ings in April of each year and such committee holding such petition special meetings as may be required. for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replica-

tion Recall of a member of the Execstanding of such member as a member of the National Council.

RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Section 20. The selection of the cies. National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or re-jection in the official organ, the The chairman of the Exec-Board shall preside over its in fifteen days from the selection shall hold political office, except of said officers, and each member under the Social Democratic Party.

organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts Thereupon the said officer or with this constitution, the constitu-

Sec. 4. The officers of the Board recall is sought, and five (5; days shall consist of a chairman, vicethereafter said officer or committee chairman, secretary, treasurer and shall mail to each member of the such others as may be determined, National Council a complete copy who shall be elected at each annual of all the proceedings and shall meeting of the Board and serve demand a vote of each member of until their successors are elected

e National Council thereon. and qualified. They shall perform All proceedings shall be open to such duties as appertain to their the inspection of any member of several offices, and for their services the National Council at all times. shall receive such compensation as The time for filing the answer the State Union may determine. and replication may be extended The Board shall hold stated meet-Sec. 5. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a ma-jority vote of all the members, utive Committee shall not affect the provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacan-

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

"THE REAL MASTERS"-pertinent questions addressed to workingmen.

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DEBS ON "LIBERTY."

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

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INTERNATIONAL.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

No danger! In the Reichstag Baron von Stumm, the industrial king, demanded that the government take immediate steps to discharge every workman in the navy ya d known as a Social Democrat. Comrade Molkenbuhr, a cigar. maker, of the Social Democratic party, took the floor and in a very sarcastic way replied, that if Baron von Stumm's recommendation should be carried out there would be hardly any workmen left to build the governments' ships. In Kiel, the principal navy yard in the country, about 9000 ship-builders voted the Social Democratic ticket and elected their candidate to the national legislature. Comrade Molkenbuhr concluded with the ironic remark that no matter what the government might undertake against the Socialists on the safe side.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

g.am recently appeared in the ments, which drive the worker into papers extolling the rapid progress of civilization in Nyassaland. While Those who are really earnest in n more than-two years ago, it said, the bulk of the natives were but naked savages, they were now nearly all "decently clothed" in cottons and calicoes, "and some poverty of the laboring people is even in prints." The pa hos of a perfectly good excuse for the exthis last ought certainly to touch the hardest heart. Socialists know well enough that the great object of the "civilizing mission" of modern Europe is the opening-up of markets, and that it is the special aim of England's "civilizing mission" in Central Africa, for the moment, to open up markets for Lancashire goods

EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.

adopted the following resolution: "That this conference, having acshire, the miners in the United Nagele, St. Louis; Organizer, N. P. Kingdom being in one federation, the secretary of the federation' be instructed to ask them if they will attend a conference for the purpose of discussing the wages questions the eight hours' bill, or anything affecting their interests." Should a favorable reply be received, the committee will be instructed to call such a conference.

HAMBURG, GERMANY.

A congress of sailors and others engaged in the shipping industry was held last week at Hamburg to sailors and ship-workers' lives, reader. One of the items on the agenda was, "The Internationality of Sailors." Delegates were present from Hamburg, Bremen, Bremerhaven, Fleusburg, Lubeck and Stettin.

Christian civilization. NATIONAL.

CUMBERLAND, MD.

Clergymen of this city have given expression of opinion on the recent utterances of Bishop Potter about

under existing conditions. Rabbi J. L. Stern says: "I fully agree with the Rev. Bishop Potter's statement that under our present circumstances saloons are a necessity and that the reason for the of the working masses. What putable life; and also Bishop Potter might have said, but "7. That his yearly income What opposed to saloons in their present form or altogether are earnest in after provided; and also their endeavor to reform or abolish to abolish the main cause, namely, the poverty of the working people. They must try to understand that the most peculiar of all the paradoxes, the term laboring man, which includes all those who produce all wealth, is almost identical with the term "poor man," which means one that has no wealth. they must try to find the reason of the fact that those who build all

London Justice writes: A tele- therefore, live in miserable tenethe more commodious saloon. their endeavor to help the poor people, the laboring people, should begin at the beginning and abolish these poor people's poverty. The istence of the saloon as it is."

JEFFERSON CITY, MO

The State Federation of Labor elected the following officers: President, M. F. Bradley, Kansas City; First Vice President, J. A. Fikeneph; Secretary and Treasurer, E. B. Graat Britain which convened here E. A. McCornish, St. Louis; Dele- to the postmaster of the post office gate to the American Federation of money order office named in the Labor at Detroit, Samuel B. Harri-

New Zealand's Old-

Age Pension Law.

