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THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE REFERENDUM

FREDERICK HEATH TO HIS CRITICS

The Reactionary Reformer Wants the People to Vote on All Sorts of Petty Questions—Vital Things Being Necessarily Ignored and Postponed.

What we need in this country is not a greater voting privilege. What we need is to get people to make a serious use of the political freedom which they already have. The great value of political freedom lies in its use for the voting in of economic freedom.

Sentiment is a good thing in its place, but it is out of place when it gets into discussions of the tactics of our movement. Socialists must make as few mistakes as possible. And so sentiment must not blind us to the real defects of the referendum as a means toward economic emancipation.

Both the critics who jumped upon me so good naturedly in the issue of July 15 made a sentimental defense of the referendum. I notice that neither Comrades Recher or E. H. T. touched upon the leading point I made against the referendum. Neither of them denied that direct legislation would fix the minds of the people upon an interminable number of petty measures and take attention away from revolutionary principles. Both seem to feel that democracy can only be attained to by means of direct legislation. It does not seem to them that there is a difference between political democracy and economic democracy. During the fight under capitalism for a social democracy, there is no heresy in holding that progress may be made better by the use of representative legislation than by direct legislation. When we have socialism, direct legislation will in all likelihood be in force. But at present, under existing conditions and hindrances, I maintain that direct legislation would embarrass the Socialist advance, and I tried to show in my former article why this is so. Moreover, direct legislation as a fad agitation spreads confusion even in the ranks of the social revolutionaries.

If my critics will look back with me at the articles that they oppose, I think they will almost smile with me at the great length of the introduction and the cautious way in which I approached the main things I had set out to say. I approached the subject very carefully, because I well knew in what sentimental reverence the referendum was held by many; and I am afraid this sentimentalism will make this discussion less profitable than it should be. It is a good plan to feel that there is nothing too sacred in socialism or its demands to be discussed. Discussion is the very life of progress. Where it is prevented by sentiment, dogmatism or petrification sets in.

Direct legislation has become the magic term for "reformers" to conjure with. Revolutionists instinctively mistrust it. Opposition to the referendum is not reactionary, as is claimed—on the contrary, it is the referendum fad that is reactionary. The reactionary reformer deals with the petty grievances of local and daily life and hasn't time for the big social wrongs. Therefore, he wants the people to vote on all sorts of little matters, for their minds are thereby kept off of the big and vital things. In this way the use of the referendum is reactionary. It becomes a "brake on the wheel of progress."

Until all can make fit use of the referendum privilege we already have, we had better not cry for more.

Theoretically, every Socialist believes in the referendum. It is in its practical bearing on present conditions, under the present form of government, that is under discussion now, and it only confuses matters to drag in its theoretical side. The question really is, What is the real working value of the referendum in connection with the present emancipating movement? If, by getting the minds of the people taken up with little things, it distracts attention from the vital movement of humanity, then it is an obstruction to progress. I think that is clear.

It was representative government that abolished chattel slavery in this country.

But I am reminded that one must fall repeatedly in order to learn to walk. Very good. But the great fool people do not seem to get wisdom through their repeated bad voting. They simply get confused and vote first one side and then flip to the other. To add to the amount of the voting, with all kinds of measures claiming the voter's attention, would only rattle him the more, and revolution could go hang itself. But it may be insisted that the people do learn, as witnessed the flocking to the People's party. But most of those who flocked over are now back in the old folds, and all there are left in the People's party—save those the Socialists were able to attract—are part of the little cliques of leaders

who still beat their tom-toms and wonder why they do not draw the old crowd together.

Comrade E. H. T. says we are not Fabians, but Social Democrats. As the Fabians are Social Democrats, this means nothing. Comrade Richer charges the Fabians with warning the world against further steps in the direction of democracy, because they oppose direct legislation. Would he say the same of Kautsky, of Germany who has written a book of warning against the referendum?

It has been a fashion in past years with certain Socialists to sneer at the English Fabian society. This seems to me not only uncalled for, but exceedingly unjust and ungrateful. To charge the Fabians with being reactionary is certainly narrow. I have read nearly all of their many tracts and have industriously read and collected the many magazine Fabians in the last half dozen years, and I can say in simple justice to them that I have never read anything in their literature that was reactionary. On the contrary, the Fabians are persistent and jealous revolutionaries and fighters to the death. They are hard workers and free from dilettanteism. To say that they have accomplished nothing is wrong. Was it not something to convert the scientific minds of Herbert Spencerism to Socialism? Well, rather! Their caution as to the referendum stamps them as tactical revolutionists. The only crime the Fabians have committed lies in having aided in making Socialism in England a thing native to the soil and suited to the English temperament, rather than an importation. Frederic Heath.

A Woman's Plea

The strike was on since morning and Mrs. Meyn, leading a band of men, was wildly endeavoring to induce others to join the ranks. Tired with work and excitement, bearing on her arm her wasted babe, with tears in her voice she entreated the men to strike. "If all men would stick together in this trouble, the strike would soon be over, and the men would get a decent living from the company." Sullen and obdurate stood Motorman O'Leary. "No, you can't get me to leave this car. I'm going to stay here."

The mother lifted her child in her arms, presenting him fully to view: "You are taking the food from this baby's mouth!" she cried.

Down from the car jumped O'Leary, and with his rough lips kissed the little face. "I'll not do it," he said.

New York. Nemo.

The strike had been on since the morning, and the wage-slaves were weak and dismayed;

While most of them joined with their comrades, there were some undecided—afraid;

Afraid that their masters would spurn them if they dared, as a class, to unite

Against organized greed and injustice, and for equity, liberty, right!

There came into their ranks, then, a woman, in her arms a child, tender and wan;

Worn with toil, strong in impulse and courage, her brave face was tear-stained and drawn.

She spoke to the men there assembled: "Oh, men, stand but firm, staunch and true;

Be as one! Fight the tyrant together and victory must come to you!"

Like the voice of an angel it thrilled them, and the men answered her with a shout:

"We'll all go on strike with our comrades," a number then bravely spoke out.

But one, holding fast to his motor, unmoved by the men's hearty cheer, stood obdurate, sullen, and muttered:

"I'll not leave my car—I'll stay here!"

'Mid the voices of men, roused and angered, the woman's rang out, clear and loud;

Holding high her young baby above her, she silenced the murmuring crowd,

And the motor-man, grim, heard her saying:

"You are taking the food from my child!"

"God forgive me! Not that," cried O'Leary; "I'll join you!" The men then went wild. —F. R.

The profits of eighteen capitalist combinations in 1898 equalled the entire wages of a million coal miners for that year. This is a wonderful country—for capitalists.

The Chicago Tribune says of the men who are enlisting in this city that few are led to do so from patriotism; to "get a living," according to the Tribune, is the object of many. Men "out of employment," it says, are enlisting, with an "occasional drop of patriotism."

SOCIALISM A SOLUTION FOR SOCIAL DISEASES

KEY TO SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS

The Folly of Trying to Suppress the Symptoms of Disease While the Conditions Which Induce it Are Allowed to Remain.

Few more important problems confront the world to day than that of the saloon. Socialism is rapidly attracting the attention of temperance reformers for the reason that it offers a radical solution of this problem by abolishing the conditions which create and maintain the saloon. It is obviously foolish to endeavor to suppress the symptoms of a disease while the conditions which induce the disease are allowed to remain. When the causes are removed, the disease may be the more readily cured, and the symptoms will disappear.

There are deep-seated causes of the saloon-business. What are they? When once clearly understood they may be removed and the saloon business as now conducted will disappear. The first cause is "profit," the shrine before which we worship, regardless of the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," regardless of the welfare of our fellow-men. The love of individual gain (profit) is a mighty force. There is much profit in the liquor business, as in many other kinds of business, and hence, in 1895, according to the report of the Internal Revenue Commissioners, 232,295 persons were engaged in selling distilled and fermented liquors in the United States.

