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Socialism is Not a Sentiment, but a Product of the Developing Process of Society.

Will a \$20,000,000 perfume trust give a different odor to the rest of 'em?

It is now in order for the republican press prostitutes to speak of Peffer as "the distinguished patriot and profound statesman of Kansas."

But Edward Atkinson, to whom these and similar terms of distinction were nauseously applied, is now a greatly over-rated individual and a traitor.

The actual cost of the power needed in running an ordinary electric car one mile is only about one cent; if you add a trailer the total cost is not over 1 1/2 cents. What magical benefits would accrue to the agricultural class by the extension throughout the country districts of the electric lines—provided they were owned by the public!

"A rich man is not bad simply because he is rich," said a speaker at a Y. M. C. A. conference at Grand Rapids. And that is very true; such a man is not so "bad" as men like the speaker who toady to the rich for the purpose of getting funds and attribute to others things they never said, as for instance, "A certain rich man is bad simply because he is rich." Nobody ever said that.

W. J. Bryan's contention that government is potent to prevent the organization of trusts is flatly controverted by history, which teaches that all governments have at all times and everywhere been controlled by the class which controlled the economic and productive power of the country. Not until that power resides in the whole people will we have true democracy, and then we will have Socialism.

The fellows who write about "civilized warfare" can readily string out editorials on the negative side of the question "Is competition war?" The Boston Globe thinks that competition "with loyalty to the principle of fair play" is something quite lovely. No doubt, but since nobody ever saw any competition of that kind, what is the Globe wasting time and good paper for? Simply in competition with other papers to humbug the people.

The men employed by the railroads at East St. Louis met in one of the yards last Sunday and resolved that they would "no longer contribute a dollar a month" for the support of the democratic party. Their money, they said, was subscribed for the free silver movement and not to provide banquets for politicians. Henceforth they will take one square meal a month themselves. If at the same time they would contribute a dollar a month to get control of the means of government themselves, they would soon be getting at least one square meal a day.

A new subject for a great historical painting has been given to the world by the soldiers of Cuba. The United States government, without the people's sanction, agreed with the Cuban leaders to pay \$3,000,000 for the surrender of arms and disbandment of the men composing the Cuban army. In the forenoon of May 27, Major Francis S. Dodge, a paymaster of the United States army, attended by a retinue of clerks and military guards appeared at LaPunta, Havana, with bags of American gold money and the rolls of the army, prepared to pay out the \$75 allotted to each Cuban patriot who stacked arms and agreed to return to the peaceful pursuits of life. A detachment of men from the Eighth (U. S.) Infantry was also on hand to preserve order among the mob, which everybody seems to have supposed would gather to celebrate the auspicious event. But there was no mob and the soldiers were unnecessary. The paymaster and his retinue arranged themselves at a long table, filled with a deep sense of their great responsibility. Bags of gold were displayed on the table, and all was in readiness for the surrender. Only one factor was missing: The Cuban patriot did not appear. The paymaster waited until noon, when, not a single Cuban soldier having brought in his gun, he went to Gen. Brooke's headquarters to report the state of affairs. A group of Cuban officers appeared on the scene at noon, twisted their mustaches, quietly jeered at the whole proceeding and went away for a smoke. Not a single patriot took the money and surrendered his arms. It was a scene worthy of commemoration on canvas.

To protect themselves, or make an attempt at it, against the encroachments of the department stores, the druggists of St. Louis formed an organization. The attorney-general has found in the arrangement an obnoxious trust and began proceedings to have their licenses annulled. But the Missouri legislature recently went through a carnival of corruption under the influence of the larger trusts, the department stores continue doing business, and the retail druggists who find themselves pressed to the wall are a fine mark for the democratic attorney-general.

Baron Von Stumm has been forced to admit in the German reichstag the power of the Social Democracy in compelling legislation for the masses. In the reichstag recently the afternoon session was given up to the discussion of the bill of Drs. Lieber and Hitze, both centrist members, relative to the formation of an imperial governmental department of labor, according to the imperial direction of 1890. "We must educate the workngman," remarked Dr. Hitze, impressively, "to organic reforms. We must give him the joy of a little progress. Liebknecht has said that we stand in the midst of revolution. The thought of revolution has been abandoned by the social democracy. That must be the view of every workingman. In the place of the solidity of classes we must have solidity of the really solid elements among the work-givers and the work-takers." "Such propositions," said Baron von Stumm, "would not have been thought of twenty years ago. That they are thought of now is a triumph for the Social Democratic Party—a greater triumph than its 2,225,000 votes. Such proposals give strength to the Social Demoratic demands."

The following figures show the rapid growth of trusts and the total capitalization up to April 26, inclusive:

At the end of 1898 the capitalization of trusts then formed amounted to \$3,662,241,543.

The New York Journal of Commerce reported that by the end of February trusts had been incorporated that brought the total capitalization up to \$5,832,882,842.

In the month of March new trusts were reported formed having a capital of \$1,111,750,000. This brought the total up to \$6,944,632,842.

During April 15 new trusts were reported as either incorporated or about to take out charters. These, including the \$250,000,000 Carnegie Steel Co., and the first branch of the Copper Trust, capital \$75,000,000, aggregated \$592,000,000; bringing the total capitalization up to \$7,536,632,842.

From May 1st to 26th, inclusive, 25 new trusts have either incorporated or reported as about to be. These have a capitalization of \$729,000,000, which makes a grand total for all the trusts to date whose capitalization has been made public of \$8,265,632,842.

The total capital engaged in manufactures, as given by the census of 1890, was \$6,535,000,000.

Today the trusts give employment to about 4,000,000 men, practically all voters. In casting their votes a great majority will be influenced in their political preferences by one consideration, viz., the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of obtaining employment and a living aside from the opportunities afforded by the trusts. We saw in 1896 how thousands of wage-earners on the threat of shutting down the works were coerced into voting for McKinley. In 1900 the country will confront a new situation. By that time, at the rate trustification has progressed since January 1, the capitalistic masters will be in a position, by their possession of economic power, to decide the presidential election. And yet, blind Mr. Bryan and his blind followers, imagine that a season of banqueting in 1899 and a series of speeches from now to the close of the next election will result in turning the government over to the democratic party. It is a vain hope, and it is all that remains to prevent the dissolution of that party. The trust employes, looking over the situation and seeing no chance for a living save by sticking to their jobs, will line up *five million strong* and vote, not to endorse trusts, but to insure themselves against the loss of a living. The outlook for Mr. Bryan and the trustsmashing party is not at all encouraging. Mr. Bryan is a blind leader of the blind.

IN MEMORIAM.

[Written for THE HERALD]
And the wild regrets, and the bloody sweats
None knew so well as I;
For he who lives more lives than one,
More deaths than one must die.
—The Ballad of Reading Goal.

It was just a life-long year ago,
When the sun seemed fair to me,
My day was bright and the summernight
Was a boundless ether sea,
Whose tide of silent happiness
Let my stranded life-boat free.

'T was in an East-side tenement,
Where legions work and pine,
And mutely starve and shrink and dwarf
And dwindle and decline,
And meet their fate in dumb despair,
'T was there, where I met mine.

O sad is Irish squalor
In the endless, rayless slum,
Or the stupid, smiling misery
Of the swarming colored scum,
But I never saw, what equaled
The Jews martyrdom!

Now, when I wooed a Jewess,
It was not her hand so fair,
It was not her eye, which worked the spell,
Nor a strain of silky hair;
I fell in love with poverty,
Struggling for light and air!

I fell in love with poverty,
Scorning the workday's sorrow,
And turning the haggard, careworn face
To a blood-red, dawning to-morrow,
And my girl, she taught me the gentle art,
Joys from the future to borrow.

Joys from the future! We didn't know,
That the chain of days has the power,
To strangle whatever in us is best,
That the timid, delicate flower
Of our love will soon be crushed to death
In the Ghetto's struggle for meat and bread!

Where was the horrible tenement?
Swallowed up by the earth like Korah?
And a plain-spoken Jewish working-girl,
Seemed to me the Propt Deborah;
She sang the future triumph of toll,
It was on the first of May,
And in loving her, I knew full well,
I loved the coming day.

That was a life-long year ago,
When the sun seemed fair to me,
My day was bright and the summernight
Was a boundless ether-sea,
Whose tide of silent happiness
Set my stranded life-boat free.

But the stony jaws of the tenement
Have crushed between them my joy,
My faith and my future, my love and my wife,
Whose memory naught can destroy;
O, that men must live and outlive their love,
And grieve for the dead till they die!

I know there will be an atonement day,
For those who are poor and oppressed,
But the heap of the dead is mounting high,
And a nightmare crushes my breast,
When I think of the countless victims, who may
Not see the dawn of atonement day!

—WILLIAM J. FOX.

TEXAS IS COMING.

Eugene V. Debs' Encouraging Message from the Southland. The Outlook Promising.

Beginning at Nashville on the 10th of May, this trip has been fruitful of results beyond all expectations. Nearly every meeting has been crowded and in some places many were turned away. Farmers have come in from 30 and 40 miles distant.

At Nashville the Socialist Club voted unanimously to join the Social Democratic party. At Memphis, I am satisfied, the Independent Socialist Society will follow suit. Wm. Pinard, the national organizer of the Barbers' Union and one of the most progressive trades-unionists, will join at Memphis and enter our list of organizers.

