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NO. 33.

History is Simply the Sum Tota of Changes in the Powers of Production. The community, which is the source of property of all kinds, will under Social Dem-

ocracy be the master of property. Your poorhouses, your soup kitchens and

your charity associations are all signs of the failure of a system which Social Democra y will succeed.

Every man who has the ability and capacity for securing a livelihood, has a right to equal opportunity with all other men to labor. That's Social Democracy, and justice as well.

Our valued contributor, Isador Ladoff, has a treanchant article in this issue on Socialism and the Ethical Movement, which the branch organizations would find fruitful for an evening's discussion.

That the wealth of a nation of 80,000,-000 of people has been centralized at a speed and to an extent unparalleled in history, is a proof of prosperity—to the class which has gobbled the wealth.

The program of Social Democracy is the land and the tools for the people, increased production, equitable distribution, no necessary idle labor, no wasted energies, decrease of working hours, increase of pleasures and an expansion of human life. See anything wrong about it?

Some people seem to think that the millennium is near at hard because the steel trust advanced wages. But it isn't. The people have been tricked in that way before; they cannot be persuaded that the business of this country in the hands of private capitalists is going to be run on the Golden Rule basis. Mark this: Steel ra 's were pushed up to \$20, nails went v. \$2 and ire \$3.a ton—See?

Within a week after the passage of the treaty by the United States senate, these things happened... Benstor McEncry got a batch of federal jobs for Louisiana.

Senator Kenney got his Dover bank wrecking indictment pigeon-holed by the Attorney-General.

Senator Grey got the promise of a judge-

There have been squandered of the people's money, by the Dodge war investiga-tion, \$99,000, and 60,000 persons in New York city are utterly destitute and hungry 499,000 for a whitewash, but not a cent for the relief of a people who, from no fault of their own, are without food, naiment and shelter. And the "heavenly twins" are rubbing each others' ribs saying: "What reat men are we! Even greater than George and Abraham!"

The National Liquor League has taken the temperance problem into its own hands. At Akron, Ohio, the League has paid the saloon-keepers enough to make it worth their while to discontinue busine-s, and all the places are to be kept closed. The obect, says the League, is to demonstrate the cessity of the saloon. But that isn't all; they say that the city cannot possibly get along without the revenue! It's an interesting experiment.

In the legislative investigation of muniapal administration at St. Louis, Henry C. oner, president of an oil company, testised that the oil refiners and sellers did not are how much the oil inspector's fees were; "the State might double the inspector's ine if it chose, the sellers would simply tack the increase on the price paid by the Sumer." The income of the inspector \$11,000 a year and one of the deputies, no said he tested nearly all the oil sold in St. Louis, testified that the actual work only required 45 minutes and 15 seconds of his time each day.

And the people pay the bills.

While Yerkes has consolidated the outing street car lines of Chicago, with a nital stock of \$15,000,000, that great city mable to pay its quarterly gas bills when a city councilman protested minst the gas companies filing judgment the city for bills due, the threat made that the city would be left in kness. This illustrates the beneficence private ownership of public utilities.

The expectation is that America capital will make the Philippines the great productive country on earth-for capitaists.

With all our wealth, a false sytem of production and distribution whichwastes the energies of the people in usele strife to secure a portion of the abundage, the production of wealth is but a fraction of what it might be, and the world is por.

The prosecuting attorney of Chicgo has on his hands 100 cases of jury briber. Yet such immaculate pure souled and piriotic citizens as Marshall Field raise thei coattails before the bluzing hearthstones these winter nights and thank God for the pportunities they have had to earn an ionest living without being contaminated by the corruption of these days!

There is a municipal pawnshop billbefore the Illinois legislature. It is framed 'solely for the benefit of the worthy poor", workingman with nothing in the word but the tools of his trade-and no opporunity to use them--will be given an opporunity to pawn them and thus "tide oversome wave fadversity." But the private awn-brokers are after the "legislators of crrupt principles' to get the bill defeated. The plan originated with the Merchants' Club of Chicago, and seems to have been hotestly intended to do good; but to do good in-fringes on the "rights" of the three-ball fraternity and the bill will probably be

A manufacturers' journal in New England says: "It is a remarkable fact that vast sums of money were donated by the woolen industry of New England to secure a high tariff president, and we got the president, and we got the high tariff, and where are we?" We are engaged in "benevolent assimilation; war scandal investigations at a cost of \$99,000; courts of inquiry to inquire into a matter the war investigators were supposed to have settled; we are engaged in fixing schemes and small reasons the army for the defense of capicreasing the army for the defense of capicres. talists and the protection of their great larcenies; shooting down people who want the same kind of "liberty" we have, and doing all sorts of things that are a disgrace to a great and intelligent people. Perhaps the 'great protectionist'' could give you a more direct answer, but he is engrossed with "benevolent assimilation."

The Taunton (Mass.) Gazette says:-'Haverhill Socialists are beginning to show their hand and wili probably play their cards for all they are worth while they have the present chance. They may never have another.'

Whereupon the Haverhill Gazette comments in this strain: "Don't be so certain of that, esteemed contemporary. If the Socialists advocate measures for the public good, the public will not be slow in expressing its approval, and it is to be hoped that their colleagues will have sense enough to see the wisdom of such measures and join To think that nothin supporting them. ing proposed by Socialists is worthy of consideration shows pig-headedness and does not savor of common sense.'

That last remark seems to fit the Haverhill aldermen whose pig-headedness leads them to oppose anything in the interest of the people that emanates from the Socialist aldermen or mayor.

Read this brilliant out-pouring from the Lowell (Mass.) Citizen, and marvel no longer that among really thoughtful and intelligent people Socialism is spreading:

gent people Socialism is spreading:

"That is a queer bill which Mr. Carey of Haverhill has introduced into the legislature, to restrict the age of employes in manufacturing and mercantile establishments to 16 years. It would be well for the young fit could be enforced; but what would the families do, so many of them have to support? Receive public aid perhaps; but that would he charity, and charity is often disguised as a curse. The independence of a boy or girl must be respected, and the manilness or womanilness they have. Some boys are men at 13 and can face the world with a stout heart; surely we will not shut the doors against such. Education! There are evening schools, well equipped and comfortable institutions."

There's clabbered wisdom for you! Never occurred to this Bay State mossback that the admission that children thirteen years old and less, under the present system, have the responsibility of supporting families, constitutes in itself a terrible arraignment of the system; nor that a child who has been worked ten hours a day for profit in a capitalistic slave pen, is unfitted to take advantage of evening schools, however well equipped and comfortable such institutions may be.

Plenty of soldiers who were not killed by "embalmed beef" are now vainly seeking an opportunity to earn bread,

Plans are maturing for a combination of all the silk manufacturers in the United States. They provide for the running of the mills which show the best "profits," and closing down of all others.

The mattress factory of Francis H. Bergin, St. Louis, one of the oldest in the country, is "shut down good and tight," and to add to the suffering of the poor in that city, a large number of working people have been thrown out of employment.

If the greater part of the savings in New York banks belong to the "exploited working class,?' and the greater part of the money spent in New York saloons is spent by the "exploited working class," one may well wonder where that class gets all its money from.

The Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis railway is using a pneumatic car-painting machine in its shops. With this levice a freight car can be painted in one hour, while the hand method took from two to three hours. It promises to take the place of hand painting entirely. And the "Wise Mikes" are wondering when we are going to have "good times" again!

The authoritative statement is made that in New York City, metropolis of a nation that has gone 10,000 miles from home to subject a people struggling for liberty to the exploitations of commercial cormorants, 60,000 persons are utterly destitute and hungry! What a calamity it would be to abolish a system that creates such conditions and is powerless to remedy them!

The Union Savings bank of San Jose. Cal., has been so prosperous that it had to close its doors. It had a million dollars ganital and seems to have gone under be-money. The managers should have used up the money. The managers should have used up the money in private speculation, then there would have been none to draw.

Without stockings and in worn-out shoes that do not keep their feet from the frozen ground, with old straw hats on their heads, a pair of overalls and no underwear, men have been led out of the workhouse at St. Louis this winter to break and haul rock. Gloveless hands have cracked till they bled, hands and feet have been frozen-and the city is in doubt as to how far it is obligated to protect human life. Great indeed is "benevolent assimilation!"

A movement has been started at St. Louis to find employment for a large number of men who gave up positions to enter the army. Now that their patriotic work is ended these men, many of them with families, find themselves out of a job; their positions have been filled by cheaper hands, and no new ones are to be found. The civil organization of the First Missouri regiment has taken the matter in hand and will try to get the de:enders of their country a chance to earn a living in it.

One writer (a reformer) tells us that of the \$900,000,000 of deposits in the New York savings banks, at least \$500,000,000 belongs to the "exploited working class."

Another writer (a capitalist) tells us that most of the money deposited in New York saloons is spent by workingmen-"exploited working class.'

The unprejudiced student is forced to the conclusion that neither the reformer nor the capitalist really know anything about the subject. Their opinions are firm enough, but their knowledge is flimsy.

In the Revue de Paris M. Jaures has a long article on Socialism and liberty, in which he defends Socialism from the charge of antagonism to liberty. He says that this error is based on the confusion of collectivist, or democratic Socialism with state Socialism, and he assures the reader that in the former is to be found the remedy for the excessive centralization, political, intellectual and economic, from which France is now suffering. The article is attracting much attention, since it holds up the Socialist ideal as a remedy for over-centrali-

THE ROSTRUM.

Brief Extracts from Speeches by Social Democrats at Various Points.

S. FREMONT PACKARD, Brockton. Mass.

I have been foolish enough for 20 years to vote the republican ticket, but have wearied of waiting for that party to do something of real value for the working class. It is in the hope of obtaining freedom for the working people that I am a Social Democrat and I take a hopeful view of the future. It is astonishing how many people can be found who favor Socialism and are ready to admit that the Social Pemocratic party s working for the best interests of working men and women when it seeks to revolutionize the industrial system.

ERNEST W. NORDBERG, Brockton, Mass.

I have made a study of the reports of the express business in Sweden last year under government control. The charges were about one-fourth what they were in the United States, but there was a profit made of \$30,000, \$00. If the express businesss of this country last year had beer done by the government, and the charges had been one-fourth as much as they were, there would have been a profit for the government of \$60,000,000. But Social Democracy will find even a better way than that.

ELIHU R. PERRY, Brockton, Mass.