Secondly. Present industrial methods dispose men to the use of intoxicating drinks. In an admirable discussion of temperance reform, Prof. J. R. Commons of Indiana University makes clear the fact that whatever tends to exhaust or unduly excite the nervous system, tends to produce a craving for a stimulant or a narcotic. Alcohol first exhilarates, then soothes. The over-worked, the underfed or badly fed, the anxious, and those in ill health, furnish the majority of those who become addicted to the use of the intoxicating draught. The writer has often seen, especially on piece-work, in the shoe shops of this city, men standing at their benches with every muscle apparently taut, every nerve tense, and eyes glued to their work, straining to make a few extra pennies a day. After hours of such exhausting toil it is little wonder that men who have not been trained to fear the dangers of the intoxicating cup should enter the saloon door after the day's work, seeking a stimulant for the vitiated energies of the nervous and muscular systems. If the workingman is anything, he is generous. Once within the saloon, he will not drink without inviting his comrades, or even strangers, to join him in a friendly glass. The friends treat in turn. The results are easily imagined. Glass after glass is drained. The money which should have gone to the waiting, anxious wife and children, disappears, and the generous, warm-hearted husband and father too often becomes an intoxicated brute, feared by those whom he loves and by whom he is loved.

The often cheap, adulterated and badly cooked food of the poor, the vitiated air of tenement homes, fail to nourish the system properly, thus inducing a desire for intoxicating drink; while the open, glowing, warm saloon on the corner forms a strong attraction in the face of a cold and cheerless tenement dwelling (which often cannot be called a home).

Anxiety is, in many cases, an even greater drain upon the nervous force than exhausting physical labor. The rapid march of improved machinery, the ever multiplying number and increasing size of great corporations, throwing scores of thousands from employment, the uncertainty of gaining a living in a land where human needs and wants have been increased by education and the "art of advertising," keep thousands continually on the anxious seat, fearing lest they be unable to "keep up appearances" demanded by an ever developing civilization, or even fearful lest life itself be threatened by lack of employment, and starvation, poorhouse, charity, or death, become the alternatives of despair. It is little wonder that crime has increased five-fold faster than population in the past forty years, that insanity has doubled, that suicide has alarmingly increased, that paupers have multiplied, that intemperance has become so fixed and ascertainable that it is known as inebriety, as Prof. Commons well says. In spite of no-license and prohibition movements, the consumption of intoxicating liquors per capita largely increased during the twenty years from 1876 to 1895, according to the Statistical Abstract of the United States for the latter year.

It is becoming more and more apparent that "restrictive" laws must prove

inadequate to cope with the liquor evil. No-license and other prohibitory laws are certainly preferable, when properly enforced, to either license or the free sale of liquor, as demonstrated by abundant testimony; but evil repressed, is not necessarily destroyed, usually appearing in some other locality or form. While the writer would most certainly vote for no-license under existing conditions, yet it should be remembered that a successful "no" vote throughout the country would add to our already enormous army of unemployed the 232,000 liquor dealers. As long as the competitive struggle of private monopoly shall endure, just so long will these thousands work to perpetuate the saloon business.

When temperance reformers "fight" the saloons of a city, it is not alone the saloons of that city against which the battle is waged, for the great liquor trusts are interested in keeping the markets open for their wares, and lend their powerful aid, which often extends to the shaping of laws and the bribing of important officials, to say nothing of the purchase of hundreds of votes.

Socialism holds the key to the problem. Many saloonkeepers are undoubtedly warm-hearted and generous. They are not blind to the wretchedness caused by the business in which they are engaged. Were they guaranteed a good income through a reputable business many would voluntarily and gladly withdraw from their present employment. This the Co-operative Commonwealth, under Socialism, would offer, not alone to saloonkeepers, but to every man. There would no longer remain the incentive for gain through questionable and demoralizing methods. There would no longer remain those who were overworked, or burdened with anxiety from lack of employment. There would no longer remain the temptation to give dishonest measure or manufacture dishonest, adulterated goods. The work of the country, and ultimately of the world, would be more justly divided among able-bodied workers, who, with mind and body aided by ever improved machinery, would easily produce more than enough for all, with an abundance of leisure for the enjoyment of those products and the development of the highest abilities—physical, mental, spiritual.

With the incentive for profit removed, with the banishment of the conditions which devitalize the nervous system, the liquor business could be regulated in accord with the true interests of humanity. Frances E. Willard, in the closing years of her life, saw the truth of the Socialist teaching, and hosts of temperance advocates have allied themselves, and are allying themselves, with the Socialist movement. 'Tis strange, but true, that in the Socialist principles may be found a common ground whereon the temperance reformer and the saloonkeeper may stand side by side, championing, together, the highest interests of all society, of which each individual is a part.

When the wonderful possibilities of universal co-operation are understood and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall have been established, founded upon the Socialist motto, "Each for all and all for each," operating through collective ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution, then every last individual will receive all the blessings that an ever-advancing civilization can bestow, and in return, every able-bodied adult will be required to perform his or her proportionate share of the work, mental or physical, which will be rendered more agreeable and less arduous as labor-saving machines and methods increase in numbers and efficiency.

The above may seem to be a visionary solution of the saloon, and other problems, and so it is, for all progress is first seen in vision, "in the mind." The inventor must imagine before he makes. It is the office of the "visionary" to create new ideals in the minds of the people. Thoughts are the seeds of action. Nothing is more certain than that today there is a phenomenal and swiftly growing movement toward the ideal here briefly suggested. It is not only the privilege, but the duty, of every intelligent man and woman to advocate, in every possible honest way, the establishment of an industrial system which will banish poverty, remove temptation to gain at another's expense, guarantee life, liberty and happiness to each and all so far as knowledge is able, and make possible the development of the best and noblest in every individual.

Winfield P. Porter.

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 35 cents per hundred copies.

In Augusta, Georgia, women earn from 25 to 60 cents per day of twelve hours, and children 15 to 25 cents. There are about 11,000 women telegraph operators, and since the great strike of '83 wages in that calling have fallen from \$60 to \$40 per month, and less.

WHAT IS THERE IN THE MONEY QUESTION

THE DISCUSSION IS CONTINUED

Comrade Bonsall Sets Forth What He Claims is the True Science and Function of Money in Reply to Comrade Ladoff.

Dear reader, did you ever see a guinea pig? It is a queer little animal, looking like a crossbreed of a rat and a rabbit. Neither is it a pig nor does it come from Guinea. Immensely more curious, however, than this misnamed freak of nature are some guinea pigs of would-be religious and would-be reformatory dogmatism. Christian Science, for instance, if an outsider may be permitted to judge it, is neither a science nor Christian. Single taxism may serve as an illustration of a would-be reformatory guinea pig. But silverplated or Bryanized socialism, as fathered by Comrade Bonsall, justly beats anything and everything in the line of crossbreed monstrosities of the above mentioned kind, if Comrade B. will allow me to say so. Let us examine it closely and see "what there is in it," as my esteemed opponent heads his first article on the money problem—sine ira et studio.

Mr. B. declares in the critical part of his article that the term "intrinsic value" used by me is a meaningless one. Why? Because value is relative. Mr. B. obviously somehow mixed up the term intrinsic with absolute. To use his own illustration: Gold has the intrinsic quality of malleability. But this quality is relative at the same time, being dependent on the temperature of the metal. What a pity that Mr. B. did not take the trouble of looking up in some dictionary the real meaning of the term intrinsic before rushing into print with such an amusing blunder! My opponent further on denies the correctness of my statement that money (not gold, as he erroneously puts it) is a measure of value. Why? Because "value depends on human needs and no other factor can create and measure it." Now let us test the logic of this proposition. Two men, Peter and John, own different commodities. Peter has potatoes, which John needs, while the latter possesses apples needed by the former. Both men exchange their commodities. Of course, the proportion in which the corresponding quantities of potatoes and apples will be exchanged will depend on the relative value of these commodities. Obviously one of these commodities in the process of exchange serves as a measure of value of the other, just because they represent human need. No other factor for the creation and measurement of values is necessary. Mr. B. finds a blank (!) contradiction in my two statements (a) concerning the real money value depending on its intrinsic value as a ware and (b) the quantity of money in circulation regulating the prices of commodities in general. Well, let us see! The relation between supply and demand determines as a rule the prices of all commodities, including the precious metals, of course. If the price of gold will remain stationary, the amount of gold coin put in circulation will not affect directly the prices of commodities. But if the price of gold will fall, let us agree, to one-half of its previous price, it will cause the doubling of the prices of commodities in general, and the quantity of gold coin in circulation will have to be doubled in order to meet the needs of the market. In this way the alleged contradiction in my statement not only looks its blankness, but entirely vanishes "as the smoke of incense." If, however, as Mr. B. thinks, and eloquently expresses it, my statements "are the very incarnation of absurdity," still one consolation is left to the writer of these lines, namely, the consciousness of being in good company. All economists of note, including Karl Marx and Kautsky, will bear testimony to the truth of my assertions. Mr. B. affirms that my admission, that prices of commodities correspond to the quantity of money in circulation, "demolishes nearly all my other assumptions and arguments." As he, however, fails to explain why and which way, we have to take it for granted. So far the critical part of Mr. B.'s article. Let us now follow him in his original exposition of silverplated or Bryanized socialism. Mr. B. states that "money is not a creation of nature, but law." The first of that statement is a somewhat naive truism. The second half is, however, rather problematic, in spite of the authority of Aristotle (may his mighty shade excuse my impertinence). Money in the shape of gold-dust, shells, beads, cattle, and so on, existed at the dawn of human civilization, when no "laws" existed, at least in the modern sense of the word. Mr. B. defines money as follows: "A wondrous instrument of association, a function, a