At Little Rock a branch is organizing. At Dallas, Fort Worth, Bonham, Cleburne, Waco, San Antonio and Houston, branches will soon be in active operation.

I have some good news for our comrades from Texas. I feel warranted in saying that the Socialist party of Texas will soon be in the Social Democratic party. At Bonham, I had a conference with Wm. E. Farmer, the veteran editor of the Social Economist and president of the party. He is heartily with us. At San Antonio, I had an extended conference with the Executive Board of the Socialist party of Texas. We canvassed the situation thoroughly. They unanimously resolved to issue an address to the party, recommending that their locals attach themselves to the Social Democratic party. A referendum vote is now being taken. I do not have the least doubt that all the locals in the state will come to us in a body.

A committee of the Houston Section S. L. P. has just called on me and we had a most pleasant interview. They are true comrades and I was happy to meet them. I assume the responsibility to predict that it will not be long before the comrades who compose this section will be in our party. Let the good work proceed.

The outlook everywhere is immensely cheering. My heart leaps with anticipation for the future. It is coming. The triumph is near. Onward comrades! Houston, Tex. EUGENE V. DEBS.

While the boys are dropping in the Philippine trenches, Russell Sage, and others of that "kidney," have to be compelled by law to pay their war taxes.

MUSINGS.*

III.
With all its shortcomings, representation is a good thing. It is only when it is applied to working by proxy on the part of the rich and eating in the same way on the part of the poor, that it becomes a dangerous principle.

The ruling classes have monopolized the Tree of Life. In order to enjoy its fruits undisturbed, they have also appropriated the Tree of Wisdom, with the result that the ignorance of the toilers blinds them to the source of their wretchedness.

And while I am in a biblical mood, let me jot down something else. There are in this country Socialists whose conception of fraternity is on a par with that of Cain of old. They have no better use for their brother than undoing him.

It looks as if our Haverhill lads had made up their minds no longer to allow the exploiter of labor to use their shoes for the protection of his feet while he tramples on his "hands."

A deafening shout of laughter was recently heard in the regions of the Prince of Darkness. "What is the matter?" asked Satan; whereunto one of his myrmidons made answer and said:

"Sire, the Peace Conference has just opened at The Hague."

By the way, I am credibly informed that the American envoys there were observed to perform the somnambulist scene from Macbeth. Like the illustrious lady in that play, they were rubbing their hands and muttering:

"Out, damned spot! Out, I say!"

Some time ago an aged woman was to be electrocuted in the Empire State. Governor Roosevelt was appealed to, but in vain. He thought it inconsistent with the principles of a Rough Rider to spare a human life.

Notice to "hay-seeds." When the cry, "the Hudson is on fire!" reaches your ears, you will know that the great admiral, most admirable and most admired, has landed in New York City.

Now that Gen. Miles is all wrong, Chicago is all right, and McKinley's second term almost assured. Our spell of prosperity may last after all, and Uncle Sam may be an emperor yet. Glory, halleluiah!

Washington, D. C., witnessed a Peace Jubilee, at which the fireworks represented the battle of Manila. There is no lack of humor in this country, that much is clear.

"Nine workingmen buried beneath a fallen wall!" Under this heading there was a terrible story the other day in the papers. Capitalism evidently knows of no better way of solving the problem of the unemployed than by occasionally killing some of the "lucky" ones who manage to be employed.

His sensitive Majesty, William No. 2, has not said or done anything particularly foolish for quite a number of days. I wonder what ails him?

In Europe people are most class-conscious on the railroads, except in Germany, where exists such an abomination as a fourth class—a kind of cattle truck for the moneyless portion of humanity—there are everywhere three classes, first second and third. Now in Great Britain, industrially the most advanced country in the old world, the second class is gradually being abolished. This means that the middle class is going. Make a note of the fact.

*NOTE.—The writer's two previous contributions under this heading appeared in Nos. 7 and 8, in August, 1898.

Progressive Thought for June contains F. G. R. Gordon's excellent compilation of figures and facts on "Government Ownership of Railroads" and other matter suitable for propaganda. For single copies (price 5 cents), address E. V. Debs & Co., Terre Haute, Ind. The annual subscription to Progressive Thought is 50 cents.

"THE FARMERS' DEMANDS."

DISCUSSION CONTINUED.

SLANTS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

I read with interest, in your paper of May 13th, an article on the Farmers' Plank, by Rosa Proletaire. Rosa shows keen insight in separating our revolutionary platform from our progressive social demands. Also, in regard to ultimate outcome, the co-operative commonwealth as an economic necessity, whether farmers' plank is a success or not.

I cannot agree with Rosa that the farmers' conditions will not be better with the farmers' plank; true, we shall still have exploitation, but we expect that until the economic revolution is complete; but we must face the farmers' plank seriously, and settle upon a definite course for future action; and I rejoice that THE HERALD is now giving us a voice in this matter, in calm discussion, which may save a wild jumble in heated controversy at some future party convention.

Now, we cannot as a party afford to make a mistake. We have no right to hold out this plank to the farmers and afterwards wipe it away; for we either would blunder at the beginning or the end, and justly or unjustly, the party would be cried upon for political huckstering.

I believe that the farmers' plank was made in good faith, and I believe in the plank. Why should Socialists hold the farmers off at arm's length, because, forsooth, they are called a middle class? I speak as the son of a small New England farmer; true, the class interest of the farmer is middle class, but taking them as brothers, why should we adopt class-separating tactics upon them? The trinity of evils used by oppressive greed to divide humanity is race, sectarian and class hatred—and while we demand the industrial brotherhood of man in economic freedom, we must not hesitate to relieve the people of any trade or class as a temporary, alleviating measure, to tide over this present painful transition period, and God knows before the struggle is over, that all trades or peoples outside of the greedy oppressors will demand our help as against Asia, Africa, and where-not; and it is these very trade planks that will, for the time being, cement us in a national labor unity for our specific purpose, the ultimate goal, the abolition of enforced idleness, and co-operation to realize a fullness of production, rather than the selfishness of competitive greed.

This step, we say, will cement us in an immediate industrial brotherhood for the final struggle, for men are but children of a larger growth, and immediate relief measures cannot be ignored; for while the grass is growing, the horse of labor is starving, and if capitalism has the oats of machinery, why should we let them have all the land hay? And if the party refuse these relief planks, what then? Men must eat bread from day to day, and if we, as Rosa says, wait for pauperism or the poorhouse, many perforce must turn to capitalism for the flesh-pots of Egypt, for blood is thicker than water, and love of family to the average toiling husband and father is stronger than party.

Now, what of the plank? I think it slants in the right direction. Imagine the industrial revolution complete, and a constitutional amendment prevails that private ownership, in land and machinery of production, is abolished; every family must still have land to live upon by lease or what not, even though the production should go to the collectivity, and all receive in return from the expansion of production more than the dream of want could desire. Imagine all this, and you can see the trend of this plank, for it supplants for private ownership of land a temporary lease, not a sale, from the collectivity.

Think of the farmer mortgaged to death, with several boys. Now all cannot have the old farm. The old farmer is troubled in poverty;

the boys cannot buy farms, but they can find a few tools, if given the land, and can earn a living at their own trade during the transition period.

Capitalism has, in itself, the seeds of its own ruin. Will it hasten that ruin and the ushering in of the co-operative commonwealth, very much, think you, if the farmer boys are obliged to crowd our other trades in city life, and later turn tramps? Even the radical revolutionist, who, in the pessimism of immediatism, would ruin all in the collapse of the old, to at once usher in the new, must admit that even the crowding of the farmer boys to our cities for homes, even if it swelled the throng of enforced idlers in these times of panic, to hurry on by despair, the collapse—is not a fly-bite compared to the constantly increasing machinery power which doubled the labor man-power of this country from 1880 to 1890.

The farmers as Socialists must be our strength and fortress in the coming struggle for protected capitalism is looking to the brown race, to enslave, to crush the American toilers, small farmers included; for the Malay can cheaply toil on the bonanza capitalist farms of the west.

The republican party has cried protection for the capitalist, and given free trade in labor immigration yet we must not, in bigotry, lose our heads as against foreigners, so-called, for the immigration question is not a drop in the bucket to the increase of machinery power. The tools of our fathers though selfishly owned by profit takers, who refuse to employ bare-handed labor unless upon their terms of profit—yet make for neglect, and anarchy, for labor is a commodity, with no perpetual guarantee of justly rewarded employment; the absolute prerequisite for life, freedom and manhood.

The bonanza farmers, who raise wheat on tramp labor, at a price to pauperize the average farmer, as also the wealthy, money-lending farmer, against the cause of economic freedom. Shall the party thus assist in the work, and shall humanity, except a few plutocrats, become a race of slaves before the transition period shall end?

Slaves did not save; aye, refused to save for their masters, the Roman civilization.

Wage-slaves cannot save themselves by adopting tactics to separate the farmers from other toilers. Shall we forget industrial unity? Must we help capitalism to keep the toilers separated by class tactics, or take a step forward, recognizing no classes, except the oppressors and the oppressed. Shall we declare for leveling-up measures that shall bring the proletariat and the farmer to a higher level, for the average farmer's son is in the propertyless class?