If there is anything that is settled, it is that neither of the old parties can or will do anything for the real benefit of the working class. Before I became a Socialist I thought bloodshed would be necessary before the differences between capitalists and the working people could be settled. But now I believe that this great question will be settled at the ballot box. It is time that labor began to use the law making power for its own advantage. The state board of arbitration by giving a decision branch of the Social Democracy than six months' lectures.

JABEZ TABER, Brockton, Mass.

It is impossible for wealth and democracy to affiliate. They are incompatible. Neither is it reasonable to expect the wealthy to legislate in the true interest of the wealth producers. The people must come to a realization of the fact that all the means of production belong to society and must not be controlled by private indivi-

REP. JAS. F. CAREY, at Rockland, Mass.

Socialism does not mean an equal division of all the wealth among the whole people. It does not even mean that all men shall receive the same rewards for their labors, nor that they shall be equals even in the social relations. It is not a dream of utopia, where man can obtain all he desires without working for it; and just for the asking. Neither does it mean that under that system every person will be physically, mentally and morally perfect. Socialism means that every person born into the world shall have an equal opportunity with another, and what he produces shall be for his own use, and that a few selfish, sordid men shall not have the right to levy tribute upon him to the amount of 4-5 of his production, as under the present system. It means that every person shall have an opportunity to work, that the products of his labors shall be his, and that no idle person, whether they be the wealthy capitalist, who clips his coupons and draws his interests, or whether it be the lazy and idolent shirker, shall receive anything he does not earn. Socialism means the collective ownership of the means and methods of production and distribution. It means equal opportunities for all men. It means the co-operative commonwealth: that all shall have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; the extinction of multi-millionaires and the abolition of poverty. This is not only desirable but absolutely necessary. Men rush off to the Klondike. We have a Klondike here, if we only have the brains to take possession of production and distribution.

The demolition of old partisan idols is going on, in spite of "benevolent assimilation" and the political bargain counter.

SOCIALISM AND THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT

BY ISADORE LADOFF.

T the time of the earthly career of Jesus of Nazareth, two rival schools of learning flourished in Judea. Rabbi Shamy stood at the head of one of these schools and Rabbi Hillel of the other. A heathen once came to Shamy and asked him: "Tell me, teacher, the essence of your science while I am standing on one leg." The rabbi chased away the infidel in anger and disgust. The inquisitive heathen then went to Rabbi Hillel and repeated his request to him. "Gladly, my son," replied the sage, "the essence of our teaching is-love your neighbor as yourself-all the rest is only a commentary." To not get scared, dear readers! I am not going to preach a sermon.

I have related this beautiful story only as a striking illustration of laconic brevity.

Now-if some modern infidel would ask the writer of those lines to tell him the essential difference between the philosophy of life of the past and future while he was standing on one leg—he would get the following reply: "The old philosophy of life may be expressed in the sentence: I do believe in spite of its absurdity (credo quia absurdum est); while the new philosophy of life may be expressed in the sentence: I exist because I think (cogito ergo sum)." Faith was the watchword of the past, reason shall be the guide of the future. To doubt was a crime in the good olden cocted by a few speculative econotime, to criticise and test the truth mists, with the exclusive purpose of all phenomena of life shall be the moral duty of the future. Trashall be the cornerstone of the fu- of the movement, its depth, scope ture. Man was considered by our and breadth. Socialism is the inof capricious detties. Science eman- and evolution of the human cipated man from the phantoms of mind. Socialism is bound to him the way to be master of his own destinies.

This radical change going on in the minds of men could not fail to slavery, serfdom and the present affect in its turn the domain of ethics. "Thou shalt do that or alistain from this, because the deity ordered it. Woe to those who shall transgress this order. But those who will obey shall be rewarded." Such is in a nutshell the view of the past on practical ethics. To the all social affairs according to the dogmas replace the living soul of advanced thinker of our sceptical age, however, such motives of conduct are too puerile. HUMAN HAP-PINESS ON EARTH IS THE PURPOSE AND AIM OF MODERN ETHICS. Indeed by any means all there is to it. modern ethics are unthinkable Socialism is in no way only a class without the knowledge of the laws movement, although it is at present governing the relations between for obvious reasons identified with the danger of becoming a sharer in

else but sociability.

ligence; that means the faculty of ture generations. reasoning in conjunction with some, edge of nature. Ultimate moral small and insignificant our fate as to a paradise and in the most peace-forces and motives are nothing more individuals appears in comparison ful manner. There will be no more prehending social situations and we constitute! But once we recogpowers. Prof. DaGarmo of Pennize the interest of the race we besylvania, calls the moral type of long to as paramount, our signifimmon good.

foundation, was a great step forward on the road of human progress

Rational ethics consists of two disciplines: the science or theory of conduct and the art or practice of conduct. The science of ethics ideas with rags of hate inpregnated leads even such strictly individualistic thinkers as H. Spencer to the istic thinkers as H. Spencer to the recognition of the purely social character of ethics. More unbiased cranks. They are sujected to authorities identify, as we have partly seen, ethics with social virtues in general. In other words -the theory of ethics by the force of logic leads to Socialism in its broadest sense, just as inevitably as the study of natural sciences leads to hygiene and prophylactic fluences. Just these inbrent qualmedicine. Still closer is the relation between the art of conduct and Socialism. As it is impossible to be and stay healthy in an antihygienic environment, for the human body, practical ethics or moral health is an impossibility in a state of society whose institutions are built on an essentially immoral foundation and impregnated with the miasma of zoological struggle for existence. In such a society ethics has of necessity to be a snare and delusion, a hypocritical cant and a fruitless endeavor. Socialism alone will make right conduct possible by creating social institutions and conditions in the highest degree favorable to the development of the human character

Those who look upon Socialism as upon an artifical scheme, conof improving the material condition of a certain class-however dition and authority constituted large in numbers and worthy of the bulwark of the past, knowledge sympathy-have too narrow a view forefathers a mere toy in the hands evitable result of the organic growth by particle by mineral substance. his own imagination and showed come sooner or later entirely in ependent of our sympathies, antipathies er prejudices. It is a historical necessity as were cannibalism, social system (or utter absence of of any rational system). Rational return again, while the stone was beings like men are bound by nature to manage their affairs on not limited to nature alone. We strictly rational principles. Social- meet it in the domain of human ism means nothing else but the reconstruction and management of principles of science, reason and once young, buoyant and real reethics. The economic side of the ligious creeds? The living gods Socialistic doctrine, although at turned into so many dead idols. present the most prominent, is not men and as members of society. the special interests of the indus-Says H. Spencer: "From the trial proletariat. Socialism is essensociological point of view ethics be-comes nothing else than a definite broad as humanity and deep as the account of the forms of conduct, mystery of life. Socialism aims at that are fitted to the associated the abolition of all class distinctions state, in such wise, that the lives of among men and has in view all the each and all may be the greatest interests of men, moral, mental Is not the ethical movement show- reforms. But now our learned impossible in our present individpossible, alike in length and and esthetical, just as well as econ-breath." This definition empha-omical. The ideals of Socialism rationalistic sect with dogmatic zeal to invent once more shooting vanced science of sociology will sizes two points: the utilitarian are not limited by any artificial foundation of ethics and its essen- lines or classifications. The ideals morality as its confession of faith? powder proclaims: "Patience! you furnish the practical statement of the future with sufficient data toinfoundation of ethics and its essen- lines or classifications. The ideals Do not many ethical culturists naked, starving, freezing, persecutively social nature. Prof. John of Socialism are the ideals of human- look upon the apostle of individual- ed and exploited children of toil vent new methods of organization Dewey of Chicago, goes so far as to ity, the ideals of right-living, of ism, Mr. H. Spencer, as their and misfortune. Wait till we shall and co-operation, just as mechanafirm that morality is nothing bodily health, of mental or intel- messiah and his principles of ethics se but sociability. lectual development, of a happy, as their bible?
The theory of ethics is two-sided, harmonious, beautiful life on earth, According to psychological and social. The of a life worth living. Socialism are no social, no economical, even through the narrow eye of the ever infinitely more complex than psychological has to do with the teaches people to consider them- no political problems to solve. The needle, represented by the only mechanics. "Mind is the highest individual, the social with his rela- selves and others not as individuals only thing necessary is to be moral school existing in connection with quality of matter, as society is the tions to his fellowmen. Biologi- only, but as integral parts of the in private life. All the rest will the New York Ethical Society, in highest product of evolution of cally speaking—the starting point human race, as heirs of the treas- somehow and sometime regulate order to make social reforms pos- matter." says Lester Ward, the of morals or morality is simultan-eous with the appearance of intel-and responsible predecessors of fu-timistic theory indeed. Personal

the power of observing and com- er infinitessimal social part of which mmon good. ing. Once we do not live exclusez faire, let alone. The emancipation of ethics from sively for ourselves—our personal Ask some of the

self, our mind, our ideal aspira-tions and sympathies grd aud develop and make us happr, wiser. more human, or more ivine, if you choose.

When a new idea is bon into the world it meets with a cd reception. Narrow-minded nd fainthearted people, the phasees and philistines, fill the cradlof young with the poison of contespt.

social ostracism, perseuted and sometimes deprived of life. The inherent power and harrony however make a new idea slf-sustaining. It thrives, grows and blos soms into beauty in spie of all the unfavorabe circumstancs and inities win gradually mortand more friends even in the heaquarters of its most bitter enemies among the "upper ten thousand" the so-called "respectable people." This stage is h wever fraugh with the utmost danger for youngideas. In order to be acceptable ly "respect able" people the new ilea has to undergo a certain proces of remod eling suitable to the tates of the converts. It is thrown into the straightjacket of conventionality trimmed, polished, painted and perfumed like a faded bauty. All its originality and realily is carefully eliminated and cast off. Deprived of its simple lut genuine shape it loses its original vigor. not unlike Sampson of the bible after his hair was cut off by the philistines And what then?

Everyone of us has had a chance to observe curious petrifications, representing in their outward appearance some plant or animal. How did this curious phenomena tak€ place in the workshop of nature? The organic substance of the animal or plant was displaced particle The outward appearance of the fossil testifies silently, but eloquently, that in times gone by the cur-

ious body really lived.
The once tender, highly complex structure and mysterious molecular activity, or if you choose to call it so, the "soul," vanished never to left. Phenomena of that kind are psychology in the shape of fossilized ideas. Do not petrified

Allow me now to ask a few pertiquestions. Is not the rationalistic ethical movement confronted by the sad fate of other creeds, founded on the one solid rock of human emotion and fancy?

