

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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No Laws, No Rights of Property should Stand Against those who Create Property.

## Stop and Think.

Why do you work so hard? Why do you eat so little? Why is the food you do eat of such poor quality and so badly cooked? The best ought to be none too good for you. But you don't get the best. Why not? Because, in the language of Si Drake, you are a wooden man. You work and sweat and starve to produce profits so that others may live in luxury. This is bad for them and bad for you. You need not expect them to kick. Why don't you kick? Again, because you are a wooden man.

You ought to THINK first. Then you could work short hours under pleasant conditions and eat and drink and wear the best.

You who toil have a right to the best and plenty of it, for you produce it all. You will wake up some day and find this out. Then you will kick yourself. You will also kick some other people. Some people who don't deserve it may get kicked, just as some people who don't deserve it now get starved. But on the whole your kicking will promote the cause of righteousness, and the sooner you begin to kick the better it will be for you and for your owners, for, I am sorry to say, you are slaves, though you may not know it.

Just let me tell you how little work and land is actually necessary to feed you and your families in such luxury as you never dreamed of.

The city of Paris, France, contained in 1886 (including the Department of Seine and Seine-et-Oise) a population of 3,600,000; the area of districts in acres was 1,507,310, and the average number of inhabitants per acre, 2.39-100.

To feed this population on the best of meat, vegetables, fruit and every good thing imaginable, one of our greatest scientists has calculated, this land might be divided thus:

Wheat and other grains.....	494,200
Natural and artificial meadows...	494,200
Vegetables and fruits, from 17,297 to.....	24,710
Leaving for houses, roads, parks, woods, etc.....	494,200

Total.....1,507,310

The same scientific authority has calculated the amount of labor per year necessary to improve and cultivate this acreage, as follows. The figures represent working days of 5 hours each:

Wheat, culture and harvest.....	15,000,000
Meadows for milk and cattle raising.....	10,000,000
Market-gardening, fruits, luxuries, etc.....	33,000,000
Unforeseen labor.....	12,000,000

Total.....70,000,000

On the supposition that half only of the healthy adults (men and women) are willing to engage in agriculture, it is seen that it is necessary to divide 70,000,000 days' work among 1,200,000 individuals, which gives PER ANNUM 58 days' work of 5 hours for each one of these workers.

If Paris is too far away, it may help you to see what this means if you substitute Greater New York for Paris, and for the land area of Paris and the two Departments of the Seine and Seine-et-Oise, the following New Jersey counties: Somerset, Hunterdon, Middlesex, Warren, Morris and Sussex.

Bring all the people in Greater New York out here into these counties, and the figures given above remain true. In fact they understate the case.

Or to take the census of 1890, put into those same counties the population of old New York (before the consolidation), Philadelphia, St. Louis and the whole state of New Jersey and the same figures remain true.

This shows how much you might get and how little you might work. You know how hard you do work and how little you get. Think about this long enough and you will see light. When you see light you will kick.

A. B. C.

It is not surprising to learn that one of the principals in the great counterfeiting case is a prominent republican and a personal friend and adherent of the "honorable" Matt Quay.

A new edition of the Leaflets, Nos. 1 and 2, has just been printed. The free use of these for campaign purposes and at all other times will interest people.

## OUR NEW YORK LETTER.

Events have crowded upon each other so fast during the past week that it would take much more space than THE HERALD could afford to relate them all. And New York, though it be the metropolis of the United States, cannot hope to monopolize our official organ. There are others—Massachusetts for instance. "Boston" take notice.

First, let it be recorded that the second anniversary festival of the Forward on the 21st, was what it was expected to be, a success. Nearly three thousand friends and comrades were present, and if the affair had been held on Saturday instead of Friday, there would have been many more on hand. Comrades John C. Chase, James F. Carey and Louis Scates, accompanied by Comrades Frank Reid, City Assessor of Haverhill, and Chas. Pearson arrived on Friday morning and spent the day being interviewed by local comrades and getting acquainted. All of them received an enthusiastic and tumultuous reception when they faced the crowd at Grand Central Palace at night, and they all acknowledged that Massachusetts was not the only Socialist pebble on the capitalistic beach.

Comrade M. Winchevsky, as usual, was chairman, a function which our comrade knows well how to fill. How well may be judged by his apt quotation from J. G. Whittier's poem "To the Shoemakers," on opening the meeting. Whittier, be it noted, was born in Haverhill, and the following lines quoted by Comrade Winchevsky, in the light of recent events in a Social Democratic way in that now famous city, are somewhat in the nature of a prophecy:

"The foremost still, by day or night  
On moated mound or heather,  
Where'er the need of trampled right  
Brought toiling men together;  
Where the free burghers from the wall  
Defied a mail clad master  
Than yours, at Freedom's trumpet call,  
No craftsmen rallied faster."

Comrade Leonard D. Abbott in a happy little impromptu speech came first on the program, and was followed by Comrade Carey, who received a reception excelled only by the one given Mayor Chase. Carey had been here before, but our mayor hadn't, and that made the difference. Comrade Scates, in recognition of the occasion, also made a speech, which, while not quite as eloquent as the others was as full of feeling and Socialism as could be desired. Comrade Reid told us some good stories, how glad he was to be in New York and several other things. Reid was voted a warm member, especially when it became known that he was tax assessor and that his special business was to make the capitalists (?) squirm.

It was several minutes before Comrade Chase could begin to speak, when he was introduced. Chase may fill more responsible positions before he dies, but it is safe to say he will never receive anywhere a warmer or more sincere greeting from any body of Socialists. And his talk suited the occasion and the times exactly. Comrade Louis Miller, editor of the Forward, and as eloquent a speaker as exists in the labor movement, delivered one of his characteristic speeches, and the musical program followed. This was exceptionally good, every artiste receiving encores and every number was warmly appreciated.

Dancing followed among the younger folk, and the older and more sedate of the visitors passed several pleasant hours talking over times past and to come. It was an event long to be remembered by everyone fortunate to be there. The only regret one could feel was that such occasions are all too rare. Nowhere on the continent, yes, on the globe could there be gathered a crowd among the grand spirit of brotherhood beats stronger and warmer than among those whose energies are being spent in the service of the Social Democratic Party in Greater New York.

On Saturday evening, Comrade Chase, Comrade Abe Cahan of this city, took a flying trip to Philadelphia, where another big meeting was held. On Sunday, Chase was back in New York in time to address, upon invitation, the Central Federation Union in the afternoon. The hall was crowded with delegates and visitors, who applauded the address from beginning to the end. A rising vote of thanks was unanimously given at the conclusion and it was generally conceded that the Socialist

mayor of Haverhill made the biggest kind of a hit with a Socialist speech and before a much abused "pure and simple" union at that. From the Central Federated Union, Comrade Chase went to the People's Club and told how things were run in Haverhill.

Meanwhile, Comrades Carey, Scates and Reid, were not idle. In company with several New York comrades they went to Yonkers on Saturday night, where an exciting and interesting meeting was held. Here we had a chance to see Comrade Carey "shine," "turn white" and show various other reputed symptoms of fear at being asked questions anent the S. D. P., "armories," "the farmer's plank" and several other things that make life miserable for certain folks. Before the meeting closed the questioners learned a great deal more about the Social Democratic party than they had ever known before. It will not be long before Yonkers boasts of a branch of our party.

On Sunday afternoon, Comrade Carey should and would have spoken to a meeting at Newark had not circumstances prevented him from finding the hall. We learn since that a large audience was disappointed but it wasn't our fault. On Sunday night a splendid meeting was held in Arlington hall, East Eighth street, under the direction of the West Side Branch, and, after Comrade Carey's eloquent speech, the audience was treated to a sample of the peculiar tactics of a certain organization whose mission in New York seems to be to ask questions, break up meetings where their own "orators" do not speak, and in other ways make the Socialist movement ridiculous in the eyes of the people. But Carey more than held his own and in a manner that only seemed to increase the confidence we have in his ability and integrity. I wish I could report both this and the Yonkers meeting in detail. It would explain better than anything else the situation in New York and the justification for the existence of the S. D. P. It will be seen from this abbreviated report that we availed ourselves fully of the presence of the Haverhill comrades in New York, and we are already beginning to feel the benefit of their visit, during which they so generously combined business with pleasure. The general opinion of the unprejudiced members and non-members, who have heard and met them is that we have no reason to be ashamed of our representatives. They are all right, sure enough.

The demonstration of the Central Federated Union and the Social Democratic party on next Saturday is expected to be a big thing in its way. There will be a parade followed by a mass meeting on Union Square. Among the speakers invited are Comrades E. V. Debs, John C. Chase, John F. Tobin, Jas. F. Carey, Joseph Barondess, L. Miller, I. Phillips and other prominent members of the party. All shades of radical opinions will be represented, the only requisite being that the speakers stand for greater freedom for labor. The May day conference of the Socialist Labor party refused to act in conjunction with the Central Federated Union and the S. D. P. in holding a united demonstration, and adopted a resolution not to recognize the C. F. U. until the organization was pledged to vote the Socialist Labor party ticket. The first of May was claimed as Socialists day.

