

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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## The Security of the People Proceeds by an Ever Advancing Abolition of Privilege.

Socialism would do away with one man's liberty to starve and another man's privilege to steal.

Socialism understands that the present system can be abolished, that is abolishing itself.

Socialism says the human race lives, not on what capitalists absorb, but on what the laborers create.

Socialism says that the source of all great private wealth is the absorption of the profits of many men's work.

Socialism proposes "enforced labor" says "Smartie, but if that were true a LITTLE of it would be far better than a GREAT DEAL OF ENFORCED IDLENESS.

Socialism says that lack of employment does not tend to preserve the home and that the capitalist system operates directly to its destruction.

Socialism has always pointed out that the masters of the economic power of the country can always be depended upon to disregard law when their class interests are involved.

Socialism would insure opportunities to all to use industrial capital and enjoy the fruits of their labor; all would be free to live without stealing and no one's livelihood would be imperilled.

Socialism contends for justice and says it is a matter of no importance what becomes of the assumptions of economists—industry must and will be readjusted for the benefit of the industrious.

Socialism declares there is no security for the people so long as they have not access to the means of production; hence the necessity for the transformation of the privately-owned tools into public property.

Socialism urges workingmen to study and to see that so long as the means whereby all men live are clutched and concerned by the capitalist class, their hope for bettering their condition is a pitiful delusion.

Socialism puts its finger on the means of production and distribution and says: "The fact that these are held as private property is accountable for public corruption and social distress; the economic system at any time prevailing determines the character of your public life and your social standards."

Socialism affirms that the class which has the mastery of the economic power of the United States, also has the mastery of the government of the United States; that is, the government which workingmen pay for, is a government which the capitalist class uses for its own purposes.

You say that capital is necessary to labor—and think that you have said something quite profound. Well, you will admit that the 70,000 postoffices of the country employ a great many men in useful service? Yes. Did you ever think who furnished the capital for the postoffice department? Never did? Well, think now. Of course, capital is necessary to labor, and labor as the creator of capital anywhere and at all times, should be the master and not the slave of its own offspring.

Business methods transform the fruits of honest toil into dishonest capital and then protects and sanctifies it by law.

People who were FREE to LIVE would not have to commit suicide.

If you don't want your politics shaken let Socialistic facts alone and stick to capitalistic fictions.

As long as the wealthy can buy the laws they want, the workers will never get the laws they ought to have.

Government being a "contrivance of human wisdom," what we need most is more wisdom to make the contrivance work in behalf of all the people.

With machinery and a labor cost of \$5 per day we get as much cloth out of a single loom as 100 Arabs or Italians can weave by hand. Yet the claim is that we have the best paid labor in the world and manufacturers must be protected because labor is so much higher here than elsewhere!

Currency reformers want profits; they want to readjust the "skinning" business, so that in place of a few big "skimmers," like Rockefeller and Havemeyer, we will have a lot of little profit "skimmers." But that stage has been passed; to it we shall never revert. Socialists want productive capital socialized and operated by democratized society in behalf of every one of its members.

The St. Louis Star says "Prosperity is in the saddle;" in the line of proof, in the same day's issue, it prints 595 ads. of situations wanted and boasts that "this is a gain of 90 over corresponding period of last year," thus proving that the kind of prosperity which finds people idle and seeking employment is on the increase. Ha, ha, ha!

While the wage system endures labor and capital will be antagonistic. The capitalist feeds on the laborer, just as one of the predatory animals feasts on the weaker members of the brute order. The profit hunger—an absolute necessity on the part of the capitalist, can only be satisfied by the exploitation of the worker, who is the only one the profit comes out of. You might as well talk about the interest of the cannibal and his victim being the same.

If those who "are most depressed industrially by low wages and bad conditions are not ripe for political independence," must they, therefore, be left in political dependence on the politicians of parties that do nothing but the bidding of capitalists? If they are not ripe, wouldn't it be a good thing to ripen them, McGuire? And how are you going to get them ripened so long as they are left in abject political dependence?

Just before going to press word comes from Dayton, O., of the death of Comrade William Watkins, at that place last Monday morning. Twice a candidate for governor of his state on the Socialist ticket, he has been ill for nearly a year, and died ripe in the possession of qualities that endeared him to all who had the privilege of knowing him. A more extended notice of our departed comrade will be given next week.

A daily newspaper of Lynn, Mass., (the News) questions very much if there is danger of competition in the labor market from the Filipinos, and thinks they could hardly be induced to change their "easy method of living" for the "trying conditions" of the United States. The Filipino, it says, "gets an easy if not over-plentiful living in his native islands." This is more than can be said of Ameri-

can workingmen; a fact which, if they are acquainted with it, will justify the orientals in staying at home.

It is unfair to estimate the worth of the working class by its poverty, by what its members do not possess. Remember, that this class feeds, clothes and houses the capitalist class; therefore, the working class should be estimated for its "good" deeds.

We have pleasure in introducing to HERALD readers as a regular contributor to our columns, Comrade Leonard D. Abbott, of New York. Comrade Abbott is a writer of ability and his contributions will have a distinct value of their own. He says of THE HERALD: "I was surprised and delighted to get the enlarged paper printed at Belleville; you certainly must mean business and have my best wishes." "Art and Socialism" in this number is Comrade Abbott's first contribution to our columns.

A pamphlet just issued by Chas. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, on "The Government Ownership of Railroads," by F. G. R. Gordon, presents in small compass the essential facts and figures to a knowledge of the advantages of common ownership, and sets forth the interesting story of government railroads throughout the world in a manner calculated to convince the skeptical and disarm the critic. The price is 5 cents, 10 copies for 25 cents, mailed by the publishers or F. G. R. Gordon, Manchester, Mass.

To provide warmth for a home of poverty, Richard Singleton, a 15-years-old negro boy of St. Louis, stole two bushels of coal, property belonging to a wealthy corporation, and valued at 20 cents. He was arrested, prosecuted by the corporation and sentenced to six years imprisonment.

Catherine Campbell, a woman of mature years, with plenty of means and influential friends, also of St. Louis, stole hundreds of dollars worth of silverware and other valuables from a hotel. The police department, urged by her sympathetic friends, allowed the prosecution to drop and she never appeared in court.

Both cases happened during the same week. The glaring injustice attracted the notice of those who paid a fine for the boy and he was released. But the merciless corporation stood immovable for "justice"—and the blasting of a human life.

### CALL FOR CONVENTION.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

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

MARGARET HAILE.

Secretary State Committee.

BRANCHES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

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

Margaret Haile,

Secretary State Committee.

## SOCIALISM IN THE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

The American Federation of Labor was not ready. Not to be ready however is nothing new in the history of the labor movement—or any other struggle for the realization of improved conditions for the race. In every line of human endeavor the propagator of a new theory has ever been met with incredulity, lack of sympathy, and often with active opposition. It is the order of progress: First, condemnation; next, investigation; then, acceptance. And as the advocates of every advance have had to fight their way against the active or passive opposition of those most to be benefited by change and innovation, so the Social Democrats of America, eager to have their principles endorsed by so influential an organized body as the American Federation of Labor, must learn patience and abide their time. None can do this with more serenity than Socialists who know that the future will confirm their present judgement and that what some are pleased to call a "will-o'-the-wisp" to-day will be recognized as an actuality to-morrow.

If men who devote their abilities to labor's cause are slow to accept our solution and adopt our principles, let it not be forgotten how important a part circumstances play in influencing them, and that we ourselves are what our ideas and circumstances have made us. Dr. J. W. Draper says: "The constitution of man is such that for a long time after he has discovered the incorrectness of the ideas prevailing around him, he shrinks from their domination; and, constrained by circumstances, he publicly, applauds what his private judgment condemns." We indulge the hope, nay, we may venture the assertion, that the trades union organizations of the country contain a wholesome and working Socialist leaven. To encourage this element, not with honied phrases or alluring promises, but with true co-operation and comradeship, is our duty. To heap abuse upon leaders of the trades union movement who are trying, according to the light they have, to better the condition of labor is no part of the mission of Social Democrats. They are not our adversaries; we seek no conquest over them; we invite them only to take higher ground. We do not ask them to take our name, but only to adopt our principles and array the laboring people against their economic masters in the political arena, where alone their emancipation is possible. And this invitation will be given again and again until labor's cause has been made the cause of the nation. If there were on the floor of the convention hall delegates who sought to disrupt the Federation or defeat the election of any man to any office within its gift, they were not members of the Social Democratic party.