Shall we not be alarmed by the

According to their views-there

tion and bitterness, and ar better will hear something of this kind of a reply: "Ethical societies are a kind of asylums for unchurched people, a kind of an ethical dormi-

The writer of this article was close observer of the convention of the American Ethical Union at Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 8-11,1898 All the lights of the movement, Messrs. Dr. F. Adler, New York; W. L. Sheldon, St. Louis; P. Chubb, New York; Wm. M. Salter, Chicago; S. B. Weston, Philadelphia; Dr. John Elliot, New York; and others—took part in the exercises of the convention.

The oratorical feast extended to various topics. "The Message of the Ethical Movement to the Religious Nature of Man," "Its Relation to Emerson and to Free Religion," "Its Relation to the Liberal Movement in America," "Its Relation to Orthodox Religion," "Clubwork among Men and toys in the Tenement House Districts. Selfculture Methods among Working People," "The Contribution of Ethical Societies to Philantropy," "The mission of the Eth ical movement"-were the subjects treated more or less exhaustively by the speakers of the convention. terialistic movement. He said The confession of faith in the move-that the Socialists were mistaken by the speakers of the convention. ment was distinctly stated by the when expecting a millenium by various representatives and dele- satisfying the material needs of gates. The central figure of the man and ignoring his spiritual inconvention was of course the found-terests. Nothing is farther from er of the movement, Dr. Felix the truth than this assertion. So-Adler. He claimed for the movement the endeavor to create the demand for social reforms by educating the children in ethical schools. He advised the employers to look upon their business as a social function, a sacred trust imposed upon them by society. The employer should consider himself hood and womanhood to a higher

not? Was it dense ignorance of the actual social and economical

Does not the learned Dr. know

ployers, but the iron laws of the present industrial system, which

erushes the industrial proletariat? An employer has to treat his employes in the same way as his fellow employers in his branch of production or trade treat theirs, or the more is the necessity of avoidgo out of business. He is a slave to the capitalist system just as the The more perfect the social organcommon laborer, although a some- ization—the less is the necessity what favored slave. He is the of avoiding friction apparent. The turnkey of the industrial prison. analogy between social and mechan-Still more peculiar was the a ser- ical friction is complete. Indeed tion, that it is necessary to create the poorer the construction of a nent, or may be, impertinent, the demand for social reforms by machine the more lubricating oil it the aid of schools connected with needs. Friction is a property of ethical societies. Deep dissatis- matter and cannot be eliminated faction with the existing social and entirely, but may be reduced to a economical conditions is one of the minimum by a skillful application most prominent features of our of mechanical principles. In the time. There is a nervous restless-Socialistic state of society there will ness even among the representa- be very little use for the lubricating create a demand for social re-forms." Humanity has to play the chines to make them more and more part of the camel, to be driven perfect. Social dynamics are howsible. Poor humanity."

morality as a panacea against all not a lapsus linguæ, an accidental on mind. Ethics are an inherent evils. Let all people be personally slip of the tongue, is obvious to me part of human mind. Not only the reasoning in conjunction with some, however rude and imperfect, knowlhowever rude and imperfect, knowledge of patter. Ultimate moral and insignificant confident c to a paradise and in the most peace- years ago I happened to listen to a mals have some conceptions about forces and motives are nothing more individuals appears in comparison ful manner. There will be no more lecture delivered by another light and wrong. The ideas about nor less than social intelligence, with the fate of humanity, an howev-bloody revolutions, no artificial of the movement, Mr. Mangassarin. ethics evolve along with society, the power of observing and comlegislation, no complex social in-stitution, even no expensive govern-he implored the employers to give of social evolution—will make the ment necessary. How puerile, but to their wage slaves more leisure. realization of high moral ideals sylvania, calls the moral type of men—the social type. According to his definition the moral type is distinguished by its readiness to participate in group activity for the richer, broader and deeper mean- shaky philosophical palace of lais- collectors of garbage or scavangers think that much of its energy will to recite during the fulfillment of be wasted as long as it fails to grasp The emancipation of ethics from the tenets of old creeds and its remisfortunes and adversities lose construction on a purely rational the greatest part of their humilia-

sarian did not even smile when h uttered these absurdities before numerous and supposed to be lightened audience in Chicago. Ru another assertion of Dr. Adler still more astounding. He claimed that many social reformers under mine morality by criticising the bourgeois morality. They should limit themselves to the criticism of the narrow-mindedness of the application of the principles of monlity by the middle class, but respect the principles themselves. Now is that not simply delicious! We would like to have those reformers who undermine morality called by their names. As far as we are in formed the foundation of all reform. atory movements was a deep ethical current passing through society. An immoral reformer is a contradiction in terms (contradictio in adjecta) a nothing. One could well expect that the founder and leader of a new movement would be better informed on common social subjects or at least be more guarded in the expression of his opinions.

Dr. John Elliot was another delegate of the convention, who proved his ignorance of Socialism by claiming that it is a purely macialism as stated before, is only apparently an economical movement. But its moving power just as well as its final aims and purposes are purely ethical and therefore spiritual par excellence. Be it far from us, Socialists, to condemn any line of honest endeavor to elevate mana priest of the industrial church. level only because the people A very euphonious phrase! Is it engaged in it do not agree with our views on social activity.

And the convention produced conditions of our time or deliberate generally a very favorable imbegging of the question?

The delegates were all enlightened, enthusiastic and broadminded people with pro-nouncedly humanitarian inclinthe beautiful flower of our industrial anarchy, called competition?
Does he not know that one swallow cannot make a summer?

Does he not know that it is not industrial anarchy.

Does he not know that it is not industrial anarchy. The more the pity that they fail to see the fallacy of so-called industrial anarchy. What individual morality. What individual morality. vidual marality means is simply a tendency to avoid unnecessary frietion among members of society. Society is to a certain exteat a complex mechanism, whose constituent parts are its members. The less perfect the social mechanism is, ing friction obvious and vice versa. That this line of argument was States. Society, therefore, depends

Another stumbling

block of ethical societies is theirmay-be unintentional social exclusiveness. The people, the toiling class is not attracted by these ietics to any appreciable extent The ethical society of the people will be the child of a brighter future, when education, enlightent and culture will not be monopolized by a few, but accessible to all alike. The ethical society of the people will be the Socialistic state of society.

The Survival of the Fittest!

If, in our days, the name "birds at the time of Warren Hastings' trial, when auditors wept at accounts of the cruelties committed, is not appl cable as it was then, yet the policy of unscrupulous aggrandizement continues. Everywhere the usual succession runs thus: missionairies, envoys to native rulers. concessions made by them, quarrels with them, invasions of them, appropriations of their territories. First, men are sent to teach the heathens Christianity, and then christians are sent to mow them gent and beneficial results. down with machine guns! So-called savages who, according to numereus travellers, behave well until they are taught good conduct by the so-called civilized, who presently subjugate them-who inculcate rectitude and then illustrate it by taking their lands. The policy is simple, uniform, Bibles first, bombshells after. Such being the doings abroad, what are the feelings at home? Honors, titles, emoluments are showered on the aggressors. A traveller who makes light of men's lives is regarded as hero and feted by the upper classes, while the lower classes give an ovation to a leader of filibusterers. "British power," "British pluck,"
"British interests," are words on

Kautsky on Disarmament.

Comrade K. Kautsky expresses himself in the Neue Zeit on the Car's peace proposal as follows:

"Like everything coming from persons in high places, the Czar's proposal is not intended to benefit the people. It is a scheme to real der the people helpless. Universal military service begins to frighten the ruling classes. They are forced to acquaint every one with the use of weapons, and this is little to their taste, as the armies are getting to be less reliable. A partial disarmament would enable the rulers to once more emyloy a band of hirelings fortheir defense. But this can not be done without the concurrence of all continental powers.

Another reason is the hatred of England. The continental powers have no wish to disturb each other, but they hope to expand in Africa and China. England's enormous fleet is in the way, and they can ceived favorably or not. There would be an army of professional soldiers, less numerous than the forces kept under arms now and costing less, but the funds saved would be used to increase navail armaments. This means neither arms neither the forces and suggest armaments. This means neither the forces arms neither the forces arms neither the forces arms neither the forces arms neither the funds saved arms neither the funds saved the funds save by continental Europe with its militarist, bureaucratic and feudalistic institutions against domocratic Anglo-Saxondom."

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SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

"Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

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

DEY DORATIC-Pertaining to Dempower of legislation.

than Monday morning.

The Capitalistic Industrial Commission.

The following Washington correspondence to a western news-paper gives a good idea of the work of the new national industrial commission from the capitalist standpoint:

Reference to the plans of the United States Industrial commission, which is now engaged in collecting data for a report upon the condition of industry, labor and transportation in the country, affords opportunity for observing of prey and of passage," which the vast scope and interesting Burke gave to the English in India character of the work that is to be character of the work that is to be done by the commission during the next two years. A topical plan of inquiry has been adopted by the commission, and according to the number and character of the inquiries to be made it is evident that there are few fields covered by trade and industry, labor and transportation that will not be scrutinized with a view to bringing out for the information of the people facts upon which reforms may be based with a reasonable hope for intelli-

In the last congress a bill was presented by Mr. T. W. Phillips, then a member of congress from Pennsylvania, authorising the creation of such a commission to collect information concerning labor, capital and agriculture, The bill passed, but it failed to receive the approval of President Cleveland. In the session of last summer. however, the bill, championed by Representative Gardiner of New Jersey, became a law.

The commission grew out of a demand, for definite and authoritative data for the guidance of public men in dealing with economic questions. In the fields of agriculture, in the shops, in the mines, in the counting houses of the every tongue; but of justice there nation, there are frictions that can is no speech, no thought .- HER- be eased, if not removed, by the BERT SPENCER (The Principles of understanding of their causes and the application of a remedy that is scientifically correct. Those who best know how co-related and how are, feel that there must be somewhere a hitherto undiscovered enonomic principle that will exactly adjust them to each other and production, as well as into that of ic Party of America. make their relation as cordial as

In his report urging the creation of the commission upon congress, Mr. Gardiner estimated that in the six years between 1880 and 1886 tile community. the single item of strikes had cost \$98,566,958 to employers, employees, and their organizations directly.