Through the kindness of Comrade A. C. Casimer of Melbourne, Australia, who is secretary of the Victorian Socialist's League, I am in possession of a copy of New Zealand's old-age pension law-right from the government printer at Wellington, New Zealand. Comrade Casimer asks me to review it discuss the work and conditions of for THE HERALD, of which he is a

The law consists of 68 sections

nor in the case of a seaman by absence therefrom whilst serving on board a vessel registered in and ENGLAND trading to and from the colony if he establishes the fact that during such absence his family or home was in the colony.

Then follow several sections that provide for debaring claim in case the saloon being a social necessity the applicant has been convicted of certain crimes, or has neglected to support wife or children. He must also prove:

"6. That he is of good moral character, and is, and has for five years immediately preceding such need of saloons lies in the poverty date been, leading a sober and re-

did not, is this: 'If those who are does not amount to fifty-two pounds or upwards, computing as herein-

"8. That the net capital value the saloon as it now exists, then of his accumulated property does puted and assessed as hereinafter provided; and also

"9. That he has not directly or property or income in order to chester, England. qualify for a pension; and also

"10. That he is the holder of a pension certificate as hereinafter provided.

"That the amount of the pension the houses have none, and must, shall be eighteen pounds per year, diminished by

"1. One pound for every com-plete pound of income above thirtyfour pounds; and also by

"2. One pound for every complete fifteen pounds of the net cap-ital value of all accumulated prophereinafter provided.

"36. Each monthly instalment of the pension shall be payable at the post-office money order office named in the pension certificate.

"41. The installment in any such warrant shall be payable at any time within fourteen days after sher, Jefferson City; Second Vice the date thereof, on the personal President, C. W. Krumm, St. Jos- application of the pensioner or other the person named therein, and also Howard, Kansas City; Legislation the production of the warrant, and EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND. The general miners federation of Committee, C. P. Connelly, St. (except where the warrant otherwise provides) of the pension certificate, the second (except where the warrant otherwise warrant.

"42. In default of strict compliance with all the provisions of the last preceding section hereof, the warrant shall be deemed to have lapsed, and the forfeiture of the installment named therein shall become absolute.

"43. The following provisions shall apply in every case where the pensioner is maintained in any charitable institution, or receives relief therefrom:

"1. The reasonable cost of such maintenance or relief shall be payable out of the pension. "2. For the purpose of pro-

curing such payment, instalments of the pension shall, to such extent as is necessary, be payable to the governing body of such institu-

"3. Any surplus pension mon-



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

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VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

Pop har demonstrations are be- of THE HERALD. ing weld daily in all the large to ans advocating the abolition of the newspaper stamp duty. Every preamble reads as follows: copy of a newspaper printed, sold or unsold, has to pay a stamp duty of one kreuzer. Social Democrats preamble reads as follows: "Whereas, it is equitable that deserving persons who during the prime of life have helped to bear

the Social Democratic members of the city council to bring about a harmonious co-operation bea harmonious co-operation between the various factions of the Socialist and labor forces is prog-

BASEL, SWITZERLAND.

A report from Berne states that 15,000 francs have been appropriated by the municipal council of lishes his claim to the pension and pension is canceled. that city for providing work for the suffering memployed. The street improvements.

MADRID, SPAIN.

now begging for bread in the streets 'from unless the total period of all

sections of the law as I think will be of most interest to the readers

The title of the law is "The Oldage Pensions Act, 1898," and the

and trad s unionists are very active the public burdens of the colony in the agitation. by the payment of taxes, and to The movement inaugurated by labor and skill, should receive from

this act, every person of the full age ressing very encouragingly. This whilst in the colony be entitled to a pension as hereinafter specified. inter Social Democratic and trades union movement. of sixty-five years or upwards shall unless he fulfills the following con-

ditions. that is to say: "1. That he is residing in the colony on the date when he estab-

"2. That he has so resided conmen will be employed at public tinuously for not less than twenty-Blessings of War! Over 10,000 "repatriated" soldiers recently not be deen ed to have been interbrought back from the colonies are upted by occasional absence there-

eys remaining in the hands of such governing body after defraying such cost shall be paid to the pensioner. "49. If any pensioner is convicted of drunkenness, or of any offense punishable by imprisonment for not less than one month and dishonoring him in the public estimation, then, in addition to any ther penalty or punishment imposed, the convicting court may any one or more of the instalments falling due next after the date of conviction.

"53. The pension being for the personal support of the pensioner,

cy or otherwise. "If a pensioner is convicted of being an habitual drunkard the

Provision is made whereby certain of the aboriginal natives can secure pensions, as also, natura-lized citizens, but in no case "Chi-

CHAS. R. MARTIN.

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five years immediately preceding lized citizens, but in no case "Chi-such date: Provided that contin-nese or other Asiatics, whether Send Five Cents to Comrade Anna F. Smith, 7 Interna-naturalized or not " tional Bank Building, St. Louis, Mo., for one of the Buttons designed by St. Louis Comrades.