Comrade Joseph Barondess lectures for the West Side Branch next Sunday on "The Concentration of Wealth," at Crystal hall, 352 W. 35th street. This will be the final series of the season, the other lectures being as follows:

May 7, "Machinery," Comrade Albert L. Vogel.

May 14, "Taxation and Socialism," Comrade Louis Miller.

May 21, "Free Silver vs. Free Men," Comrade Meyer London.

Visitors are cordially invited to attend all these lectures. Admission free, and lectures are followed by questions and discussion. And that's all this week. Ain't you glad? I am.

TOUCHSTONE.  
New York, April 27th.

With the reported cessation in the roar of battle in the Philippines, Mr. McKinley is hearing from the country on the question of criminal aggression in a manner that must make the "benevolent assimilator" very uncomfortable.

INVITE YOUR FRIENDS TO SUBSCRIBE.

## The Rostrum.

Carey in the Massachusetts House on Contempt of Court and Trial by Jury.

The following is a brief extract of a speech made by Comrade Carey in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, April 26, upon a bill introduced by him to provide trial by jury in case of contempt of court, which was reported unanimously "ought not to pass" by the Joint Judiciary Committee:

"Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the House to the provision of the bill reported upon adversely by the Judiciary Committee. It provides first the right of all persons charged with contempt of court to demand and obtain a trial by jury; second, it provides that the trial shall take place before a court other than the one against which the offense is charged to have been committed; third, it provides that the judge involved shall be permitted only to submit the documents that relate to the case and shall not appear as a witness. The necessity for the passage of this act is to be found in certain facts of economic development. Originally in this country when all the citizens possessed property, the summary process of contempt proceedings may not have been open to question, each citizen possessed property and to protect one against another diverting a water course or cutting timber upon the land of the first, or in any way injuring the property rights of another, I do not criticize, as there was in degree an economic equality existing at that time; but owing to the industrial development all property has passed into the hands of a class—a small portion of the citizens of this republic and this process, designed to protect a property holding people in their individual equal right, has been transformed into a means of tyranny exercised by the possessing class against the class that has been dispossessed. In other words, the individual property of yesterday has become capitalist property, and advantage has been taken of the law of contempt proceedings that has caused it to become an engine of destruction against the working class. The "ancient good"—if you wish to call it such—has become by processes of time and economic evolution, uncouth, hence the need of law such as this bill proposes, designed to meet the changed conditions. As illustrating this fact I call the attention of the House to the use of this process in cases of strikes. The property holding class appeal to the courts to "enjoin" the strikers, and they—the strikers—have the alternative of ceasing battle for their rights or being dragged before a single judge too often prejudiced by association and training, and at the very best without the power to change the law, law made to meet entirely different conditions than now exists.

Within this session of this body this process has been taken advantage of by the shoe manufacturers of Marlboro against their striking employees. At the request of the manufacturers a drag net injunction has been issued against the shoeworkers of that city, and the men and women placed by their brothers and sisters upon their executive committee are dragged back and forth from Marlboro to Boston at the pleasure of the manufacturers and the whim of the court, the purpose and result being to rob the union of the presence of its officers and to make cowards of those heroic men and women by the very uncertainty, vagueness and obscurity of the process, and thus to weaken the strike. From my own experience during strikes I know this to be true. During the last great strike in Haverhill in which I took part, we were enjoined from "persuading or attempting to persuade" persons from entering the employ of the firms against whom we struck, this must we do else the judge issuing the injunction could cause us to be brought before him, and there surrounded by all the form and clothed with all the majesty and power of a legal monarch it was within his power to inflict any sentence, however extreme, without trial by jury, without right of his victims to appeal. I submit, Sir, that this is a power dangerous to the liberties of the people, a power that is being and has been misused, a power used to tyrannize over and to degrade the working class."

Carey was answered by the republican leaders, two lawyers, one of whom said [Continued on fourth page.]



# THE RIGHT TO WORK.

An Address Delivered by H. A. Gibbs,  
M. D., Worcester, Mass., before  
the Social Democratic  
Auxiliary Society.

IN the early ages before man had evolved from the savage state his wants were simple and the efforts necessary to supply these wants were equally simple. Through the slow growth of ages he has evolved from that savage condition and has become a member of a complex social body, and out of the very complexity of his social life and relations has sprung a multitude of different occupations. It would be useless to attempt to classify them here. It is sufficient for our present purpose to know that they all possess the common quality of being socially useful and therefore socially necessary under our present system.

Stripped of all our artificial classifications every form of human effort from that of the ditch-digger to that of the college professor can be reduced at last to the common equation of social utility. Pascal has truly said: "Men live and die, but they only live in so far as they contribute to the growth of humanity."

The right to work then is the right to live. Not merely to eat, sleep and breathe, but to recognize one's self as an integral part of an organic whole and to contribute one's share to the uplift and up-building of society. I am, however, more concerned with the practical than with the ideal side of the subject. To the great wage-working class the opportunity to work has become synonymous with the pursuit of "life, liberty and happiness." It is the whole which is the greater than any of these, its parts. It is original property right, for it antedates the magna charta and extends back to the Garden of Eden. The wage-worker without work is a man without a country, without social standing or political liberty, without the means of subsistence or of protection for himself or family. Put yourself in his place and you will begin to realize what life is from which all the happiness has been drained and in which nothing but the bitterest dregs remain.

But why do we speak of the right to work. We have long heard of the dignity of labor. We have often heard of the duty to work. Why is it now put as a thing to be asserted, as our fathers asserted their rights. Must we amend that original Declaration of Independence so as to include the inalienable right to work? Answer unhesitatingly, yes, and we are forced to it exactly as our forefathers were by the stern logic of necessity.

In the primitive state every man was a society unto himself. Every man possessed all the tools of production which any other man possessed and if he did not work then it was no one's fault but his own. There was no need then of proclaiming the right to work.

All this however has changed. No one man to-day, even though a Vanderbilt or a Rockefeller, can possess more than an infinitesimal part of the tools necessary to supply his own demands. A thousand forms of machinery are doing his work for him, but instead of owning that machinery himself, and making it his servant, he has allowed a few to obtain complete possession of it and it has become his master. He himself has become but a part of the machine, valued in the industrial world, as is any other piece of machinery, by just what it will cost to reproduce him and keep him running. I may go a step further and say that in our present system he has become the least important part of machinery. Iron wheels can outrun him. Iron fingers can outwork him and with every new labor saving invention men are turned adrift exactly as the obsolete machine is thrown out upon the rubbish heap. Every business,

every industry, every profession, whether conscious or unconscious, is suffering from this blight of displaced labor, and the time has come for asserting man's divine right to the means of subsistence and development, his divine right to work. But is it really true that men are being made tramps by the thousand, that men and women too are seeking work which they cannot obtain. Did not President McKinley himself declare at that famous banquet given to the horny-fisted sons of toil at \$20 per plate, that we had passed from labor seeking employment to employment seeking labor? Has not the monopoly-subsidized press been declaring for a year that prosperity was thundering at our very doors, yea, even climbing in at our back windows via China and the Philippines? Have not the cotton manufacturers restored the old scale of wages and has not the great wire trust made a ten per cent raise right here in our own city? Surely no one but a "calamity howler" can now talk of the right to work! Yes, but the very same paper which brought this cheering news informed its readers also that wire goods were steadily advancing, cotton goods were going up, and the iron market was booming at the rate of dollars per ton, all of which simply means that these self same employees who are hugging the fond delusion that their wages have been raised, must eventually "pay the freight." What they put into one pocket in the form of increased wages goes out of the other in the form of increased prices. The capitalist gets the credit of having raised wages. The employee goes cheerfully and contentedly to his toil, blissfully unconscious that he is being robbed, that he is only forging chains for his children and his children's children. His wages have been raised. He burns red fire in jubilation. The dance of death goes merrily on. How long, O Lord, how long will this bamboozling process continue? Just so long as the wage-worker will consent to his own undoing and no longer.

In one edition of this same paper also I read of an able-bodied man who had committed suicide because he could obtain no work. I read of a mother who had taken her own life and that of her three children rather than face the gaunt wolf of starvation longer. I read also of sixty girls right here in Worcester, who by some strange miscalculation had not heard of "employment seeking labor," putting up their last dollar with an unscrupulous agent to obtain work. The agent, too, had somehow failed to make connection with the prosperity procession for he had no work to give them.

And so in spite of the beating of the partisan tom-toms the steady tramp, tramp, tramp of the army of the unemployed falls upon our ears. It is an army whose promotions are always in a descending scale from honest mechanic to unemployed workman, hobo and thief. It is an army which knows only defeat. A mighty host, weary and foot sore, disheartened and discouraged, whose numbers can only go on increasing so long as the conditions which produce it continue under our present industrial system.