"The enormous incidental losses That one of the discrimination of are not estimated," he adds. freight rates that goes into the "They are of great magnitude. The loss caused by strikes in the year 1894 has been estimated by one closer attention of the keenest writer at \$80,000,000 and by an- minds. other at \$100,000,000." These staggering figures are a lesson in discharged employees by railroad themselves. portant it is for the peace and demand the shrewdest counteractthey lessen their army expenses. To the people in general it matters which master and servant can safe-

probably be set. Was former Com- their living to be met? missioner Stump right, on the one | There, too, is the obligation of that the rough work of the land the protection of the life and limb who can be tempted to our ports of be done to minimize the damage of ocracy; i. e., Movement by the entry? Or was Schulteis' conten-people * * * in which the tion that there are so many of wont from time to time to paralyze supreme power is lodged in the them here already as to crowd even the trade of the nation? Secretary hands of the people collectively, the intelligent citizens of the country in which the people exercise the try into the poor houses? There is mission of an instance in which a a difference of view that goes not railroad strike resulted in the act-

other tole, of the relations of the the trad unions be brought to a proper sise of their responsibility as factorin the labor world by being forceto incorporate? Shouldn't they be Ild to corporate responsibility, wether they desire it or not, for teir part in projecting and fostering strikes and doing the other thigs which fall within their line? Tat is only an illustrative question It does not begin to cover al the questions in which trade upnism is likely to be investigate by the commission. What, orthe other side of the enaotments absolving the employer from liallity for the inexperience and carelssness of his own servants who a fellow servant is the share of their product. victim, tht all but prohibit the recovery d damages for accident among suh workers?

And thin, how can the principle of arbitraion be effectively applied to the sedement of industrial differences? Is compulsory arb tration possble, as some say isn't. and advisble, even if it is possible? How can be "store-order system," which nbs the lily-paid mine hands, for instance, at the other end of theline, he modified, if not wiped out? Should the injunction be eliminated as an interference in the settlement of labor differences? and independent political actions. What ha machinery done for the industrial classes? Has it helped them mole by bringing new comforts within their reach than it has hurt then by closing old fields of activity to them? Or is the trend

the otherway? And tren, beyond, are the subjects of women's prevalence in the industrial fields and the employ-

ment of children to cheapen wages, and that all-absorbing topic of convict labor. If the prisoner must not be condemned to maddening idleness in his cell, how can he be employed to minimize the harm of his competition with the free labor? What, too, of the overshadowing trusts? Are they crowding the smaller factors out of business, and is the loss compensated for in the even that concerning trusts-go largely into the economics of farm manufacturing. There are corners that is to the agricultural what the capitalism and to abrorassition of department store is to the mercan-

When one comes to look over enormous variety of other topics is discoverable there for investigation. of man. That one of the discrimination of economics of all productive energy is alone sufficient to engage the

The evils of blacklisting their They tell how im-lines are of such a character as to prosperity of the nation that, if ing legislation on the part of the remedies for their improvement recommendation, that the man who ing facilities of production. tremendous dimensions, carried on where they are found to be out of bears it is blacklisted and is to be its work seem to be endless. There, form of the letter itself that can for instance, are the frictions be-tween skilled and unskilled labor, giving employment to the appli-The definitions of the two words which trade unionisms should od of preventing men from earning

topic, when he urged before the in- railroads to employ the most trustdustrial commission the other day worthy of safety appliances for needs all, the untutored foreigners of their workers. What also, can only to the question of the educa- ual starvation and death of a thou-News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

only to the question of the education and death of a thoutonal requirements that should be exacted of immigrants, but to the munity. And that new fad of government ownership—is it a step lation. And when it comes to the forward or a step backward?

other tole, of the relations of the employed, should should the trad priors be brought to a 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

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

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

That the trade union movement 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 transportation of agricultural promust 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 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 Social Democrat-

The control of political power by in wheat as there are in sugar, and the Social Democratic Party will

cious fellow-workers throughout the tion of labor in every way possible; the transportation service, what an civifized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood

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

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

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

3. The public ownership of all

6. The inauguration of a system gear with the progress and philoso- denied the occupation he seeks. . It of public works and improvements phy and spirit of the age. And in is sometimes a mere word in the for the employment of a large this direction the ramifications of letter, other times it is the general number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that

7. All useful inventions to be and the restricted surroundings in cant. How is this insidious meth- free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible. 9. National insurance of working

people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age. 10. Equal civil and political

against women. 11. The adoption of the Initiative

12. Abolition of war as far as the day half holiday. United States are concerned and the introduction of international the modern white slavery of the arbitration instead.

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

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

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

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

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad 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 ducts 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 society from the domination of for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the The wage-workers and all those urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore

"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, anof the Kederal Labor Unions, The solidarity of labor connect- trades as have heretofore not been ing us with millions of class-con- organized and assist the organiza-

"Resolved; That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging our-1. Revision of our antiquated selves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power railroads, telegraph, telephone, all in order to secure and entorce the neans of transportation, commundemands of labor, yet differences little whether the Czar's plan is rewith each other, no time be lost in employment elsewhere. But Secting plants, and other public utilities of the labor organizations should retary Moseley of the Interstate 4. The public ownership of all not be a reason for separate organ-The work of the commission will Commerce Commission told the gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal ization in the economic struggle,

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

"Resolved. That we condemn the rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating abolition of all laws discriminating

"Resolved. That we encourage and Referendum, and the right of the movement of organized labor recall of representatives by the for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Satur-

sweating system."

Social Democratic Herald.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, -BY THE-

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

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

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

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S. CHIEF SATURDAY, FEB. 18, 1899.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY:-Less than ten per cent, of the members have cast votes upon the question of the adoption of that part of the constitution of the party which has been sub-mitted to a referendum vote.

Many amendments to the constitution have also been submitted by the various branches of the party, none of which have received a sufficient number of votes to carry such amendments.

Since this constitution was framed, and part of it submitted for a referendum, vote, circumstances have changed, and such new developments have taken place, that, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, it has become necessary that additions be made to the constitution, and perhaps the whole document revised, in such manner that a constitution may be framed which will embody the best judgment of all the members of the

The Executive Board have, therefore, determined, that at its next meeting, which will take place at an early date, it will re-consider the whole matter, and to this end in an informal way will call for the from it capital is renewed; from it was preaching dangerous doctrines suggestions of all such members of the party as desire to aid in such re-consideration.

The Executive Board earnestly desires that the constitution at the beginning of the movement shall be framed in such a way as to give entire satisfaction to all the members of the party, and particularly to provide for the choice by all the members of the party, of such an Executive Board as shall be at all times satisfactory to such mem-

Very great difficulties have been encountered in the organization of follow, are taken from Webster's the national party, in determining Dictionary: just what its constitution should be, in order not only to give satis- to the public as an aggregate body, faction to all the comrades, but at as social interests, etc. the same time to preserve the organization from attacks from its ocracy; i. e., Movement by the enemies from without and from the people * * in which the treachery of those who will join a supreme power is lodged in the Socialist movement for the purpose hands of the people collectively, only of wrecking it.

There will naturally be many conflicting opinions as to how this object shall be accomplished. The dangers which threaten a Socialist party in the United States are, owing to our form of government, in many respects different from what they are in any other country, and the experience of other countries is not an infallible guide for action in this country.

While the Executive Board, therefore, invites the criticism of A READER, CHICAGO.—Your acrostic is all the members of the party, it hardly up to the standard. Try again. therefore, invites the criticism of all the members of the party, it trusts that the members will exercise patience in this matter, until the difficulties mentioned can be overcome, and a constitution agreed on which will satisfy all the members, and at the same time assure the permanency and success of the party.

Jesse Cox, Chairman of Ex. Com.

Seymour Stedman, Secretary of Ex. Com.

ARABDER, CHICAGO.—Your acrostic is hardly up to the standard. Try again.

H. M. Send your letter to Theodore Debs, Natl Sec. Treas., of the Social Democratic party, whose address is 126 Washington st., Ohlcago, Ill.

INQUIRER.—(1) "Sevenoaks" is a penname it was used on the paper you mention by the writer who was its editor (2) from Angust 1, 186, to March 30, 1898 (3) Yes; "One in the Printery," at Greensburg, Ind., was the same "feller." (1) Three years and two months.

C. J. S.—The clippings you send from a San Francisco paper, may be interesting to a certain class of people—a very small class, no doubt; but for us to take notice of them in these columns would give to such party.

Secretary of Ex. Com.

Executive Board Meeting, feditor is kindly requested not to permit the insertion of any such from the Terre Haute Gazette, articles in the Social Democratic Feb. 11: HERALD in the future."

JESSE COX, SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary of the Committee.

Surplus Value.

At the corner of Main and Chatham streets, in Worcester, Mass., and Liberty." th re was, prior to the present wave ' It was at Ann Arbor before the of prosperity, a store devoted to students of the University of Michithe sale of ladies' garments and the gan on the night of Januar 31 that accumulation of surplus value. That Mr. Debs scored an extrordinary it failed is only an illustration of triumph. To use Mr. Dibs' own the impossibility of making something from nothing and exemplifies ception I was accorded ince my the ending of our closed out estab- re ease from Woodstock jail. It lishment to the effect that "The surprised me beyond measure." complete stock of N. L. Reagan, Mr. Debs' subject at Am Arbor having been secured at a gerat re- was "The Workingman's Interest duction by Barnard, Summer & in good Government" and for

the portion of the product returned the students of the University, to its producers is approximately over the invitation that lad been one-third; in reality, one-fifth is extended to Mr. Debs from the afforded the opportunity of hearing near the correct proportion.

turned to the producers, (legitimate | versity. agent of distribution and accessory some of the faculty were opposed to services included) is surplus value; Mr. Debs on the ground that he a political party, Cochran is the the corruption fund is made up; and there were heated controversies, upon it indolence revels in vice.

Our contention is for a return to subject. the producers of the full value of lective product, shall be collective the lecture auditorium of the Newproperty. That profit shall be berry hall was secured for the pur-

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which

Social-Pertaining to society or

DEMOCRATIC-Pertaining to Demor in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

Debs in the Lecture Field. Springfield, Ohio . . . Feb 20 ,, 23 New Philadelphia, O.

Portsmouth, Ohio . . . ,, Dayton, 26 New York, N. Y. ... March 21 Aberdeen, S. D., ... June 28 Madison, ,, ,, 30

TIME SAVERS.

Secretary of Ex. Com.