(Continued on page 4.)

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1899.

President McKinley is now a doctor of civil law. He was previously a doctor of civil service law.

Trusts are not the creatures of law; they are creatures of economic conditions and changes. You can't "smash" them, and you can prevent them smashing you only by adopting the Socialist plan.

The falsehood that Comrade E. V. Debs recently spoke from the same platform with Miles and other hirelings of capitalism is too absurd to warrant serious attention. It is so palpable a lie that it carries on its face its own denial.

Belgium Socialists are beginning to think they may have their battle against the government's electoral project to fight over again. The premier on the 20th inst. declared in answering an inquiry that the government had not withdrawn the measure.

You can depend upon it, as a rule, that the man who profits by the present system, having some special privilege or social opportunity to skin his fellow-men, will be opposed to any other system, although he knows that the present imposes unnecessary suffering upon other men.

Dr. C. W. Cram, of Davenport, Ia., an old and faithful worker for the cause of Socialism, met with an accident at his home, July 12, which resulted in his death. Dr. Cram was born in New Hampshire in 1834; graduated from several medical institutions, and as a physician and humanitarian was held in high regard.

In the glass industry the workmen are face to face with eight new machines which will relieve many of their number of the burden of work and the enjoyment of wages. The glassmaker, once a man, with a chance for life, is soon to be a machine denying a chance for life so long as it is manipulated by private owners for profit.

The Social Democrats of Germany continue to win victories and the conflict with their adversaries seems to be shifting to the courts, where Arens, a Socialist lecturer, has been acquitted on the charge of exceeding in his utterances the limits prescribed by law. Another Socialist, charged with criticising a high court of justice, has also been acquitted.

Here is an order for books received at this office last Monday morning from a farmer, who is a Socialist: "Principles of Scientific Socialism," "Socialism and Slavery," "Industrial Evolution," "Woman, Past and Present," "Hard Times," "Herald Leaflets." The book at the head of this Socialist farmer's list, Vail's "Principles of Scientific Socialism," is just what we advertise it to be, the "book you need."

Preparations for the great meeting in Exposition Hall, St. Louis, September 9, to be addressed by Eugene V. Debs, are progressing finely. To show what general interest is being taken we may state that although the barest announcement of the meeting has been made, the trades union organizations of the city have responded most generously to the appeal of the committee on arrangements. About a dozen of the organized bodies have contributed to the fund to meet expenses over a hundred dollars.

A Socialist in California, who wanted to meet Senator White in debate, was told to "go and get a reputation!" But there are reputations that are got without merit, and reputations that are bought by boodlers, and one of the paltriest things in this country is the reputation of the average politician. The Socialist represents a philosophy and a science and can't afford to lower that to suit men with "reputations." Truth, logic and science outweigh all the place-proud and purse-proud fellows with "reputations" in the universe.

One of the breathing spaces in Chicago, where the children of the neighborhood romped and played last summer—we refer to Washington square, on North Clark street—has been, for the most part, changed into a beauty spot

with flower beds for no other reason that anybody can ascertain but to please the occupants of a brown stone front. Less than one-fourth has been reserved for the children, and the sign "Keep Off the Grass!" is over all the rest. This arrangement makes charming surroundings for a few residents, but it is an outrage on the people.

Deschanel, president of the French deputies, is reported to be engaged to marry a rich American heiress, and is arranging to have the nuptials celebrated in time to enable him to entertain the czar of Russia and other useless personages who are expected to visit Paris in 1900. Madame Deschanel will be entitled by reason of her rank as third lady in the land to the salaams of the populace and the salutes of the gendarmerie. And while this is going on the wage slaves in the "land of the free" will get their noses a little closer to the grindstone to pay the bills.

Workingmen who will continue to support a party or an administration responsible for such outrages against their class as are permitted to continue at the bull pen, Gardner, Idaho, are dead to all sense of right and justice along with their capitalist masters. The negro troops shot down in cold blood a poor prisoner who had been driven insane by horrible suffering in the foul stockade, and the scabs howled and danced with joy. Two weeks ago five imprisoned strikers died because of sickness contracted by the terrible unsanitary condition in the bull pen. Many more men are sick, and a correspondent writes that "the sick and dying are flatly refused the ministrations of their friends and families, denied the consolation of religion where they wish it, and reeking in filth which they cannot escape, breathing the fetid air of death itself, they die like caged rats."

THE JOURNAL'S SCARE

In a double-leaded, wide column poster display editorial, the New York Journal indulges in a lot of pessimistic suppositions regarding what it calls the "Standing Army of Monopoly." It "supposes" that the recent railroad consolidations should go on to their logical conclusion and bring the whole transportation system of the United States into the hands of one corporation. It "supposes" the men in control of the combination, instead of grinding down their employes, paying a minimum wage of five dollars a day. It "supposes" the employes turned into a mercenary army devoted only to its leaders, the Vanderbilts and Rockefellers, and after much more supposing this and supposing that, goes off into a doleful and thoroughly pessimistic prognostication about the future government and the people. And it asks what the public could do then. If the public follows the confused leadership and bourgeois economics of the Journal, which would land them in that division of the capitalist party known as "democratic," and which, under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, wants to "smash" the trusts, it could do nothing. But if it co-operates with the Social Democratic party, which would welcome a transportation system in the hands of one corporation as the logical sequence of social and industrial progress, it would do much; it would make the transportation system social property, and the million men with five dollars a day might "fight," as the Journal suggests, but they couldn't prevent the change. After all, Comrades Vanderbilt and Rockefeller are doing a good and necessary work.

AGAINST A STONE WALL

The principal ceremony at the great fair of Bawa Farid, which occurs once a year in British India, consists of passing through an opening made in a wall adjoining the shrine of I'rid-ud-Din, who in life had, it was said, become pure by continual fasting. The opening in the wall measures 5 feet by 2 1/2 feet and is called "The Gate of Paradise." Whoever between noon and night is able to pass through this opening is assured of paradise, and when there are 50,000 striving to pass through at the same time, the crush is terrific. Men and women are crushed and mangled, bones are broken, and in the stifling heat the suffering is awful.

That opening in the wall resembles the restricted opportunities for right living under the present economic system. Only the few are enabled in the mad rush and scramble to get through, and the terrific struggle of life results in crushed and mangled humanity bleeding and beaten against the stone wall of capitalism. Ignorance, prejudice and tradition blind the eyes of the Oriental devotees to the fact that if the hole in the wall is the "Gate of Paradise," and nothing but a stone wall stands between them and paradise, the enlargement of the "gate" or the removal of the wall altogether would enable all to gain it. And so, too, ignorance, prejudice and tradition alone keep up the stone wall of capitalism and restrict the pathway to freedom for all men.