Three years ago in the streets of Boston I witnessed a scene which made an indelible impression upon my mind. It was after one of our heavy snow storms and the superintendent of one of the street car sections had advertised for two hundred men to shovel snow. He had only the two hundred shovels to give out, but long before the time announced, the street in front of the car barn was filled with a crowd estimated at a thousand men. The superintendent tried at first to give out the shovels on the

principle of first come, first served, but the clamor of the men making this impossible, he finally threw them out into the street and let the men scramble for them. There followed such a scene as I had never witnessed before. The men fought each other like hungry tigers. The shovels were used as weapons. Blows were given and blood flowed freely till finally a detachment of police put in an appearance and quelled the riot.

As I watched that scene I saw portrayed as by a flash-light our present industrial system in all its naked ugliness. I saw on the one hand a vast aggregation of wealth in the hands of a grasping corporation, a corporation which has been granted franchises after franchise in the streets of Boston and neighboring cities without a dollar of compensation to these municipalities; a corporation whose corrupting influence had been felt in the city government and which had openly boasted that no man could be elected president of the state senate unless he would do its bidding. A corporation which had paid a seven per cent dividend on a capital stock which had been watered out of all semblance to its real value. I saw on the other hand a thousand men, men endowed, so our forefathers said, with the inalienable right to the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness, yet here under the very eaves of Faneuil Hall, under the very shadow of Bunkerhill struggling like a pack of wild beasts for what—struggling for something which is the God-given heritage of every human being on the footstool, struggling for something which ought to be as free to every man as the very air he breathes; struggling for the right to work, struggling for the opportunity to earn an honest living by an honest day's toil. In the background also I saw cold and cheerless homes. I saw wan-faced wives and children whose bodies bore the pinch marks of hunger.

Here were the two extremes of our capitalist system. Both of them its logical and legitimate product. At that time I was a prohibitionist. I had joined the party when it stood as the only organized protest against republican and democratic corruption. I had believed that poverty and crime was the direct result of the saloon. I had proclaimed this doctrine from the hills of Berkshire to the sand of Cape Cod; but that scene was a revelation to me. It was one of those moments when a man lives a great deal in a very short space of time. I couldn't see a drunken man in that whole crowd. There wasn't a grog-shop in sight. The saloon "wasn't in it." I turned away, registering the vow in my heart, as Abraham Lincoln did in his, when for the first time he saw a slave sold at the auction block, and he said to himself: "If I ever get a chance to hit that damnable thing, I'll hit it hard." But has capitalism any remedy for this blight of displaced labor? You might as well expect the oak to cease bearing acorns. I am willing to give the system the credit of saying that I believe it would present a remedy if it had one. These evils are not mere excrescences. They are part and parcel of the system. The same inexorable law which drives the laborer out, compels the capitalist to do it, or else be driven out himself. We will never displace the hobo till we have displaced our present industrial system. Capitalism stands impotent and dumb before this curse of displaced labor.

Socialism, however, presents a remedy as simple as truth, as easy as love, and as unfeeling as justice. We declare that every man who is willing to work should have the opportunity to work. That the man who can't work should be treated exactly as we treat the infirm of our own families, and that the man who won't work, who will add nothing to the sum total of human productivity, we care not whether he dwell in a hovel or a palace, whether he travel incognito by freight or in a private car, should be treated as a social parasite.

No Socialist expects to reach that elysium of Charles Kingsley's Water Babies, where we can all

"sit under flap doodle trees and have the flap-doodles drop into our mouth" but we do demand for every worker his full share of the product of his toil. They are one and inseparable. They are the twins in the zodiac of economic science. We challenge any person to successfully dispute the righteousness of these demands. This is equity. This is applied Christianity. This is Socialism. These two demands are mutually dependent upon the social ownership of the means and machinery of production. How can every man have the opportunity to produce, to work? We answer, only by giving to every producer his full share of the product of his toil. So long as wage-workers, the only wealth creators, are systematically robbed of a share of their product, so long will their capacity to consume be crippled to just the extent they are robbed. The worker is deprived of the necessities and luxuries of life and other workers are deprived of the opportunity to produce them for him. Every dollar thus abstracted from its rightful possessor entails an endless chain of misery, touching and blighting every industry.

We hear much in these days about overproduction and the need of expansion as an outlet for our surplus goods, but does anyone suppose that the seventy million people of our country have all the necessities, to say nothing of luxuries, of life? So long as there is a single cold and cheerless home, so long as there is a single barefoot boy, or ragged girl from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate, don't talk to me about overproduction. The great law of our industrial interests to-day is not overproduction but underconsumption and improper distribution brought about by the fact that the producer is separated from his product and receives but a small share of it. But how can every worker be assured of the full value of his product? Only by society as a whole owning and operating the means and machinery of production. The capitalist system has already demonstrated that such a thing as justice between man and man; employer and employee is an impossibility under it. The exploitation of the wage-workers is the very life-blood of capitalism without which it could not exist for a single day. Collective ownership and operation must take its place, and this is society's right.

No one individual to-day can put his finger even on a pin and say, I produced this. Take this simplest and tiniest expression of human industry, trace it back through all the varied processes of production to its origin, and you will have traced the history of the human race, yea of the universe itself. Indeed we may say of it as the poet said of the tiny flower growing from the wall:—

"If I knew the all in all,  
I should know what God and man is."

If this is true of the simplest form of expression it is even more true of the complex forms. From the tiny pin to the mighty locomotive which thunders along on steel highways, we can say of them all, society invented, society constructed, society operates and to society they should belong. In the high realms of human thought, in art, in literature, in philosophy, in law we are simply the heirs of the ages past. Even our boasted property-rights to which we cling so tenaciously and which are the greatest hindrance of social re-organization, these are the outgrowth of society, the creation of society, the free gift of society and to society they should revert the moment their use by the individual becomes inimical to the welfare of the whole. We stand to-day on the threshold of a new century. All the centuries of the past are pouring their golden gifts of invention, of art, of literature, of law into the lap of the present. These things are not the exclusive property of a favored few. These things are ours. Ours as the common gifts of a common father. Ours by all the divine rights of inheritance, and it is full time for society to assert its birth-right. Full time for collective humanity to enter into its heritage.

I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. I am no dreamer

of dreams, but my eyes have already seen the eastern horizon aglow with the morning beams of a better day. We are emerging from the mists and darkness of individualism into the broad sunlight of collectivism. We are coming to realize with James G. Holland that "Humanity is one, and we must all rise or fall together." Competition is smouldering in the socket. It has burnt itself out. Society can progress no further under the law of "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." The brighter day of industrial co-operation is spreading on, yea, faster than you and I dream of.

Aid its dawning, tongue and pen,  
Aid it, hopes of honest men,  
Aid it paper; aid it type;  
Aid it, for the hour is ripe."

When that day shall come the capitalist and the tramp alike shall be things of the past. The mighty army of unemployed shall be mustered out and take its place again in the ranks of useful producers. Then, indeed, shall we be a people "blessed with plenty, purified with justice and sweetened with brotherly kindness." Then, indeed, shall we be a nation "in which dwelleth righteousness," because founded on economic equity.

## Gleanings.

In Mayence, Germany, the city council decided to pension employees who have worked for the municipality 10 years or over. The pension will be 20 to 40 per cent. of the wages received.

The International Socialist Congress, as a preliminary to the Universal Congress at Paris, in 1900, will be held at Brussels on May 21. Hyndman, Tom Mann and Fred. Brocklehurst will represent England.

A pauper woman in Paris has been convicted of having had her child baptised fourteen times as a Catholic and twelve times as a Protestant for the purpose of securing five francs and a dress each time.

A system of pauper classification is to be tried in the Leeds Workhouse, where paupers receiving the approval of the guardians will be permitted to wear "non-distinctive" dress and to enjoy other privileges.

An old-age pensions bill has been drafted by the Victoria (Australia) Premier. So far as is known, the funds for the pensions will be provided out of the revenue, as in New Zealand, and there will be a distinction between the different grades of deserving cases.

The Columbian government has taken alarm at a threat of the gold mine owners to reduce wages if the men do not turn out as much work under the recently-legalized eight-hour day as they did under the old ten-hour regime. The government has decided not to enforce the eight-hour law.

One of the two professors who will represent Germany at the Hague-Disarmament Conference is Baron von Stengel, author of "Der ewige Friede," in which he maintains that peace is rather a danger than a blessing for humanity, even the Bible being full of war. War, he says, lies in the divine order of things. Art, trade, industry—all are indebted to war. Baron von Stengel does not know whether it is madness or crime to preach eternal peace to Germans.

At the last Anthropological Congress, one professor of criminology, dealing with crime and its relation to trades and professions showed 0.84 per cent. in a group of 10,000 farmers to be criminals; in trades, 1 per cent.; in manufactures 1.32 per cent.; while in the professions the rate was as high as 2.30 per cent. This last, a seeming paradox, amounts to this: The greater number of criminals are found among those who toil with their brains rather than with their hands. The 2.30 per cent. of criminals in the professions is thus distributed: In a group of 10,000 clergymen, 0.71 per cent. are criminals; teachers, 1.58; physicians, 1.86; chemists and apothecaries, 3.79; government employees, 7.15; and diplomatists, lawyers, notaries, et al., 28.14. And thus is again confirmed the scientific axiom that "the occasion makes the rogue."