At a meeting of the National Excutive Board of the Social Democratic party, held February 10th, there being present Eugene V. Debs, Victor Berger, Seymour Stedman and Jesse Cox, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Executive Board disapproves all articles which are based upon personal controversies with the Socialist Labor party, or which attack the personnel or the peculiar tactics of that organization; and the

FREE SPEECH WN AT ANN AIBOR.

Eugene Debs' Extraordiny Reception at the Hands of th Students of the Univerty of Michigan.

IN A LETTER TO THE EDTOR.

"The Ann Arbor receptionwas in many respects the most extrardinary in my life." E. V. EBS.

The following account d the remarkable victory for fai play is

vr. Eugene V. Debs returned this morning from his lectre tour Chairman Ex. Com. of Michigan, having spekn at Ann Stedman, Arbor, Kalamazoo, Lansag, Bay City, Flint, Saginaw, Alpina, Traverse City, Ludington and Muske-gon. At all the places except Ann Arbor Mr. Debs spoke of "Labor

Putnam Co., would be sold AT weeks before his coming there was COST, ONE-THIRDITS VALUE. a violent controversy in progress, According to this announcement participated in by the facilty and That portion of value not re- of students of the Ann Arbor Um-

abolished and that distribution be nose at the regular lecture room of the world is on the eve of a great at the regular lecture room of the world has ever known. But it will The spirit of fair play entered largely into the controversy. The students had a lecture as the snowflakes from heaven.' It course, Depew, Bryan, Bourke, Cockran and Debs being the speakers. A former graduate of the University, Mr. Harrison, now an atyear edited the university paper, who congregate in University home dealers of the congregate in University torney of Topeka, Kansas, who last year edited the university paper, home declaring that by all means Mr. Debs should be heard and should be accorded a respectful

spoke, each in turn was hissed by polis, at the latter place on Feb a section of students who were dis- 27. He has received two invitapleased by their utterances. The tions to address the South Dakota attention through the country at son. that time, it will be remembered.

posed to his doctrine. Newberry hall was packed to suffication by eight o'clock with train was late owing to the severe in the North American Review;

immediately follow and that all wood or a piece of free nature.' the students could shake Mr. Debs by the hand. Mr. Debs according-

ly took a position and a steady SOCIALISM IN stream of students and members of the faculty passed before him and shook him by the hand.

It was a great victory for free speech. It was one of the great occasions in Mr. Deles' life and one that he will not soon forget. Next day Mr. Debs was a guest of the university. Since leaving Ann Arbor he has received many letters from students saying that next time there will be no trouble over his lecture and that the lecture will take place in the regular hall.

Next day the University of Michigan Daily, published by the students, contained this notice of the

The Good Government club deserves the thanks of the student body in bringing Eugene V. Debs here to speak. Though he was not allowed to enter the sacred precincts of university hall, he had a serious and earnest message to deliver, and those who heard him expressed themselves as being fortunate in doing so. So seldom do we hear a speaker not orthodox on economic questions that Debs' lecture is a refreshing exception. University students above all others ought too broad minded and ready to hear an honest conviction, even though it was not generally accept-The enthusiastic reception with him is evidence that our university students are not all so narrowminded as their kind is often accused of being. Debs give a serious, honest talk and one that

merited the attention it received.' Daily Times said editorially: "Through the efforts of a num-

ber of enterprising students of the U. of M., Ann Arborities are being Good Government club, made up three of the five great orators of the world-Bryan, Cochran and Debs-President Angell and and the greatest of these is Debs. Bryan is battling for the success of tool of the money power, while Debs is championing the cause of newspaper articles and cards on the humanity. After describing the political economic conditions of the The Good Government Club country, which breed trusts and said at Newberry hall last evening: I take a bright view of the future. be brought about by the ballots of workingmen, which fall as silently was around this thought that the oratorical efforts of Eugene V. Debs revolved. What harm could an oration of such a nature have done

audiences at almost every place in Michigan. Next Sunday night Mr. Debs opens a lecture tour at. Erie. The students are noted for their Pa. From there he speaks at free expression of sentiment. For Springfield, O., New Philadelphia, instance, when Depew and Cockran Portsmouth, Dayton and Indiana-Depew incident attracted much Chatauquas at Aberdeen and Madi-

On Jan. 27 Mr. Debs lectured at Mr. Debs did not know what sort Lexington, Ky., and Col. W. C. P. of a reception awaited him at the Breckinridge who was present hands of these 3,000 students, many wrote a highly confinendatory of them sons of rich men and op- article on the lecture in one of the Lexington papers.

Writing on the aristocratic tradian admission of a quarter and hun-tion versus the democratic spirit dreds could not get in. Mr. Debs' in literature, John Bucroughs, says weather in Michigan, and he did "The classical tradition begat Milnot arrive at the hall till 9:15 o'- ton, but it did not beget Shakeclock. When he got there the speare, the most marvelous genius students, who had packed the hall started off with the college yell and gave Debs a reception that fairly amazed him.

speare, the most marvelous genus of the modern world. To the classic tradition, as it spoke through Voltaire, Shakespeare was a barfairly amazed him. He spoke for two hours and was was essentially democratic, how given the most eager attention. To- much soever it may have occupied tally disregarding the usual habit itself with royal and aristocratic of hissing any statements that did personages. It is as free as an unnot please them, the students did caged bird, and pays no tribute to not emit a single hiss at this lec- classic models. Its aim is inward ture. Many of the members of the movement, fusion, and vitality, faculty were present. At the close of the lecture the proportion. A Greek play is like students gave the college yell again a Greek temple-chaste, severe, and cheered Mr. Debs loudly, after which the president of the club announced that a reception would long ago suggested, more like a

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD

MASSACHUSETTS.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Boston, Feb. 10, 1899.

To THE COMRADES:-The time limit for the introduction of new bills having expired, our duties have been limited to the consideration of matters appearing upon the calendar. Aside from certain rontine, the first matter considered was a motion to go into a committee of of the whole to consider the attitute of the United States upon "imperialism." We voted in every instance, as is recorded by the roll call, in support of every action opposing imperialism.

On a question to grant franchises to the Squire Co. we were oppon-

On a bill to grant three days grace on sight drafts, the present law granting none, we vote , yea.

Upon a bill granting an annuity to a workman injured while in the service of the state upon state works, we voted yea, it being car-

A bill providing for a reduction in the amount of capital required to engage in the safety deposit and loan business from \$200,000 to \$100,000 being rejected by the given Debs by many who disagreed committee, upon the question of accepting the committee report we voted no; the committee report was negatived. The bill came before the house for a second realing: upon the question to order to a third reading Comrade Carey spoke. He Next day also the Ann Arbor called the attention of the house to the fact that primarily the question was competition vs. concentration. He was not in favor of competition, nor was he favorable to concentration for the benefit of a class; he like nis colleague, Mr. Scates, wa. in favor of a trust, a monopoly, the Co-operative Commonwealth. But he said he wished to call the attention of the members to the inconsistency of favoring competitors and at the same time raising the amount of capital required to engage in any business. He said further that it mattered little what their product. That capital, a col- stood by its original invitation and armies of idle men, the speaker action the house took, as ability to not by the acts of the legislature but the economic law which awarded business success to that competitor possessing the larger capital. He and his colleague therefore would not vote upon the bill as it was a question unaffected by the acts of the house except by the enactment of laws in the direction of collective ownership of the land and capital of the nation. The bill was the young men and young women ordered to a third reading. Some of the papers entirely misquoted Comrade Carey, making him say he Mr. Debs | had magnificent favored competition, etc.

None of the bills introduced by us have as yet been reported to the house. We attend committee hearings, especially labor committees, whenever possible and have almost a perpetual debate with the members upon Social Democracy.

One of the members, a republican, has invited Comrade Carey to address a meeting of some of his constituents on Socialism, an invitation which was accepted.

If desired, copies of the various bills introduced by us may be reproduced in full in THE HERALD. Fraternally

Louis M. Scates, JAMES F. CAREY.

"In The European Sense."

The Volksrecht, the organ of the Social Democratic Party of Zurich, Switzerland, publishes the following item: "For the first time in the history of the United States twoutspoken Socialists have been elected to a state legislature, and the state legislature referred to is none other than that of Massachusetts. The two Socialist representatives are not members of a "vague labor" party, but they are Socialists in the European sense of of this term. Both are born Americans. A city with so English a name as Haverhill, the center of a 'prosperous' shoe industry, elected them. There also was a considerable increase in the Socialist vote for governor in the state of Massachusetts."

What are you doing to increase the HERALD's circulation? There's an opportunity in your town to procure a number of subscribers.



Branch Meetings.

of Branch Meetings Inserted for

or month.

ando Branch No. 1 of the Social Demlic Party, meets every Sunday eve at

tman's Hall, 1715 California street,

ar, Colo., 2 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs,

man; Mrs. Martin Steele, Secretary. on 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every day evening. Thos. Kirwin, Secre-

n No. 6, Indiana, meets first Satur-ning and 3rd Sunday afternoon of onth at Reichwein's Hall, corner and Noble streets, Indianapolis, J.

No. 2. Ohlo, Cleveland, meets in Hall, 65 York streets, second and andays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, dis-business meeting, first and third

ch 1. Philadelphia, meets every ay, 8p. m., City Hall, North Plaza. 12. Milwaukee, meets every first Thursday of the month at Volk-Hall, corner Twenty first and Cen-ts at 8 p. m. Edward Koepfer,

ry, nakee Central Committee of the bemocratic Party of America meets of third Monday at 8 p. in, sharp at te street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secre-bin Doerfier, Treasurer.

nch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every d and fourth Saturday, in Geatke's corner Green Pay and Concordia ave. nch No. 1. Wisconsin, meets Ethical by Building every second and fourth meday of the month Everybody is

ch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania every Sunday at 754 south Third Philadelphia, at 7.30 Discussion to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

ch No. 4. Milwaukee meets every first ind Friday each month at Mueller's corner Twenty-third and Brown House Moerschel, Secretary, 778

achusetts State Committee meet saturday of each month at 7:20 p.
B Washington, street, Boston. All
ideations and moneys intended for
sachusetts State Committee should
to the secretary, Margaret Haile,
ood st., Roxbury.

wood st., Roxbury.

neh 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Hendquarters
| Democratic. Party, Colville College,
| nakin avenue, meets ist and 3d Thurs| ats: 18 sharp All persons interested in
| san and the Social Democratic Party
| writed to attend these meetings and
| crate with us in organizing local
| best severy district in the city. Wm.
| best 22 Hewes st., Secretary.
| act No. 2, New York (Eighth Assembly
| story meets every Tuesday evening at
| wington st., 3d floor, Room 5—Louis
| meets, 537 E 12th st., Secretary.
| seven No. 20 New York (2s Assembly

vening at 7:30 P. M., Funk hall, and Josephine sts. President W. Addison st. Secretary, J. H.

t side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets not the Thursday of each month at 209 ondway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street,

9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday in Cutters Hall, Clark's Block, cor, ad Centre streets. Every member et to attend at least one meeting Frank 8. Walsh, 332 West Elm

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston— sets every Monday at 8 P. M. at 99 Chelsea 4. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec. Branch 8, New York, (24th Assembly Dis-det) mests every 2nd and 4th Monday of month at 334 E. 54th st. 11. Funcke, 239 18th 5t., Sec.

lasogri State Central Committee meets for Thursday, at Sp. m. at Room 7, Inter-local Bank Bullding, 20 and 22 N. Fourth ree, St. Louis, Organizer Anna F. Smith, Indiana avenue.