In the discussion which took place, Comrade Carey, a delegate from the Central Labor Union of Haverhill, Mass., said: "I am a member of the Social Democratic party. I do not ask you to endorse it or any other party. But I want you to pronounce for the collective ownership of the means of production—the only salvation for men who are now competing with machines." Delegate Carey here expressed the conviction of the party with which he is connected. And the courteous hearing given him, together with the spirit of fairness shown by his opponents, were tokens of the belief of the majority in our integrity and sin-

cerity of purpose. The discussion occurred on two resolutions, the first of which was introduced by the committee and read as follows: "We are committed against the indorsement or the introduction of partisan politics, religious differences or race prejudices. We hold it to be the duty of trades unionists to study and discuss all questions that have any bearing upon their industrial or political liberty, but we declare that it is not within the province of the American Federation of Labor to designate to which political party a member shall belong or for which policy he will vote." The Kansas City World, in a report that treats the Socialists with a marked degree of fairness, says:

Mr. Carey was the first speaker. He is a slender, beardless young man with deep sunken eyes and a pale complexion. He is a thinker and philosopher and his earnestness and personal magnetism are great. His home is in Haverhill and he has tasted all the bitterness of the defeat which has met the shoemakers in that district. Unable to better their condition by arguments to their employers, beaten back, blacklisted and suffering bodily want, they went into politics. A striking, blacklisted shoemaker was elected mayor, the city council was made up largely of union men and their influence extends even in the state legislature.

"But the instant the news came that the Social Democratic party had elected two men to the legislature," rang out Carey's voice, "these down-trodden laborers doffed the ways of servile curs and held up their heads like men. (Applause.) This is the dignity the ballots gave to them. This is what the discussion of Socialism brought to the shoemakers of Haverhill. Unless we had brought to these people the light of a knowledge of a better day coming and new faith, the laborers of Haverhill would have gone on like dogs under the yoke. But now, with the accomplishment of the Socialist propaganda, they see the means of emancipation.

"I am a member of the Social Democratic party. I do not ask you to indorse it or any other party. But I want you to pronounce for the principle of collective ownership of the means of production—the only salvation for men who are now competing with machines. This, in my judgment, is the solution of the problem now confronting the working people of America. I appeal to you in the name of the people of Haverhill, in the name of the victories they have won. Let me go back to them and tell them to be of good courage, to go on with the fight—onward, brother, to the solution of our perplexing problems, out of the gloom which now envelopes labor, onward into the bright sunlight of the co-operative commonwealth."

"Wild applause greeted his climax and Mr. Carey sat down and lit a pipe and smoking calmly accepted the congratulations of those who crowded around him."

George E. McNeill, a veteran trades unionist and a man highly esteemed by all who know his career, said, in speaking of a system that forces women into competitive labor to live: "Nothing else will be possible for her until the hope of the Social Democracy shall be realized."

John F. Tobin, president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' union introduced this resolution:

"Resolved, That this convention, believing that the labor problem will be solved only when the land and means of production and distribution and exchange are held as common property, and that THE TRADES UNION MOVEMENT, TOGETHER WITH POLITICAL ACTION on class lines are the best

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# TRUE SOCIALISM.

II.

## MARXISM AND PSEUDO-MARXISM.

BY G. A. HOEHN.

(In the American Federationist.)

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

THE Materialistic Conception of History.—The revelation of the secret of surplus-value in the process of capitalist production, and the materialistic conception of history, are the special discoveries of Karl Marx and, we may justly add, of Frederick Engels. According to the idealistic conception of history, the main causes of social changes and political revolutions are to be traced to the brains of men, to the philosophy of the respective epochs. According to the idealistic conception economic, political, social, religious conditions are to be traced to the "ideals" and "plans" of great men. To Luther, Cromwell, Washington, Napoleon, Lincoln, etc., according to the conception of the idealistic historians, are to be traced the prime causes of religious and political revolutions. In short, they attribute to man a supernatural power.

To this Marx objects. His materialistic conception of history is based on the sound principle that the system of production and distribution—the economic—is the foundation of every society. The prime causes of all social changes in the modes of production and distribution, to the economics of the respective epochs. The awakening perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, says Engels, that sense has become nonsense, and right wrong, an evidence that, in the methods of production and forms of exchange, changes have silently taken place with which the social order, fitted to the previous economic conditions, can no longer keep pace. This implies, at the same time, that the means for the discovered abuses must be latent and more or less developed in the changed conditions themselves.

But the means are not to be invented by the brains, they are to be discovered with the aid of the brains, in the material facts of production that are on hand. To resume: The economics at any time prevalent constitutes the real basis of the social, political, religious and philosophic institutions of the respective period. These few words explain the Marxian materialistic conception of history.

### MARXISM AND REFORM.

Misleading in the extreme, confusing, ridiculous, and in direct contradiction to the teachings of true Marxism, or scientific socialism, is the position of the pseudo-Marxists towards the social reform movement. According to these pseudo-Marxist every effort on the part of the organized wage-workers to secure from the capitalist governments redress of their injuries, or a partial amelioration of their miserable conditions, is denounced as "worse than absurd," as "worse than idle," as "highly mischievous," etc. The strike; well—humbbug! Boycott—humbbug! Child labor laws—humbbug! Eight-hour agitation—humbbug! Factory inspection—humbbug! In short, every step towards social reform by the trades-unionist movement is denounced as humbug, because it is not exactly in line with the schemes of certain people. In the brains of these elements the great importance of the class struggles of the British working classes during the last hundred years, their incessant agitation for better conditions, especially for the reduction of the hours of labor and for a proper system of factory inspection, was merely a "pure and simple" trades union humbug; while Karl Marx himself considered these struggles of the British proletariat of the highest importance, and consequently made them the special subject for his historical and economic studies. If some of the professors of labor fakirism would understand the teachings of Karl Marx they would not endeavor to belittle the proletarian struggles of England,

and would not speak of the British "ten-hours work-day" legislation as insignificant. To the capitalist class of that time (the Ten-Hours Act came into force May 1, 1848,) this meant a great deal. Why? Prior to the factory legislation of 1833, so an English factory inspector reports, "young persons were worked all night, all day, or both 'ad libitum.'" By the act of 1833 the ordinary factory working day was reduced to fifteen hours a day—reduced to fifteen hours! The Act of 1848 fixed the day's work at ten hours for young people and children. The limitation of the working day limited to a great extent the right of robbing not only the labor power of young people and children, but their very health and life.

"The establishment of a normal working day," says Marx, "is the result of centuries of struggle between capitalist and laborer." And in another place: "The creation of a normal working day is . . . the product of a protracted civil war, more or less dissembled, between the capitalist class and the working class." Speaking of the working day in America, Marx (in his "Capital") has the following to say: "The first fruit of the civil war was the eight-hours agitation that ran with the seven-league boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California. The general Congress of Labor, at Baltimore (August 18, 1866), declared: 'The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labor of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in all states of the American Union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained.'"

At the same time the Congress of the International Workingmen's Association (of which Marx was a leading member) held at Geneva, Switzerland, resolved, that "THE LIMITATION OF THE WORKING DAY IS A PRELIMINARY CONDITION WITHOUT WHICH ALL FURTHER ATTEMPTS AT IMPROVEMENT AND EMANCIPATION MUST PROVE ABORTIVE. The Congress proposes eight hours as the legal limit of the working day."

This is the voice of true Marxism! Now, to follow the pseudo-Marxists' advice, the organized wage-workers would be in duty bound to sit down and wait until Socialist professors have killed all the "pure and simple" trade unions, and until they have revolutionized the entire social organism and upset capitalist society by their only stock in trade, vilification and slander.

While Karl Marx, at every opportunity, laid special stress on the necessity of the independent organization of the proletariat, while he held that every class struggle was, necessarily, a political struggle, he never advocated any such nonsense as opposing each and every proletarian reform movement, because such movements are not officially stamped and patented by an unscrupulous political clique. Here is one illustration: The journeymen bakers of this country are agitating for sanitary bakeshop legislation. "All humbug!" say our pseudo-Marxist wisecracks. Why is it humbug? "Because . . . because we have always told you so . . ." And yet it is but a question of time when, in consequence of continued, unrelenting agitation the capitalist lawmakers will have to listen to the voice of public opinion, and by proper legislation make an end to the horrible conditions in the bakeshops of this country.

### MARXISM AND TRADES UNIONISM.

What is the position of true Marxism towards the bona fide trades union movement? To get the proper answer to this question we certainly do not and cannot apply to the pseudo-Marxists that have ever, since the Detroit convention, been desperately fighting the A. F. of L., and above all, have been doing their utmost to induce all the Socialists of the country to follow their miserable example. I need not dwell on the fight at the Detroit convention. Suffice it to say that the New York Central Labor Federation was not entitled to a charter of the A. F. of L., so

long as it insisted that a section of a political party be allowed representation in the Federation.

The A. F. of L. so decided, in accordance with its own constitution. This decision of the Detroit convention was even endorsed, indirectly at least, by a vote of the New York Socialists who, by this vote, decided to withdraw the Socialist section's delegates from the Central Labor Federation—this was done a few days after the Detroit convention! Had it been done prior to that convention, perhaps hardly one delegate would have voted against the admission of the C. L. Federation. But instead of rectifying their mistake some of the pseudo-Marxist high priests in the New York Socialist movement decided to wage a "war of extermination" against the A. F. of L., out of mere revenge for their well-deserved defeat in Detroit—a defeat of certain false tactics, but by no means a defeat of the principles of Socialism. And to-day those very same elements are trying to organize scab-trades unionism under the disguise of Socialism or Marxism, a most contemptible scheme against which every true Marxian Socialist must enter an emphatic protest.