Shall we ignore farmers until they are beggared? Let us remember the words of Patrick Henry, not to wait until a British soldier stood guard at every door, and if we leave the farmers to the mercy of capitalist prejudice, then when the crisis comes that shall call upon labor to present a united front with the foes of freedom; then when we, as a body of Socialists, ask help of the farmers, whom we, by our heartless capitalistic tactics, have hurled back into the ranks of capitalism, we leaving them in ignorant isolation of the economic struggle, heightened not only by the plutocratic press by their pastoral life; when we, I say, require their help to establish the coming commonwealth, we then, may be in the condition of Mr. George Sands. George tied his wife's hands and tried to drown her in the river, but George, who could not swim, first lost his balance and fell himself into the river. George cried to his wife to save him, but she stood helpless on the bank and exclaimed:

I cannot, I cannot, George Sands;
I cannot, for you have tied my hands.

AUGUSTIN TOWNSEND.
Lynn, Mass., May 22, 1899.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

GO TO WORK AND REAP THE HARVEST.

Go to work and reap the harvest!
Nineteen hundred years of preaching,
Ripens blades of steel and bullets;
Woody combats without number;
Deeds and taxes without measure;
Hate and fury and destruction.
Army contracts that are rotten;
Soldiers poisoned by canned glanders;
Statesmen's head without grey matter;
Hate and fury and destruction.
Greed and arrogance and snobbery;
Jingoes shouting for expansion;
Peace conventions offering prayers;
Yellow journals urging bloodshed;
Trusts and combines growing faster;
Tramps and footpads thronging highways;
Workmen's wages sliding downwards;
Countless women selling virtue;
Competition stung to madness;
Hunger driving men to murder;
Politics a swindling lottery;
Churches fine bazars for merchants.
(Others keep on exhibition
Popery and sham religion;
Sermons written on gold paper,
Filled with unctuous words of puffing.)
Go to work and reap the harvest!
Nineteen hundred years of preaching,
Ripens mortgages and bankrupts;
Bold monopoly of nature;
Brazen throats call this progression,
Tell us want is self-inflicted,
Poverty the price of greatness;
Hunger but the whip of effort;
War and bloodshed good for commerce,
They extol the steel made Maxim,
As it pierces human bodies,
Yet they listen to the preachers;
As he dwells on Christ's affliction
And the bloodhounds claim his kinship,
And proclaim his golden maxim,
Go to work and reap the harvest!
Nineteen hundred years of preaching,
Ripens blades of steel and bullets;
Plutocratic brand of statesmen;
Treasure wrung from weaker brethren;
Armies waging fearful slaughter;
Armies marching to the graveyard;
Armies gagged by grasping robbers.
—J. R. ARMSTRONG.

The Social Crisis.

Extracts from an Address by Mary E. Lease at Brockton, Mass.

There are differing opinions in regard to radical social changes and how they are brought about. History shows us that changes are always preceded by thinkers, and that we to-day are in the midst of one of these periods of thought is true. New ideas are taking control of the race; and the mind of man is passing through a transition state. We cannot stand still if we would, and must march forward or be kicked back by the recoil of our own vices. We have had 2000 years of evolution that are not on the right lines of thinking and have made the discovery that our system of living is a perversion.

Our ethics and business methods are sadly at variance. We profess the Christian code and practice too often the Mosaic code of living. We teach a gigantic lie and live a gigantic farce. Our civilization, so-called, is so filled with inequality, injustice, oppression, coercive methods and selfishness that it deserves to be called semi-barbarianism, a cruelly pitiless competitive system that robs men and women of bread and life and children of the bloom of youth, happiness and joy, and allows wealth and legislation to favor the privileged few who devour the bodies and souls of their fellowmen.

The evolution of society confronts us as a new problem, which must be worked out on the slate of the 19th century. In other lands this has reached a crisis which threatens modern thrones; but here where less than one-twentieth of the soil is under cultivation, the question is not the perpetuation of monarchy, but the perpetuation of man, the very existence of the toiler. Our system is fundamentally wrong. The capitalist class, through wealth and privileged legislation, possess the mines beneath the land, and the water above the earth, and all the machinery of production, hence they are enabled to retain four-fifths of the wealth value. The remedy is the simple possession of the gifts which God intended for all his children, the land and machinery now held by private greed for private gain. The public property must be restored to the public to whom it rightly belongs.

You have seen the man with a melon patch go through and tap each melon to find out those which sounded hollow and were ripe for plucking. Even so Havemeyer entered the halls of congress and tapped the heads of our representatives to see if they were ripe, and found them rotten ripe for the market and ready to do his bidding to the extent of fattening his purse to the extent of more than 12 millions by legislation.

Others went to Washington, not to congress this time, but to the

office of Secretary Alger. It was not necessary to buy off the secretary, for their interest in the soldiers in Cuba was so great, and they were so fearful that the beef wouldn't keep and be good after it got to the brave soldiers, that they embalmed it so it would be sweet and pure when it arrived. And then so solicitous were they that the soldiers would not have an abundance to eat, that they sent over to Europe for cargoes that had been sent there for use in the German-French war (laughter and applause), and brought it back, and as a result the land is littered with our stricken dead from Cuba to Montauk. Can we expect relief from a party which perpetuates and is fostered by the trusts it has made? A new party is a necessity. When a party reaches a certain point evolution ceases and dissolution begins, which is illustrated by the downfall of the democratic party in 1861 and the rising of the republican party whose race is now run.

For years the republican party has been unable to meet the questions before it, and there is not a line of financial legislation enacted in the last 30 years that has not emanated from, been directed by, and been in the interest of Wall street.

The Social Democratic Party offers a logical, feasible, speedy solution of the problem, and its rapid gain in strength was wonderful. The principles of Socialism were permeating everywhere, and millionaires were taking hold and helping in its accomplishment, believing in its principles. Among these were mentioned John Brisben Walker, editor of the Cosmopolitan; Washington Connor, multimillionaire and railroad magnate, and John Wanamaker, "who was nearer heaven when he worked against Quay than ever he was in his Sunday school conventions."

THE STATE AND THE CITIZEN.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS.

J. C. CHASE IN THE COMING AGE.

The Hon. J. C. Chase is the first avowed Socialist to be elected to the highest municipal office by the voters of an American city. Hence his views as set forth in the following suggestive conversation are of special interest. Mr. Chase is a simple, earnest American citizen, profoundly concerned for the well-being of the units and the state. He is a fine type of a rapidly growing body of thinkers who hold that manhood should be placed above money, and that the interests of society shall be held as more important than the profits of a special class.—Editor of The Coming Age.]

Q. Will you give our readers the principal reasons which lead you to favor municipal ownership of such natural monopolies as pertain to the municipality, such, for example, as electric lighting and street railways?

A. My principal reason is that, whenever a municipality takes from the hands of private individuals any public utility and assumes its operation in its corporate capacity, it is asserting and exemplifying the principle of Socialism, and, so far as that particular function is concerned, applying the principle which I believe must be applied to all productive and distributive enterprises, namely, collective ownership and management. By socializing electric lighting and street railways we are getting so much nearer the co-operative commonwealth, where all the industries which minister to the wants of humanity will be owned and operated by the people, in their collective capacity, for the welfare of all instead of for the aggrandizement of a few.

Another reason is that the municipality, under the municipal ownership, saves for its citizens that amount of profit which now goes into the private coffers of private corporations, and enables it to insure to its citizens cheaper service

and to its employes better conditions.

Q. It is often argued that municipal ownership would increase ring rule and municipal corruption. Do you not think that more is to be feared from the corrupt influence of great corporations operating these quasi-public franchises than from the servants of the people, who are directly responsible to the citizens for their actions?

A. I answer most emphatically that municipal ownership would not increase ring rule and municipal corruption. I know from actual experience in my own city that there is more danger of corrupting influences from corporations than from the servants of the people. There is seldom a case of corruption which does not come from the desire of some one to get special privileges in the form of valuable franchises. Do away with these powerful private corporations, and you remove the power that corrupts our legislature.

Q. Will you tell us something about the results attending municipal ownership in Great Britain?

A. The results attending municipal ownership in Great Britain are remarkable. London being the capital not only of the British Empire, but in some sense also of the world, its experiences are of universal interest and importance. Fully to understand the growth of municipal enterprise in London requires a study of what London was and London is now. In it the new forces of urban life are at work in most significant ways. It is slowly but surely evolving municipal institutions to meet its peculiar needs. Its population is working up to a sense of unity, and to a new perception of great things to be accomplished through united municipal action for the common welfare.

It is only lately that the people of advanced industrial nations have learned to accept the fact that life in cities, under artificial conditions, must be the lot of the majority, that it is the business of society to adapt the urban environment to the needs of the population, and that city life should not be an evil or a misfortune for any class. The masses of London are rising to some comprehension of these truths, and they are clamoring for social reform. The immediate future of London is fraught with magnificent possibilities. From the extreme of chaos, disorganization, and uncontrolled freedom of individual action, it is not impossible that the great metropolis may early in the twentieth century lead all the large cities of the world in the compactness and unity of its organization and in the range of its municipal activities. The outlook for municipal Socialism is more hopeful in London than in perhaps any other great European city.