# PIONEER SOCIALISTS OF THE WORLD

FREDERICK ENGELS.

FREDERICK ENGELS was born at Barmen, Germany, November 28, 1820. Went to the University, and, after a brilliant career, entered a commercial life. His parents were of the middle class. In 1842 he went into business in Manchester as a cotton spinner, and in 1844 went to Paris, where he met Karl Marx, and formed a friendship which never faltered. For 40 years the friendship deepened and only two instances in the whole range of literary friendship have two minds represented such union as was seen throughout the entire intercourse between these two comrades in arms. Engels, together with Marx, established the German Workingmen's Association in Brussels, in 1845. In 1847, Engels and Marx issued the famous Communist manifesto. In 1848, Engels went to Germany, and the following year he underwent his baptism of fire as a political agitator at the time of the Elberfeld rising. For the prominent part he took in this matter, the government ordered him to leave Prussian territory. He returned to England, and shortly afterwards, jointly with Marx, established the historic "International." After Marx's death, in 1883, Engels though seldom appearing in public, became the leader of international Socialism, for which his marvelous memory, his business capacity, his linguistic powers (speaking ten languages), and his rigid integrity, made him well fitted. When Marx died he left unprepared all his manuscripts, and Engels undertook the difficult task of editing his "Capital." However, he did not live to issue the last volume. He died on the 5th of August, 1895, and was afterwards cremated at Woking, England. The contributions of Engels are very important. His "Scientific Socialism" and "Condition of the Working Classes in England," in 1884, are well known. His most important contribution to economics was that he was the first to maintain the proposition: "That the natural, that is the normal price of labor power coincides with the minimum of wages, that is with the value equivalent of the means of subsistence absolutely necessary to the life and propagation of the laborer." "Modern Socialism," Engels says, "is the result of the opposition of classes, the proletariat and the unpropertied, the capitalists and the wage earners, and the anarchy which prevails in production, though theoretically it owes its origin to the French movements of last century. Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice, and needs only to be discovered in order by its power to conquer the world." He dates scientific Socialism from Marx's discovery of Mehrwerth, or surplus value. It is shown that the appropriation of labor which is not paid for is the primal form of the capitalistic mode of production, and the exploitation of the laborer entailed by it, that the capitalist, even when he buys the labor of his workmen at the full market value, derives more value from it than he pays for; that this surplus value forms the basis and substance of the capital now in the hands of the propertied class. In competition, expression is given to the state of war which prevails throughout modern society. For this war, which is one of life and death, exists not only between class and class, but between individual members of classes, for everybody is in the way of everybody else. Workingmen compete amongst themselves just as the capitalist class does. Unions with the laborer fail to save them. The worker is in fact helpless, for the capitalist keeps a firm hand on all means of existence, and the Executive power supports the monopoly. The relationship of the worker to the capitalist is that of slavery. The worker seeks subsistence from the capitalist, and offers in return its labor, thus giving itself over absolutely

into the hands of the enemy. The laborer is nominally free, but in reality he is not, for he is compelled to accept whatever conditions the employer chooses to enforce. The competition has only one check, and that is that no laborer will work for less than he requires for existence, for, if he has to hunger, he might as well hunger idling as working.

The laborer is both legally, and in fact, the slave of the capitalist class. All the difference from the old out-spoken slavery is that the present laborer appears to be free, because he is not sold all at once, piecemeal—per day, week, or year, and because one owner does not sell him to another, but he must sell himself in this way, as he is not the slave of a single person, but of the entire propertied class. But for the laborer it is reality, all the same, and if this appearance of freedom secures him on the one hand a certain degree of real freedom, he suffers on the other hand from the disadvantage that no man guarantees his support, that he may be cast away at any time by his master, the employer, and be left to die of hunger; the employer has no longer any interest in his employment, that is, in his existence. The employer, however, is far better off with this arrangement than that with the old slavery, for it can turn away its people when it likes without losing invested capital, and, moreover, it gets labor done far more cheaply than is the case with classes.

What then will Socialism do for working the classes?

It will do away with the class differences which are a consequence of the unequal distribution of the produce. Society is at present split up into opposite camps—the privileged and the prejudiced, the exploiting and the exploited, the ruling and the ruled—and the State, whose duty it should be to give protection within and without to the community at large, merely props up the dominant classes by forcibly maintaining the conditions of their supremacy. The wage-earner has only to become strong enough and the means of production will be socialized. When this is done, however, the worker as such will exist no longer, for all class distinctions will cease, and therewith the State as it now is. A society which is based upon the existence of mutually-opposed classes needs the State in order that privilege, monopoly and power, the threefold principle of class, may be maintained. When the State is no longer the representative of one avowed section, but represents in reality society as a whole, it becomes superfluous, for so long as there is no class to prop up, and none to keep down, repressive power is not needed. Production will then be carried on according to rule and plan, and all the needs of society will be provided for. The first act wherein the State appears as really representative of all society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—will be its last act as a State. Government over persons will be succeeded by the management of things and the direction of the processes of production. A free society cannot need or tolerate the existence of a State between itself and its members. Thus will be realized the Free People's State. Society, possessing the means of production, the producer will no longer be at the mercy of the produce, but will enjoy the full fruit of his labor. The struggle for existence will end, and in this respect man will for the first time, be distinguished from the lower animals, for the first time will be really Lord of Nature, for the first time really free. It is the high mission of the wage-earner to effect this emancipation of mankind, and Scientific Socialism the instrument it will employ.

It is reported that Mr. T. Murai, a Christian Socialist, is to be called to occupy the chair of English Professorship at the Japanese Government Foreign Language School. REPORT YOUR BRANCH NEWS WEEKLY.

## "IN HIS STEPS."

O, Capitalist! O, Capitalist!  
The Church bows down to thee;  
From North to South, from East to West,  
From Rome to Layder Zee,  
We serve thy ends;  
We are thy friends;  
Give us thy holy gold;  
And we shall keep  
Thy murmuring sheep  
Contented in their fold.

MURRAY KAYE.

## Socialism as Sure as the Seasons.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox in the Post-Dispatch: "Mr. Debs. who has done and said some extravagant things, yet whose heart is in the right place and full of the right sentiment, even if its expression is not always wise, was recently asked to speak before the most conservative Eastern literary clubs.

"Most of the people who comprise this club are conventional to the finger tips, and their minds move only in time-worn channels.

"It is difficult to understand why the very unconventional Mr. Debs came to be one of the speakers of the evening.

"But he was, nevertheless, and when he gave his little talk he said, among other things:

"It is popular to say that society must be protected against its criminals. I prefer to believe that criminals should be protected against society so long as we live under a system that makes the commission of crime necessary to men because they cannot secure their right to labor. This indicates that the present capitalistic system has outlived its usefulness and is about in the throes of dissolution. It is but a link in the chain of economic development. Just as feudalism developed capitalism so now capitalism is developing Socialism."

"Mr. Debs had dared to speak against existing conditions of which the audience considered itself a part, and he had dared mention Socialism with approval in his voice. Very likely many people in the audience recalled other extravagant words and acts in Mr. Debs' life and felt that he was a dangerous man to allow abroad.

"But a very word uttered by the speaker in the extract given above is absolutely true, and the world must soon acknowledge the power of modern Socialistic thought. It is the mistake of the unenlightened to suppose that Socialism means anarchy and destruction. It means, on the contrary, protection and brotherhood. It means peace, instead of war; prosperity, in place of panic.

"That man has recently taken a backward step is evident to all who 'remember the Filipinos,' or who look into any of the secret workings of our trusts.

"Just as Mr. Debs said, 'capitalism is developing into Socialism.' The backward step which man has taken affects humanity at large a good deal as it affects a crowd of people who are pushing forward when two or three suddenly decide to turn back and go in an opposite direction. Temporary confusion and serious accidents ensue. The weak and the lame and the old are sometimes trampled under foot before order is obtained.

"There is a great deal of this trampling under foot prevailing at the present time. But a great onward movement toward progress will follow. And modern Socialism will be one of the great factors in this onward movement. It is as sure as the approach of the seasons in their course."

Sir Edwin Arnold, in the Sunday Daily Telegraph, declares that old-age pensions are "greatly in the air," and describes how he was once sent for by a well-known liberal minister, who had just been appointed president of the Poor Law Board. He was an old friend, and could afford to be candid. "Arnold," he exclaimed, "they have put me at the head of this vast department, and I am staggered by the statistics of our national pauperism. Where is it going to stop? In which quarter shall we look for new administrative ideas?"

Some political writings of Karl Marx, which his daughter, Eleanor, was compiling at the time of her death, will be published by Swan & Sonnenschein.

## SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

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

AUSTRIA.	
1895.....	90,000
1897.....	750,000
BELGIUM.	
1894.....	334,500
1898.....	534,324
DENMARK.	
1872.....	315
1884.....	6,805
1887.....	8,408
1890.....	17,232
1892.....	20,098
1895.....	25,019
1898.....	32,000
FRANCE.	
1885.....	30,000
1888.....	91,000
1893.....	590,000
1898.....	1,000,000
GERMANY.	
1867.....	30,000
1871.....	101,927
1874.....	351,670
1877.....	486,843
1878.....	437,158
1881.....	311,961
1884.....	599,990
1887.....	763,128
1890.....	1,427,298
1893.....	1,786,738
1898.....	2,125,000
GREAT BRITAIN.	
1895.....	55,000
ITALY.	
1893.....	20,000
1895.....	76,400
1897.....	134,496
SERVIA.	
1895.....	50,000
SPAIN.	
1893.....	7,000
1895.....	14,800
1897.....	28,000
SWITZERLAND.	
1890.....	13,500
1893.....	29,822
1896.....	36,468
UNITED STATES.	
1890.....	13,704
1891.....	16,552
1892.....	21,512
1893.....	25,666
1894.....	30,020
1895.....	34,869
1896.....	36,275
1897.....	55,550
1898.....	91,749
TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.	
1898.....	5,000,000



# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1899

## CALL FOR CONVENTION.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Please take notice that the annual State Convention of the S. D. P. of Massachusetts will be held Sunday, May 28, 1899, at 10 a. m., at 724 Washington street, Boston, for the purpose of nominating a state ticket for the fall campaign of 1899, and for the transaction of such other business as may come before the convention.

By vote of the State Convention held, January 8, 1899, it was decided that "only such branches shall be represented at State Conventions as are organized prior to the call for convention, or, at the latest, one month prior to the date of the convention;" and

"That the representation of branches at State Convention be based upon the actual number of members in good standing at their last meeting prior to the issuing of the call for convention, or at no time less than a month previous to the date of the convention."

By vote of the State Committee, to whom it was referred, it was decided that each branch should be entitled to one delegate at large; one for the first twenty-five members, one for every additional twenty-five, or major fraction thereof.

MARGARET HAILLE,  
Secretary State Committee.

## Gordon at Brockton.

Again is Branch 9 able to chronicle another successful meeting. Comrade F. G. R. Gordon spoke on Sunday evening, April 23, his subject being "The Political Parties of America," and impressed his audience as only Gordon can. There were about 400 people in the hall and they seemed to enjoy the raps which he gave the old parties.

It was a very effective lecture and the next business meeting will probably show some results from it. While he was filling the heads of a Brockton audience with facts that they will never forget, Comrade Skinner and others were sowing the seed in our neighboring city of Taunton, with the result that a branch was formed there, composed of first class material.

We have long been casting covetous eyes on Taunton, and now that she is in the fold you may look for a hustling branch from that city.

Comrade Skinner also organized a branch in Middleboro last week, which will undoubtedly make its presence known in the near future.

Oh yes, we are doing a little, just as a sort of preliminary exercise to the work that is coming next fall. Rockland and Whitman are keeping us company. On Friday, May 5, the three branches are going to hold a meeting in Whitman and the state committee has been invited to attend.

There is a long list of entertainers, an address by Miss Lizzie Harlow and others, if possible to secure them, and refreshments; all of which is to be free except the last named. It is our intention to hold one of these meetings in each of these places.

I am informed on competent authority that our new band is making great progress at its rehearsals. I have no doubt but that we shall have the pleasure of hearing the first Socialist band in the country on that day.

Our agent started in on the distribution of literature this week. He starts out with 1800 of "Hard Times" and we feel that he will do

a great deal of good.

In the course of his address Comrade Gordon said it was his belief that the rank and file of the prohibition party were sincere men, and that they believed everything would be lovely but for rum. He said that in 65 counties in Georgia it is as impossible to buy liquor as it would be for a man to lift himself up by his bootstraps and shake hands with the man in the moon, but there is as much poverty and wretchedness in those counties as elsewhere. He recalled several times that Miss Frances Willard had said that she had found temperance people usually got the cart before the horse. She had found that poverty made intemperance instead of intemperance making poverty.

He believed the remedy for the liquor evil would be for the great moral force known as the prohibition party to unite with the Social Democratic party which, when it gets into power, will destroy the profit-making system, and the liquor dealers will go out of the business because it would have no attraction for them.

He spoke briefly of the union reform party, with its single demand for direct legislation, and the Socialist party of America, a small force in Texas, which is willing to unite with the Social Democratic party in the coming campaign.

The republican party next occupied his attention. He described it as the party of plutocracy, standing for a protective tariff which protects the monopolies of the nation and robs the rest of the people; for a gold standard, which all the bankers and millionaires favor; and for a national banking system, which is one of the most gigantic robbing systems on earth.

He said that the republican party had been running Massachusetts for years. In the state are 90,000 children over ten years of age who cannot read or write their own names. It has been running Pennsylvania some 25 years, and the wages of labor there do not average \$1.25 a day. It has had the control of Vermont, where there is no legislation for the laboring people at all.

The other twin, as he called the democratic party, he called the most serious thing of all. He said he did not know just what to say about the democratic party and, he added, no one else does. He said he has been told that there were 5 democratic parties in Brockton. However that might be, he thought it safe to say that there were hardly two wards in any city which had 2 democrats agreeing what the party represents nationally.

There will be plenty of interesting news from Brockton and vicinity within the next month if nothing happens to plans that are now being made. C. H. COULTER.

## Debs' Lecture Engagements.

Following are his appointments:  
Nashville, Tenn., May 10.  
Memphis, " " 11.  
Little Rock, Ark., " 12.  
Greenville, Tex., " 13.  
Dallas, " " 14.  
Fort Worth, " " 14.  
Bonham, " " 15.  
Denison, " " 16.  
Cleburne, " " 17.  
Waco, " " 18.  
San Antonio, " " 19.  
Austin, " " 20.  
Galveston, " " 21.  
Houston, " " 21.  
Beaumont, " " 22.

REPORT YOUR BRANCH NEWS WEEKLY.

## Martin Comes Back On those "Demands."

I PRESUME that Comrade Gordon's article in the issue of April 22, is a reply to my letter in the issue of April 8, and I am sorry he goes into generalizations rather than to reply to my specific points and questions. We cannot arrive at correct conclusions by that method.

My contention was, and is, that the demands for farmers is reactionary, and as a basis for such position I quoted the second paragraph of our S. D. P. declaration. This question is not one as to whether farmers are having a hard lot or not, but as to their relation to the economic position taken in the part of the declaration quoted. Comrade Gordon says: "What is reactionary legislation? Simply legislation that prolongs the capitalist system." I accept and fully agree with that, and don't let us forget it. He then goes on to say: "If the improvement in the condition of the farmer is reactionary so is the improvement in the condition of the shoemaker and coal-miner."

If Comrade Gordon can demonstrate that the farmer (the holder of title to land, one of the chief factors in the problem of production) and the shoemaker and miner are all of the "dispossessed class" spoken of in the section of the declaration, on which I base my position, why, I'm bound to acknowledge myself in error; otherwise I must insist on one or two things, viz., change in the declaration or the farmer's demands.

There was no use bringing in Karl Marx, for he was not quoted. I quoted no individual but used the S. D. P. declaration. I am simply trying to be consistent.

Comrade Gordon says that there is a great difference between the owners of machinery and the owners of land, but is the difference he has in mind not more a difference in development than of economic relation? Up to the time of corporations, and in some instances yet, the owner of machinery was a worker in as true a sense as the farmer. Because the development has been more rapid in one instance than in the other does not change the principle on which they rest. The centralization in agricultural production is logically later than in manufacturing, but none the less sure, and it's coming. To prolong the private ownership of either is to do just what Comrade Gordon has defined as reactionary. In his pamphlet "Hard Times" he says, "the farmers like the small business men are doomed to hopeless bankruptcy under our present competitive system." If that be true, as I believe it is, why not have demands for relief of small business men, as well as the farmers? I want to be logical, that's all.

If Comrade Gordon will get a copy of the Review of Reviews for March, 1899, he will find a very instructive and interesting article describing a 5,000 acre farm located in Iowa. Details of the expenses and receipts are given, from which we make the following condensation:

INVESTMENT.	
Land, 6000 acres at \$30	\$180,000.00
Buildings, stock and machinery	78,496.83
Total	\$258,496.83
GROSS RECEIPTS, 1898.	
215,000 bushels of corn at 30 cents	\$64,500.00
20,000 bushels of wheat at 50 cents	10,000.00
	\$74,500.00
EXPENSES, 1898.	
Labor	\$13,921.96
Other expenses not including interest on investment	9,722.82
	23,644.78
Net profit	\$50,855.22

It will be noted that no charge is included for interest on the investment, but from a Socialist point of view this would make no difference, for we consider rent,

interest and profit as one and the same. Notice the amount paid for wages. How many manufacturers can show a profit of over \$50,000 on a wage payment of less than \$14,000? Yes, but he says, these big farms are the exception, and not the rule. But remember, it is within the memory of Comrade Gordon when the same could have been said of the manufacturing business. Let me quote the following from the article on this farm: "The question is often asked, 'What does it cost to produce a bushel of corn?' On this farm, the size of thirty-five ordinary farms, with a sixty bushel crop the cost was 9 cents per bushel to crib. For shelling, shipping and commissions add another cent, making 10 cents in all. It is evident, however, that had this farm been divided into thirty-five farms, with thirty-five cooks and thirty-five families thirty-five barn yards and waste lands, the expense of raising a bushel of corn would have been nearer 16 to 18 cents." Do you see anything in that? If not, read this closing of the article speaking of the owner, who is a New Englander: "Less than 40 years of age, he never saw a day's work on a farm until he bought one after he was 21. His success rather indicates that there still are farmers born, and that the capital and energy put into manufacturing and merchandising, if applied to-day to farming, will yield equally good returns."