It is for the information of those of our brothers in the movement not yet acquainted with the history of the International Labor movement, that I call their attention to the following facts. True Marxism has nothing in common with the foul practices and tactics of the pseudo-Marxian union-splitters.

Now to the point. The first representatives of the International Social Democratic movement, the generally recognized authorities in the political, economic literary field of Socialism, "personal friends and life-long co-workers of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, unanimously condemn any and every mischievous action against the trades union movement above referred to.

F. A. Sorge, a personal friend of Marx, in one of his letters to "Die Neue Zeit," (The New Times) the official magazine of the Social Democratic party of Germany, speaking of the inside trouble in the local labor movement of New York City, expresses his views as follows:

"Workingmen, wage-workers, must act unitedly in their struggle for bettering their condition, for securing humane conditions by abolishing existing evils and abuses, and for the material and intellectual elevation of their class. Workingmen, wageworkers must, in their struggle, show a united front to the exploiting class, to the capitalist, to the bourgeoisie, to the ruling classes. For this difficult struggle the workmen, wageworkers, must stand united, shoulder to shoulder, like the members of a family, like brothers that know but one common object, but one common interest. And those who have gained, or believe to have gained, a deeper insight into the social life, a more penetrating power of perception of the social mechanism, a better judgment about the economic and political events they must make proper use of and prove their more penetrating power of perception and their better judgment by educating the ignorant, by encouraging the discouraged, by brotherly indulgence and patience, towards the weak, and by showing firmness and determination towards the malicious and mischievous. If, from reasons of honesty, a harmonious working together has become impossible—a thing that may happen or may have happened—then a 'modus vivendi' must be found to enable a working side by side in a peaceable way."

This is the frank expression of a pioneer of organized labor who, more than any other, is justly entitled to speak in the name of his intimate friend and brother, Karl Marx. But how does such a view compare with the actions of the pseudo-Marxists?

[To be continued]

Come, man, and help swell the army of militant Socialism. Be true to yourself and true to those dependent upon you. Don't wait idly and hopelessly and expect someone else to do the disagreeable work. Don't be a coward!

### Contrasts.

I see the far church steeples,  
They reach so far, so far;  
But the eye of my heart  
Sees the world's great mart  
Where the starving people are.

I hear the church bells ringing  
Their chimes on the moving air,  
But my soul's sad ear is hurt to hear  
The poor man's cry of despair.

Thicker and thicker the churches,  
Nearer and nearer the sky—  
But, alas for their creeds  
When the poor man's needs  
Grow deeper as years roll by.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

### SPECIAL PLEADING.

IT is not surprising that many well-minded people still feel that labor is well paid and that only the shiftless workers are complaining. Such people know very little about the actual conditions of the workers and they get much of their knowledge on the point from magazine and reform writers, who are special pleaders for the capitalist system. These special pleaders very craftily make use of the fact that there has been a slight rise in the rate of wages in certain industries, but they never acknowledge that this rise has been due to organization among the workers and to the demands these organizations have made. Another thing they omit to mention is that there has been a very decided increase in the standard of living, even though there is an apparent cheapening of products. These cheaper articles too, are mostly flimsily made and badly adulterated, still they come in handy for comparison when the capitalist lackey makes up his table of statistics. Moreover there is a public sentiment which keeps the employer from grinding the workers down to the lowest possible notch, even if he has the lack of heart to take advantage of his opportunity.

One of the most persistent special pleaders for capitalism is Edward Atkinson. In a recent article in the Popular Science Monthly, he says:

"The figures give conclusive proof that in every branch of industry, especially in all the arts which have been most fully developed by the application of science and invention, there has been a progressive advance in the rate of wages or in the earnings of all who are occupied on the farm, on the railway, in the factory or in the workshop. This advance has been subject to temporary reductions during periods of commercial crises, usually very moderate. In such periods there is apt to be unemployment for a portion of the working force rather than any considerable reduction in established rates of wages. These periods are usually of short duration and from each small decline wages have taken a speedy upward trend. This advance in all rates of wages has been coupled with a general decline in the prices of nearly all products. In many arts the progress of invention has lessened the demand for individual skill and aptitude in the workman. For instance in the making of a steel plow a few years since nearly all the workmen were of necessity skilled mechanics, earning relatively very high wages, yet such has been the application of machinery to the production of the plow that laborers may be called in from the adjacent fields who, if possessed of ordinary intelligence, may in three months or less become expert attendants upon the machines on which the separate parts that constitute the plow are made. Their wages are now as high as those of the skilled mechanics of a former generation, while the men of the present generation who correspond to the skilled plow makers of a former day have gone up into employments requiring even a higher type of individuality at higher relative rates of wages."

The trouble with these special pleaders is that their stories seldom agree. Thus a Standard Oil university professor recently said that there was no doubt that the machine production was driving the workers out of the factories, and that the claim that the new

processes of manufacture gave those displaced new jobs was erroneous. Some people thought that they got employment at making the machinery that had displaced them; but this was disproven by inquiries made at such manufactories, where it was found that more and more labor displacing machinery was being employed. But this apologist for the capitalist system had an excuse of his own. "It appears," he said, "that those who are forced out of work in the productive industries find employment in the increasing work of distribution and transportation." It is safe to say that he knew better, and that he well knew that the same forces of combination and concentration obtained in distribution as well as in production.

—J. A. D.

### PRODUCTION AND EXPANSION

Labor, manual and mental, applied to natural resources creates all wealth, and if the products were given to those who created such wealth, and they consumed it, there could never exist capital or profit. The historical development of industrial society shows conclusively that capital is a social product and not the savings or accumulations of any individual. If it were, the moment the individual died his income would cease and his property would not increase in value and continue to pay a profit.

Those who create wealth receive wages; those who own the means of production receive profits; that profit represents the difference between the amount paid for the production of the commodity and the amount at which it is sold. The capitalist must sell, to secure a profit, for more than the cost of production, and he endeavors to sell to the producers. The purchasing power of the consumers is limited to the amount they have received for producing, and as the capitalist charges more for his wares than he paid for them there must remain products on hand undistributed of representing the difference between the aggregate purchasing power of consumers and the aggregate price charged for their production. This surplus product or overproduction must be disposed of, and when the home market is exhausted and lacks the power of consumption we must reach out, progress, develop and search for markets in distant lands. New markets for surplus products are demanded by the capitalist. He knows no other solution. What shall we do when new markets are old? What shall we do with Americans when Malays, Chinese and negroes throw their product upon American shores and the American laborer has no money with which to buy? Capitalist and laborer in this economic maelstrom cry peace, peace. New markets! A siren song played on the cords of ambition, covetousness and hope; the charm will be short, and ever the shores of capitalism shall be polluted and strewn with wreckage.—Seymour Stedman before the Social Economics Club, Chicago.

### Municipal Grants.

At a recent session of the National Municipal League at Indianapolis, Mr. Charles Richardson read a paper on "Municipal Franchises" that attracted attention. He said in part:

"I feel constrained to announce myself as being unalterably opposed to any grant of municipal franchises for any purpose whatever and I take this position as a matter of principle. I maintain that the idea of granting franchises to private individuals or corporations to minister to a city in social necessities is as wrong in scientific theory as it is mischievous and destructive of what is best in municipal life in practice. The whole idea of granting special privileges to a few people to make profit off all the rest of the people is undemocratic and consequently is opposed to and stands in the way of progress toward the realization of our loftiest and best ideals, the equality of all men before the law.

A man who kills his brother by depriving him of the fruits of his labor, lives in luxury; adds to the infamy of self-aggrandizement the crime of murder. This is what the great world is slowly learning.

## DEBS' WESTERN TOUR.

Gives His Views on Expansion and Other Topics in Interview and Lecture.

(From the Press, Ottumwa, Ia., Dec. 14.)  
 EUGENE V. Debs, the famous Socialist, spoke in Ottumwa last night at the Grand. Yesterday afternoon a Press reporter called upon Mr. Debs at the Balingall hotel and secured an interview with him.

Personally Mr. Debs impresses one as being a very mild mannered and inoffensive gentleman. He shows excellent breeding, a fine education and his politeness almost reaches obsequiousness. He spoke of his present tour, of his impressions of Iowa and of his ideas in reference to territorial expansion.

This latter question he dwelt upon at some length. Mr. Debs is strongly opposed to the United States government assuming possession of the Philippines, Porto Rico, Cuba and other possessions of the Spanish that were captured by Uncle Sam in the recent little unpleasantness.

"It is my honest conviction that the United States government should carry out in good faith to its conclusion the original declaration that it was not a war of conquest, but for humanity's sake."

"How would you manage the affair?" was asked him by the reporter.

"I would exercise a protectorate over the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico, until the natives of each place had their affairs organized and their government established and then I would permit them to decide for themselves whether they wished to establish an independent government of their own or whether they wished annexation with the United States."