When we realize that Metropolitan London never had a legal existence, a fixed boundary line, or a municipal government—when we take into consideration the fact that previous to the Local Government Act of 1888, which gives to all counties of England elective councils the metropolis had no distinct organization or corporate form, and that it was governed in the most anomalous manner by Parliament directly as an interposing providence, by ministers of the crown, by special boards and commissions, and by scores of minor local authorities—it is little short of wonderful that it has been able to expand and develop as it has done.

When we see a gigantic municipality like London gradually emerging from a state of chaos, and developing along the lines of social effort as she has done under the London County Council, it seems to me that there is no chance to ask if there is less corruption when the agents of the people are managing public affairs than there is where irresponsible agencies operate the people's franchises for private gain. It is a fact that at the end of its first three years' work, the first London Council had so conducted itself that its friends could say, without contradiction, that "through all these years of administrative labors, as complex and confusing as ever fell to any governing body in the world, not one breath of scandal, no shadow of personal corruption has attached to any single member of the council."

The French Socialists and the Military Conspiracy.

[A. S. HEADINGLEY IN LONDON JUSTICE.]

It would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of the crisis through which the French nation is passing. The English press contents itself by describing day by day, the incidents which occur; but it has no philosophical grasp of the situation, nor does it ever attempt to deal with the under-currents, though these are far more important than what can be seen on the surface. For instance, it is not realized in England that for a considerable time the French republic was completely at the mercy of a handful of officers. Fortunately, not only for France but for the progress of civilization throughout the entire world, these officers were not fighting men; they were mere bureaucrats. During twenty-eight years France has had no war worthy of name. The chiefs of the army have no experience of war. Had the generals of the Second Empire been still in the army, with, for instance, a Canrobert or a St. Arnaud in command, matters would have taken a very different turn. But the officers of to-day are not men of the sword; they are accustomed to office work, and have no experience of the battle-field. Therefore, they elected to fight with a *borderau* and with forged documents, and in this style of contest they have been worsted. It is true that all the evidence indicates that General Roget did, at last intend to fight, but he let the right moment go by. The blow should have been struck before the Henry suicide; the nation would have then supported the army. The spirit of jingoism constituted the strongest current in the country. Since the German war a new generation has sprung into existence. It is intensely jingo. The honor of the flag constitutes its god. It knows nothing of the horrors of war and is inflamed with the hope of victory. This jingoism, particularly among the working classes and the inhabitants of all large centres is complicated by a sort of vague Socialism, which, instead of attacking all capitalist systems, wages war against individual Jews. This is the party of blatant patriots; and as a matter of unprincipled commercial enterprise, Rochefort largely increased the sale of his paper, *L'Intransigeant*, by catering for this scatter-brained crowd. It is this element which constituted the strength of the Boulanger party and the Dreyfus affair was the revenge taken by this party for the Boulanger failure. Alone the small tradesmen and working class element could not have done much, for they had neither the money nor the ability; but their clerical, military, monarchical and imperialist allies found both one and the other. Before the Henry suicide, they were the masters of the situation. If any prominent general had then drawn his sword, he could have thrown the members of Parliament into the river, seized the Palace of the Elysee, and established any sort of a government that promised to satisfy the jingo aspirations of the crowd. Some earnest Socialists and republicans would have resisted but such resistance would certainly have proven futile, and have only served to add more names to the long list of martyrs who have suffered for the cause of the people. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that the generals hesitated to take this course; for such a government when installed could only have maintained its position by a successful foreign war. Perhaps the generals were well acquainted with their business to know that the chances of success in a great war were, to say the least of it, very problematical. Also, they doubtless still had the hope of being able to hush up the Dreyfus affair. But as revelation follows upon revelation, these hopes are rapidly fading away. The death of M. Faure, himself an ardent anti-Dreyfusist, and the election of M. Loubet as President of the Republic, was a terrible blow to the Clerico-Militarist band. It was

under this stress of circumstances that General Roget and the mad jingo poet, Deroulede, at last resolved to strike a blow. A mysterious gentleman, followed by a lackey carrying a huge hamper, which was constantly replenished, distributed wine, bread, sausages, etc., to the troops under General Roget's command, and who were lining the streets on the occasion of the State funeral of the late President of the Republic. It should be noted that no such largess was offered to any other troops. Then, at a given moment, when the funeral was over, Deroulede appeared, followed by a band of noisy jingoes, seized the bridle of General Roget's horse, and for full ten minutes loudly called upon the general to march his troops on the Elysee and overthrow the government. Evidently all this had been planned beforehand; but of the last moment General Roget lost heart, refused to strike the blow, and tamely marched his troops back to their barracks. Why?

Having consulted several of our comrades here in Paris, I am able to give some explanation of this miserable collapse of this military and clerical conspiracy. The primary cause is the utter want of political knowledge and tact of the principal actors in this scene. General Roget does not seem to have realized that the sceptical population of Paris has nevertheless maintained one form of external religion. The worship of the dead is still observed. The Parisian population never fails to maintain due decorum at a funeral. General Roget when he appeared at the head of his troops, expected a popular ovation; he was received with the quiet, respectful silence which is becoming to a funeral solemnity. This he mistook for indifference or hostility. Then he determined to proceed to the Elysee by the Rue de Rivoli. This being the most direct line, was right enough from the purely military point of view; but, politically, it was a gross blunder. He should have known that the inhabitants of that quarter had steadily voted against Boulanger even when this would-be Caesar was at the Zenith of his popularity. The people of the Rue de Rivoli would have blocked the road and even fought against him, but they would not have left their own quarters to fight him elsewhere. On the other hand, on the grand boulevards, he would have found many supporters, though this is a roundabout route to the Elysee. Then there was also a plan to seize the Town Hall or Hotel de Ville; but here our Socialist friends were on the alert. They had the fire brigade with them. The most powerful hydrants were prepared; and had Deroulede and his crew put in an appearance, he would have been drowned with a flood of no ordinary description. With great foresight the Socialist and republican municipal councillors have always done whatever they could to befriended the fire brigades. If a fireman is injured they insist on his obtaining a decoration; if he dies they claim a pension for his widow. Now, the firemen are about the best fighting men in Paris. They are not civilians, as in England, but are armed with breechloaders and have a plentiful supply of cartridges. They are veteran soldiers, who, having served a long time in the regular army, are allowed, as a high reward, the privilege of enrolling themselves in the fire brigade. As fighting material, they are much superior to the younger and less experienced troops of the line. To a man these firemen would have obeyed the municipal council as representing the law against General Roget leading a reactionary revolution. It is probable that the municipal guard, or *Garde Republicaine*, would have followed the same course. Perhaps General Roget received timely warning of this state of affairs, and this accounts for his display of the white feather at the last moment. In

any case we owe at least in part, to the vigilance of our Socialist friends the failure of the military conspiracy. These are important facts which the capitalist press has not recorded, but which it should be our pleasant duty to proclaim, as they do honor to the sagacity of our French Socialist comrades.

If it was difficult for the generals to trample the nation under foot at the time of M. Faure's death, the obstacles in their way have now increased immensely. Their followers are realizing the hopelessness of their cause. The officers who worked together for four years are at present busy denouncing each other, and now that the thieves are quarrelling among themselves, honest men have their chance.

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

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

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

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

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

become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE. The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

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

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

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

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

The members had served without a penny of reward, direct or indirect, yet many of them had given all or most of their time to the municipality—while the whole body of one hundred and forty members, though composed of men who had private business or professional duties that could not be given up, gave an average of one-third of their time to council and committee meetings and labors connected with the public affairs of the metropolis.

Q. Have you anything to say in regard to the failure of the municipal gas experiment in Philadelphia?

A. I have been asked many times how it is that Philadelphia has given up her municipal gas experiment, and placed the plant again in the hands of private individuals. The answer is simple and plain. A corrupt municipal government, in collusion with those who wished to get control of this profitable enterprise, mismanaged the people's gas plant and finally gave it back into private hands. This fact in no way affects the correctness of the theory of municipal ownership. One failure in a municipal experiment, through a lack of general intelligence in the matter through corrupting influences, does not prove that the whole theory is wrong. It merely proves that the people must not put their trust in politicians, but look after their own business.

Q. Do you believe that the municipality should supply lunches to the children of the poor while attending school?

A. Most decidedly, yes. Further than that, I believe in furnishing them with shoes and clothing, whenever necessary to keep them in school. I am one of those who believe that the greatest safeguard of American institutions and liberty is furnished by education. I agree with the man who said that the proper time to begin to educate children is a hundred years before they are born. We cannot begin too soon, or give them too much of the proper kind of education. We have in our country, despite our magnificent school system, thousands of children who are denied an education because of the poverty of their parents. I speak from personal knowledge, having been in contact with them all my life. I know that society is injuring itself when it fails to provide an education for its wards, even though it should have to go to the extent of providing for them during their school years not only lunches but their entire support. This would not be called for if employment were guaranteed to all men, and they could provide for their own children.

Q. Do you believe that it should be the settled policy of the state to provide employment for those who are seeking work?