Louis City Central Committee meets Fourth street. secretary, Albert E. anderson, 4225 N. Newstead avenue.

S. Louis First Ward Branch (6th Mo.)

Severy Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 480

Roadway, Organizer, Julius islumental, 55 Cowan street.

Ninth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. II... cordia Turner Hall, 13th and Arsensi 5. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3004 avonne.

8 Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) devery 2d and 4th Sunday at 5:39 a. m., it vites Hall, Brondway and Keokuk sts. Tanker, Francis J., Krause, 3224 Michigan

Louis Tweitth Ward Braach (5th Mo.) 4 every ist and 2d Wednesday, at 8 p. corner Jerierson ayenue and Shenan-Street. Organizer, H. Blumer, 2211 S. dwar

ranch?, Missouri, meets every Tuesday F M.at 1800 Union ave., Kansas City. J. Siorz, 1220 W. 9th street, Sec.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund arted by Eugene V. Debs:

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Denver (no name)	10
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St. Louis Notes.

Second Ward branch was organized Feb. 12th with en charter members, H. J. Steigerwalt was eleted organizer and E. M. Bannister, recording se retary, and H. Runde and H. Lipper, delegates to the C. C. C. This branch will hold its next meeting Sunday, Feb. 19, at 2 P. M. at Social Turner Hall.

Fries resigned.

resigned. They rejected the pro- was to be to-day, would cast 4,000 at the next convention to be held make a clear sweep next fall. We as early as possible. The next are going to follow our little sister. meeting will be held at Bohemian Haverhill—only we will be the big National Hall, Allen Avenue and sister. We hold public meetings 9:30 A. M. from the 12th Ward branch will be that could not get in. It was one nominated at this meeting.

social reunion on Friday eve., 10th Packard opened the speech making inst. at their pleasant hall 1223 N. by giving us facts and figures upon Broadway. Songs, recitations and the general condition of things as short speeches were on the pro- they are run to-day in the U. S.; gram, followed by a hop, in he has been a life-long republican. which nearly all present participat-ed. Refreshmen's were served by Payment Bill, the two old parand all in attendance hoped that ties and condition of affairs at presthis was only the initiation of a ent. Comrade Jones Tabor on the series of entertainments that would "Millionaire vs. Socialism;" Comwould bring the people of the ward rade Norburg on the express busitogether and so develope the spir- ness and how it is conducted the it of fraternity among them.

the weather there was a good attendance and the receipts for sale of tickets exceeded the expectations of those in charge of the affair.

The newly organized First Ward Branch held its second meeting, February 1, and issued membership cards to all members.

The Third Ward Branch met February 3, and elected R. Kean, at sp. m., at 1223 N. delegate to the City Central Comwere favored by the majority. The remaining sections will be Branch gave an entertainment and depend, and the substitution of a nation to be made effective on failhop, February 10, for the benefit of regulated system of co-operative ure to comply with platform, pledthe campaign fund.

The Twelfth Ward Branch met, February 7, and transacted import. organization which would abolish charge of any comrade holding at town meeting. We voted in ant campaign business. cates of nomination were distributed by the Ward Organizer to the various Precinct Committees.

ALBERT E. SANDERSON. Secretary City Central Committee

Comrades will be glad to learn that the organization has made a start in Iowa. A new branch with ity.-Century Dictionary. splendid material has been organized at Burlington. The new branch consists of comrades who are in increase of wealth, and a more cornest and will build up a fine equal distribution of the products earnest and will build up a fine movement in that city.

SPRING ELECTIONS-1899.

Social Democratic Party Candidates. BALTIMORE.

Mayor-Chas. B. Backman. Pres. Second Branch City Council-Elias Jacobson. Comptroller-E. H. Wenzel.

TO-DAY.

| Written for THE HERALD! HAT is it that you fondly prate?
The time for action is not yet,
And Science bids you camily wait
Till the last chain is firmly set?

Alas, too heavy even now
Too bitter is the chain and sore,
And on its lengthening links we vow
The hour has come! We wait no more

We swear it by the pallid check Of women toiling on in pain, We swear it by strong men who seek For leave to toil, and seek in vain.

We swear it by the poor man's woe We swear it by the rich man's sin And by the slient wrongs that grow Darker and deeper year by year.

We swear it by our native soil
With slaughter of her workers wet
And by the blood of mardered toil
What drips from freedom's bayonet.

We swear it by the drops that flowed At Virden, from our brothers' yeins, By Hazleton's accursed road still red with unavenged stains.

We swear it by the hopes that rise And flash across the startled night is lightnings in the far-off skles That gleam awhile before they smite. e swear it by the powers that thrill Through Labor roused though wakening

hate.
We sweat it, friends, by Haverhill!
The hour has come! We will not wait

Alas! for him who idly stands And with to-morrow cheats to-day How simply from his listless hands The winged chance escapes away.

To-day's occasion hurries by,
And of to-morrow's who can know?
Up with our banner! Lift it high!
And strike the happy blow!
—ELIZABETH H. THOMAS.

Brockton, Mass.

I wish that every town and city in the United States was taking the 10th Ward branch held a meeting same interest in Socialism as the Feb. 12th and elected G. A. Hoehn, city of Brockton. We are in it delegate to the C. C. Vice J. head over heels; it is spreading like wild fire. Last fall State election than you can shake a stick at. A 12th Ward Branch held a meeting we cast about 200 votes. Two Feb. 7 and elected S. Krapp, record- weeks later at our city election we ing secretary, vice H. Blumer cast over 600 votes, and if election posed constitution as a whole, re- votes. That is the way Socialism commended the framing of another is working in Brockton. We will Dolman st., Sunday, Feb. 19, at every Sunday evening and our hall they escape. The candidate for is packed to the door; over 200 went member of the house of delegates away from our doors last Sunday ominated at this meeting. of the most interesting meetings Branch No. 3 of St. Louis held a that I ever attended. Comrade world over; Comrade Ross on 'the Notwithstanding the severity of post office, real e-tate and general products. Members are joining our Branch by the dozen every week.

Comrade Chase, Mayor of Haverhill, speaks next sunday and we intend to give the people of Brockton a chance to hear and see all the principal speakers on Socialism and all the leaders of the party. G. B.

What Socialism Is.

substituting the principle of associ-Worcester's Dictionary.

action.—Imperial Dictionary.

entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the commun-

A theory or polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, "To everyone according to his deeds"—Standard Dictionary, don't or will not, can be as good as deeds."-Standard Dictionary.

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

Better Go Slow.

COMRADE EDITOR:-Reading the communication from Comrade Hochn in the issue of Jan. 28, I said to myself, "what the devil does he mean?" His suggestions readings I concluded that he was political experience than cash.

To his question, "Shall only members of our party in good standing be nominated for offices? I want to say YES, in the largest type you can get in the line. Further along he says, "Always rememberthat we owe some consideration to those 90 per cent. of Socialists that are not active members of our party." I must confess that I don't see where we owe them anything. On the contrary, I think good reason and logic demonstrates that every consideration is due those who make it possible to vote for clear cut Socialism.

The relation is that of the fellow who will not join or contribute to a union, but who is willing to take all the benefits that come from the sacrifices and contributions of those m organization who secure the re-

A body of people having certain well defined objects in view must have those objects clearly stated, backed by laws to govern those so associated. This is particularly true in the field of politics. Without such provision we will be loaded up with all kinds of Socialism, and just now there is more kinds few clear headed people at this time are worth a whole field full of "any old thing." The persons who are not willing to associate and contribute to clear cut work, if they are not sick or out of work, which we should providé for in our law, should not be permitted to in any way represent those who are governed by rule and law, which

In the issue of Feb. 11, I find Comrade Gordon commending the ideas of Comrade Hochn, saying, the real liberty-loving Socialist may feel too independent to subscribe to a lot of rules and regulations." That's no doubt true, for memory vividly recalls Comrade Gordon parting with a number of that kind of "Socialists" in the city of Chicago last June. I have not forgotten it, if he has. The fact that the woods is full of 'em demands that we have a member subscribe to the purpose, objects and methods of the organization and thus avoid repetitions of such part-

We need a constitution clear and practical in its application to the work before us. I want to insist points, viz.: 1st, a uniform proposition for membership form, issued from headquarters, of such wording that the signer cannot say he did not understand the aims and purposes of the party. 2nd, a unilocals to superior bodies, a thing machinist. ges or desires of constituents in the March 6. We shall have articles Any theory or system of labor party, 4th, a plan of recall or dis-The plan to be such as will secure quickest results consistent with more. We have elected a library fairness to all.

Systematic organization and just law are necessary to secure equality. Anything less leads to confusion, discord and disruption.

come members of the S. D. P. in James F. Carey, of Haverbill, a Comrade Anna F. Smith, No. 7 you a sample of their membership and will work valiantly for the upand due card, with stamp. I am lifting of humanity and the cosatisfied with members who sign they please, on the outside.

Fraternally CHAS. R. MARTIN.

Tiffin, O.

How To Conduct Meetings.

This is an important question and I should very much enjoy an interchange of ideas, for upon its solution depends the life of our local societies which are the little provoked me. But after several rivulets to swell the mighty flood soon to sweep across our nation. just trying to see how mad he could The object of these meetings is of make some of us who have more a two fold nature-1st, to instruct and develope our own members so that they can give an intelligent 'reason for the hope that is within them;" 2nd, to instruct strangers sufficiently to secure their attendance and interest, and finally their co-operation in our grand work. Just how to accomplish all this is a question of no small magnitude Commence on time if possible, always being late will kill any work. Advertise your meetings as thoroughly as possible by the local press, circulars etc.