The larger life, the truer liberty and the attainment of happiness are not possible to the masses so long as they permit the barriers which special privilege and greed have thrown up against them. Freedom is beyond these and can only be won when the stone wall of capital-

ism has been destroyed and the gateway of opportunity is wide enough for all to pass. Down with the limitations to human life, liberty and happiness!

TRUSTS AND TRUSTS

The New York Journal of Commerce says that trust promoting has been overplayed and that the notorious overcapitalization of these latest developments of capitalism will be sure to produce a reaction. Investors are becoming chary of the immense spread of commercial paper, feeling that if an adverse gale should strike the bottom would drop out. It says that it is the practice of the promoters, in order to carry their plans to realization, to pay more than the various plants are worth, not in cash, but in trust stock, and that it is usual to give the selling party not only this preferred stock, but a duplicate amount in common stock, the latter being simply a bonus. The bankers are complaining that the public is buying the securities very slowly. It is pointed out that the very means which the trust promoters have been using to tempt unwilling manufacturers into the great combinations appear to have become a hindrance to further trust development.

Of course none know better than Socialists that the recent gale of trust forming has been largely an artificial affair, due to the large amount of capital looking for investment and to the feverishness of the American business man coupled with the hustling proclivities of the up-to-date Col. Sellers, the Yankee promoter. All this has overnursed a national business development toward combination and away from competition. That there will be collapses is only too certain. The card-houses will fall, but their fall will only bring into greater relief the impregnable and rock-based forms of the true trusts, those that have been formed conservatively and in response to an absolute trade demand. The real trusts will endure, the mushroom trusts will dissolve, but the fate of the latter will be but added tragedy over the luckless heads of the victims of the great business game of freeze-out. It will add vastly to the number of those who must lose their holdings and who must fall back into the proletariat, leaving the class of possessors smaller and richer than ever.

TO CALIFORNIA SOCIALISTS

The organization of two branches of the Social Democratic party in San Francisco is the beginning of a movement in the Pacific coast state that is pregnant with great importance and possibilities for the future of Socialism in that great commonwealth. The comrades of Branch I, through Arthur R. Andre, organizer, send greetings to American Socialists everywhere, with assurances that the strengthening of the local organization is proceeding most satisfactorily and new members are joining every day. Our San Francisco friends have organized for active and aggressive work throughout the state, and none who know their devotion, ability and experience, doubt that the outcome of their leaders for our common cause will be helpful in every way to that cause throughout the country.

In this country, as in all others, the Socialist movement may be likened to the slowly gathering power and majesty of the mighty river. Having its origin often in some little known and unrequented spot, the stream flows unnoticed but unchecked, and with ever-increasing volume and speed, until it becomes the wonder of a continent as it sweeps onward to the ocean. The true course of Socialism may be diverted here or there by false economic teachings; tactical blunders may attempt to stem the current, but sooner or later, as fast as the thinker recognizes its inherent justice, it triumphs over all obstacles and rushes forward to join the ocean of industrial internationalism, which is ever rising higher and higher and will culminate in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Nothing but the principles of International Socialism, which are principles of justice and truth, will satisfy Social Democrats. The party, now recognized as a component part of the international movement, may make mistakes in matters of minor concern, but nothing save the soundest economics will avail with its growing membership.

All the disastrous experiments of the past we wish to forget and every peculiar economic fad which tends to play havoc with a true, broad, tolerant and scientific Socialism, we repudiate. At our masthead is nailed the banner of Social Democracy; aboard our fair craft is a harmonious crew and we are on the lookout, not to destroy others who sail in this night of capitalism, but to throw a beam of light to the Port of Industrial Emancipation.

The time is opportune in California to swell the ranks of Social Democrats. Organized labor, stripped and scored by capitalistic gluttons, and bullied and

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beaten by law and law's emissaries, is looking for another weapon to aid it in the desperate struggle and age-long conflict, now, happily, approaching its end. In the hands of the organized labor forces of this country we shall soon discover a new kind of ballot—a class-conscious ballot, the weapon of our deliverance. The economic and political wings of the army of labor must unite and co-operate against the common enemy, in America as in Europe. This is the mission of the Social Democratic party of America. This is the object of our comrades in San Francisco; to this mission and this object we urge Socialists throughout California to rally and during the coming fall and winter raise the banner of man's emancipation from the slavery of wages and brutal private mastership.

Where's Your Prosperity?

The Springfield Republican recently gave a summary of the report for 1899 of the New York State Labor Bureau.

This report begins by conceding that organized labor is more secure in respect to employment than the average workingman, then goes on to state that March 31st EIGHTEEN PER CENT OF THE TRADES UNIONISTS OF THAT STATE WERE EMPLOYED; that of those who were employed during the preceding quarter 20,000 WORKED ONLY HALF TIME; that the percentage of unemployed March 31, 1899, the proportion had risen to 13 per cent.

It may be added that thousands of men all through Massachusetts are idle and hundreds of thousands in the country are out on strike.

This sort of prosperity is a great thing.

A British firm has just published the Electrical Inkless Printer, which is said to be the first permanent publication printed by electricity by direct positive method and without ink and rollers. Of course, the journal is devoted to an exploitation of the method, which, it is claimed, will affect a saving of 30 per cent, even if used in connection with machinery now operated. These direct and positive methods of production ought to induce some direct and positive thinking on the part of those engaged in all industries which are so rapidly being changed from hand-crafts to machine-crafts.

In consequence of the difficulty of keeping European female servants after their arrival in South Africa, the Guild of Housewives at Johannesburg has petitioned the Raad to forbid all the white servant girls to marry until they can prove that they have stayed at least one year in the country.

MUSINGS

VI.
The social problem cannot be solved by philanthropy. Of course not. Beware, nevertheless, of the Socialist who will find nothing more substantial for a starving man than a note payable sixty years after sight, drawn on the Future Society.

The professional politician's fondness of the people is of a cannibalistic nature; he feeds on them.

You cannot see the social revolution going on around you for precisely the same reason that you are unable to perceive the revolutions of the globe which you inhabit: The fact is, you revolve along with it.

Whoever has the welfare of my fellow creatures at heart, no matter how he labels himself, is my brother.

Whoever advocates the socialization of the means of production and distribution, the public ownership of the earth and the fullness thereof, and the abolition of the cursed wage system, is my brother in the cause.

Whoever attaches himself to the Social Democratic party and strives to reach that goal along the lines laid down by that organization is my brother in arms.

I try to enlighten the first and to win the second by the aid of the third.

It is quite open to question whether the convict who (in England) picks oakum is a more miserable wretch than the splenetic individual (anywhere) who picks holes and finds fault, never looking for anything else.

From a modern point of view Moses would seem to have made a mistake in smashing the tables of the law when, on descending from Mount Sinai, he found the Israelites gone wrong. One would think that the more the people worship the golden calf, the more imperative the duty to uphold the fundamental principles in their integrity.

Children, women and the poor can be deceived in many things, except as to who really loves them. There is more in this than what appears on the surface.

Our despoilers give us charity by way of adding insult to injury. Being used to both, we resent neither.

M. Winchevsky.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Farmyard Fancies

A pathway through the woodland wound,
A stream ran rippling by,
The moss, a carpet on the ground,
The trees, a sunshade high.

The fragile ferns, in mossy pots,
Bent down to kiss the brook;
The flowers, like illustrations, were
Of Nature's picture book.

The leaves upon the treetops burst
Into a breezy laugh;
And on this pathway paradise
There sleeping lay—a calf.

An alley off a city street,
A floor of cobblestone,
A row of dirty tenements,
Like rank grass, overgrown.

The sun, with fury pitiless,
Poured down its livid glare,
And not a breath from sea or field
Refreshed the fetid air.

The roar of traffic, pouring in,
Made discord weird and wild,
And 'mid that dreary Boston hell
There crying stood—a child.

A little chicken, lame and sore,
Limped slowly down the lane;
Its footsteps feeble, feathers flat,
And seemingly in pain.

At sight of it the other chicks,
Its brothers in the brood,
Attacked their weakling fellow chick
In most ferocious mood.

When the unequal strife was done,
And I had cleared the place,
A little chicken gasped and died—
A victim of its race.

Upon a city corner crouched
A woman, blind and poor,
A battered organ and a cup
The pennies to allure.