"What do you think of the annexation of Hawaii?" was asked him.

"I think that was entirely proper and in perfect keeping with the constitution of the United States. In the first place it was the desire of the natives of Hawaii to become citizens of the United States through annexation. They are composed in a degree of Caucasians, and they already have a government established. Then Honolulu is a coal-mining station for the United States, and this government must needs protect itself in this regard. The annexation of Hawaii, I consider as an entirely different proposition from the seizure of the Philippines. I hold that President McKinley has no right to pay \$20,000,000 for something that really belongs to this government until such time as its inhabitants are in a condition to conduct themselves as an organized government."

Mr. Debs talked at considerable length in regard to this proposition.

"If Cuba becomes a possession of the United States," he said, "it will mean that while it is nominally a belonging of this nation, it will in reality belong to Mark Hanna, et al. The reconcentrados will be as much slaves as they were before the war commenced. They will be obliged to labor on plantations owned by American plutocrats for wages that would be as bad as those earned by them before the war."

"In the United States such things are being done right now, things that make a man's blood boil. In the sweat shops where 'Old Glory' is manufactured girls are working their lives out for a pittance, some of them for twenty-eight cents per week. In the Pullman shops women are working in the carpet rooms sewing carpets and getting for their labor three cents per hour, or thirty cents per day. Miners are working in Illinois and West Virginia, for fifty cents per day or even less. I tell you such conditions really exist, but the people will not believe it."

Mr. Debs is a tall, well built man. His high, bald forehead and formation of his head denotes intellectuality, and the set of his eyes and the glitter of his blue eyes show his determination and integrity. He is smooth shaven and is well preserved, a good looking man, just in his prime, ruddy and vigorous in the health and strength that comes from hard work.

He has had experience that would make most men bitter to the extent of the Russian Nihilist, but they have not so effected him. He is a born optimist. He looks on the bright side. He adjures his followers to educate themselves and organize and by self-improvement and mutual assistance he encourages them that they will better their condition.

Mr. Debs prefaced his remarks by discussion of the unrest which prevails in the world at the present time. The situation is enough to provoke distrust in mankind. He was not one to believe in the dismal dictum of McCauley, that self-government is a failure. He had confidence in the republic; confidence that the ship of state would go forward to her inevitable and glorious destiny.

The most melancholy phase of our civilization and the greatest evil of the greed of capital is the great army of unemployed, the millions of tramps in the country. These men are not out of employment from choice. Hundreds of thousands of them are begging for work and they are tramps because there is not work for them.

Labor saving machinery, the greed of capital and competition, are the cause of tramps and of the deplorable condition of labor. On the theory that every evil will work its own ruination, Mr. Debs encourages his theories that a better time is coming.

Fifty years ago, the working man controlled his own tools. What he wrought, he wrought with implements that belonged to him. The boss worked with his men and their families associated together. Then the laborer had no concern about his position. The boss depended on him and had to have him and his tools. The laborer's ambition was to run a little shop of his own and at any time he could start out for himself. Then the laborer was paid nearly the equivalent of what he produced and because he was so paid, his purchasing power was equal to his production. Then there was no overproduction. What was produced was consumed and in consequence there was a continuous demand for labor and labor then was at a premium and capital was dependent on it.

Labor-saving machinery was designed to aid the laboring man. Laborers invented it. A man engaged in a trade saw when he could make a device that would ease his toil, but capital secured the inventions and capital now has the tools. Instead of capital going out to seek the laborer with his tools, capital has the tools and labor must beg for a chance to use them and gain a livelihood. With the machinery capital is now able to produce four times more than can be consumed. Capital therefore must close down its machines part of the time and throw its men out of employment. Then on account of the excess product there is competition in sale. There is not the demand for the product unless there are special inducements offered. These special inducements are reduction in price. One manufacturer reduces the price, and his competitor meets it with another cut. The cost in manufactured articles is mostly labor and these reductions in cost are reductions in wages. Every time a laborer is thrown out of employment, he loses his purchasing power, he decreases the demand, he is responsible for another man being laid off and so on it must continue. One man out of work counts two and daily the tramps are increasing. This very greed of capital, though it will further impoverish the workingmen, will, eventually prove the undoing of capital, and labor by co-operation will rise supreme. When eventually capital has impoverished labor so that there is no longer a demand for the product, there will be no more congregating of millions of people in one community like Chicago. The people will spread out over the country as they should, they will co-operate with each other, they will own and operate the tools, the railroads, telegraph and express companies and other public conveniences. This is Socialism.

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## MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

United States Consul Boyle, at Liverpool, has communicated to the State Department some very interesting information respecting the great change that has taken place in England in the matter of street railways. He says that from being one of the backward countries in the matter of providing such accommodations, the cities of Great Britain are now moving on an enormous scale toward their construction. He describes this movement as one of the features of the remarkable "municipal Socialism" which is taking possession of British cities, verifying the comment of Lord Roseberry that the London common council was conducting the greatest experiment in practical Socialism the world had ever seen. Not content with the municipal ownership of street railroads, electric and gas-lighting plants, water supply and telephones, in several cities the municipal corporations went as far as to build dwellings for workmen, run hotels and erect and operate magnificent baths. In Liverpool the council has gone so far as to charge part of what should be the rent from municipal houses occupied by workingmen as homes against the taxes of the community.

Recurring to the subject of electric street railways, Mr. Boyle says that the first line was started in Liverpool a few days ago, and describes the equipment. For the benefit of American manufacturers of electric plants, fittings and rails, the consul sets forth the best means for these to put themselves in position to secure valuable contracts, though he points out a strong prejudice on the part of the large class of people in the cities against the award of contracts to foreigners. The Liverpool line is an overhead trolley, a committee of experts claiming to have discovered that the underground conduit system installed in New York, Washington and Baltimore is a failure. He speaks of several other systems of electric car propulsion which have been brought forward in England as novelties, but which are well-known here, such as the surface contact system. A scheme under way, he says, is to connect Liverpool with all the manufacturing towns within a radius of seventeen miles by light suburban electric street railroads, which will carry passengers in the daytime and freight at night.

## NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

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

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

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

SEYMOUR STEDMAN,  
 Sec. Ex. Bd.

## Referendum.

The draft of a National Constitution, which will appear in each number of THE HERALD during December, is submitted to the members for discussion. The Branches should take it up without delay and at the last meeting of each Branch in December it should be regularly voted upon, together with such amendments as may be filed during the interval. All proposed changes should be sent in for publication before December 17. When the final vote is taken, Branch secretaries will forward the result to the national secretary.

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

# Social Democratic Party Platform

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Demands For Farmers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## S. D. P. and Trades Unionism.

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

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

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

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

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

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS,

—BY THE—

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

## EXECUTIVE BOARD:

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

NATIONAL SECRETARY—THEODORE DEBS. EDITOR—A. S. EDWARDS.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, DEC. 24, 1898.

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

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

Total 12,411

## SOCIALISM IN THE FEDERATION.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE ONE.]

methods of reaching this end, recommends to trades unionists to vote for only such political parties as stand for the principles enunciated herein.

This resolution expressed the attitude of the Social Democratic party, and Comrade Tobin declared that if not adopted now, it would be by a future convention.

Other speakers were Samuel Gompers, J. B. Lennon, P. D. McGuire, W. J. Blair, Max Hayes, Geo. McNelle, J. J. Cahill and W. D. Mahon.

With few exceptions no harsh words were spoken and the debate was nearly entirely free from personalities. At its close the vote on the Tobin resolution was:

Yeas..... 420  
Nays..... 1807

That this is an excellent beginning for the Social Democracy none will question; neither is there reason to doubt, that more than two years will pass by before America's greatest trades union organization will take the advanced ground for Socialism which the Trades Congress of Great Britain has already done.

Forward Comrades, united on trades union and political lines.

## TRUE AIM OF SOCIALISM.

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

## ART AND SOCIALISM.

(Written for THE HERALD.)

The ordinary man, with orthodox and conservative opinions, there would probably seem to be no two subjects further apart than Art and Socialism. Even to many artists—especially those who are painters only, and who look to the rich for their patronage and support—the ideas of Art and Socialism seem absolutely incompatible. They would consider that the abolition of great wealth in private hands would dry up the very art of production. With extraordinary lack of foresight, they look around them on the great masses of men today (who have but little love for art or beauty), and imagine that Socialism, as typifying the triumph of these laboring millions, will mean the blotting out of all art and culture.

On the other hand, those of us who are working inside the Socialist movement know that this view of things is fundamentally false. Some of the greatest artists of our generation—John Ruskin, William Morris, Walter Crane, W. J. Linton—have fearlessly associated themselves with our propaganda. To the great majority of Socialists all hope for Art, in its true sense, lies in the triumph of our principles.

It is necessary to explain, however, what we Socialists have in our minds when we speak of Art. We do not mean simply pictures, that we hang on our walls and occasionally go to see in galleries. We mean beauty in everything that the hand of man touches,—in our cities, in our streets, in our homes, in our articles of daily use.