The officers should always be on hand early to welcome and entertain the new comers. Nothing wins like sociability in building up a new movement and of all people Socialists should be the most agreeable. People are hungry for this and will come again where it seems home-like.

In our Denver branch our pro-

gram usually consists of musicone or two instrumental pieces, vocal solos and a recitation followed by a paper or an address, which is discussed in an open forum. We have found this plan to take quite well and although our meetings are sometimes two hours long the audience does not seem to weary. Just before the main address when everybody is feeling entertained by the music, etc., we take up the col-lection. We aim to pay our rent by private donation and use the collection for propaganda work.

We have little application blanks placed on every chair so that persons can fill them out during the meeting. We invite them to pass them in after adjournment and almost every meeting we get new a cessions.

Limit discussion to five minutes and thus avoid tedious long winded exhortations. Discourage all religious discussions, Avoid the "tear down spirit;" our work is positive, not negative.

Don't take up precious time telling what you are not but what you are. Do every thing up with a vim and a snap and success will

Reader, how do you manage your meetings?

CHAS. H. GIBBS.

Denver, Col.

Amesbury, Mass.

As I and other comrades of Amesbury, like to read the doings of other branches, I think the branches and readers of The Herald would its containing the following like to hear from us. We are now near the election for town officials for the ensuing year. Our platform is very near Haverhill's of last fall. We have nominated the following candidates for selectmen: Comrade John Miller, a member of form membership and due card, on the firm of Miller Bros., carriage The science of reconstructing the stamp system, which insures makers; James Maycock, a carriage mittee, vice R. Fahloseer, resigned. society on an entirely new basis, by full return of membership from blacksmith; and Jasoo Shafford, a All are straight, honest posed national constitution were ation for that of competition in often evaded, as I know from permen and strong Socialist members voted on with the result that only every branch of human industry.— sonal experience. 3d, a provision of our branch. For assessor for that all candidates of the party three years, John H. Blackstock. The abolition of that individual elected to office shall furnish their For board of health, three years, voted on the next meeting. This action on which modern societies constituents in the party a resig-Dr. J. Q. Adams. For school commissioner, Chas. S. Wingate.

> in the town warrant for discussion week, Feb. 7, we voted in six committee whose duty it is to get a permanent library for our club.

On February 21, Rev. B. Fay Mills will lecture for us in the Opera House. Subject, "The So-If you want to see the kind of cial Revolution." We expect to pledge signed by those who be- have Hon. John C. Chase and Rep. Comrade G. A. Hehn's state few nights before election. I can Missouri) send a few stamps to safely say, to the comrades of the country, the branch at Amesbury is International Bank Building, St. alive to the dangers of this Louis, Mo., and ask her to send economic state in which we live operative commonwealth.

C. W. GREENE.

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

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, . County of shall be known as Local 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, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

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

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members, ject to the jurisdiction of the Namembers / constituting

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if and representatives to the State accepted by a majority vote shall Union shall be elected, who shall member of said branch, and if 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 National Council, or the declaramembership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of m mbership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to pelled by a two-thirds vote of a 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 to the Executive Board of the state, cents to be forwarded to the Nation-

meeting the treasurer shall trans. al Council. mit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal National Council is the organic law money order of their admission fee.

shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of bled or by the general organization January, April, July and October, through the Initiative and Referin such an amount as the local endum. 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 shall remit by postal money order determine the result. the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire PORT ANGELES, WASH., DEC. 7, 1898. membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue little Socialist Daily News going such orders and adopt such meast without a press (except a proof ures, subject to the local branch. as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer or her mite. and organizer, and such others as We reque may be determined, who shall be to Socialism to give this appeal elected at each annual meeting and space, and furthermore we will send serve until their successors are copies of the paper to all those elected and qualified. They shall sending their mite.

perform such duties as appertain Send all remittances to our county local branch may direct. The man Culver. David O'BRIEN, board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required. Port Angeles, Clallam Co., Wash.

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.

No member of the Board shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic

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

JURISDICTION.

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

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five members 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 tion of principles.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or exlocal branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be in good standing and the accused moves and which production in remarkable. Outside the countries shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal and if the decision of that body is I the close of each the Executive Board of the Nation-

AMENDMENTS.

Sec. 23. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the of the organization and can be Sec. 10. The dues of a member altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assem-

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 Referday of each quarter the treasurer endum, and a majority vote shall

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 without a press, (except a proof press), that we appeal to the Socialists throughout the United States to contribute something to get him a press, if it was only five cents each, as with a press we could do an immense amount of good here in the State."

The resolution was adopted 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 their several offices and as the central committe secretary. Her-

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

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

N his work on the "Develop ment 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 tendal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipiency; but already it contains in embryo THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE. 11. Capitalist Revolution .-

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

A.—Severance of the producers like proportions. from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to lite-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 employment 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. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by stock COMPANIES, next by the STATE. The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social

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 capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist quality, and gives their social character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production upon a pre-determined plan becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time ford 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 ts own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act-that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

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

AUSTRIA.

AUSTRIA.	
1895	90,000
1895	750,000
	1.10,000
BELGIUM.	
1894	334,500
1898	534.324
	001,021
DENMARK.	
1872	315
1884	0,805
1884 1887	8,408
1890	17,232
1892	20,098
1895	.25,019
FRANCE.	
1885	30,000
1000	91,000
1888	
1893,	590,000
18981	,000,000
GERMANY.	
	30,000
1867	
1871	101,927
1814	351,670
1877	486,843
1878	437,158
1881	311,961
1994	599,990
1884	
1887	763,128
18901	,427,298
18931	,786,738
1893	,125,000
GREAT BRITA	
1895	55,000
	00,000
ITALY.	
1893	26,000
1895	76,400
1897	134,496
SERVIA.	
	-0.000
1895	50,000
SPAIN.	
1893	7,000
1895	14,800
1897	28,000
1897	20,000
SWITZERLAN	D.
1890	13,5∈0
1893	29,822
1896	36,468
UNITED STAT	ES.
1890	13,704
1891	
1809	16,552
1892	21,512
	THE PARTY OF THE PARTY OF THE
1893	25,666
1894	25,666 30,020
1893 1894 1895	25,666

functions are performed by hired VOTE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

36,275

55,550

70,000

1898..... 9,749

1896

1898 (est.) [©]

1897.....

TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.

LABOR

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE

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(MISSOURI ORGAN.)

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-Social Democratic Party Platform

Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898. OBJECT — The Social Democratic Party America declares its object to be the estilishment of a system of co-operative party duction and distribution, through the storation to the people of all the means production and distribution, to he admistered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete mancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

Social Democratic Party of America. shall have a vote thereon to be

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

hall be known as the Social Demgratic Party of America, and its eadquarters shall be located at ch place as the Executive Board asy decide upon.

HOW ORGANIZED.

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

1st. Local branches limited to

00 members each.

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members shall be estitled to a rep-the payment of quarterly dues.

Section 17. The columns of the

3d. A National Council composed entative for each additional 500 Council. embers or major part thereof. 4th. An Executive Board of five

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Section 3. The Executive Board hall be elected quadrennially by the National Council; having general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt ach measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organation, provided that no action

Section 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the nationevery four years, and their salaries of the members through the refer-

board shall constitute a quorum. the organization as hereinafter pro-

Section 8. Any member of the board, or national officer may be livered to him. poved at any time by the Nation-Council as hereinafter provided. Section 9. No member shall old political office, except under he Social Democratic Party.

cided by the chairman, such demless otherwise ordered by the

Section 11. At each annual meetmg the officers of the board shall mit complete reports of the ransactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 12. The revenue of the ganization shall be derived from madmission fee of twenty-five (25) ents and dues of twenty-five its, payable quarterly in advance, or each member.

Section 13. The funds of the ganization shall be deposited in h bank or banks as the ourd may direct and the National meetary and Treasurer shall be tion. that performance of his duties such an amount as the board y require.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

tion 14. The National Counthall meet annualy on the first

Section 15, The National Coun-Section 1. This organization cil shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation, subject to referendum hereinaf er 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 2d. State Unions before state con- Board, which shall be known as rention of 1900 shall be composed the Social Democratic Herald. of one representative from each local branch; provided that branch-shall be entitled to a converse the shall be entitled to a copy of the having more than twenty-five official paper in consideration of

teenty-five members or major part official organ shall be open at all hereof, after which each state shall times to reasonable criticism and wide its own method of organ discussion of party matters by members of the party.

Section 18. The national conone representative from each ventions of the organization shall ate and territory; provided that be held quadrennial y on the first having more than 500 Tuesday in May, at such place as mbers shall be entitled to a rep-may be determined by the National

REFERENDUM.

Executive Board may be removed reinstated.
by the imperative mandate in the Section 23. The National Exefixed by the Executive Committee the purpose of receiving and acting taken. to be approved by the direct vote as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writ- CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS. No. ing setting forth fully and at large Members of the the grounds upon which the recall Executive Board shall receive no is demanded. Such officers or compensation for their services committee with whom such pet-They shall hold stated meetings on ition is filed shall forthwith deliver Section 6. A majority of the have the right to answer such petoard shall constitute a quorum. ition in writing, which said answer section 7. Any member of the shall be mailed by registered letter board may be removed by a ma. to the officer or committee holding only vote of all the members of said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be de-

The petitioners shall be served

shall mail a complete copy of the declaration of principles. proceedings to the person whose Sec. 4. The officers of the National Council thereon.

by the officer or chairman of the ings in April of each year and such committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amonded at any time to shall constitute a quorum. meet the allegation of the replica-

utive Committee shall not affect the provided that all charges shall be 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 rejection in the official organ, the jection of the Board with the solution. The chairman of the Exec- Social Democratic Herald, with- Sec. 8. No member of the Board shall preside over its in fifteen days from the selection shall hold political office, except

shall have a vote thereon to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Exebranch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be branches, shall be decided by the secretary of the State Union and keep a suppose of the State Union and the Sta

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 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 shal: be mailed to any member of the Council or Executive Board the petitioner may designate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close 20 days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

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

following manner: Any three cutive Board (or any member of it), members of the National Council 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 neglect or refusal to act upon said chairman of the Executive Board, petition within five days after filing who shall cause the same to be the constitution and declaration of with the chairman of the said within 10 days; should said within 10 days; should said within 10 day Executive Board; and upon the man fail to do this, then any five said chairman's neglect or refusal branches, by official action at a to act, by filing such petition with regular meeting, shall have power dorgan (and such other officers three members of the National to call for said vote and the same, asmay 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

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization They shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person Party of America, and its head-quarters shall be located as the shall be known as the union may determine.