Do you think you can save the small farmer any more than the small business man? Are not attempts to do either reactionary?

I can go to the farmer and present the facts the same as I would to a shoe-maker or miner, but in nine cases out of ten the fellow who has a deed to a farm, no matter if it is overlapped with a mortgage, will not see or accept the truths as proclaimed in the S. D. P. declaration until he is on the market as one of the dispossessed."

Comrade Gordon surprises me beyond measure when he says, "Please remember that 140,000 citizens in Kansas have already cast a vote for reform (that funny old thing)—Socialistic planks—and nine-tenths of them were farmers." That is rich! The representatives of that Kansas "Socialistic" vote did not hitch with Comrade Gordon in Chicago last June. That term "Socialistic" covers a multitude of sins and rotten politics, and has no relation to Socialism as proclaimed in the S. D. P. declaration.

If Comrade Gordon will read the platform on which Comrade "Bill" Farmer is canvassing Texas he will fail to discover any farmer's demands, for he is just what Comrade Gordon says, a class-conscious, uncompromising Socialist, like myself. Send a stamp to the Social Economist, Bonham, Tex., and you will see where "Bill" stands. By the time that we have the proletariat, as well organized as the Social Democratic party of Germany has, we will find the conditions such as will bring the farmers with us.

When Comrade Gordon says, "and the Socialist movement of France has its farmer's demands," he is just a bit misleading, if I am not in error. There are five Socialist parties in France; just one of which has an agrarian program, and I would like to ask if the names he quotes belong to this faction.

Great stress is placed on the providing of grain elevators and cold-storage buildings, "to be used by the farmers at cost." He says that it would do away with the speculators and jobbers. Granted. But with what result? The farmers store their grain and produce. For what purpose? Why, to wait such time as the demands of consumers will bring them a higher price or profit. What difference will it make to those who foot the bill? And if it is not the wage-worker who foots the bill who is it? The result would be to give the land owners a firmer hold on the source of animal existence, would it not; or at least to prolong their hold?

CHAS. R. MARTIN.

Tiffin, O.

THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason, clubbed, for 70 cents a year.

## A "LIVING" WAGE.

A girl who was arraigned in New York for shoplifting, made the startling statement that she worked for a Broadway firm that paid her the municipal wage of \$1.30 a week!

One dollar fifty! when bread is dear,  
And one must eat to live;  
When the streets are cold and hard and drear,  
And the river ever beckons near,  
And a look and a cry and a leap in the sheer,  
Can benediction give?

One dollar fifty! When rags are thin,  
And the winter wind bites nigh;  
When a whisper creeps through the city's din,  
That food may be bought at the price of sin—  
What other way, when bread's to win,  
And to work is to slowly die?

One dollar fifty! when full in sight  
Great wealth its waste doth flaunt;  
When fortunes are spent in a single night,  
That gold may glitter and eyes be bright,  
And Mammon bask in its own hell's light,  
And forget there is sin and want.

One dollar fifty! And can it be,  
In this our christian land,  
That girls must starve on a miser's fee,  
That the rich may revel in luxury?  
Shoplifting? For her the Christ made plea  
When he wrote, long since, on the sand,  
—H. D. C. MACLAHAN in Commonwealth.

## Rare and Wears Well.

A strong effort is being made to induce Comrade Eugene V. Debs, of the Social Democratic party, to deliver a lecture in Bonham some time during next month. Mr. Debs will deliver lectures in the principal cities of Texas in May, and we hope the people of Fannin county will be given the opportunity of hearing Socialism expounded by its foremost champion in the United States. This is the man whom a brutal president, aided by a corporation attorney-general and a capitalist judge could not intimidate. They could send him to prison but they could not crush his magnificent manhood. Debs is emphatically a man of the people and for the people, and the people love him because of the enemies he has made. During the past few months he has lectured before the faculty and students of universities and colleges in the North, and in every instance was listened to with attention and cheered with enthusiasm. We doubt not that our citizens of all shades of political opinion will turn out to hear Mr. Debs. The public will be notified of his coming.—Social Economist.

[Comrade Debs will be at Bonham, May 15.—Ed.]

## The Rostrum.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]  
that the people would not approve a bill such as this, which would be an overturning of things long established, and that it was sought for only by those who wished to defy the law and courts. Carey in answer said in part: "The very air in Massachusetts is historically revolutionary. The fairest pages of the history of this Commonwealth are but records where its people 'overturned things long established!' The king was overturned, so likewise was the system of chattel slavery, and in the work the children of Massachusetts were foremost. When any member of this House accuses those who seek the legislation contemplated in this bill, those for whom I speak—the working class—of desiring to defy the courts and the law of the land, I deny it and I hurl the accusation back into his very teeth."

At a recent meeting of the S. L. P. section at New Castle, Pa., called for the purpose of discussing the advisability of joining the S. D. P., 18 of the 22 members voted to withdraw from that organization and immediately organized a local branch of the S. D. P. Our new comrades have already taken hold in a manner that indicates that they are thoroughly in earnest and will be heard from in the future.

A May Day celebration at the Old Franklin School House, Boston, was addressed by Comrades Chase, Putney and John F. Tobin.

Comrade Carey spoke on "The Social Crisis" at Beverly, Mass., May 1st. It is expected that a branch will be organized there.

F. G. R. Gordon spoke in behalf of the S. D. P. in a "political symposium," at Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, Sunday, April 23. It was generally admitted that he said more in ten minutes than any other speaker.

Our clubbing rate for THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason to one address is 70 cents a year.



# AMONG THE BRANCHES.

## BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notes of Branch Meetings Inserted for 50¢ per month.

### Colorado.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at 8:30 p. m. at 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 3 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 200 Washington street.

### Connecticut.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 300 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 3 p. m. New Haven. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Franklin street.

### Illinois.

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

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets every Sunday at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 335 Blue Island ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School Lad Karcel cor. 14th and Leavitt sts. Secretary Frank Out, 825 14th st.

Branch 6, Chicago, Ill., German, meets 1st and 3rd Monday at 8 p. m. at 335 Blue Island ave.

### Indiana.

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

### Maryland.

Branches Nos. 1 and 2, Maryland, meet every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 606 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

### Massachusetts.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 10 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., holds business meeting first Sunday of each month, at 12 o'clock, noon, at W. C. U. Hall, corner of Adams and Washington streets. E. W. Tinsley, 21 Albany st., Fin. Sec.-Treas. Notice of special meetings will appear in THE HERALD and local papers. Public invited.

Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday 11 a. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark block, cor. of Main and Centre streets. Even member expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 49 Chelsea A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec. The Massachusetts State Committee meets on the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m. at 104 Washington street, Boston. All communications and money intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Haile, 165 Wood st., Roxbury.

### Missouri.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, International Bank Building, 20 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 26 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Anderson, 4225 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (1st Mo.) meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. F. Haussier, 1223 N. Broadway.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) meets 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3rd Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langford, 3430 Tennessee ave.

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

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at 7th St. Hall, Broadway and Keokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Kradse, 3324 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 2d Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 4500 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenfeld, 357 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 15th and Monroe streets. Organizer, H. J. Steigewalt, 123 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City. E. J. Storx, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twentieth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 10th and Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 3560 St. Ferdinand ave.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (9th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 10th and Twelfth street. Organizer John Zach, 100 South 12th street.

St. Louis Eighth Ward Branch (10th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday, at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, corner Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, L. P. Tomsen, 100 South 7th street.

St. Louis Thirteenth Ward Branch (11th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, Oliver A. Nelson, 1316 Mississippi avenue.

St. Louis Nineteenth Ward Branch (12th Mo.) meets every Saturday, at 8 p. m., at 10th and Warner avenue. Organizer, G. Gandler, 100 S. 9th street.

### New York.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3d Thursday at 115 Clinton st. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.

Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Forward Club Rooms, 107 Forsyth st. Meetings second and fourth Tuesday of each month, New York City. Secretary, Louis Palevsky, 337 East 12th st.