Now the questions that every lover of beauty has to consider are these: Firstly, What has present society done for us in the way of making our lives lovely? Secondly, What are the prospects of Art under Socialism?

The first question is easily answered. "Civilization" (using this term to express the life of the last 2000 years) has practically killed popular art altogether. No era in the world's history has been so ugly as the present. Ancient Greece was beautiful; mediæval Europe was beautiful. Civilization is unspeakable. William Morris has described the modern city as a "bricken mass of hideousness", and he spoke of London as a "spreading acre." These phrases may be a trifle exaggerated, but one does not need to be an artist—one does not even need to be strongly artistic in one's emotions—to be kept in a state of perpetual revolt against the sordidness of our daily surroundings.

Consider New York or Chicago, with their absurd, ungainly "skyscrapers," their street upon street of crowded, characterless brick boxes, their foul slums, and their noisy avenues, ringing with the continual din of traffic below and trains above. Were ever cities more unlovely than these?

This is not a sectional nor a class matter; it penetrates the entire nation. Bourgeois "blocks" and brown stone fronts are quite as ugly and monotonous as the brick tenements. Even upon the lives of the very wealthy is mirrored something of the degradation of those who make their luxury possible. The millionaires who buy "Art" by the yard sometimes succeed in hiring the services of great artists. As often as not, however, they simply pile up vulgar trash. Great art is always simple. Luxury strangles Art in the same way that it strangles everything else that is noble or healthy in human life.

Two periods have been mentioned

above as times when popular art flourished—Ancient Greece and Mediæval Europe—and by studying the conditions and ideals which prevailed at these epochs, we shall gather fresh inspiration for our battle against the ugliness of today.

The life of Ancient Greece was one of the most brilliant periods in the world's history. The Greeks were intoxicated by the love of beauty in everything around them, and to this day the magnificence of their sculpture and architecture has never been equaled. They were men who thought but little of commerce, but who thought everything of the commonwealth, and of the cultivation of their minds and bodies. Our word "idiot" is derived from a Greek word which simply meant a private person, i. e. one who took no interest in public affairs. (Of course one cannot forget that all the glory and pomp of Greek life rested upon the misery and degradation of a slave population. But let us remember that at this period in the world's history Nature was a hard task-master. Today machinery has made Nature our slave.

Mediæval Europe produced Art yet greater than that of Greece. The visitor to Venice, Florence, Nuremberg, Chester, Oxford, may even now see something of the beauty that once was theirs. The wondrous cathedrals of England and other European countries are a standing monument to the genius and the enthusiasm of the workingmen who embodied their thoughts in the stone before them. Museums everywhere are filled with multitudinous products—all showing beauty and originality—from the hands of unknown craftsmen in these so-called "Dark Ages." Remember that this was essentially a democratic art. The guilds of workers performed their tasks in a spirit of happy comradeship, each one free and unfettered in the execution of his design.

The prevailing characteristics of the two periods named may be shortly summed up as Idealism, Public Spirit, Co-operation. The prevailing characteristics to-day are commercialism, selfishness and strife. The fruit of the one set of conditions is beauty and happiness; the fruit of the other is ugliness and misery.

Socialism will provide exactly the condition in which a great and noble art will flourish. It is inspired by a mighty ideal—the mightiest that ever stirred the hearts of men. It will supplant self interest by altruism and single-hearted devotion to the commonweal. It will put peace and fellowship in place of war and competition.

The absolute unity of interest in a Socialist community, and the spirit of brotherhood which would dominate such a society, will find its most frequent expression in public works of art. The public buildings will be of noble architecture. The parks and gardens will contain statuary and sparkling fountains. The streets will be broad and lined with trees. Domestic architecture is likely to undergo great change, for the communal life of the future will bring into existence majestic halls, with decorated rooms and cool courtyards.

What new inspiration the artist will find in these days to come! Every great mind feels the ignominy of giving his best for private use and enjoyment. Artists to-day are sick of pandering to the wants of profit-mongers, who have been persuaded that it is "the thing" to have their houses filled with expensive works of art. In the future, men of genius will delight to give the best creation of hand and brain to the COMMONWEALTH. The finest friezes and pictures will not be found in private houses, but in the public halls. The best architecture will be found not behind barred gates, but on the national highways, the joint possession of a great and happy people.

Under Socialism men will make ALL work—so far as it is possible to do so—pleasurable and beautiful. To-day goods are produced under one motive—the accumulation of profits. Houses are built, food is cultivated, utensils are manufactured, primarily in order that certain men may increase their riches. In a Socialist society the motive

would be as simple as it is rational and natural. We should produce food, clothing and shelter simply because we needed them, and because they were necessary to our lives. This idea of production for use, as opposed to production for profit, is much more far reaching than might at first appear, and it is certain to affect the workmanship of all commodities. It will be a different spirit, and a different end in view. If we are to make wares for ourselves and our friends, who in their turn will reciprocate by ministering to our wants, there will be obviously a very powerful incentive to produce sound and good work. We shall know that upon their efforts and ours depends the comfort and happiness of our lives. The very SIMPLICITY of the Socialist life of the future, its return to nature and its deliberate repudiation of all the shams and hypocrisies of modern society, will be a sure guarantee for the production of popular art.

There remains still another aspect to this subject to be considered, namely the unity of hand and brain under Socialism. In our present society the separation of hand and brain has been going on gradually for several centuries, until at last we have practically shifted the whole of the manual work of the community on to one class, while all the intellectual work is monopolized by another class, the result being that the intellectual class keep the manual class in the bonds of slavery. In some extraordinary fashion we have come to believe that manual work (obviously the most useful of all) is "degrading," and it has been, and still is, the ambition of most manual workers to get into positions where they will not need to work with their hands. Of course this condition of things is as grossly unnatural as it is absurd. Every man has mental and physical functions and if he develops the one function at the expense of the other, the result is certain to be detrimental to his character. It stands to reason that a man who has an idea is able to embody that idea in the work of his own hands (if he has been instructed to use them properly) far more perfectly than if he has to give directions to some other man. Thus the old masons and builders who were thoroughly practical workmen, were able to turn out immeasurably finer work than modern architects, who sit at ease in their offices and draw plans. The downfall of popular art can be largely traced to this unnatural separation of hand and brain, and with their unification will come once again the desire and ability to produce beautiful things.

I have in this article discussed shortly what may be called the economic side of art. I have endeavored to prove that the whole future of art rests with Socialism, and the gradual emancipation of the workingmen. If we could only bring these truths to the perception of all who love beauty throughout the world, the Socialist ranks would be swelled by a new and powerful body of allies.

—LEONARD D. ABBOTT.  
New York, Dec. 7, 1898.

## NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

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

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

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

SEYMOUR STEDMAN,  
Sec. Ex. Bd.

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

## BRITISH I.L.P. PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

2. The provision of work to all capable adult applicants at recognized trade-union rates, with statutory minimum of sixpence per hour. In order to remuneratively employ the applicants, Parish, to: (a) organize and undertake such industries as they may consider desirable; (b) compulsorily acquire land, purchase, erect, or manufacture buildings, stock or other articles for carrying on such industries; (c) levy rates on the rental values of the district, and borrow money on the security of such rates for any of the above purposes.

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

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

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

6. Municipalization and public control of the drink question.

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

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

## In Far-Off Washington.

At a meeting held by the "Socialists of Port Angeles, Wash., one of the comrades offered the following resolutions:

"That as we wish to socialize the State of Washington, and our worthy brother, E. E. Vail, who has for the past three years been sacrificing himself to keep his little Socialist "Daily News" going without a press (excepting a proof press) that we appeal to the Socialists throughout the United States to contribute something to get him a press, if it was only five (5) cents each, as with a press we could do an immense amount of good here in the State." The resolution was adopted unanimously, and a fund for that purpose was started by each member contributing his or her mite. We request all papers favorable to Socialism to give this appeal space; and furthermore we will send copies of the paper to all those sending in their mite. Send all remittances to our County Central Committee Secretary, Herman Culver. DAVID C'BRIEN, Chairman County Central Committee. HERMAN CULVER, Secretary.

## 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.

Vote Nov. 8, 1898...12,000

Join the Social Democratic Party of America!

# Among the Branches.

## Branch Meetings.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for the first month.

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

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

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

Branch No. 1, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesday at Concordia Turner Hall, 19th and Arsenal streets. Wm. Rueschele, Secretary, 338 Iowa avenue.

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

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

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday at 614 State street. Jacob Hunger, Secretary, 622 Chestnut street.

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

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Monday at 8 p. m. sharp at 64 State street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 754 South Third street, Philadelphia, at 8 p. m. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesday at 18th and Wyoming streets. Joe. Shepherd, 318 Wisconsin avenue.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 778 Twenty-fifth street.

Branch No. 2, New York (Eighth Assembly District) meets every Tuesday evening at 180 Orchard st., Room 17, at 8 p. m. Louis Faevisky, chairman; Jacob Leibovitz, secretary.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 P. M., Funk hall, south 24th and Josephine sts. President W. John, 24 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2318 Jane st.