A. Yes, I believe that that should be the settled policy of the state; and when I say the state I mean the people—society. Through the development of machinery and the trustifying of industries, large numbers of people, are being constantly thrown out of employment and forced into vagrancy and crime. The recruits to this army of unemployed, which is growing larger every year, are forced to leave home, to leave wife and children behind them in the hands of those who care not what becomes of them, or caring, have not the means to help them—forced to take up their weary march in search of work, only to tramp and tramp and tramp, until foot-sore and weary, hungry and discouraged, they give up the struggle and become tramps and a burden upon society, for society must feed them one way or the other.

Is it not better that society should furnish work for all that they may be self supporting rather than a burden? Surely there can be but one answer.

The question of this capitalistic age, the problem of the unemployed, is yet to be settled. I believe Socialism holds the key to its solution.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1899

It needed a big army to "whip" the Filipinos; but it seems that a bigger is needed to keep 'em whipped.

It is a great relief to learn that the vanishing honor of France is to be retrieved by a new trial and the certain acquittal of Dreyfus.

McKinley has let loose from the civil service rules 4,000 offices, a patriotic step preparatory to the next campaign.

All the territory abandoned by Gen. Lawton was immediately re-occupied by the Filipinos, is the dismally discouraging news that is having a worse effect on McKinley than too much smoking.

That the great inventions of the century have made no really notable improvement in the condition of humanity, is a fact that should induce all thinking persons to interrogate the present system of private ownership for profit.

The democracy had a feast at St. Louis and threw down the gauntlet to the trusts. But the democracy also assisted in throwing down the Missouri legislature to the lobby! It's going to be a pretty fight of the same old hypocrites to get into office.

To succeed in its chosen enterprise of reforming private capitalism in its modern trust forms, the democratic party must not only stop industrial evolution and reverse a historical progression of society, but also somehow make over the individual capitalists into something better than the system. We do not hesitate to say that Mr. Bryan and his friends are unequal to the task.

The Huntingtons and Sages think that to educate the masses is quite foolish and unnecessary. And plenty of pin-headed patriots who fawn on wealth half agree with them. But under Socialism, economic security being guaranteed to man, woman and child, education will be the greatest boon of life, and the factory hells of Massachusetts will give up their dwarfed and stunted child laborers.

A National Conference.

The following resolution has been adopted by the National Executive Board:

Whereas, circumstances which were unforeseen at the time the present constitution of the Social Democratic Party was framed, have rendered some of the provisions of the said constitution, and especially that providing for the choosing of the Executive Board, impracticable of operation, and

Whereas, it is desirable that the members of said National Executive Board should at all times be in accord with the object of the party and its will, therefore be it

Resolved, that a conference of the Social Democratic Party be held. That two members from each State be selected by the branches of the respective States to act in conjunction with the National Executive Board; such conference to be held on the 6th and 7th day of July, 1899, at the office of National Headquarters in Chicago, Ill., for the purpose of proposing and submitting to a referendum vote of the branches a constitution for the party, and also fixing the time and place for the next national convention.

Individuality and Party Organization.

OF the many various fantastic reasons given for the existence of the Social Democratic Party, by those who wilfully and otherwise oppose us, is the one that certain of our comrades, fearing they would be unable to secure that individual notoriety in another organization which they craved, formed and joined an organization which would give them ample room to exploit their particular personalities to their hearts' content. Considering the prominence and publicity achieved of late by, say Comrades Debs, Chase and Carey, there would seem to be some justice in this claim, if the character and disposition of those mentioned were not as well known to nearly all of us as to make it unnecessary to refute the assertion. But with those who know only these, and many other of our comrades whom I might mention, by name only, and then, in many instances, as something only to sneer at, the case is different and for their benefit I want to say a few words on the subject.

First, let us remember that one of the chief claims put forward by the enemies of Socialism is that Socialism would destroy individuality, would seek to equalize human nature and thus place the human race in bondage to a merciless system of mediocrity, monotony and mechanical living, to which the present state of affairs would be a paradise in comparison. This, of course, Socialists do not believe; and when an organization devoted supposedly, to the propagation of Socialism, demands the total subversion of the individual characteristics and opinions of the members to the organization, we have a right to declare that that organization is not conducted in a manner that will best serve the interests of the Socialist movement and advance the cause. And in line with that declaration we are perfectly consistent in projecting and supporting an organization that will more readily and capably meet the end desired.

A well managed organization is one wherein the members, recognizing the especial fitness of every other member to fill a certain position and perform certain duties to the best interests of the movement, act upon that recognition and places him or her where they properly belong. In this way there can be true progress and in no other.

It is natural then to expect that insofar as each member in their relative positions come in contact with the general public, so will that member attract public attention, more or less. For instance, Comrade Edwards is editor of THE HERALD and fills that position as capably as circumstances permit him. Were his name not published as editor, there would be a justifiable curiosity on the part of the members and readers to know who was editor and in justice to them and Edwards, the editor, the name of Edwards, the man and comrade, is published. Everyone cannot be an editor, nor lecturer, organizer, agitator, essayist, else there would be no special value put upon the services of any one of these. It is because each and every person is usually possessed of some special gift, in a more or less degree than others, that some are successful where their neighbors fail, all other things being equal.

We have men and women in our party who are absolutely worthless to the movement in some respects and, on the other hand, invaluable in others. It is true that the lecturer will sometimes insist he is an organizer and vice versa, and some trouble may be occasioned in showing the brother the error of his way, but it would be absurd to immediately set about howling him out of the party because of his delusion.

A pretty safe rule to follow is to let him alone and the consequent success or failure of his efforts will soon convince him of his mistake. It was, I believe, E. A. Sothorn, the famous comedian who immortalized "Lord Dundreary," who would never believe he was fitted to play any other role but that of tragedy, until he essayed Hamlet and was permanently cured. Lecturers, agitators, organizers and workers generally in the labor movement are, I think sometimes, like poets, "born not made."

In a movement like the Socialist movement, so distinctly cosmopolitan, allowances must be made for individual characteristics which will find expression freely or otherwise in proportion as opportunity is limited or restricted. In Russia where free speech and free press is unknown, men and women are nihilists, who under different conditions, would be the most peaceable and least belligerent of citizens.

I fully agree with the dictum that individuals do not make revolutions. "Revolutions," said Lassalle, "are not made, they come." But every revolution has its representatives in some individual or individuals, who while but the creatures of the events which brought them to the front, yet, usually were the incarnation of all those revolutions meant. Neither Robespierre, Danton, Spartacus, Wat Tyler, Washington or Lincoln were revolutions, but only the types of such. And inevitably the oncoming revolution of the working class will force to the front men and women whose natural intrinsic merit and ability will entitle them to leadership.

It may be all very well to say that in the movement of the working class for emancipation, there can be no "leaders." Of dictators there can successfully be none, but of pathfinders and lightbearers there are now and will continue to be. If one's ability is superior to his fellows, that ability should be given as free and full scope as is compatible with democracy. I prefer the "leader" whose actions are open to the light of day and thus subject to honest criticism to the boss who, while disclaiming publicity and leadership, yet secretly plots and conspires a la Richelieu, and puts up puppets to do his secret bidding. There are men who are stronger when least known; whose importance is magnified by distance, who, seen through a glass darkly are giants, but in the full glare of day only paltry pygmies; who, under a Pecksniffian cloak of seeming self-abnegation, ply an evil traffic in character destruction; and who are wise only in the conceit of words framed in dark allusion and the skillful inuendo of the coward and charlatan. The Social Democratic Party wants and will have none such.

I can see no good reason why the Social Democratic Party cannot develop in every member the best that is in them and at the same time pursue a policy of strict adherence to the principle of clear cut, uncompromising, political action. After all, the great question before Socialists is: "Can scientific Socialism be preached and practiced in a party organization which permits full, fair and free discussion by its members from the platform and in the press?"

If this cannot be done, then party organization is fruitless and Socialism itself would be a moral and ethical failure. TOUCHSTONE.
New York.

Spain has that \$20,000,000 safely deposited at Madrid, and we have—well, can anybody tell what we have?

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MERLIN'S MIXTURE.

A workingman once said to me after a discussion about industrial conditions, "Why spend so much time talking about the evils of the country? We know all about that. Let us know how we can get out."

Good. If we as a body of working people once arrive at the conclusion that the condition of industry is bad, it will be a short cut to the betterment of affairs.

The worst of it is, that most of us are Rip Van Winklish and imagine the America of fifty years ago is the America of to-day.

We used to say that "Uncle Sam can give each of us a farm," but now the only way we may all possess land is to let it accumulate behind our ears.

Once we said, "There is always room at the top," but now the fellows at the bottom of the heap are sat on so effectually that they can't even wriggle out, much less climb to the top.

The road from a laborer's tenement to a capitalist's mansion is a long one, and is rapidly falling into disuse.

And how to get out? Ah, there's the rub and plenty of it!

Carloads of literature have been written on the subject. Books to burn, and many of them have been dry enough to burn well, have been printed.

Armies of orators have stamped the platform, and worn out their shoes and their auditors' patience in fevered attempts to point out the way to social salvation.

Parties have sprung up like mushrooms, with big arms and little strength, and have been smashed in the political landslides.

Now, I'm not so great a jackass as to imagine that I can kick over a fence that literary elephants and oratorical battering rams have failed to move.

But I will give my opinion in a nutshell, and you can take it for what it's worth.

The first thing to do is to get our heads together, not the way billy-goats do, but to find out where we stand, and who is standing on us.