A throng of heedless people passed,
With scornful lip and cold,
As niggard of their sympathy
As they were of their gold.

An aged woman feebly lay
Alone, decrepid, blind,
And in the darkness passed away—
Slain by her human kind.

A sow was lying in the mire,
As e'er had been its wont,
And from the dirty gutter came
An unmelodious grunt.

A bird was soaring in the air,
Borne by its wings along,
And from the blue, ethereal sky
There came to me a song.

The one hugged close the baser earth,
The other spurned the grime;
For mud can ne'er give music birth,
Nor song be born of slime.

So long as our own working class
Sinks in the mud of thought
And hugs the base and lower things,
No freeman's song is taught.

But when we rise, in mental sphere,
Into the pure and free,
Our class omnipotent shall learn
The song of liberty.

When we no longer act the sow,
But mount up, like a bird,
The slavish grunt of toil shall cease,
And freedom's song be heard.

A big, black crow flew rapidly
Above the treetops' crests,
A flock of small birds chasing it
From ravaging their nests.

The crow had come, with base intent,
To crush the birdlings poor,
The parents rose, in brave revolt,
Against the deed and doer.

By joining force of beak and bill
In bold and brave array,
They made the tyrant traitor quail
And cowardly speed away.

A big, black-hearted money-power
With unchecked fury runs,
A mass of men stand by and watch
It eat their little ones.

Are men more foolish than the birds?
More heedless of their kind
Shall we submit to base defeat
When birds salvation find?

Go, rise above your manhood's fears,
Into a birdhood's strength,
And by uniting vote and voice
Save home and young at length.

Upon a dung-heap near the barn,
Malodorously rare,
I found a flower of fairest form
Had grown and blossomed there.

When thus a dung-heap breeds a flower,
Perhaps corruption will,
And as I looked, I thought, thought I,
There's hope for Hanna still!

Merlin.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

CALIFORNIA
 Branch 1 San Francisco, Cal. holds meetings every Sunday at 8 p. m. at the Temple, 117 Third street. Public invited.
 Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c 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., 7 p. m. Theo. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 1739 Washington street.

CONNECTICUT
 Branch 3 (Conn.) meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in each month, at 232 Cedar street, at 8 p. m. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 155 Frank street.

ILLINOIS
 Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 204 Wentworth ave.
 Branch 2, Chicago, Ill. Bohemian, meets 2d and 4th Saturday evenings at Nag's Hall, 635 Blue Island ave. Secretary, Fred Jonas, 667 Center ave.
 Branch 3, Chicago, Ill. meets 1st and 3d Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School Lad Karcel, cor. 19th and Leavitt sts. Secretary, Frank Ort, 806 W. 18th st.
 Branch No. 5 Illinois meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 15th street, corner Jefferson street. Secretary, Paul Hlapecek, 207 W. 15th street.
 Branch 6 (German) Chicago, meets every first and third Saturday evening at 8 o'clock at Nag's Hall, 635 Blue Island avenue, near 15th street.

INDIANA
 Branch No. 4, 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, Maryland, 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 Springdale Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.
 Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 23 Summer St., near Market St., business meeting every Monday night at 7:30 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany street, St. Louis.
 Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business, in Cutler's Hall, Clark's Block, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 332 W. Elm street.
 Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec.
 Branch No. 9, Massachusetts, Brockton.—Meets first and third Tuesday each month for business, in Cutler's hall, Clark's Block, cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, 332 W. Elm street.
 Branch 21, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. room 2, postoffice building, Chelsea. Alfred B. Outram, sec., 72 Ash street.
 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 Halle, 5 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

MINNESOTA
 Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Grosswein, on Main street. Wm. H. Randall, sec.

MISSOURI
 St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary, or information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.
 St. Louis Central Branch, composed of all members in the city, meets every 3rd Sunday afternoon, 2:30 p. m., at Aschenbroedel Hall, 64 Marshall St. Lecture and general discussion at every meeting. Public invited.
 Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

NEW YORK
 Branch 10 (4 Ass'n Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 107 Henry St. Jacob Fanken, 141 E. Broadway, Org. East Side Branch No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday at 112 Clinton st. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.
 Branch 3, New York (14th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 324 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 58th st., Sec.
 Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," at 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, Secretary, 251 Madison street.
 Branch 12, New York, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge street, meets every 3d Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 251 Rutledge St., Secretary.
 Branch No. 20, New York (23rd Assembly District) meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 328 E. 80th street.
 The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Broadway street, in the Social Democratic League rooms. Alex. Kahn, 118 Broome St., secretary.

OHIO
 Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlson's Hall, 65 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

PENNSYLVANIA
 Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 76 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; secretary, Geo. E. Laird, 25 W. 8th street.
 Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., Funk Hall, South 24th and Josephine sts. President, W. Bohn, 344 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2315 Jane st.
 Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Friday at 8 1/2 South Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN
 Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 568 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Edward 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 Burgard'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-fifth street.
 Branch 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, S. E. corner Orchard street and 9th avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 781 Windlake avenue.
 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 Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch Notes

Lawn parties are proving a great success with the comrades at Brockton and vicinity.

The crowds that attend Social Democratic meetings in the East are suggestive reminders to representatives of the older parties that a new political force has sprung up, one that cannot be ignored.

Comrade Frederick O. MacCartney, of Rockland, Mass., is doing excellent work for the party, and as a clear and logical speaker is in demand.

Brockton responds to San Francisco with the organization of a new branch of tried and experienced comrades; and St. Louis, not to be outdone in these stirring times, reports a new branch added to its list. All indications point to a remarkable movement in the early fall which will be maintained through the winter.

There is cause for great encouragement to the members of the Social Democratic party in the weekly addition of new branches to our list, comprising in their membership the convinced Socialist and wide-awake propagandist. Brooklyn reports the institution of a new branch, with a good charter list, and officers as follows: Chairman, Diedrich Steffen; vice-chairman, Michael Klueg; secretary, John Lang; treasurer, Aug. Joos; organizer, Chas. Schaible.

This branch will meet every Friday evening at 8 o'clock at its headquarters, Lobelenz's Mozart Mannercholl Hall, 134 Wyckoff avenue, and all persons wishing to affiliate with them are welcome and invited to attend.

Rockville, Conn.

Branch 6 of the Social Democratic party resolved in regard to the propaganda fund to systematically collect weekly among its members for the next six months, and thinks other branches should follow the example. An English branch of thirteen members was organized here last Thursday, July 13, by Comrade William J. Brown, of Hartford, of which you will hear something soon.

Miners Stand Firm

Evansville is not dead; neither is she sleeping. A new branch was organized up town a few days ago, with seven members, and at its second meeting, last week, took in twelve new ones. We hope before the winter is over to have an organization in every ward in the city and in each of the smaller towns of the country. The strike among the coal miners here is having a tendency to make people think. The mining situation here in the pocket has been in a chaotic condition for years, during all of which time the condition of the miners has been growing steadily worse. They have voted for first one old party and then another, in the vain hope of in some way bettering their condition. At last, however, after all these years of injustice and suffering, the "worm has turned." They have been out for nearly three months, now, and I do not believe there was ever a coal strike in this country where the miners have conducted themselves in a more law-abiding, intelligent and straightforward manner than they have here during this long struggle for justice and living wages. Not a union miner has deserted the ranks, not one has faltered, and they stand today, shoulder to shoulder, as firm in their demands as on that bright April morning when they first laid down their tools.

As union labor and the Social Democratic party go hand in hand, so a victory of the miners will strengthen the cause of Socialism. Miners and the people generally are beginning to recognize, however, that the only permanent solution of the mining problem is for the government to own and operate the mines for the benefit of the people. The Social Democratic Party of America stands for social ownership, and as such it is bound to draw the support of those people who favor justice, peace and plenty above all things.

Evansville, Ind. C. W. Hewitt.

Active at Brooklyn

The third of our series of open air meetings was held last Saturday evening, July 15, within the shadows of the municipal buildings at City Hall, and was equally as successful as the previous ones held at the old stand.