## SPECIAL NOTICE.

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

## The Miners Are Coming.

COMRADE EDITOR:—It gives me pleasure to report the organization of a branch of the S. D. P. of A. at Taylorville, the county seat of Christian county, in the heart of the coal mining district of Illinois, where "the boss" flourishes in all his glory! Taylorville branch is small at present but the members are enthusiastic and promise to increase their membership one hundred per cent at least before the spring campaign opens. There are many Socialists in Taylorville but so powerful is capitalism that they, the Socialists, are obliged to work very quietly for fear of loosing the opportunity of earning the small pittance of the wage-slave, but the wedge of Socialism has entered the capitalistic system in the United States and we shall arrive!  
 Courage brothers! The future is ours.  
 —ANNA F. SMITH.

## Would Vote for Change.

COMRADE EDITOR:—I never considered an argument either for retaining our changing our party name worth the paper on which it was written. To me party principles are the alpha and omega of politics, and I always thought that one so thoroughly prejudiced as not to espouse our cause on account of the name would not make a good Socialist; but Comrade Margaret Haile has given very good reasons why it should be done. In fact it makes me feel quite enthusiastic to see the name "Democratic" dropped from the party name, with many hips and huzzas to give it a start when it goes. The name suggested by Comrade Haile, though rather long, is descriptive of the relation we wish to hear to all Socialists everywhere, and is one of which every Socialist in America might justly feel proud. In every day parlance we will be known as the

Socialist party anyway, so what does it matter if it is a long name? I hope the various branches will take action in regard to it soon.

Red Lion, Pa.

## "The Herald" in Africa.

Comrade Joseph Aronfreed, of Philadelphia, is about to leave for the Transvaal, South Africa, where he will engage in business. In a letter just received he expresses regret that he must leave at this time, "when the Socialist movement shows signs of success," and with greetings to all the comrades, hopes to return in a few years and share in its future successes. In the meanwhile he will console himself in his African home by following our work through the columns of THE HERALD. We wish Comrade Aronfreed a safe journey and success in all his undertakings.

## Socialists of Connecticut.

Members of the Social Democratic party and sympathizers with the Socialist cause in Connecticut, are invited to organize branches and send delegates to a State convention of the party to be held at Hartford, December 25. Parties interested will communicate with the undersigned. By order of committee.

LOUIS SCHLAF, Chmn.  
 26 Spring st., Rockville, Conn.

## Proposed Changes in Constitution.

As to the proposed constitution of the S. D. P. I would suggest, as to Sec. 1. Name it the "Socialist Party," or if you think that unadvisable, call it the "Social Democratic Party," and leave each member to guess what nation it is of. I don't like these limiting words attached to "Socialist."

Strike out Sec. 7 and 8.

Sec. 12. Make it read: "Dues 25c. per quarter, payable in advance."

Sec. 21. "The petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots." Put that in a separate section, so as to apply in all cases of trials and disputes.

Sec. 23. Referring to referendum vote add a section requiring the national organization to furnish each local branch with the name and address of all the branches, so a branch will know where to ask for signatures.

DAVID W. PHIPPS.

Seattle, Wash.

Branches 1, 3 and 9. St. Louis, at their meetings held respectively Dec. 16, 13 and 18, ratified by unanimous referendum vote the proposition that the state central committee be authorized to adopt and introduce, for the collection of monthly dues, Branch, city, or county and state, the stamp system, with a red folding membership card leaving spaces for two years stamps, five cents being apportioned to the branch, five cents to the city or county and five cents to the state.

ALBERT E. SANDERSON,  
 Secretary State Central Committee.

Branches 1, 3 and 6. St. Louis, at their recent meetings held respectively on Dec. 16, 13, and 18, ratified by their unanimous referendum vote the proposition to organize a branch in every ward. The constitution proposed for the City Central Committee was adopted.

ALBERT E. SANDERSON,  
 Secretary City Central Committee.

Branch 1, St. Louis, at its meeting Dec. 16, voted to request the submission of the following propositions to the national referendum vote:

I. That the national membership dues, and the subscription to the national organ, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, be separated.

II. That the national dues be five cents a month.

III. That the increase in the price of subscription to the HERALD be left to the decision of the National Executive Board.—W. C. WIBEL, Secretary of Branch 1.

## New Hampshire Campaign.

### RECEIPTS.

Cash, George Howie	\$ 3 00
Branch 7	7 75
A. K. Chase, Nashua	25
Branch 3	10 50
" 1	8 50
" 2	6 50
C. G. Levan	7 62
S. F. Claffin	14 37
Branch 4, Manchester	6 50
F. G. R. Gordon	61 55
THE HERALD	40
Charles H. Mellen	1 25
Somersworth	81
Cash	1 06

Total	120 09
Money owed to Comrade George Howie	6 35
Total	126 44

### EXPENDITURES.

Sending delegate to Chicago Convention Railroad and Hotel	\$ 43 68
Postage and express	7 60
C. L. Fitzpatrick, printing literature	17 25
Theodore Debs, HERALDS and literature	13 50
Arbeiter Zeitung and Volks Anwalt	4 00
Die Wahrheit	1 00
Securing names on nomination paper	20 36
Organization in Nashua, George Howie	2 69
Organization in Milford, F. G. R. Gordon	1 98
Filing nomination papers J. A. Wayland, "Hard Times"	3 50
Berlin Independent, printing	2 50
Swedish literature	1 50
Total	120 63
Cash in treasury	5 81
Total	126 44

## THAT LYNN INCIDENT.

Readers of THE HERALD will remember that in a recent issue there appeared a letter from Comrade Ernest W. Timson, of Lynn, Mass., declining absolutely an endorsement from the democratic party for the office of city councillor. In that letter, originally published in the Lynn newspapers, Comrade Timson said: "I am nominated by the Social Democratic party and absolutely refuse to accept a nomination or an endorsement from either the democratic or republican parties."

Comrade Timson now writes to THE HERALD the following letter which explains itself:

COMRADE EDITOR:—I am being accused, by members of the S. L. P. in Lynn, of fusing with the democrats on the municipal ticket. In this statement I wish to make my position clear before the members of the S. D. P. and its sympathizers.

On Monday Nov. 21 I was nominated as the S. D. P. candidate to the common council from ward 5. On the Saturday following I was informed by a friend of mine, also a candidate from the S. L. P. for the same office, that a democrat was looking for me to see if I would accept a nomination from the democratic party.

My friend had been asked the same question and he refused. I told him I did not want a nomination from either of the old parties. On Monday, Nov. 28, a meeting of our branch was held and I explained to them what had been told me, and that I had been asked in casual way if I would attend the democratic caucus which was held that night. We discussed the case and the members were of the opinion that if I ignored the caucus they would not nominate me as it was unlawful to nominate a person who is not a member of the party unless they obtain his sanction; so I ignored the caucus. Next day I saw my name among the list of democratic nominees from ward 5. I immediately wrote to the press of the city informing them of the mistake they had made, claiming I was already a nominee from the S. D. P. and as such refused to accept a nomination or an endorsement from either of the old parties. This letter appeared in Wednesday's papers; in the same issue a regular nominee from the democrats of ward 4 also declined. Saturday, Dec. 3, a notice appeared in

the paper to the effect that the declination from the ward 4 nominee had been accepted, but in speaking of my refusal it said the S. D. P. nomination papers had been filed which supplemented and strengthened the nomination which I had refused. Monday, Dec. 5, the ballots were printed, and my name appeared as the regular nominee of the Social Democratic party and also endorsed by the democratic party.

I swear I was no party to the transaction, neither did any person of the democratic caucus see me to ask my willingness to accept. Now, I have no doubt but what the S. L. P. will make capital out of it, publish it in their official organs and scatter broad cast throughout the country that the "reform party" seeks election by fusing with the old parties. Consequently, in justice to the party, which I hold higher than any individual, I present my case to the members so that if at any time this case should be quoted by our enemies, they will have the facts with which to dispute any false assertions.

ERNEST W. TIMSON.

Lynn, Mass.

## To the Populists.

The recent elections show beyond all question of doubt the passing of the people's party.

This reform party like the once greenback party had its death hastened by fusion deals with the old parties. But neither of these parties had in their platform the real reform, neither advocated the real remedy for the present world wide misery. In the East the P. P. has no following. In the South it has met with tremendous loss and in the west it has gone down to defeat. What of the future? Will the "middle of the road" populists be wise enough to join a movement that means industrial freedom for the race? Or will they still continue to fool away valuable time in building up another reform party to see it go to pieces? Brothers be wise, be just, be brave. Lose no time in joining hands with the Social Democratic Party, and help us here and now to build a movement that means emancipation for all.

The nation is ready to learn Socialism and when it learns Socialism it will vote for Socialism. Once we have a straight clear cut Socialist party 500,000 strong you will see both the old parties give us all that "populism" ever demanded. Nearly all the "middle of the road" populists are Socialistic, they want Socialism. Why not be brave enough to take a stand for it?