It is necessary to get together as a class, not as a mass, and hold common council for common interests and common defence.

The trades unions are already doing this, and are inculcating and developing that spirit of helpful unity that lies at the basis of all true reform.

Some of you scorn trades unionism as an inefficient and wornout machine for the manufacture of justice, and that the sole aim of a union is the exactment of dues from the many for the benefit of the official few.

There you are wrong, dead wrong. The trades union, apart from its undeniable power to resist cut-throatism in wages, is the school from which the industrial giants of the future shall graduate.

It teaches men to co-operate now, to stand together now, for their present benefit, instead of waiting for some political magician to make co-operation universal and compulsory.

Mark my words, a man who would be a scab now, would as likely be a horse-thief in the co-operative commonwealth!

But trades unionism in my opinion, while it is absolutely necessary to a certain stage of industrial change, is not enough.

It doesn't take a through ticket to the depot of justice. It gets off the train at the more-wage station.

Now, I'm going on further. Hang wages! I don't want wages! I want what I earn. I don't want to sell myself for ten hours a day to a man who will coin money out of my labor. A wage is the type of industrial slavery. A wage worker who gets \$2.56 a week is no more a slave than the foreman who gets \$50 a week.

Does a prisoner count himself less a prisoner if one fetter be taken off?

And by means of trades unionism we could double wages, the spirit of manly independence in us would rebel against the slavery of a wage.

What more is necessary? The united efforts of all workers of all trades without reference to creed, or employment, or locality, to recognize and establish the pre-eminence of labor by taking control of the means of government themselves.

What's the use of striking by retail, and being struck by wholesale?

Of what avail is a shoe-cutter's knife in comparison with a federal sword?

We must become politicians, and on that day when our national destiny hangs in the balance, we must use our ballots to lay the foundation of industrial liberty.

In certain banks there are time locks on the vaults, which unlock the door at a stated time.

There is a similar lock on the door of prosperity. For 364 days the door is shut and resists the blows of trades union's demands. But on the 365th day, the time-lock opens the door and the vaults of plenty are accessible to labor.

When next the political door is unlocked, don't send in a republican representative to get your share. Go in yourself.

MERLIN.

Attention, Lynn Comrades!

The committee appointed by Branch 5 to secure suitable headquarters have hired the hall situated at 32 Summer st., between Market st. and the theatre. The first business meeting will be held on Monday, June 5, at 7:30 p. m., and every Monday evening following. The comrades of Lynn are expected to get on a hustle and bring in several new members every meeting, as we hope to have 200 before the fall campaign opens. If possible we shall establish a library for the benefit of members and visitors. We have now a number of Socialist books but require more and any comrade having Socialist literature to spare will be doing us a great favor by sending it to us. The comrades are earnestly requested to attend all meetings, bring their friends and make our headquarters the center of Socialism in Lynn. Anyone favorably disposed towards the principles of Socialism is eligible for membership after filling out one of our application blanks. For further information write Ernest W. Timson, 23 Albany st. Lynn, Mass.

The result of the election held at Linton, Ind., May 1st, was a surprise to every one in this vicinity and is largely attributable to the lecture of the great and only Gene, delivered here on the 28th of Feb., for there was scarcely an effort made to develop the strength of our party before the election. Since the election it has looked as though our wonderful advance was going to be checked if not entirely lost by the apathy and carelessness of our members. But I am proud to say that they have awakened to a full realization of their duty at last and held a very interesting meeting when a committee on arrangements was appointed to arrange for a public meeting to be held in Red Men's hall within the next fourteen days. The committee will arrange a program embracing an address, music, vocal and instrumental and general discussion. An open air meeting or picnic will also be arranged for about the middle of June, when the committee will try to secure one or two speakers from abroad. No effort will be spared to make these meetings attractive and interesting. We also hope to be able to distribute some Socialist literature and increase our branch roll of membership. The one great drawback here is scarcity of work and consequent poverty. Some of the mines are only working one day a week. That great tidal wave of prosperity we have heard so much about has not struck this place. INCOG.

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

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 20 per month.

Colorado.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 200 Washington street.

Connecticut.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 868 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 8 p. m., New Haven, Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Frank street.

Illinois.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thos. Kerwin, Secretary, 2504 Wentworth ave.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2d and 4th Saturday evening at Nagl's Hall, 55 Blue Island ave. Sec. Fred. Jonas, 667 Center ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 3d Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School, 1407 East 19th st. Secretary Frank Out, 566 W. 19th st.

Branch 4, Chicago, Ill., German, meets 1st and 3d Monday at 8 p. m. at 535 Blue Island ave.

Indiana.

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

Maryland.

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, Md., meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 311 W. German St., Secretary Frank Marek, 1408 N. Gay st.

Massachusetts.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 32 Summer st., near Market st., business meeting every Monday night at 7:30 p. m., Open house. Public invited. W. Finson, 24 Albany st., Fin. Sec. Treas.

Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 p. m., in Cutters Hall, Clark's block, cor. Main and Centre streets. Every member is expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 342 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 29 Chelsea St. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m., at 1043 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Haile, 14 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

Missouri.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., at Room 7, International Bank Building, 20 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 86 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street, Secretary, Albert E. Anderson, 425 N. Newstead avenue.

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

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

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Rhine Hall, 13th and Wyoming streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3094 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Villa's Hall, Broadway, and Keokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 324 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 2d Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 4500 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenthal, 387 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 13th and Montrose streets. Organizer, H. J. Steigerwalt, 122 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City. A. J. Stora, 1336 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twentieth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 1011 N. Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 3850 St. Ferdinand ave.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (9th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 1031 North Twelfth street. Organizer John Zach, 241 South 12th street.

St. Louis Eighth Ward Branch (10th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday, at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, corner Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, L. P. Tomson, 241 South 7th street.

St. Louis Thirteenth Ward Branch (11th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3d Sunday, at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, Oliver A. Nelson, 1516 Pennsylvania avenue.

St. Louis Nineteenth ward Branch (12th Mo.) meets every Saturday, at 8 p. m., at 2411 Warner avenue. Organizer, G. Gandler, 2411 N. 24th street.

New York.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3d, Thursday at 112 Clinton st., Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.

Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Forward Club rooms, 107 Forsyth st., New York, meetings second and fourth Tuesdays of each month, New York City. Organizer, Louis Pejawsky, 557 East 12th st.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, at the Club Rooms of the Hotel New York, 307 Henry street. Nicholas, Secretary, 331 Madison st.

National Executive Board.

Meeting of May 22 at headquarters, Chicago. Present — Messrs. Cox, Berger, Heath, Stedman and Treas. Debs. E. V. Debs excused. Chairman Cox presiding. Moved and carried to remove Social Democratic Herald to Chicago. The following reasons for said change were considered to warrant such removal: 1. The necessity for having the paper in same place as the headquarters; 2. Lack of facilities in Belleville for getting out the paper, owing to its increasing circulation; 3. The possibility of issuing a more modern paper typographically in Chicago. Form of constitution sent by Massachusetts comrades taken under consideration and to be brought up at next meeting. Messrs. Berger and Heath directed to prepare an article for leaflet purposes giving the fundamental differences between the Social Democratic Party and the S. L. P. Treas. Debs authorized to prepare membership cards. Announcement made that the charters have been ordered. SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

Debs at Chattanooga.

At great personal sacrifice and inconvenience Eugene V. Debs will come to speak to the people of Chattanooga Saturday night. He abandons a paid lecture date and disarranges his entire scheduled route that a Chattanooga audience may hear him without money or price. He does so because some loyal friends here have assured him that our citizens especially need to hear the things he has to say. The people will acknowledge the favor he accords us with the biggest audience he will address in the South.

There is every reason to believe that no one class of Chattanooga will furnish Mr. Debs his audience Saturday night. Ladies and gentlemen, business-men and day laborers, captains of industry and the wage workers they employ are equally interested and will be equally represented. He leads the people's fight against organized greed; men in every walk of life are under his standard. — Chattanooga Inquirer.

They Went to Church.

On Sunday evening May 21, Branch 9 attended church in a body on the invitation of Rev. Roland W. Sawyer, a minister of this city who preached a sermon from the text "If ye have two coats give to him that hath none, and he that hath food let him do likewise." This was the text that Mrs. Lease said she never heard preached and the reverend gentleman, who is evidently fearless in preaching what he believes to be right and who has studied Socialism just long enough to find lots of good in it, handled the subject in a manner which leads us to hope that when he has studied scientific Socialism more thoroughly he will be a power for the new time.

While the branch has not held any meetings since the Lease meeting, we have not been idle by any means. A large delegation of comrades and the band are going to Rockland to help make a success of the second jubilee which is to be held there. The band is evidently going to be a success. It now has twenty-two pieces and is doing great work. We have engaged quarters for it to rehearse in and for general headquarters for the summer and when we rally forth from our den there will be heard sounds of diemay from the old party camps. I wish to acknowledge the receipt of a march for the band sent from Palouse, Wash., and will say that it will be submitted to the band at the next rehearsal. Many thanks comrades, whoever you are, and I hope your example will be followed by others.

Some of the comrades are going into Bridgewater, Saturday evening, the 27th, to spread the gospel of discontent.