HOW ORGANIZED.

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

shall consist of five members forthwith by registered letter from and shall have general supervision the officer or committee holding of the State Union. It shall be the petition with a copy of said empowered to provide such rules, answer, and such petitioners shall issue such orders and adopt such Section 10. All questions not officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten (10) days after receipt of such copy. Thereupon the said officer or with this constitution, the constitucommittee holding said petition tion of the National Council or the

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 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 meetspecial meetings as may be required. Sec. 5. A majority of the Board

Sec. 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a ma-Recall of a member of the Exec- jority vote of all the members.

shall be authorized to fill all vacan-

of said officers, and each member under the Social Democratic Party.

be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive submit complete reports of the tive Board of five members and transactions of their several offices representatives to the National and transmit a copy to each local Council shall be elected, who shall branch.

REVENUES.

Sec. 11. The revenues of the

THE STATE UNION.

The chairman of the Executive the declaration of principles.

announced in the official paper and chairman, such decisions to be final correct record of its proceedings, the polls shall close 20 days after and in full effect unless otherwise submitting a copy of the same to

the date calling for the referendum.

Section 21. The National Sector Editor may Sec. 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall ing of the State Union an Executive Sec. 13. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall ing of the State Union an Executive Sec. 13. serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified

Sec. 14. The State Union shall organization shall be derived from enact such laws as may be necesprotest, serving a copy on the such sources as the State Union sary, determine the policy of the may determine. things required to c rry out 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 constimembers may determine, in April. tution of the National Council or

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tive body of the state. Sec. 3. The Executive Board Musicians' Mutual Benefit Ass'n.

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RECALL OF OFFICERS.

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INTERNATIONAL.

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

In 1897, the Social Democratic party of Sweden had 27,136 members. In 1898 the total membership had increased to 35,000 members in 314 local organizations.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

Comrade H. M. Hyndman has

BERLIN, GERMANY,

places as there are churches, and ranging from 300 to 1000 men and you will it. And union is victory. women.

BRAUNSCWEIG, GERMANY.

The Social Democratic Party of this city has re-elected, by a great majority, Comrade Ricke to the city council. Our comrades feelsure of electing two more of their candidates in the by-elections.

ESSEN, GERMANY.

helm's desperate government.

BRESLAU, GERMANY,

fending the rights of the wage the negroes; influenced by the working proletariat. Still, the extremely cold weather and the cause of Socialism is proudly hardships they have endured here, marching on.

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

The misery and starvation among the Russian rural population is in- Illine is Coal Mining Company of review of the progress of organized creasing daily. spreading like wild-fire in various and abandoned their shafts, throwparts of the empire and Socialism ing 50 miners out of employment, is getting a strong foothold in the the local organization of the Nagreat industrial and commercial tional Association of Mine Workers centers. The first straight labor decided to give up its charter and paper under the censorship has dissolve and, accordingly, the charjust made its appearance in this ter was returned to the national city.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

Some time ago the leader of the striking miners in the Charleroi district, Comrade Moineau, a Social Democrat, was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on the old place at once. capitalist charge of "inciting riot and conspiring for anarchistic pur-poses." Now the National Execu-

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

Here is a little illustration of the sacrifices made by the Hungarian proletariat for the International Social Democratic movement, since Premier Banffy came into power, 44 were killed, 114 seriously wounded; meetings were prohibited in 56 cities and towns; 259 workmen were arrested and kept in prison for many months without any just cause. 216 workmen were exiled; 34 were seriously wounded end maltreated while in prison. All in all our Hungarian comrades were "blessed" with 62,495 days, or 171 years and 80 days of impris-onment as a "reward" for their fearless propaganda of Social Democracy since Banffy's ascension to the ministerial throne. Besides they had to pay a money fine of 33,504 crowns. These heroic sacand aspiration.

PARIS, FRANCE.

five great national organizations, as product. Later it was found wise well as groups of "Independents." to prepare an entirely new law and But our comrades do not regard repeal the old one if possible. this as a satisfactory or conclusive arrangement. They are for complete fusion, and there is undoubtedly a growing feeling in its favor among the members of the different been appointed chairman of the sections. Jaures deals in a master-International Peace Demonstration ly manner with the various objecarranged by the Social Democratic tions which may be urged against Federation. The demonstration thorough amalgamation, and urges will be held at St. James Hall, that the hour has come for its complete realization. Liebknecht points out that practically all the the Twentieth Century Press, 37a In this city the Social Democrats leaders of the different sections are have three times as many meeting in favor of union, and concludes: "This union, this organization, at Paris, founded five years ago by while the latter are empty, the this discipline, you will have it. the Count of Chambrun, now conformer are crowded with audiences No. You have it already, because tains about 14,000 volumes. al congress of 1900.

NATIONAL.

PANA, ILL.

A possibility of the settlement of The Prussian government has the miners' strike, which has caused ordered 230 Russian workings to great disorder here for several leave Prussian territory immediate. months and cost the state thouly. The Socialists are protesting sands of dollars in the maintenance against this arbitrary action of Wil- of several companies of militia, has been brought about through the presence of President Farley, of the United Mine Workers of Ala-American 'comrades, read this: bama. Farley is offering the negro Since 1890 the editors of the Social miners who were imported by the Democratic daily paper "Volks Pana operators free transportation wacht" in this city have been to Alabama and higher wages at blessed with 11 years imprison- Birmingham and Bessemer than bers, an income of \$8,378,225, exment and 20,000 marks fine for de- they are receiving here. Many of are accepting the offer.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

When, a few weeks since, the Capitalism is Bloomington went out of business evolution throughout the world. body and the local union abandoned. Several meetings of Bloomington mine workers have since been held, for the purpose of reorganizing the local union. It is now announced that the reorganization will take

HAVANA, CUBA.

Now the National Execu- United Railways of Havana struck sufficient vacant land for extentive of our patry decided to recom- for higher wages. They demand sions. There are 800 shareholders mend that one of the present So- \$34.50 per month instead of \$18, and the institute is in a fiourishing resign, that Comrade Moineau be received \$34.50 before the war, but Ex-Senator George F. Edmunds, nominated in his place and if electisince the insurgents began to stop who has been an authority for the ed to the chamber of deputies the trains the company reduced their republican party up to these goverment will be compelled to wages. As a result of the strike days of "benevolent assimilation," open the prison doors for the comthere were for some days no trains and is an opponent of imperialism, for Matanzas, Guanajay or Guanaasks this question: "How will such bacoa. The manager of the com- of our 'bishops, priests and deapany sent a verbal message to the strikers that their demand would be have appeared to favor the scheme satisfied, but the latter refused to return to work with only a verbal promise. A number of the strikers went to the office of the manager to demand that he sign a written promise. Trey finally became riotous, and Gens. Menocal and police, respectively, went to the office. The chiefs advised the men is scarcely equipped and started in his profession before he Cardenas, first and second chiefs of to return to work, promising that their wages would be advanced. Their advice was accepted, and the nearer prosperity at thirty-five than strikers went to work, but the engineers sent an ultimatum to the manager, demanding that their wages be placed on the same basis they were before the war.

PUEBLO, COL.

Some months ago two or three wages of his life between twenty rifices of our comrades in Hungary non-union printers in Pueblo de- and thirty. If the young workingshould inspire the Secialists of all vised and began to use a label exman has all his wages too long countries with new energy, hope actly similar to the International to himself, he will probably estab-Typographical Union label. The lish habits of personal comfort The new Socialist magazine, Le once taken to prosecute these un- which, perhaps, he can never over-Mouvement Socialiste contains two fair men under the state label law, come.'

articles, one by Jaures and the under which the Typographical other by Liebknecht, in favor of Union label was registered with the complete union of the Social- the Secretary of State, but it was ist movement in France. Much found that the law as it stands now has been done already to bring protects all kinds of labels except about the unity of the party. The trades union labels, and at the united action of the different sec- suggestion of counsel the proposed tions in the chamber, and combi- suit was dropped and arrangements nations outside for special objects made to amend he present law as have led to the formation of a would protect honorable workmen comite d'entente, representing the who use a label to distinguish their

How he World Wags.

Local branches of the I. L. P. and S. D. F. in England are federating for propaganda purposes.

Londoners drink 275,000,000 gallons of water and 153,000,000 gallons of beer annually.

Clerkenwell Green, London.

The library of LeMusee Social

John Burns welcomes a decision Everything points to the perfect of the Battersea vestrymen to en-consolidation of Socialist forces in courage boxing, because "he be-France before the great Internation- lieves that no sport does so much good to those who practice it."

The six great European powers, without counting the lesser states, now spend every year \$1,100,000,-000 in preparation for war, and each year the drain increases.

In addition to the Independent Labor Party and the Social Democratic Federation in England, there are about a scor : independent Socialist societies.

The Fabian Society of London has 112 circulating book boxes, or small libraries in constant circulation among the I. L. P. and S. D. F. branches and trade unions of England,

One hundred trade unions in Great Britain have 966,953 mempenditures amounting to \$6,196,150 and a balance in hand of \$10,844,-

Joseph Edwards, editor of the Labour Annual, announces the Re-

Pastor Paul Göhre, the leading social writer among the German clergy, says that it is useless to expect the return of the masses to the Christianity as taught and practiced by the churches of today.

Robert Blatchford in the Clarion says "Our men and women are too deeply and entirely engrossed in the one topic." It's a good thing to know "How the World Wags" in literature and science, as well ain its economics.

The Socialists of Bradford, England, have what is known as the The firemen employed by the Bradford Labor Institute, with

> cons' and religious newspapers as find authority in the greatest and best of all books given to mankind -the New Testament-for this new enterprise now proposed for our Republic?"

> Miss Jane Addams in the Atlantic Monthly, says: "A professional is thirty; a business man, if he is on the road to success, is much at twenty-five, and it is therefore wise for these men not to marry in the twenties. But this does not apply to the workingman. In many trades he is laid upon the shelf at thirty-five, and in nearly all trades he receives the largest

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purpose was undoubtedly to de-which he can not keep up when he ceive the public. Steps were at has to divide with a family—habits

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