F. G. R. GORDON.

Branch 6, St. Louis, at its meeting, held Dec. 18, voted to request the submission of the following propositions to the national referendum vote:

1. That the national membership dues and the subscription to the national organ be separated.

2. That the national dues be five cents per month.

3. That the price of annual subscription to the HERALD be \$1 and that the branches be required to collect same from members in quarterly installments of twenty five cents each.

J. L. FRANZ, Sr.,  
 Secretary of Branch 6.

10th ward branch, St. Louis, was organized Dec. 18, at Weissenburger's hall, with a membership of thirteen. Comrade Henry P. Nelson was elected recording secretary, and Comrade Jacob Ehrhardt, financial secretary. Comrades J. L. Franz, H. P. Nelson and Phil. Kaufmann were chosen delegates to the City Central Committee.

HENRY P. NELSON,  
 Secretary 10th ward Branch.

The St. Louis branches held a general meeting Dec. 18th at the Bohemian National Hall and decided to take part in the coming municipal elections, and nominate a full city ticket. It was decided to hold the nominating convention on January 15, 1899. Comrades Sanderson, Lyons and Hoehn were elected a committee to draft a municipal platform for submission to the convention.—JOHN LYONS, Secretary of General Meeting.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

## NEW YORK LETTER.

### A Budget of Notes from Gotham-- The Old C. L. U., is Going to "Move."

"And yet it move on!" So does the Central Labor Union of New York. A couple of weeks ago it was very busy in a heated discussion over the annexation of the Philippines; looking at the delegates at that time, I involuntarily thought how the bones of the lamented Hotchkis, one of the founders of the C. L. U., would turn in the grave if they could only know that the New York C. L. U. can find nothing more important to devote its time to than the Philippine question.

"And yet it moves on!" A week later another song was heard. True, enough, more men were there who could participate in it, but they kept silent. A question came up in reference to sending a committee to Mayor Van Wyck to remind him of his unfulfilled promises to organized labor. It took the courage of the old trades unionist, Comrade Brown, to tell them that if they would not dicker with the old parties, but nominate a man of their own and elect him, as the workingmen of Haverhill had done, they would not have to fight with the old parties 364 days of the year and vote for them on the 365th. It made a little buzz, but was well taken. There were other men who could have said the same as Brown did, and may be even better, but they didn't. Still "it moves on;" they will all line up. The New York C. L. U. was the foremost progressive and most radical central body in the Union. But just keep your patience for a while, comrades, and you will see the old organization doing much better work than in 1886, in George's time. Think for a minute: What would you do if, with the consciousness that you were trying to do your level best, some of your friends came up behind and hit you over the head with a club, just because they imagined they could do it better? That is the experience the C. L. U. had. So let us be patient, for it is "moving."

We are going to have an organizer in New York; yes, and THE organizer too, no less than Comrade F. G. R. Gordon, and he will stay with us a whole year round. The East Side Branch has the matter in hand and is raising a fund for that purpose. Sometimes energy is wasted, however, and we hope Comrade Gordon will prevent this and organize our comrades on a better plan.

Now that the campaign is over the comrades begin to see that by abolishing assembly district organization they made a mistake. This will now be corrected. It is hoped that all the branches will try to harmonize their work through some central body which could take care of the minor organizations.

Our German comrades are thoroughly wide awake; their, or rather OUR German Gross New Yorker Arbeiter Zeitung has come to stay for good; it is excellent and is getting good support from trades organizations.

Last week Comrades R. Modest and I. Philips appeared before the Longshore and Seamen's Union of Hoboken, and notwithstanding the organization is a branch of the "Estiela," the mention of the new German paper by our comrades was greeted with applause and subscriptions were given right there.

I. K. C. BEAR.

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

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

—Social Democratic Party Platform.

## Membership dues payable January 1

**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



**AN APOLOGY.**

IT'S mighty impressive to hear 'em compare  
The comforts of heaven with torments elsewhere;  
It makes me ambitious to hear all these things  
'Bout the music of harps and the rattle of wings,  
An' the satisfied conscience, the feelin' of rest,  
That comes when a feller is doin' his best.  
Many times I've determined to go the right way,  
But it's hard to be good on a dollar a day.

It's easy to promise yourself that ye'll stop,  
That you won't say a swear word ner tittle a drop;  
But the comp'ny we keeps ain't the sort to express  
Theirselves in the language that fits ev'nin' dress.  
The ladies ain't present; engagement forbids;  
They're scrubbin', and cookin' an' scoldin' the kids;  
An' the good resolutions we've made go astray,  
Fer it's hard to be good on a dollar a day.

That wine is a mocker ain't news to my ear,  
And the same thing applies to rye, whiskey an' beer.  
But it don't do no good for to stand by and think  
How ye'll wish that you hadn't whenever ye drink,  
With yer wages all with ye, the streets full of light,  
The devil's astir on Saturday night,  
And it don't take ye long to get rid of your pay,  
When the same only comes to a dollar a day.

The old woman scolds, an' the kids they look frail,  
Instead of their school books they carries the pail.  
We'd keep up on beefsteak an' bread if we could,  
But they cost more than liquor and ain't near as good.  
The one hope we has as ter glory an' song  
Is that him as keeps books for the heavenly throng,  
When he makes his report, will be easy an' say  
That it's hard to be good on a dollar a day.

PHILANDER JOHNSON.

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.

Join the Social  
Democratic Party of  
America!

**Another Mechanical Advance.**

New and improved form of roller gins for American staple cotton have been put into service by the Advance Gin Co., Vicksburg, Miss., where there is a battery of twenty roller gins at work. These gins feed themselves, and unload the cotton on a roller apron that take it to the compress. The seed drops under the floor where machinery polishes it black and loads it on cars on its way to the olive oil mills of Europe.

The twenty gins run on one bale of cotton, and when it is out the compress compresses it. Samples are taken of the lint while the cotton is being ginned; half of the sample is given to the planter, and the other half is kept by the gin. When compressed the bale is weighed, a certificate given to the planter and it is ready to be shipped to any cotton mill in the world.

Thus not only does this new machinery help the planter obtain two cents a pound more for his cotton but it does away with his tax he is now under for sampling and weighing his cotton and compressing it, and further prevents the loss of scraps and ends and pickings and sample hole trimmings that now all come out of the farmer.

—Commercial Bulletin, Boston.

Membership dues  
payable January 1

**SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION OF ENGLAND.**

**OBJECT.**

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

1. All organizers or administrators to be elected by equal direct adult suffrage, and to be maintained by the community.
2. Legislation by the people in such wise that no project of law shall become binding till accepted by the majority of the people.
3. The abolition of standing armies, and the establishment of National citizen forces; the people to decide on peace or war.
4. All education to be compulsory, secular, industrial, and free.
5. The administration of justice to be free to all.
6. The means of production, distribution, and exchange to be declared and treated as collective or common property.
7. The production and distribution of wealth to be regulated by the community in the common interests of all its members.
8. The establishment of international courts of arbitration.

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

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

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

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

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

Cumulative taxation upon all incomes exceeding £300.

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

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

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

The disestablishment and disendowment of all state churches. The establishment of adequate pensions for the aged and infirm workers. Every person attaining the age of fifty to be kept by the community, work being optional after that age. The establishment of municipal hospitals, municipal control of the food and coal supply, abolition of present workhouse system, and the provision of useful work for the unemployed. State control of life-boat service.

As means for the peaceful attainment of these objects the Social Democratic Federation advocates:

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

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

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HY. MAACK, ARCHITECT.

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Room 7, International Bank Building, Fourth and Chestnut Sts., St. Louis, Mo.

# Social Democratic Party of America.

## Constitution of National Council.

### Name and Headquarters.

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

### How organized.

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

1. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

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

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

4. An Executive Board of five members.

### Executive Board.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Revenues and Funds.

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

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

### The National Council.

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

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

### Official Paper.

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

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

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

### Referendum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Recall of Officers.

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

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

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

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

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

### What Socialism Is.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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# WORLD OF LABOR.

## NATIONAL. ST. LOUIS, MO.

The Journeymen Painters of Missouri and the Painters and Decorators of America consolidated.

A new woodcarvers' union, a branch of the Amalgamated Woodcarvers' Union of America, has been organized in St. Louis by Comrade Charles Gebelein. The number is 25 and meetings are held twice a month at St. Louis Hall, Broadway and Biddle street.

The International Machinists Association held a successful agitation meeting at Druid's Hall last Tuesday evening. The speakers of the evening were Grand Master Workman O'Donnell and Organizer Stuart Reed, who were both delegates to the A. F. L. convention in Kansas City.

The Carpenters' District Council declared a boycott against the artificial Ice Rink Company.

Brewers and Malsters' Union, in its last meeting, initiated all the brewer workmen of the American and Obert Brewing Companies.

## BOSTON, MASS.

The vest manufacturers of this city have demanded that their employes shall promise not to join any trades union. The 150 vest makers resent the demand made upon them, and have struck. The reason for the strike came when the manufacturers, four in number, wished to bind their employes against trade unionism by means of a guarantee bond or money deposit. The refusal to do this was based, the operatives say, on the poor wages paid. The manufacturers have now declared their shops to be open.