We are just now engaged in finding out how little city officials know about public business. We propose to secure the use of Perkins' park, a small public park of this place for the purpose of giving band concerts and incidentally Socialist lectures, and it is remarkable how little they know about who has the authority to give us the use of it. In my next letter I will give a few facts about our brilliant representatives from this city.

C. H. COULTER.

Milwaukee Picnic.

Branch 9, Milwaukee, at its last regular meeting resolved to give a basket picnic which has been arranged for by the committee on entertainment, to be held Sunday, June 11th, at 27th street and Greenfield avenue, five blocks due west of the termination of the 22d and Greenfield avenue car line. Good music and "barrels" of refreshments will be on tap and 75 cents will pay your way to all there is in it, including your whole family and your best girl. The comrades will please induce their friends to attend. Comrades out of work will be admitted free of charge. At the next regular meeting of the Branch, which will be held June 16, the comrades will please prepare for their quarterly dues and monthly assessments. The secretary will also have for sale 390 S. D. P. stamps. Comrades R. Meister and L. Arnold are at their own expense preparing for an agitation meeting to be held in Bay View as soon as Comrade Stedman can be secured to speak.

Comrade James Sheehan will represent the Cigar Makers' Union, No. 25, at the next convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, to be held in June at Janesville, Wis. The branch also resolved to assist the C. M. U., No. 25 in their present struggle against Frank Schroff, who discharged his union men and is now running a non-union shop, and agreed not to smoke the following brands of cigars as long as they bear no union label—"Statue of Liberty," "104," "Athletic Bouquet," "Grand Price," "Monitor," "Royal Art."

SECRETARY, Branch 9.

The Social Democratic Party is carrying on a very vigorous educational campaign in New England and is causing no small amount of commotion among old party politicians in that section. They are to hold a state convention in Boston the latter part of this month and place full tickets in the field. — Advance Guard.

Farmers Must Be Reached As Other Classes Are.

"Kickin' kounts." I'm more than pleased to note the thought and information being brought out by my attempt to show the reactionary and bourgeois character of the S. D. P. "Demands for Farmers." Such veterans as Comrades Konikow and Rosa Proletaire are giving us valuable knowledge, accompanied by cool, thoughtful advice, which, if acted on, will save us regrets in the future.

In his rejoinder, contained in THE HERALD of May 20th, Comrade Gordon sets up a sort of straw Martin, whom he makes say things that he knocks the stuffin' out of, but the original kicker is still sticking to his text, unconvinced. On the contrary, he feels much firmer since hearing from those who are not recent converts from bourgeois populism, like Comrade Gordon and myself.

I'm not going to get away from my point of contention, no matter how far Comrade Gordon may wander. Let me once more state it: I claim, that viewed from the standpoint of the S. D. P. declaration of principles, particularly second paragraph, the demands for farmers are reactionary. Change the declaration or the demands.

I do not, nor can I, object to palliative measures or propaganda when of a character to be of general application. This is recognized by International Socialism, but I do object to special appeals to bourgeois interests. If farmers cannot be reached as are all other classes, Comrade Gordon's well fixed shoemakers for instance, by a plain statement of the benefits and justice to result from Socialism, it only goes to prove their interests opposed to the proletaria.

I may be viewed as narrow by Comrade Gordon and others, but I have reached my present position by dearly bought experience. When I left the "honest" populist party in 1896, I began to read and study Socialism, and, as a wage-earner, I have come to see my class condition and interest (class-conscious) from which point I shall oppose any and all reactionary measures and propaganda. By this I mean projects to ease and prolong the existence of the doomed and vanishing middle class at the expense of the proletaria.

I entered politics as a green backer and saw that honest old party disrupted by the prostitute of American politics, the democratic party; as likewise the union labor party and people's party, and unless the S. D. P. builds on sharp, clearly defined, class-conscious lines, with compact disciplined organization, the old hag will don a new dress, paint her cheeks a catchy red and once more beguile those in a hurry to "win." Why, the republicans in this county held a mass convention the other day in which the Foraker and Hanna factions contended for control. The latter were victorious by less than a hundred votes out of about 800, but the convention adopted a set of resolutions without opposition which denounced trusts, favored municipal ownership of public utilities, and shorter work day. They need the votes to win, see? Respectfully referred to Comrades Heath, Poole and others.

Setting dates to win seems to me to be foreign to the Socialist movement. Socialism is a development of which we are educational agents. When development and education have reached the proper stage, winning will take care of itself. The danger is abortion.

If a farmers' program is such a good and necessary thing it seems funny that the sense and good judgment of the majority of our comrades in Germany have not adopted one in the thirty years in which they have been building their magnificent organization, particularly when advocated by such an array of talent as Comrade Gordon names. The facts are, that a farmers' program is hard to square with the foundation stones on which they have been built.

Fraternally,
CHAS. R. MARTIN.

Tiffin, Ohio.

REPORT YOUR BRANCH NEWS WEEKLY.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 334 E. 54th st., L. Funcke, 239 E. 58th st., Sec.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters S. D. P., 251 Rutledge st., meets every third Thursday at 8:15 p. m. All persons interested in Socialism are invited to attend and to join the party. Wm. Butscher, Sec.

Branch No. 20, New York, (28 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursday's of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary R. Hoppe, 328 E. 90th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity, meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Forsyth street, in the rooms of the Social Democratic League, Elizabeth H. Thomas, 267 Division street, secretary.

Ohio.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 63 York streets, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Pennsylvania.

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

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

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 P. M., Funk hall, south 24th and Josephine sts. President W. Bohn, 244 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2318 Jane st.

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; Secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 225 W. 5th street.

Wisconsin.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month, at the Ethical Society Building, 535 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday, in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burkard's Hall on Pennsylvania avenue. R. Schoen, S. 12th street, secretary-treasurer.

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-ninth street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterleus hall, 717 Center street at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic party of America, meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m., sharp, at No. 618 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doertler, Treasurer.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

Eugene V. Debs.....	50
Clyde Coleman.....	1.00
M. Josephson.....	10
Monte Carlo.....	2.00
P. P. Ayer.....	25
R. S. Price.....	2.00
Emelius.....	50
S. J......	30
Branch 57, Spring Valley, Ill.....	5.00
Previously reported.....	\$141.85
Total.....	\$153.50

A new branch has been organized at Hartford, Conn., by Comrade J. W. Brown.

Subscription to the Social Democratic Herald will be taken by Louis Schlaf, No. 26 Spring street, Rockville, Conn.

The Social Democratic band of Brockton is making rapid progress. It consists of 22 members, the instrumentation being four clarinets, one piccolo, five cornets, two altos, two trombones, one baritone, two tubas, two snare and one bass drum, one cymbal player. The leader is John Cox.

Branch 6, Chicago, meets regularly at Nagle's Hall, 535 Blue Island avenue. The members are planning for a big meeting on June 3, and promise to make it the banner branch of the State during the summer. At the meeting on the 3rd inst., at 8 o'clock, there will be English, German and Bohemian speakers, and comrades from all branches in the city are invited to attend and help make it a grand success.

A meeting of Branch 4, Chicago, held at 209 St. Louis avenue, was a very pleasant affair. There was a full house. The Phoenix Quartette, composed of Wm. Brown, H. H. Frelick, Wm. C. Horgan, Jr. and M. Hohmger, members of the branch, rendered a few selections very acceptably. A recitation by Miss Gertrude Chambers was received with great applause. Comrade Seymour Stedman was the speaker of the evening.

Manchester, N. H., Branch, at a well attended meeting voted to endorse the resolution adopted by Branch 9 of Indiana which reads as follows:

"We recommend sending a delegate of the S. D. P. to the Workingmen's International Congress to be held next year at Paris and giving the Executive Board full power to levy an extra assessment on all members to cover the expenses of said trip," and we want to add that the Executive Board be given full power to elect the delegate, and also suggest that Eugene V. Debs be the delegate. C. G. Levan.

East Side Branch, No. 1, of New York, at the last meeting accepted three new members. The secretary reported that he sent \$22 for the general fund, which was acknowledged in THE HERALD, and had some money on hand which will be forwarded to Chicago as soon he gets more lists in. A committee has been appointed to organize the Ninth Congressional District for the next campaign. The lecture committee reported having engaged Comrade Mrs. Dr. Ingerman for next week. Dues to the C. C. committee were paid for 85 members for the month of March.

A. GUYER, Secretary.

The imperialists have given the country glowing reports of the success of American arms in the Philippines. At one time we had swept the country and taken every stronghold; the trenches were filled with dead Filipinos; we had destroyed town after town, seized everything in sight and left the country behind literally strewn with "rebel" carcasses. But now we learn, thanks to some unaccountable laxity in the censorship bureau, that we "can't hold Manila," little progress has been made and the Philippine problem is more perplexing than ever.

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

Social Democratic Party Platform

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of

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

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

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

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

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

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

S. D. P. AND TRADE UNIONISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REPORT YOUR BRANCH NEWS WEEKLY.

Constitution of Local Branches

NAME AND LOCATION.

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

MEMBERSHIP.

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

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

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

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

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

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

DUES AND FEES.

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

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

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

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

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

JURISDICTION.

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

ELECTIONS.

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

BY-LAWS.

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

TRIALS.

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

APPEALS.

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

AMENDMENTS.

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

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

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

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Organized June 11, 1898.