Comrades James Allman and Irving S. Roney were the principal speakers, who addressed a good sized audience, sprinkled here and there with a few Democratic politicians, who could not refrain from coming over and listening to the eloquent and logical speeches of our comrades. We hope the seed has fallen amongst good ground and may bring forth an abundance of fruit.

Thirteen "Merrie Englands" and thirty Heralds were sold and several names secured of persons who are interested and want to learn more about socialism. We shall keep in touch with them and hope to have them within our ranks in the near future.

Brooklyn is going into the campaign this election in two or three districts, and while we do not expect to Haverhillize things here, we hope to make a showing which will be creditable to the comrades doing the work and the party at large.

Next Friday evening, July 21, another branch of the Social Democratic party will be organized, same to be composed of German comrades, from whom much can be expected next election.

This will give us five branches in this borough, and as the good work goes on we shall give an accounting in The Herald.

Little Willie.
 Brooklyn, N. Y., July 20.

Steady Gains at Brockton

Branch 9 has been very busy since my last letter and I will try to sift our doings down to the point that will be of general interest to the comrades. We have found it almost impossible to do all our business in two meetings a month, so we have decided to meet once a week.

Our city committee is rapidly gaining a degree of efficiency that is surprising and we have good reason to expect a superb organization by election time. That we are gaining the attention of the public of this place is evidenced by the fact that hardly a day passes but both newspapers have a bulletin of our doings in their windows, and men are asking themselves, Where it is going to end? We know that it will end only with the co-operative commonwealth.

The formation of a new branch at Campello has occupied a good deal of our attention the past two meetings, and having defined very clearly the position of both branches when formed, so that there may be no trouble in the future, we are about to form a branch there that will be a credit to the city and the party in general.

Comrade Blum, one of our enthusiastic and earnest workers, arranged for a lawn party at his home, and none of us who knew him doubted him when he said it was going to be a success; but neither he nor any of us imagined it would be the great success it was.

Five hundred people were in attendance on Saturday evening, July 15, with the result that that many people enjoyed themselves every minute they were there, and the Social Democratic party gained many votes.

On Sunday, the 16th, a large delegation went to Quincy, where a large outdoor meeting had been planned, but unfortunately it rained nearly all day. But though the rain spoiled the propaganda work of the meeting, the comrades had a nice time, and all speak in the highest terms of the hospitality of Comrade and Mrs. Lamb and the other Quincy comrades.

The band is receiving nothing but words of praise on all sides for its excellent work, and Comrade Cox, the leader, assures us that it will be uniformed by September. The bicyclé club is steadily gaining in membership and will immediately begin its propaganda work. It has a bugler second to none in Comrade Cox; it will have a pennant that will surely be second to none, for Comrade Mrs. Lowell, of Whitman, who is making it, is not in favor of having the Social Democratic party second in anything, and when it starts on a run with socialist literature strapped to each wheel, there is liable to be some wiser people in whatever towns they pass through.

And last, but not least, I will chronicle our second open air meeting. When 3,000 people turned out to hear Comrade Chase, we thought it was partly owing to the fact that he was Mayor Chase, of Haverhill. But fully as many people turned out to hear Comrade MacCartney, of Rockland, and on all sides nothing but praise was heard for the truly grand address he made. These two meetings have demonstrated beyond question that the people of this city are very much interested in our principles, for they all stay until everything is over and then gather in knots and discuss the question.

Comrade MacCartney made an address that will rank with the best, both at this meeting and at the lawn party, and when the new time comes he will stand in the foremost ranks with those who have sacrificed for this great cause.

Brockton, Mass. C. H. Coulter.

Maryland's State Ticket

The three branches of the Social Democratic party in Baltimore met in joint session on Monday, July 17, and nominated the following state and city ticket:

For Governor—Levin T. Jones.
 For Comptroller—Jos. C. Fowler.
 For Attorney General—Charles B. Backman.
 For Judge Court of Appeals—E. H. Wenzel.
 For Sheriff—J. J. Carter.
 For Clerk City Court—Samuel R. Angel.

The meeting was largely attended and in spite of the excessive warm weather much enthusiasm prevailed. It is the general opinion that a good vote will be polled. A full legislative ticket will be nominated at an early date.

The "referendumites," or, more euphoniously speaking, the Union Reform party, held a conference in Baltimore on July 19, at the Hotel Lexington, and decided to call a convention for the purpose of nominating a state ticket. So there will be no dearth of tickets in Maryland this fall. At night, after the conference, R. S. Thompson, of the executive board of the Union Reform party, addressed a meeting on the plaza. Although this meeting was widely advertised, the papers all devoting considerable space to the conference and to the meeting, and notices mailed to all the "reformers" in town and out of town, single taxers, free silverites, prohibition-

PROPAGANDA FUND.

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M. Joseph	20
Two Friends—Lynn, Mass.	75
Julius Robinson	50
	\$12.70

ists, etc., yet there was barely a hundred present. The speakers made the usual arguments for the "referendum," laying great stress upon the idea that the people and not party would rule. Forgetting that parties are but the political expression of definite material interests, and that as long as classes with different material interests exist, just so long will "parties" and party government exist. In fact, the referendum is only practicable in a classless and intelligent community. Only in the co-operative commonwealth will it find its fruition.

This new organization will not disturb the Social Democratic party, yet its appearance renders timely the articles in The Herald on the "referendum."
 Wm. A. Toole.

Quincy, Mass.

Branch No. 21, Quincy, Mass., continues to increase in membership. Comrades are using their best efforts to make this branch one of the largest in this vicinity, and while they are congratulating each other on the success of their branch they manifest the keenest interest in the general advance being made in all parts of the world.

Many of the comrades are able counselors and all are working in harmony to build up the cause of Social Democracy.

The meetings held on the 18th ult. and 7th inst. were the most interesting since we organized. A spirited debate on the second demand of the platform of the S. D. P. was taken part in by different members, and it is now proposed to hold (later on) a series of open debates on social and economic subjects.

The following officers were elected to serve till March, 1900:
 Chairman—Philip J. Halvose.
 Vice Chairman—Karl W. Leaf.
 Secretary-Treasurer—J. A. Lamb.
 Financial Secretary—Wm. Frye.
 Comrade Halvose is an able presiding officer and commands the respect of the entire community.

At the last meeting, held on the 2nd inst., the subject for debate was the city ownership of the electric light plant.

Comrades Norrie and Frye made able pleas for city ownership, giving figures which prove that cities pay to private corporations double the amount for their lights than the cost to cities owning their own plants.

The opposition, although on the unpopular side, showed their ability to serve as corporation lawyers by working up a skillful defense of private ownership. But the comrades unanimously declared in favor of public ownership.

Richards.

Conference Recommendations

I wish to say a few words to the comrades throughout the country in relation to the recommendations of the conference committee which met at Chicago July 6. Let me say, first of all, that what I am about to say is not intended to be a criticism of the action of the conference, in the fault-finding sense, although I do criticize some of those actions as being ill advised. From the first I did not believe in having this conference take place, and opposed it on the grounds that it was a useless expenditure of money. Evidently others thought the same, as is shown by their absence from the conference, but this is of no particular consequence now. The conference met and made certain recommendations to be referred to a referendum vote, and these are what I wish to discuss before they are voted upon. The first article, relating to the constitution, I shall not discuss at any great length. It is sufficient to state that I do not consider our present constitution fit for use, even until the next convention. The comrades in Massachusetts have given some considerable time to the solution of the constitution problem, and finally drew up what we considered to be a suitable constitution. We were guided by our past experience in the Socialist movement, and suggested such changes in the present constitution as were prompted by our experience. These changes that were suggested are absolutely necessary to a constitution that will be suitable for such a party as ours. This was forwarded to the national executive committee, and while I am not finding fault with them for not publishing or adopting it and referring it to the branches, yet I think it would have been better for the conference committee to have adopted the changes and referred it to the general vote.