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

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

## MARY E. LEASE, SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

Let Newburyport boast of its 35 new members admitted at one meeting, and Brockton and Haverhill pride themselves upon their hundreds of members, we here in Boston have cause for boasting, too. Our Boston branch, No. 1 of Massachusetts, at its last business meeting took in ONE new member and we want the whole country to know it, because that one was Mrs. Mary E. Lease. Yes, the real veritable, and only genuine Mary E. Lease of Kansas, now residing temporarily in New York, one time populist, and the greatest woman orator in America, has joined us. Mrs. Lease travels around lecturing so much that she can belong to our branch in Boston as well as to any other. The following is a copy of the application for membership, used in Massachusetts, which Mrs. Lease filled out and signed:

### SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

#### APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Branch 1, Mass. April 24, 1899.

1. Do you believe in Socialism as defined by the Social Democratic party, that is, the collective ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution, to be attained by means of a political party organized for that purpose. Answer: Yes.

2. Do you subscribe to the principles and platform of the Social Democratic party as set forth in the declaration and demands of the national platform, and its constitution? Answer: I do.

3. Do you promise to sever all connection with or allegiance to any political party, when admitted to the Social Democratic party. Answer: I do.

MARY ELIZABETH LEASE,

439 St. Nicholas ave., New York.

This leaves no room for doubt, does it, as to where Mrs. Lease is to be found in future? Henceforth her influence, her powerful pen and oratorical abilities are enlisted in behalf of the Social Democratic party. She writes feelingly: "I hope that I may be a factor for good in your grand organization. I am with you heart and soul on the platform and principles. Henceforth I shall feel that I am not alone, but that I have a band of loyal brothers and sisters with whom I am working for a common cause."

Our comrades, with their usual alertness, immediately proceeded to take advantage of their good fortune in having within their ranks so famous a speaker, and have arranged meetings for her in half a dozen of our principal strongholds. She will speak in Amesbury, Tuesday, May 9th, Newburyport and Boston on the 10th and 11th, Quincy, Friday, May 12, Whitman, Saturday, May 13th, and Brockton, Sunday May 14th. To show you the spirit of our boys: When I wrote Brockton about the possibility of their having Mrs. Lease to speak for them on Sunday the 14th, word came back by return mail: "We have already obtained the refusal of the opera house where Comrade Debs spoke when he was here last. Just let us know by return mail that we can have her the 14th sure, and we will stir up Brockton as it has never been stirred before." This little trip of Mrs. Lease in Massachusetts will give us a great "boost" towards the goal we intend to reach next Fall. MARGARET HAILE.

The combined Bohemian Social Democratic party branches 2, 3 and 7 of Chicago, held a 1st of May celebration, Sunday afternoon, in the Bohemian English school, 400 W. 18th st. The program consisted of songs by the Bohemian Workingmen's Singing Club and of the recitation of beautiful pieces. The American speaker was Comrade A. E. Gammage and the Bohemian, Comrade Frank Hlavacek. It was visited by many friends of the party and we hope that next year a very much greater number will be present. FRANK OUT.

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

## MERLIN'S MIXTURE.

Great excitement was recently caused in a certain city by the report that a young man, son of one of its residents, had been captured, tortured, and slain by the Philipinos.

In company with others he had been spying on the territory of the Philipinos with felonious intent, when the owners seized them and administered punishment after the manner of native custom.

A swarm of lurid adjectives hissed around the topic, and if the exclamation marks used had been horizontal spears, the Philipinos would only have needed the Episcopal burial service to have been thoroughly Christianized.

If the devil were a Philipino and hell a big nipa hut, greater indignation could hardly have been expressed.

But it might have been worse. There was a certain man who risked life and all for his native land.

He fought valiantly to preserve the liberties of his country, and to give liberty to an oppressed race. He escaped the rain of shot and shell, and returned home to enjoy the fruits of his sacrifice.

A month or so ago, in the city of Charlestown, he took his own life, as a speedier and more honorable alternative to a lingering starvation in the land he helped to free!

Better had it been for him had he gloriously fallen on the battlefield and been gloriously remembered every 30th of May by flowers of nature and rhetoric. But America has no flowers for its pauperized patriots.

Want is worse than war? Why should we be so indignant over the killing of an American, by those whose homes and country he was invading?

And why should we be so unmoved by the refined barbarities of business that kill off those Americans who seek the preservation of their own homes, and toil in their own country?

It is better to be quickly and cruelly slain in a foreign land by foreign foes, than to be assassinated by a slow and more cruel process on one's own doorstep by traitorous fellow citizens.

The young men who faced the rebel bullets at Calumpit deserve less pity and are in better plight than the young girls who face the trenches of lust in New York.

Murder's trademark is not always blood.

In the old days murder was a cruder art. It relied upon force as its instrument, and counted blood the symbol of success.

But times have changed, and customs with the times. Murder has become an industrial science, and is no longer a military art.

Physicians have abandoned the practice of bleeding their patients for their health, and murderers no longer bleed their victims to death.

The private garret has superseded the public garrote as a place of torture, and legal weapons kill more surely and quietly than the rude tools of an un-Christian age. Let all things be done decently and in order. Let the public peace be undisturbed by the ghastly sight of bloody violence.

Kill, if you will, but joke with your victim while you choke him, and let the weapon be unseen that takes his life.

For these industrial murders the law has no penalty.

Sympathy is cheaper than service. We had lots of pity for the persecuted Armenians a few years ago, but little or none for the victims of the American Turks of industry, whose greed has devastated homes, and wrought ruin.

We have upset gallons of ink in the attempt to express our indignation at the unjust imprisonment of Dreyfus on Devil's Island, but our pens are dry and our voices dumb when we contemplate the unjust fate of factory workers in "God's own country!"

We sent shiplands of rations to starving Cuban concentrados, but we are blissfully careless of the fate and fortune of the American reconcentrados who are packed like herring in every city slum.

We had so much sympathy for the poor Philipino that we are going to fulfill the scriptural injunction concerning the "cup of water," and give the heathen a drink of the waters of American liberty, if we have to drown him in the operation!

But all this is old and oft repeated. At best, I am but expressing in a new way, facts that are familiar to us all.

Poverty and privation are too pitifully plentiful not to be seen and felt by every open-eyed and warm-hearted man.

But shall we be always passive? Shall the sight never stir our energies into active resistance of the capitalist curse?

Shall we always believe that God has made an assignment to the devil and that Hanna is conducting his father's business?

Or shall we as the native sons of earth and the spirit sons of God, claim our rightful heritage in that spirit of courage that springs from a conviction of right?

MERLIN.

### Indianapolis, Ind.

Branch 9 of Indiana, at the last regular meeting unanimously adopted resolution against holding a convention or national conference of the S. D. P. this year, but favoring the holding of a convention next year, when at the same time the platform and ticket for the presidential election should be formulated.

We recommend sending a delegate of the S. D. P. to the International Workingmen's Congress to be held next year at Paris, and giving the Executive Board full power to levy an extra assessment on all members, to cover the expense of said trip.

### Quincy, Mass.

We had a rousing meeting in Hancock hall, Sunday afternoon, April 16. Our comrades in this branch have worked hard to make the meeting a success, and 350 tickets were sold. Winfield P. Porter was the speaker, and his subject was "The New Struggle for Independence." He carried the crowd, and, after his splendid address, we got 7 new members. Every comrade in the branch has gained fresh courage from the results of the meeting, and we will guarantee every speaker who comes a good audience.

We intend that Quincy will not be content with its ancient glorious history, and realizing that we are "behind the times" we Socialists will agitate from now on for the program of Socialism.

JOHN A. LAMB.

### Nashua, N. H.

Sunday evening, April 16, a joint debate was held in Patriot's hall, the subject being "Individualism vs. Socialism." C. R. Doying, a prominent "union reform" advocate, and E. H. Sheridan, a single taxer, represented the individualists, and E. E. Southwick (late S. D. candidate for congress) and M. H. O'Neil spoke for the Socialists. Mr. O'Neil opened the debate by showing the evils of the competitive system and was followed by Mr. Sheridan, who admitted that something was wrong in our industrial system, but thought the single tax and a few other reforms about all that would be desirable. Mr. Southwick made a brilliant and telling argument for the co-operative commonwealth, answering all the objections of Mr. Sheridan and again of Mr. Doying, who followed him, in the most convincing manner. AGUINALDO.

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

We will send THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason to subscribers one year for 70 cents.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.



# Social Democratic Party Platform

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

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

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

**DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.**  
The Social Democratic Party of

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

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

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

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

**S. D. P. AND TRADE UNIONISM.**  
"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we need further recognition among the workers; therefore, be it

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The instrument of labor, when it takes the form of a machine, immediately becomes a competitor of the workman himself." Karl Marx.

**GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.**

## Constitution of Local Branches

### NAME AND LOCATION.

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

### MEMBERSHIP.

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

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five nor more than 500 members, \_\_\_\_\_ members constituting a quorum.

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

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

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

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

### DUES AND FEES.

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

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

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

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

### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five (5) members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

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

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

Sec. 15. No member of the Board

shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

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

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

### JURISDICTION.

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

### ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five (5) members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

### BY-LAWS.

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

### TRIALS.

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

### APPEALS.

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

### AMENDMENTS.

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

### INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of 5 per cent of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum and a majority vote shall determine the result.

### SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

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

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

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

**SOCIALISM**.—No movement of modern times has awakened or deserved greater attention than the one indicated by this title. In general it may be described as that movement which seeks by economic changes to destroy the existing inequalities of the world's social conditions. The growth of Socialism in this country has been rapid and will probably keep pace with the just causes of discontent."—Encycloped Britannica; American Supplement.

**65 SOCIALISTS** and reformers—Biographical sketches of German, English and American leaders—Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Ruskin, Morris, Hyndman, Blatchford, Bellamy, Gronlund, Casson, Wayland, Stetson, Sprague, Vail, Debs, Carey, Edwards, Gordon, Berger and others, with 43 Photo Engravings. A souvenir handbook, 50 pages, 8x11. While they last will mail at 50 cents per copy if you mention the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.  
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## LABOR

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**Social Democratic Party of America.**

Organized June 11, 1898.

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

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—Social Democratic Party Platform



# Social Democratic Party of America.

## Constitution of National Council.

### NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

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

### HOW ORGANIZED.

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

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

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

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

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

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

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

Sec. 6. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

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

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

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

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

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

### REVENUES AND FUNDS.

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

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

### THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

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

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

carry out the general objects of the organization.

### OFFICIAL PAPER.

Sec. 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the Social Democratic Herald. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

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

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

### REFERENDUM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Sec. 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, the Social Democratic Herald, within fifteen (15) days from the selection of said officers, and each member shall have a vote thereon, to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close twenty (20) days after the date calling for the referendum.

Sec. 21. The National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive Board, but if the said National officers shall be

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

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

Sec. 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it), the National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed by the members of the organization in the following manner: A petition indorsed by 5 per cent of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within ten (10) days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

### Constitution of State Unions.

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

### HOW ORGANIZED.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### REVENUES.

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

### THE STATE UNION.

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

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

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

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

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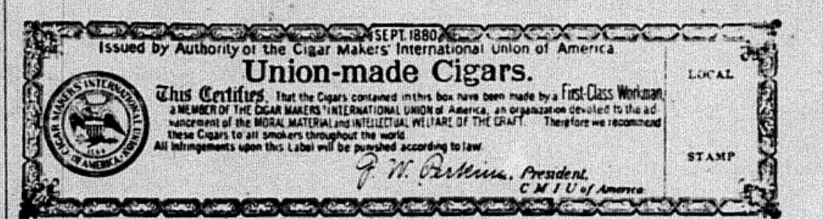
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# WORLD OF LABOR.

## INTERNATIONAL.

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

The National Congress passed a law according to which striking workmen who would offend "free laborers"—scabs!—were to be severely dealt with. The Social Democratic members of the National Congress, under the leadership of Comrade Branting, held that the law was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court of the kingdom was appealed to and the decision of the court has now been made public. To the surprise of the capitalist parties the Supreme Court decided in favor of the Social Democratic position, and declared the law unconstitutional. It may be interesting to learn what the government will now do to counteract this judicial decision.

NACHOD, AUSTRIA.

Serious strike riots have occurred in this city. Anti-semitic agitators are endeavoring to fructify the strike for their anti-semitic schemes the result being that some outrageous acts have been committed towards the Jewish business men of the town. The Social Democratic paper, "Pravo Lidu" in Prague says: "The organized workers have not taken any part in the Nachod strike riots. Unorganized men under the leadership of anti-semitic agitators, excited by anti-semitic harrangues, were breaking the windows belonging to Jewish business men."

ESSEN, GERMANY.

Comrade Graef, a coal miner, who had been sentenced to four years' imprisonment for offending some police officials in a public meeting, has been released from prison. His comrades, the miners and the wage-workers of this city, gave him a rousing ovation on his arrival at home. In addressing his colleagues, Comrade Graef assured them that he would continue the fight for the cause of labor and Social Democracy no matter what personal sacrifices it may require.

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

As a result of the recent student's demonstrations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, Adessa and other cities not less than 30,000 students are locked out of the universities and high schools of Russia and the attitude of the locked out men towards the government is a serious one. Czarism will not gain much by this latest act of "disarmament."

VIENNA, AUSTRIA.

The Social Democratic workmen of this city held a public eight-hour demonstration on May 1st that was attended by nearly a hundred thousand people. The Social Democratic papers published special May day editions.

BRESLAU, GERMANY.

Labor agencies are doing a splendid business by importing working men, women and children into the rural districts of Prussia. For every "wage-slave" thus secured the agents receive from 15 to 20 marks.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

The coal miners strike is in full progress. About 45,000 men are out. Troops have been sent to Charleroi and Louvain, the center of the strike district.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

Over 3000 carpenters of this city are out on a strike for higher wages and shorter hours.

## NATIONAL.

The following flowers are gathered from Mark Hanna's "Prosperity farm":

PITTSBURG, KANSAS—Trouble is brewing among the miners in this district. 6000 men interested.

DESMOINES, IOWA.—Colored miners are coming in large numbers daily to take the places of striking whites in this district.

HAVANA, CUBA.—Two thousand laborers employed by the Quartermaster's Department have struck for higher wages.

HOBOKEN, N. J.—The building trades workers of this city have won their strike for the eight-hour workday.

CARBON, ILL.—The miners of this district are out on a strike.

OMAHA, NEB.—The brewery workers have won their battle for the recognition of their organization.

St. Louis, Mo.—The machinists in the Wagner Electric Co.'s shops are on a strike against a new system of making one man do the work that formerly required two men.

## Haverhill City Council.

One by one our campaign pledges are being fulfilled, which is something out of the ordinary for a victorious party to do; and it comes to the people as a refreshing change. If all the promises made by old party politicians during past campaigns had been fulfilled this place would be quite different, but somehow the great business men who have been elected in the past seemed to make it their special business to forget all about those pledges, after the office which they sought had been secured. You know the cry of the old parties has been for a business men's administration; to our sorrow we have had them, and with each succeeding one the dissatisfaction of the people has grown apace.

But the municipal platform of the S. D. P. is of a different variety from that of the business men and that is apparent to the people in more ways than one. First, it is for the interests of the people as against that of any particular class; and second, it is lived up to to the letter. Last week's meeting of the Board of Aldermen was quite as interesting and important one. Another plank of our platform was acted upon. This was article one (1) which refers to "The acquisition by the municipality of all public utilities such as street railroads, gas and electric light plants."

The gas company of this city has no reason to go to the frozen region of Alaska in search of gold, they have a Klondike here; the rate of dividend declared by this company last year was 50 per cent. Just think of that, 50 per cent! I don't think any of those fellows will vote our ticket. These facts have been brought to light by the Socialist mayor and the people know it. It would not be the business of the business men in our city government to say anything about such things as that of course. Comrade Chase sent a communication to the board setting forth these facts, and recommending the appointment of a committee to investigate and report as to the advisability of proceeding according to the provisions of chapter 370, acts of 1891, and temporarily to petition the Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners for a reduction in the price charged by the company, which is now \$1.30 per 1000 feet. The law referred to above is in substance as follows: "Authority to purchase; lease or establish a plant must be granted by a two-thirds' vote of each branch of the city council and receive the approval of the mayor in each of two consecutive municipal years and thereafter be ratified by a majority vote of the people at an annual municipal election."

One of our comrades, Alderman Bean, introduced two orders, covering the recommendations made by the mayor and both passed without discussion. The republicans could not oppose them in the face of that 50 per cent.

The first step has been taken toward the municipal ownership of the gas plant. The electric plant will receive our attention later.

The legal profession have been agitating for the erection of a court house so that sessions of the superior court could be held here and one of the republican aldermen introduced an order pertaining to this matter.

This would involve an expenditure of at least \$30,000 and bonds would have to be issued to secure the money. Our comrades opposed the order on the ground that it was inexpedient at this time as the people need other things more than a court house, such as better streets, new school

houses, the abolition of grade crossings, the burial of electric wires and the building of a dock where the city could place coal which ought to be bought by the cargo. The arguments put up in favor by the republicans were very weak in comparison and some were of such a nature as would hardly receive the approval of the temperance voters which compose one-half of the voting population. One republican referred to the educational features and the benefit the citizens would receive from listening to the arguments of the learned lawyers as they pleaded their case and also that it would draw trade to the city and referred to the fact that the hotels and saloons in Lawrence where sessions are held are well patronized. The reporter somehow forgot to put that part in the Gazette.

Our men put up a gallant fight, but it passed just the same. That is about as far as it will go, however, as the mayor will have something to say about that.

The Socialists introduced other minor orders of benefit to the people and they passed. The branches in West Newbury, South Groveland and Georgetown are growing. The light of Socialism is spreading fast, dispelling the darkness of ignorance and prejudice and it seems to me that much sooner than we expect the banner of Equality and brotherhood will wave on Beacon hill.

C. A. FRASER.

Grant Allen, who has not been in good health lately, is in Italy trying to regain lost ground.

Mrs. Annie Besant is starting a school and college for Hindu boys. It will be the Eton and Oxford of the East. Headmaster and principal will be Europeans, but the resident superintendent will be a Brahama. Mrs. Besant has been lecturing all over India on behalf of her scheme, and has induced numerous rajas and maharajas to form committees and give support.

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