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—Social Democratic Party Platform

Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

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

HOW ORGANIZED.

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

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

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

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

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

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

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

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

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

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

carry out the general objects of the organization.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

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

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

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

REFERENDUM.

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

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

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

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times. The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Constitution of State Unions.

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

HOW ORGANIZED.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REVENUES.

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

THE STATE UNION.

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

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

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

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

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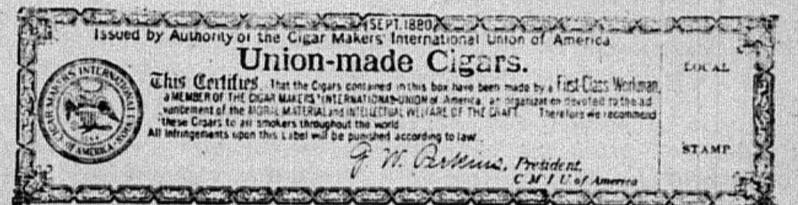
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Gleanings.

A strike of enormous proportions is threatening to take place among the textile and kindred trades in Saxony, Germany.

The municipal council of Vienna, Austria, has just appropriated \$7,500,000 for the establishment of an electric light and power plant for both public and private use.

The 50,000 Belgian coal miners who went on strike some five weeks ago, have gained five per cent increase in wages and the strike has been declared off.

Maximilian Harden, editor of "Zukunft" (Future) went to prison where he will get free lodging for the next 6 months for having offended his majesty, the Emperor of Germany.

The American Railway Equipment is a new monster concern capitalized in New Jersey under New Jersey trust rules and it will demand tribute on a capital of \$22,000,000 from the American people.

Plans for a \$35,000,000 glue trust are nearly completed. Large plants from Chicago, Milwaukee, Philadelphia and Newark are interested and the new combine will sail under the name United American Glue company.

According to Austrian capitalist newspaper reports, there are 600,000 people in Vienna, who "have a desperate fight on hand to earn a bare living." Not less than 60,000 people are deprived of all means of life, and, it seems, are dependent on charity.

Spanish capitalist papers are publishing articles on the rapid growth of the Social Democracy in Spain, claiming that, if the Government had not used all kinds of rotten means to disfranchise the radical voters the Socialists would have carried nearly every district in Madrid during the recent national election.

Forty-four Connecticut towns are carrying children to school at the public expense, and this by the antiquated and costly horse and wagon. Last year they spent nearly \$12,000 in this service and still made a net saving on the cost of the schools of over \$8,000. And not only did the schools cost less, they improved in quality; there was better attendance; the children and teachers were both benefitted.

Saxony has a total of 3250 city and town councils; in 333 of these councils there are at the present time 809 Social Democratic representatives. In Roderau the Social Democrats have 9 out of the 14 council seats; in Thalheim 9 out of 16, and in Pausa 12 out of the 16 seats. It must be stated that the right to vote in municipal elections is dependent on property qualifications. Most of the wage-workers cannot vote owing to their "propertyless condition."

The Social Democratic Party is being organized throughout the North and East, and indications point to the reasonable conclusion that the party will gain impetus as agitation goes on. The lecture tour of Eugene V. Debs in Texas, was a grand success. The audiences were good and much interest was taken by all classes of people. Men of all occupations and professions attended the lectures, and but few went away displeased with the arguments presented in favor of Social Democracy. — Farmers' Review, Bonham, Tex.

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Whitman's Town Meeting.

Since my last letter we have had another of those so-called town meetings, but so far as we were concerned it did us no injury nor anybody any good, with the possible exception of a few of the old liners who were allowed to have an old-fashioned pitched battle with tongues for weapons and mud for ammunition, while the moderator made a very fair referee and it was decided a draw by the electric light refusing to allow the contest to go to a finish.

The meeting got right down to business soon after the moderator called it to order, and the first and only question that was considered was the matter of a water supply. A motion was made to have a committee of three appointed to act with the water commission to investigate the Barker gravel well system, but the motion got no farther, as there developed considerable opposition and the mud throwing that I alluded to in opening was resorted to, and was carried out promiscuously. Although the members of the S. D. P. took no part we nevertheless enjoyed the little tete-a-tete by the so-called townpillars, in marked contrast to some of themselves and one of them wouldn't play if he could not have his way and took his coat and hat and went home. But the fun continued, nevertheless, until the fire alarm sounded, which caused a scramble for the doors; then the lights went out just as the moderator was putting the question to dissolve, so ended the last town meeting. But we are to have another.

That the movement is permeating is evidenced by the questions that are constantly being asked of the different comrades and a marked desire on the part of the interrogator to gain as much knowledge as possible about the movement. One of our comrades was recently approached by one of our school teachers. His object was to ascertain the attitude of the S. D. P. on the vital questions which are now confronting the people at large and he stated he wished to familiarize himself with the platform, etc., as he wanted to be competent answer some of the questions that, as he claimed the scholars were constantly asking him. The result was he bought a copy of "Merrie England" and "Hard Times" and was given a copy of THE HERALD containing the speech delivered by Comrade Debs before the Nineteenth Century Club and he went away happy. We will hear from him later. One of the scholars wrote a composition on "Haverhill" which included among other matters a little Socialistic grist. He is only ten years old and his name is C. Frank Goodman, following is an extract from the composition:

Hon. John C. Chase is the first Socialist mayor ever elected in any city in America, and three aldermen and four councilmen, one school committee man and also James F. Carey and Louis M. Scates were elected as representatives to the general court. Every state and city looks to the city with much interest, as the party is trying hard for municipal ownership.

His Arguments Admitted.

It has seldom been the case that a speech has had a better effect than Mr. Debs' speech had at this place, and it is a notable fact that almost everybody who heard Mr. Debs admitted the truth and force of his arguments. Men who have heretofore been opposed to everything in the shape of reform come out and say that Mr. Debs told the truth and his propositions are unanswerable. We feel that much good was accomplished by Mr. Debs' lecture. Prejudice was removed, reason has been partially enthroned in the minds of hundreds of men and women, souls were stirred and we predict that the results of Mr. Debs' visit will redound to the advancement of the Socialist movement. — Farmers' Review, Bonham, Tex.

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

Democratic Trust Annihilators.

Nearly 1500 democratic politicians sitting at the anti-trust dinner tables in the St. Louis Coliseum and about 7000 or more people gathered in the dress circle and galleries!

Indeed, it was a grand affair, that Bryan anti-trust dinner held in St. Louis, May 25.

"It was the greatest meal ever served in the West," says a democratic newspaper. And I may add, comrade editor, the whole anti-trust affair, dinner and meeting, was the most childish and most ridiculous political manoeuvre ever made up by any capitalist party. Permit me to inform you that your correspondent was one of the happy press representatives that enjoyed the \$2 Bryan anti-trust dinner. The dinner itself was nothing less than swindling 1500 people out of their money. In any 25 cent restaurant a much better dinner is served. A reporter of the St. Louis Republic, a democratic paper, disappointedly exclaimed at the anti-trust dinner table: "Jesus, if I had known that the \$2 dinner would turn out so exceedingly poor, I should have brought my lunch box along!"

Indeed, no "trust" would have robbed the people more than the democratic anti-trust dinner schemers. The dinner began at 6:30 o'clock and ended at 8, when the anti-trust speech making began. William Jennings Bryan, as a matter of course, was the main speaker and great things were expected from him; but the audience was seemingly much disappointed.

Bryan denounced the trusts, denounced monopoly, denounced the republican party. Naturally with him, he holds the republican party responsible for the existence of the trusts and asserts that the democratic party would bring about the annihilation of monopolism.

Bryan said: "The democratic party is opposed to the principle of monopoly wherever it manifests itself. It has declared war on the trusts. Not a little trust only, but a big trust as well; not against one kind of trust only, but against all trusts."

Now, comrade editor, I assure you that the anti-trust dinner itself was controlled by monopoly, and Bryan when making his speech was right in the midst of an atmosphere of monopolism.

1. The entire anti-trust circus was the work of the political trust known as the democratic party machine.
 2. The dinner was served on tables made of material from the lumber trust.
 3. Bryan partook of crystal water from the crystal water monopoly.
 4. This water was served in glasses from the glass trust.
 5. Bryan partook of the meat from the Chicago meat trust.
 6. The bread served was made out of flour from the wheat and flour monopoly with yeast from the yeast monopoly.
 7. The knife and fork in Bryan's own hands came from the hardware trust.
 8. Bryan's shoes were made of material from the hide and leather trust.
 9. Every guest received a small American flag made by an eastern flag monopoly.
 10. Every guest received two Havana cigars manufactured by the cigar monopolists and scab manufacturers of Hernheim Bros. & Co. in New Orleans, La.
 11. The matches even came from the match trust.
 12. The coffee and sugar served came from the Arbuckle and Havemeyer coffee and sugar trust.
 13. The 130 waiters were members of a labor trust, known as Waiters' union.
 14. The musicians were members of another labor trust, the Musicians' union.
- It seems that Bryan and his democratic party cannot escape. They are already in the hands of the trust. If Bryan wanted to be true to his principle he should not have come to St. Louis on the cars of the railroad trust; the old time stage coach would have been the proper thing for him. OBSERVER.

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Social Democratic Herald

Official Paper of the Social Democratic Party of America.

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