As to the second article, I agree with eliminating "The Demands for Farmers" from the platform. I was against its adoption and have always believed it to be out of place in our platform, not because I believe it to be particularly unscientific, so far as the proposition in itself is concerned, but because I do believe it to be unscientific and unwise to make any special plea for any special class. It may not be unscientific to say to the farmer that we have got a panacea for his particular malady, and that we are making a specialty of his case; but in my opinion it would be no more unscientific to say the same to the brewers, the hatters, shoemakers, drummers, or any other of the long list of trades, professions or callings. We assert that land and capital shall be owned by society, and administered in the interest of all. It seems to me that it should be sufficient argument to convince all, whether they be farmers, shoemakers,

hatters, doctors, or what not. The farmer is no more entitled to special attention than are the millions of wage workers in other walks of life. These farmers' demands do nothing but harm in Massachusetts and other industrial states. Half of our time is taken up in explaining what it means, which is all thrown away, when we could be using it in discussing the questions that are of more vital importance to the people of the east. We know what to say to our people who feel the yoke of slavery in the mill and factory, without special mention of them in our platform. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Socialists of the South and West would be able to place the truths of Socialism before their people in a convincing manner without a plank in our party platform for their special benefit. Let us be consistent. If it is good in one instance it is good in all, and we should have a platform that will fill every inch of space in The Herald, a platform with planks for this one and that one, until we have told them all, of whatever calling they may be, that we are looking after their particular ills. By all means eliminate it from the platform, comrades.

In regard to the time and place of holding the next convention, I have nothing to say, except that Indianapolis is a long way for the Massachusetts comrades to walk, which they will be obliged to do in order to get there if the basis of representation as recommended by the conference be adopted. This brings me to the question which prompts this letter. I did not intend to inflict upon the comrades the above remarks when I started out, but somehow I could not hold myself in. I do not think that the proposed basis of representation is the right one. I have no doubt whatever as to the good intentions of the comrades at the conference in recommending this form of representation. They were undoubtedly actuated by the spirit of democracy, and the longing for a large convention. This form will prove a failure in both instances. The convention will be neither democratic nor well attended, for the reason that there is not one per cent of the branches that will be able to send one delegate to Indianapolis, to say nothing about sending three or four, as some of them would be entitled to send, on the basis of one delegate to every fifty members. It would be undemocratic to a dangerous extent, simply because of the fact that the greater number of branches that are entitled to delegates being far away and without money, will be unable to send delegates, and the convention will be made up of delegates from the immediate vicinity of Indianapolis. Every branch in existence, or that may come into existence, in the vicinity of Indianapolis, will be represented, and will have control of the convention. While this may not be particularly dangerous at this time, it is a criminal precedent to establish.

I have seen too much of this in other organizations, where conventions have been packed and stamped by those who were interested in controlling the actions of the delegates.

The time will come when self-seeking politicians will attempt to control our conventions. Some crowd will attempt to shape the policy of the party in such a manner that their own ends may be furthered. To do this, bogus branches can be instituted at short notice. I am not speaking thus, because I fear that such a thing will happen at the present time. I am looking into the future. To start wrong is to remain wrong a long time and perhaps forever. I do not wish to see Indiana or Massachusetts or any other state control the next or any future convention. So long as we are a small party, and poor financially, we will be unable to get a representative convention by branch representation. I believe, and I speak from experience, that far better and more democratic results would be attained by representation by state. Entitle each state to so many delegates, the delegates to be elected by the state branches, the number to be such that each state can send its full quota of delegates. Judging from what I know of the party and its resources in Massachusetts, I should say that five delegates to a state would be about the right number. We would have, in my opinion, more delegates present at the convention in this way than we would by branch representation, and the voice of the convention would be the voice of the country, and not any one section of it.

There is another feature, also, to be considered, and that is the waste of money involved if the scheme proposed by the conference is adopted and each branch sends delegates. There would be enough money paid out in railroad fares and other expenses to keep an organizer in the field for months in each state where we have an organization. This is the most important matter that could engage our attention at this time. We should expend all of our energies and money in organizing between now and 1900. Think it over well, comrades, and put your work in where it will count best. I hope the branches will see the logic of this argument and vote against branch representation. John C. Chase.

Are you a Socialist? What are you doing for Socialism? Every Socialist should be up and doing night and day, doing something to advance the cause. What are you doing? Are you bearing your share of the burden? Your share is to get at least one new subscriber to THE HERALD every week.

WHAT IS THERE IN THE MONEY QUESTION

(Concluded from page 1.)

parted with." (?) What a beautiful bunch of definitions! How one and the same thing may be at the same time an instrument and a function is known only to Mr. B., and he alone knows the meaning of the definition "certificate," etc. One thing is, however, certain, namely, that there is no money in these definitions, and that they do not define it. As the conclusion of his article Mr. B. somewhat sententiously remarks: "No man can be a full grown scientific Socialist without understanding the true (read "silverplated") science of money." But where does my esteemed opponent get his "science of money"? Does he study Adam Smith, Ricardo, Karl Marx, Kautsky—recognized authorities of political economy or scientific socialism? Oh, no! His sources of information are "little pamphlets" of irresponsible hired scribblers of campaign truth and the ignorant babbling of a lawyer, "Judge Joe Tiffany." He assumes that these authorities are "absolutely (?) unassailable" and then threatens to "deduce some economic principles therefrom" in his next article. He wants to prove among other things that the gold standard "is quite unsocialistic." Mr. B. could just as well deduct "some economic principles" from the sayings of circus clowns and try to prove that two times two equal four.

Mr. B. is also of the opinion that "Congress could demonetize both gold and silver," introduce fiat money, and perform many other tricks and miracles. O! holy simplicity! There is the silver-plated socialism of Mr. B. in a nutshell, with the mucky campaign cesspool of falsified "science of money" for a bible, 16 to 1 for a dogma, and boundless faith in the miracle working power of legislation. Mr. Bryan not only promises to "legislate out" gold and "legislate in" silver; he will also, if elected president, "legislate away" trusts, department stores, expansion, the protective tariff, tornadoes and kissing bugs. Therefore, Social Democrats, vote for Bryan, the silver-tongued boy orator, colonel and statesman! Hurrah! I Ladoff. Milwaukee, Wis.

If Mr. Ladoff or any other man disents from the fundamental proposition laid down in my first article, that "money is the creation of law and not of nature," I trust the proof that money is a product of nature will be forthcoming at once, because that would settle the controversy, so far as I am concerned.

Let me now quote two more affirmations from Comrade Ladoff's treatise which contradict each other:

In your issue of July 8 he reaffirms the stereotyped declarations of the credit mongers, the security holders, who are selfishly interested in maintaining dear money and cheap labor and products, in the following language:

"The now existing gold standard has many advantages. (1) It is the standard of all civilized countries of the world. (2) The price of gold is comparatively stable, and (3) the great proportion of that metal used in the arts counteracts its fall in value as a commodity in consequence of increased production."

Then, in the same paper, he declares this:

"According to the assertions of the silverites there is too little money in the country. But this is not true. There is plenty of money in the United States. The trouble is not in the quantity of money, but in the circulation. Money in circulation is the life of trade, not the idle, hoarded money. One dollar in rapid circulation is bound to do more good to trade than thousands of dollars hidden in a safe. Money that does not perform the function of money is practically dead to the world."

Exactly true, save the statement that there is plenty of money in the United States. But now, comrade, tell us, please, what money is it that is hoarded in the bank vaults, etc., instead of being in active circulation? Is it the treasury notes, silver dollars and silver certificates? Nay, verily. It is the gold coin, as everybody knows. Come, now, friend Ladoff; go back ten years, more or less, and count up about the sum total of money that has passed through your hands as a business, professional, or ordinary mechanic, or working man, and then tell us what proportion of that money was gold coin.

During most of the time for the past thirty years the writer has performed the duty of cashier and accountant for a large manufacturing plant, and as such has paid out about \$3,000,000, and not one-third of one per cent of that has been gold coin; and the greater portion of the few thousand dollars that was paid in gold coin during that whole period was given out just before important elections, to pull the wool over the eyes of the average voter. This is not an exception, but is representative of the general experience of manufacturers, business men and working people throughout the country. Gold is not in circulation. It is hoarded for speculative purposes; and I positively affirm that it is hoarded by the capitalist speculators far more than it would be if we had the free, unlimited coinage of silver, 16 to 1, as I shall prove, if the limit of my space permits.