## LEXINGTON, KY.

At a meeting of the State League of Tobacco Growers, a state organization was chosen to go all over the state and organize county leagues. The league is taking active legal steps against the tobacco trust. This is its first meeting since its organization a few days ago.

## MARLBORO, MASS.

It has developed that the shoe manufacturers here, who are involved in a strike, do not propose to reopen their factories until spring, unless the operatives make some concessions. The manufacturers say they would have no difficulty in getting all the cutters they needed, but it is in the stitching department that the lack of help is most evident.

## LONDON, ONT.

Under the auspices of the Socialist labor party of Canada, the Socialists of London have a municipal ticket in the field, with Fred J. Darch as candidate for mayor and Henry B. Ashplant, water commissioner.

## INTERNATIONAL.

### WEST HAM, ENGLAND.

Comrades who have heard of the Socialist and labor group in West Ham, which has been in existence for two years, and of the addition which it has had through the late municipal and bye-elections, where, out of eighteen seats sixteen were contested by those who were pledged to the Socialist and labor group, and fifteen got returned, will be interested to know the composition of that group. The council is composed of forty-eight members, twelve aldermen and thirty-six councilors. Of these the Socialist and labor group numbers twenty-nine. It consists of men who are willing to sink their individuality and bow to the majority on all questions affecting municipal progress, and are as follows:

A. Hayday, W. Thorne, J. J. Terret, H. Pickard, G. Coe, G. Bissel, R. Mansfield, W. Ward, R. Fraser, S. Jacobs, H. Davis of the Social Democratic Federation; Godbold, Pert, Scott, Deveney and Ambrose of the Independent Labor party; White, Athey, Fredericks, Kelly, Fulcher, Bethell, Scanlon, Skelton, Smith, Alden, Howard, Barber and East, Independent and Liberal Labor members.

## LONDON, ENGLAND.

Professor Beesly, in the "Positivist Review," says: "If French and English positivists would learn how they should co-operate for the promotion of their principles, undistracted by national prejudices and passions, they should look at the attitude of French and English Socialists. M. Jean Jaures in the 'Petite Republique' and Mr. Hyndman in 'Justice' have admirably protested, each of them, against the immoral and insensate enterprises of his own countrymen on the Upper Nile, and have insisted on the paramount necessity of peaceful relations between France and England."

## BERLIN, GERMANY.

It is to be hoped our old valiant Comrade Liebknecht, who is now over 70 years of age, won't again have to undergo imprisonment for "majestats-beleidigung" on account of his admirable and outspoken article in the "Vorwärts" on the out-Cæsaring of Cæsarism in Germany. It was high time that someone with authority derived from innate capacity and high services should say plainly what all are thinking about the present state of things in Germany. Even the Kaiser's favorite capitalists, with Stumm at their head, are beginning to get uneasy; and the present serious financial and economic crisis through which the German Empire is passing does not make things any better for them.

## COPENHAGEN, DENMARK.

"Socialdemocraten," the daily organ of the Social Democratic party of Denmark, publishes letters from Liebknecht and von Elm protesting against the action of the German government in expelling the Danes from Schleswig, and states that Herr Bebel will on behalf of the German Social Democratic party, question the government at the meeting of the Reichstag.

## NEUENBURG, SWITZERLAND.

The Social Democratic members of the city council moved that the wages of all the municipal employees that receive less than 2,400 francs a year be increased by at least one-fifth the amount they have received heretofore.

## PARIS, FRANCE.

Another conference composed of delegates from the various sections of the French Socialists, the Allemanists, the Blanquists, and the Marxists, was held last Sunday to consider the important question of the union of the Socialist forces. It was decided to dissolve the Committee of Vigilance formed at the commencement of the Revision agitation, when a military coup d'etat was feared, and to substitute a permanent committee representing the national organization. An appeal has been drawn up addressed to all local Socialist bodies urging them to join the committee.

## ANTWERP, BELGIUM.

The printer's strike in this city is still unsettled. A number of the men have resumed work, but the majority are still firm. The newspaper syndicate have, unfortunately, been able to get some men from Alost, Malines and Liege, and also a few from Amsterdam and Utrecht in Holland, and, by forcing some of the small master printers to take sides with them, the firms comprising the syndicate hope to be able to compel the men to give way.

## WILNA, RUSSIA.

On November 20 the officials of the Czar unveiled in Wilna, the ancient capital town of Lithuania, the statue of Muravieff, the notorious suppresser of the Polish revolution of 1863. Whilst the Lithuanian middle-class did nothing to oppose this cynical glorification of the subjection of a people struggling for liberty, the Lithuanian Socialists have distributed among the workers in town and country a proclamation, of which the following is an extract:

"Lithuanian Comrades:—There are only a few days and the monument in memory of the oppressor of the revolutionary movement will be unveiled. Numberless gallows and numberless victims pining away in prisons are eloquent witnesses of the reign of terror of Muravieff, 128 dying on the gallows, 9,861 condemned to penal servitude in Siberian mines, and 4,096 banished to the remotest

provinces of Russia—these are the human sacrifices according to the notation he himself has made."

## GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

The Socialists of Great Britain had 84 candidates nominated in the recent municipal campaign, 40 of these were elected and out of these 40 not less than 25 are new gains. This is what a Glasgow correspondent reports to "El Socialista" in Madrid.

## NEW CASTLES, WALES.

The Pall Mall Gazette's correspondent at Glasgow telegraphs that it is understood there that the proposal for a coalition of the coal owners has been approved by a large majority of the mineral companies in the north. "This," the dispatch says, "is an advance toward consolidation. The comprehensive interests involved make this one of the most important business arrangements of the year, and one which should strengthen the hands of the coal owners immeasurably."

## ZURICH, SWITZERLAND.

There are still many complaints made that the factory laws are not properly enforced. The authorities claim that to a great extent the fault lies with the working men and women themselves who allow the laws to be violated without reporting such violations to the proper authorities.

## BERLIN, GERMANY.

In place of Comrade Dr. Adolph Braun, who was expelled from Prussian territory on the ground of being a foreigner, Comrade Dr. Kurt Eisner has been elected as assistant editor of the Social Democratic central organ "Vorwärts."

During the debate on the estimates in the Reichstag, Herr Bebel, Socialist leader, expressed satisfaction at the re-establishment of good relations between Great Britain and Germany. He also criticized Emperor William's acts and home policies, saying it was a pity the revenues of the German Empire were swallowed up by the army, the navy and the colonies, and that he understood there was an intention in influential quarters to introduce a still larger naval programme. Continuing, Herr Bebel referred to the expulsions from Prussia, contrasting them with the conciliatory utterances of Emperor William in the Church of the Redeemer at Jerusalem. Bebel then proceeded to criticize the imperial remarks, amid considerable uproar and cries of "Shame." Finally he was called to order. Bebel then denounced the anti-Socialistic police measures, and referred to secret police orders said to have been issued by Gens. Bronsart von Schellendorf and Von Hahnke for the arrest of Socialist leaders in the event, seemingly, of revolutionary disturbances. He said such measures do not arrest the growth of Socialism, which he pointed out, fundamentally differed from anarchy.

## HAVANA, CUBA.

It was an exciting meeting of the stockholders of the Nerro Carril Street Railway Company of this city, which resulted in the sale of the entire property to a syndicate headed by Col. G. M. Harvey, of New York, for \$1,472,000, or \$92 a share. The Americans Indies Company, another New York syndicate, promised to bid far above par if the meeting could be postponed a week, and railway system and concession of Havana. This shows that capitalist prosperity has struck "Cuba Libre."

## MERRIE

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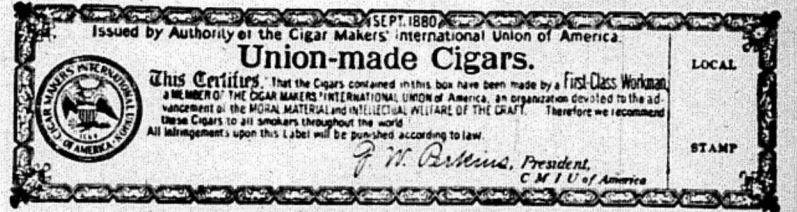
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Comrades, do your duty! The Victory of the Brewery Workers is our Victory!

## COMRADES, ATTENTION!

Comrade Anna F. Smith of San Diego, Cal., now in St. Louis, has undertaken some good work for the party. With the assistance of the St. Louis Comrades she secured a nicely put up Social Democratic Party button. The button will delight every Social Democrat, it shows the red flag on white ground with the words "Social Democratic Party" in white on the flag. The Comrades will understand that all the money over and above the actual cost of the button will go into the NATIONAL Treasury of the Social Democratic Party of America. To Comrades outside of St. Louis postage will be added to price of button. The price of the button is five cents. Comrades should immediately send in their orders. Every Social Democrat will be proud to wear this Party button. Address all orders

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