Here, then, we have another square contradiction from our friend. He praises the single gold standard in one paragraph and then in another repudiates the gold coin as next to worthless, for the very good reason that it does not circulate in the channels of legitimate business and industry.

I am glad that my comrade does stumble on to some vital truths.

Next, let us analyze the affirmation that "gold is the standard of all civilized countries of the world." There are a good many nations of people whose money systems are not "gold standard," but my opponent would class them as "heathen." Let me suggest that, in proportion as England's money lords have "persuaded" the so-called "heathen" nations to adopt the single gold standard, in that proportion have the people of those countries been plundered of their wealth and have descended lower in the scales of morality and poverty. What is the basic fact which has caused a number of important nations to adopt the single gold standard of payment since the marked increase of silver production which began a quarter of a century ago? I answer, the master hand of selfish, deceptive diplomacy on the part of so-called English statesmen, inspired by the great security holders of that kingdom, of which the Rothschilds are the head, and the dominating "power behind the throne."

Billions of bonds are held by them which were originally purchased under a lower standard, and then, by adopting the single gold standard (always to benefit the "dear common people," you know), doubling and trebling the price of the bonds and the monetary unit. A mighty sleek way to create millionaires by "be it enacted."

The tragic history of the financial legislation of this country since and during the war, including the suspension of the coinage of the silver dollar, is unparalleled in monstrosity and robbery, and it was enacted through bribery and corruption on the part of foreign and native security holders, whose bonds, etc., were quadrupled in exchange value and market price through legislative acts alone. Let me express the hope that Mr. Ladoff will study this history. It will be a revelation to him. It will open his eyes. It consists of nearly half a score of acts of vital degree, and a number of lesser ones. The infliction of the single gold standard was the final act, and the present unparalleled concentration of wealth in a few hands is the fruit of this financial legislation. It began in 1862 and embraces:

1. The exception clause on the greenback, 1862.
2. The national bank act, 1864.
3. The acts of 1865 and 1866, authorizing the secretary of the treasury to exchange untaxed interest-bearing bonds for greenbacks, and cremate the people's money, so as to compel them to borrow notes of the bankers at high rates of compound interest.
4. The so-called "credit strengthening" act of 1869, repudiating the original contract with the bondholder, changing the wording to "coin" instead of "any lawful money," adding \$400,000,000 to the wealth of the bondholders.
5. The refunding act of 1870, changing the old bonds for a new issue (at great expense to the people), which new issue specifically stipulated that they were payable in "coin" (gold or silver).
6. The stealthy assassination of the silver dollar, 1873.
7. The "resumption act" of 1875.
8. The formal declaration of the single gold standard.

In concluding No. 2 contribution on this vital subject, let me quote the words of Hon. Oliver P. Morton on the floor of Congress in 1870 (I believe it was), after the passage of the said act of repudiation (No. 4):

"There is gathered around the capitol of this nation a gang of miserable stock-jobbers, with no more conscience than pirates, and they have successfully thundered at these doors until they have driven this government into the most preposterous acts of bad faith and legalized robbery that ever cursed a free nation of people since the dawn of history."

A terrific but righteous arraignment of the arch conspirators, whom my comrade has unwittingly defended.

My next will give some testimony from another congressman, relative to silver demonetization, as well as some most damaging and conclusive testimony from other sources, and will also notice the claim made by Comrade L. as to "stability" of gold. The fact is, it has been the most unstable of all the forms of our legal tender money.

Salem, O. Charles Bonsall.

Debs' Tribute to Ingersoll

Numberless tributes will be paid to the memory of Robert G. Ingersoll. Not one of them all, however great the love that may inspire it, will be as tender and touching, as beautiful and poetic, as his own enchanting words in the presence of death. His tribute over the remains of his brother, Ebon C., in Washington, in 1879, moved by its exquisite tenderness, the whole country to tears. Almost every line of it has become classic. What a pity that there is not one, with tongue inspired, to speak such noble words above his pulseless clay. How truly these words, spoken of his brother, apply to himself:

"The record of a generous life runs like a vine around the memory of our

dead, and every sweet, unselfish act is now a perfumed flower. * * * There was, there is, no gentler, stronger, manlier man."

In the same oration he said: "He who sleeps here, when dying, mistaking the approach of death for the return of health, whispered with his latest breath, 'I am better now.' Let us believe, in spite of doubts and dogmas, of fears and tears, that these dear words are true of all the countless dead."

What a strange and beautiful coincidence that his own latest words were the same as those of his brother! Asked by his devoted wife how he felt, he answered with a smile, "Oh, better!" and in the same second his great soul winged its way to the farther shore. He died as he wished to die, and again his own words must be quoted: "When the duties of life have all been nobly done; when the sun touches the horizon; when the purple twilight falls upon the past, the present and the future—then, surrounded by kindred and by friends, death comes like a strain of music. The day has been long, the road weary, and the traveler gladly stops at the welcome inn."

For twenty-three years it has been my privilege to know Colonel Ingersoll, and the announcement of his sudden death is so touching and shocking to me that I can hardly bring myself to realize the awful calamity. Like thousands of others who personally knew Colonel Ingersoll, I loved him as if he had been my elder brother. He was, without doubt, the most lovable character, the tenderest and greatest soul I have ever known. His heart went out to all who suffered, and his purse went with it. Scores of incidents of his sympathetic, generous nature came under my own observation, though he was extremely modest and gave without ostentation. He used both hands in scattering his benefactions, but always, when possible, in secret.

A young woman once called at his office in New York. Her father had been rich, but failed. She was a member of an influential church, but her friends deserted her. The church authorities "promised" repeatedly to see what could be done for her. At last she went to Ingersoll and told her story. He gave her a \$20 gold piece and requested her to call at the same hour the next day. She was there at the appointed time, and was then informed that arrangements had been made to give her a course of instruction in stenography and typewriting; that all the expense incident thereto had been paid, and that in the meantime any means she would require would be furnished her, and, furthermore, that when she had completed her course a position at a good salary awaited her.

Such incidents of kindness to the distressed and help to the needy might be multiplied indefinitely, for Colonel Ingersoll's whole life was replete with them and they constitute a religion compared with which all creeds and dogmas become meaningless and empty phrases.

The Ingersoll home in New York is a true type of a rational conception of heaven. Four generations dwell together there, and within that charmed circle Love has autocratic sway. In my visits to this sweet home I felt as if I had become an inhabitant of a new world. Such kindness and such gentleness! And never a harsh word nor an unkind thought. The colonel was, of course, the central figure in the beautiful group. How eagerly all waited for his home-coming, and how he was surrounded and embraced when he came! He was at once husband, father, brother, lover, companion and friend, and in each relation his life was truly ideal. I can see the picture yet, and it will remain in memory's gallery forever.

The home he filled with love and light is now dark, indeed. The very soul has gone out from it, and where but a few hours ago there was song and laughter, there is now grief and lamentation beyond the power of all language to express. The hearts of millions throb sympathetically with the stricken ones in their awful bereavement.

To paraphrase Victor Hugo, in his estimate of Voltaire, "There has died a man. He died immortal." The name of Robert G. Ingersoll is in the pantheon of the world. More than any other who ever lived, he destroyed religious superstition. Like an electric storm, he purified the religious atmosphere. With dauntless courage and transcendent ability he applied himself to his mission and won an immortality of gratitude and glory.

He was the Shakespeare of oratory—the greatest the world has ever known. Henry Ward Beecher called him "The Golden-mouthed American," and once said of him: "Robert Ingersoll is the most brilliant speaker of the English language on the globe."

His metaphor was marvelous. Here is a specimen, of which there are hundreds in his writings, equal to Shakespeare: "Wit is the lightning of the soul." Speaking of the Bard of Avon, in a strain of poetic rapture he said: "From his brain there poured a Niagara of gems."

Robert G. Ingersoll lived and died far in advance of his time. He wrought nobly for the transformation of this earth into a habitable globe, and long after the last echo of detraction has been silenced his name will be loved and honored and his fame will shine resplendent, for his immortality is fixed and glorious.

Eugene V. Debs.

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THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and property 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 the economic and the other the 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 up with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. To 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 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 amount 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 for the 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 it 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 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. The 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 over a single 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.

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